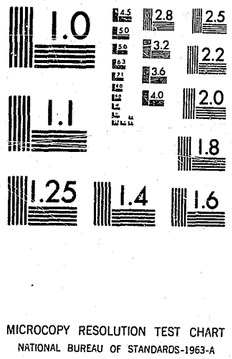

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice
Office of Development, Testing and Dissemination

nij

Program Models

Employment Services for Ex-Offenders

A publication of the **National Institute of Justice**

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Harry M. Bratt
Acting Director

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Employment Services for Ex-Offenders

Program Models

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Program Models are a synthesis of research and evaluation findings, operational experience, and expert opinion in a criminal justice topic area. Each report presents a series of programmatic options and analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of each. The intent is to provide criminal justice administrators with the capability to make informed choices in planning, implementing, and improving efforts in a program area. The Models may also serve as a basis for testing and demonstration efforts.

The following individuals provided information and assistance in the conduct of this study.

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Preface

A causal relationship has long been hypothesized between ex-offender unemployment and recidivism. Community-based ex-offender employment programs have been developed to address the problems typically faced by ex-offenders as they seek employment upon release from correctional institutions. Specifically, these programs are designed to help ex-offenders gain necessary qualifications, conduct job search activities, obtain jobs that are consistent with an overall career plan, and, once employed, increase job tenure to prevent further periods of unemployment.

A wide variety of interventions are used to deliver employment services for ex-offenders. This document focuses on a critical examination of the programmatic strategies and approaches utilized to increase ex-offender employment. In order to determine the current state of program practices, over 75 employment service programs were surveyed by telephone and nine were visited between September 1978 and February 1979. The survey data, on-site observations, expert opinions, and relevant literature were used to identify and analyze the basic approaches and strategies for addressing the problems of ex-offender unemployment and underemployment. Innovative and promising strategies and techniques are noted in the text and appendices of this report.

A number of individuals provided invaluable assistance during the course of this study. Acknowledgement is extended to members of the advisory/review panel: Mr. James Thompson of the Vera Institute of Justice; Dr. Laurel Rans, a member of the Pennsylvania Board of Pardons and a partner in Entropy Limited; Mr. James Moore of the Colorado Office of Manpower; Dr. Osa Coffey of the American Correctional Association's Coordinated Community Offender Employment Programs; Mr. Bruce Boggess McBogg, founder of Employ-Ex in Denver, Colorado and currently Executive Director of Research, Evaluation, and Development: Corrections and Penology Inc.; and William Wilbanks, Professor, Florida International University, Miami. The authors would also like to thank Ms. Mary Toborg of the Lazar Institute for furnishing research materials used in the development of this document.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

1.1 Purpose of the Report

Many programs have been designed to promote the habilitation and community reintegration of offenders and ex-offenders. A particular emphasis has been placed on the offenders' employment status and the problems ex-offenders may encounter in seeking and maintaining employment. Based in part on the hypothesized causal relationship between unemployment and crime, these programs generally provide a variety of services which seek to facilitate the job acquisition process and enhance ex-offenders' ability to obtain stable employment in established career patterns.

The purpose of this Program Models document is to describe the strengths and weaknesses of existing intervention strategies and to examine the effectiveness of the services provided. A synthesis of these findings is presented as a guide for policymakers, planners, and practitioners to improve the delivery of ex-offender employment services. Specifically, this report is designed to:

- identify promising ex-offender employment service strategies and techniques which are currently in use;
- contribute to a greater understanding of the approaches used to combat ex-offender unemployment and the problems associated with the implementation of these approaches; and
- provide administrators with the capability to make informed choices in planning, implementing, and improving ex-offender employment services.

1.2 Methodology

Four major information sources were utilized to identify the basic programmatic strategies for providing employment services to ex-offenders: a review of the literature; solicited opinions of an advisory group and other experts

in the field; a telephone survey of 75 employment intervention programs for ex-offenders (see Appendix A for a list of these programs); and site visits to nine employment programs. The literature base for this study contained several previous National Institute of Justice (NIJ) supported research studies, including an NEP Phase I report on the topic conducted by the Lazar Institute,[1] a review of empirical evidence on economic factors in crime and delinquency,[2] and a Prescriptive Package on job training and placement for offenders and ex-offenders.[3] Information was also obtained on more recent projects, including the development and testing of comprehensive prison industry programs in seven states[4] and a long-term study of employment and crime which is currently being conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice.[5]

The initial activities of this project resulted in a listing of barriers to ex-offender employment; a description of employment services typically offered to ex-offenders; and identification of several programs that appeared to be particularly innovative. Other initial findings were that:

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[1]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, "The Transition From Prison to Employment: An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs--National Evaluation Program Phase I Report," by Mary A. Toborg, Lawrence J. Center, Raymond H. Milkman, and Dennis W. Davis, Washington, D.C., 1977.

[2]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, "Economic Factors in Crime and Delinquency: A Critical Review of the Empirical Evidence," by Robert Gillespie (1975), reproduced in U.S. Congress, House, Unemployment and Crime, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, 95th Congress, 1st and 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

[3]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, Job Placement and Training for Offenders and Ex-Offenders, by Phyllis Groom McCreary and John M. McCreary (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974).

[4]The Free Venture Program was funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Office of Criminal Justice Programs, Corrections Division. See Jack Schaller and George E. Sexton, "The Free Venture Program: An Overview," in A Guide to Effective Prison Industries, Volume 1--Creating Free Venture Prison Industries: Program Considerations (Philadelphia: The American Foundation, Inc., 1979), pp. 1-12.

[5]The Vera Institute of Justice is presently conducting a long-term study of the relationships between employment and crime under funding from the National Institute of Justice.

- the research on ex-offender employment program effectiveness is inconclusive;
- there is an apparent similarity in the services offered by most programs; and
- there are, however, distinct approaches or program types.

It was clear that the selection of programs for on-site analysis could not be based on demonstrated program effectiveness. Furthermore, it was evident that the site selection process should be sensitive to subtle differences which may exist between programs, and should seek to include the broadest possible representation of program types and approaches.

In light of these findings, it was necessary to identify the major types of services provided by ex-offender employment programs to determine the degree to which programs differ in the emphasis and resources they devote to similar goals and services. A telephone survey instrument based on this model could then be designed and administered in an effort to screen the universe of sites and select those that would be visited for this study.

Six broad categories of services for improving the employment status of ex-offenders were identified. These six categories of services are presented below.

1. Institutional Preparation

Ex-offender employment programs build upon the training and counseling services provided to inmates prior to their release. The time required to prepare releasees for entry into the labor market is reduced when assessment, counseling, skill training, and prison industry programs are provided within the institution. Several barriers to employment can be addressed, such as inadequate institutional vocational counseling, drug and alcohol dependency, inadequate skill training or prison industry experiences, and inadequate coordination of training or treatment with the date of release.

2. Community Readjustment

Releasees are provided with assistance for housing, food, clothing, and transportation. It is hypothesized that assistance of this kind will increase the releasees' receptivity to employment services and decrease their reliance on criminal activities for support. Ideally, community readjustment assistance is planned, or may even begin, prior to release. Barriers typically addressed at this stage include inadequate financial resources, poor access to social services, and inadequate access to pre-release, work-release, and halfway house facilities.

3. Pre-Placement Job Preparation
For most ex-offenders, employability must be improved in order to facilitate entry into the labor market. A wide range of job preparation services are offered to the ex-offender, including job readiness workshops, work experience, basic education, and skill training. The barriers addressed during job preparation are typically personal or human capital deficiencies such as poor education level, poor motivation and self image, absence of work experience, and lack of marketable skills.

4. Job Development
Employers who are willing to hire ex-offenders are identified. Prospective employers are provided with information designed to sensitize them to the plight of ex-offenders and reduce their fears and prejudices toward ex-offenders. The primary barrier addressed by the program during job development is employer discrimination and apathy.

5. Job Placement
Job interviews are arranged after the ex-offenders' employability has been increased and jobs commensurate with the skills of the ex-offenders have been identified. Barriers resulting from the ex-offenders' poor understanding of the job search process and the limited number of good jobs in the labor market are addressed.

6. Post-Placement Support
Both the ex-offender and his employer are provided with assistance to facilitate adjustment on the job and job retention. Barriers such as poor coping skills, poor understanding of career development paths, poor access to further training and education, and poor access to social services which enable the ex-offender to continue employment are addressed.

Two types of benefits to the ex-offender are believed to result from provision of the services listed above. The first is employment related: the ex-offender should receive better wages following preparation and placement assistance. The ex-offender should also retain employment longer and have a consistent pattern of employment, rather than an intermittent pattern alternating with long spells of unemployment. After the employment benefits are achieved, a second, higher order of benefit can occur: the reduced likelihood that the ex-offender will recidivate. These benefits may also include improved family relationships, reinforcement of socially acceptable values, and the formation of a non-criminal peer group composed of the ex-offender's co-workers.

After the six service categories were identified and a final telephone survey instrument designed, the telephone survey process was initiated. Programs were selected from those listed in two directories[6] and the 250 programs that responded to the mail survey conducted in the NEP Phase I evaluation.[7] The 75 programs selected for the survey are listed in Appendix A. For each program, respondents were questioned about their basic program strategy and their perception of the relative importance of various barriers, those that are most difficult to overcome, and the services or strategies that appear to be most effective. In addition, other descriptive data such as the number of clients served, the number of staff, and duration of treatment were obtained.

1.3 Findings

Based on the analysis of the telephone survey data, six distinct intervention strategies for ex-offender employment programs were identified and nine programs representing a broad range of approaches were selected for on-site observation.

The sites chosen for intensive study included: Heart of America Job Therapy, M-2 Program, Kansas City, Kansas; Community Correctional Services (CCS), Geneva, Illinois; Employ-Ex, Denver, Colorado; Esperanza and the Advancement Training Center, San Jose, California; Step-Up, Norfolk, Virginia; Office of Manpower Development, Massachusetts Department of Correction, Boston, Massachusetts; the Safer Foundation's Operation DARE, Chicago, Illinois; Project JOVE, San Diego, California; and Project HOPE, Rockford, Illinois.

The six basic approaches for delivering employment services to ex-offenders were: (1) job development and placement; (2) residential services; (3) supported work/work experience; (4) skill training; (5) job readiness; and (6) financial assistance. Each type of program addresses similar target populations; however, the proportion of clients with severe employment-related problems varies from one approach to another. Each approach is based on different assumptions about the employment barriers and needs which require the most attention in an employment program. (Detailed descriptions of these approaches appear in Chapter 3.)

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[6] American Bar Association, National Offender Services Coordination Program, "Directory of CETA Funded Offender Programs," About Time 1 (January 1977), and Contact, Inc., The National Ex-Offender Assistance Directory (Lincoln, Neb.: Contact, Inc., 1978).

[7] National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, "The Transition From Prison to Employment."

Insight into the impact of ex-offender employment programs was also derived from the data analysis. In general, the results were conflicting. While ex-offender employment programs place literally thousands of clients in unsubsidized jobs and effectively recruit employers willing to hire ex-offenders, 40 to 60 percent of the clients who apply for help do not receive it. Planned re-entry services, drug and alcohol treatment, and post-placement services (all important to job retention, readjustment, and reintegration) were either totally neglected or received relatively little attention by the programs studied. Services generally ended or were minimal after job placement. Overall, the typical ex-offender employment program appears to have a positive impact on initial post-release adjustment and labor market entry for ex-offenders, but it is not designed to have a maximum impact on ex-offender unemployment, underemployment, and recidivism rates.

Flaws in the design of the typical ex-offender employment program serve to undermine the apparently effective job preparation, training, and placement services many programs offer. The negative effects of these design flaws are illustrated by the following discussion of the client flow through a typical employment services program.[8] Many programs successfully train ex-offenders in a variety of skill areas and teach them appropriate strategies to find jobs and appropriate role expectations while on a job. In a typical program, more than 80 percent of those clients enrolled in training courses and job preparation workshops will graduate. In addition, 70 percent of the ex-offenders served will be placed in unsubsidized jobs. At the end of 12 months, 46 percent of the ex-offenders served will still be employed. These percentages are illustrated in Figure 1.1, under the column labeled Method A. The percentages of ex-offenders placed in jobs and those employed after one year are computed based on the number of clients who are actually served by the program.

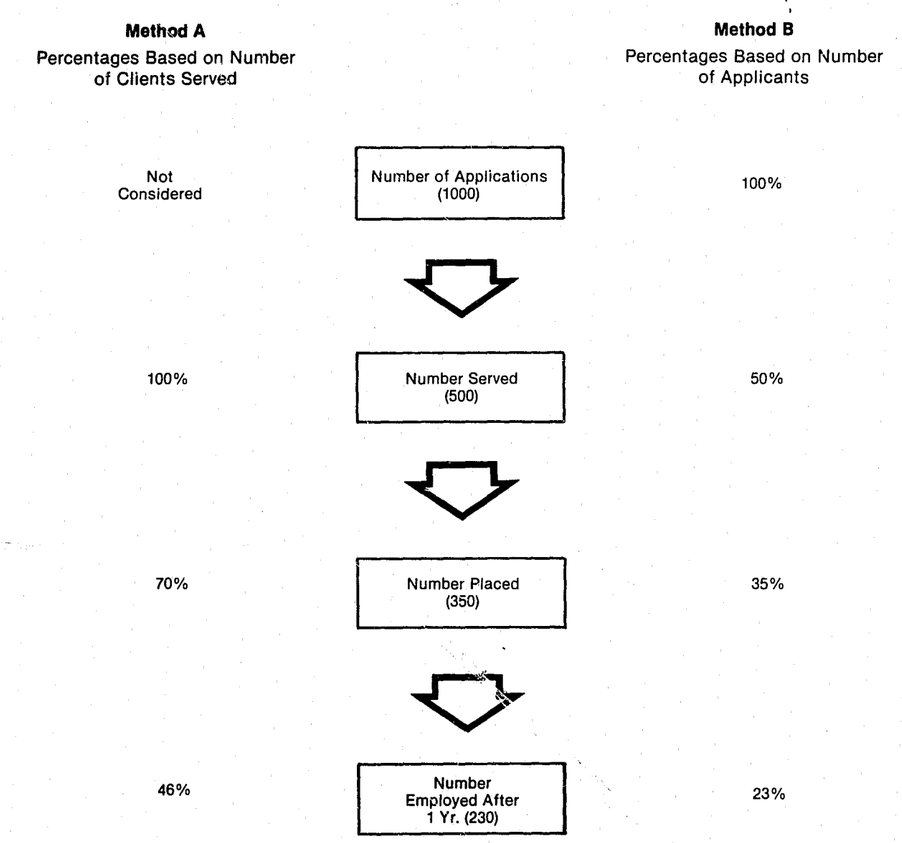
While these figures appear impressive at first glance, closer scrutiny of the intake and follow-up processes reveals a less successful picture. Method B of Figure 1.1 presents a second, and perhaps more valid method of describing client flow in the typical program. Percentages are based on the total number of applicants who requested program services, rather than the number of clients served. These data illustrate that the typical program rejects 50 percent of all the ex-offenders who request employment services. It places only 35 percent of those who apply, and is able to keep only 23 percent employed for one year. The clients who were rejected at the application stage generally have severe drug, alcohol, mental health, and attitude problems which are typically not addressed by programs. Those clients who fail after placement generally receive no post-placement supportive services.

This example illustrates the flaws inherent in many ex-offender programs. They reject clients who are motivated enough to request help, but who are

[8] Data used for this example were derived from a synthesis of information from the programs surveyed for this study.

Figure 1.1

Two Methods of Calculating Client Flow Information for Ex-Offender Employment Programs



most likely to recidivate.[9] They fail to plan re-entry services for clients being released from prisons or jails and they fail to provide post-placement supportive services that may help ex-offenders adjust to life in the community.

Some programs have the ability to offer planned re-entry services as well as drug, alcohol, and mental health treatment in coordination with employment services. A few programs also offer post-placement support in addition to good job preparation and placement services. Unfortunately, no program was found which offered all of these services. In order to increase the effectiveness of existing programs, however, it will be necesary to adjust programs to correct for design and implementation deficiencies. The major findings of the present study regarding the strengths and limitations of existing programs are summarized below.

1.3.1 Strengths of Existing Programs

- Ex-offender employment programs (EEPs) provide services to thousands of clients.

  Nine programs were studied to obtain data for this Program Models document. The programs ranged in size from a 120 client per year volunteer project with a budget of $45,000 to a multimillion dollar project providing services to over 6,000 clients per year. These nine programs alone provided services to over 14,000 clients during 1978. Existing programs have the potential to impact a large percentage of the total unemployed ex-offender population.

- EEPs serve a wide range of clients.

  The ex-offender programs surveyed provided services to clients who had: (1) little or no skills, education, or experience; and (2) every possible type of criminal history. Programs, in general, were able to place clients regardless of skill level or types of crimes committed--without deceiving employers.

- EEPs effectively place ex-offenders in jobs.

  Program staff members understand how jobs can be developed effectively in the private sector. While matching clients' interests and income needs to available jobs is very difficult, programs are generally capable of identifying employers willing to hire ex-offenders.

[9] Youthful ex-offenders (17-21) and ex-offenders with drug, alcohol, and mental problems are considered high risk groups.

- EEPs teach job search and retention skills.

  Many programs provide ex-offenders with workshops on how to get and keep a job. Employment skills are taught in an engaging and apparently effective manner.

- EEPs respond to the emergency subsistence needs of releasees.

  All programs surveyed had some direct or referral service to help releasees with emergency subsistence needs. Vouchers were frequently used to provide emergency food, housing, clothing, and transportation for clients. Subsidized or unsubsidized "starter" or "transition" jobs were often obtained for clients as well. Program practitioners appeared to understand and respond to the limited support that gate money, friends, and family can provide to many new releasees.

- EEPs interface with other criminal justice and social service programs.

  Programs often serve as employment clearinghouses for a variety of community-based, correctional, and social service agencies. In addition, services provided by EEPs may be coordinated with probation, parole, pre-release, work-release, and pre-trial release and diversion operations.

- Techniques and strategies have been developed which can potentially improve the effectiveness of EEPs.

  Some of the techniques and strategies that the average program could utilize to improve its effectiveness have been developed in a few experienced and innovative programs.

1.3.2 Limitations of Existing Programs

- EEPs generally fail to achieve consistently the primary criminal justice goal of significantly reducing the recidivism rates of clients served.

  Programs often fail to reduce recidivism, in part because they do not achieve a sufficient level of employment for clients. In fact, the rate of recidivism of clients is not routinely examined to determine whether employment goals and services should be modified. Instead, practitioners often focus on job placement rates and de-emphasize the goal of reducing recidivism.

- Approximately 40 to 60 percent of the ex-offenders who request employment assistance from EEPs are rejected at the application stage.

  Based on a comparison between the number of applicants and the number of clients served in several programs, 40 to 60 percent of the ex-offenders who requested assistance were rejected. While very few programs collected or published statistics on this group, intake staff at the programs visited indicated that the following types of cases were rejected:

  a) ex-offenders with active drug problems;
  b) ex-offenders with severe alcohol problems;
  c) ex-offenders with medical problems (often drug or alcohol related);
  d) ex-offenders with severe mental health problems;
  e) youthful ex-offenders; and
  f) ex-offenders who live in households where income exceeds the CETA income eligibility level.

- EEPs do not collect and analyze adequate data on their target populations, rejected applicants, or client employment patterns after placement.

  EEPs generally do not specify the number and characteristics of their target population in sufficient detail to determine the percentage of the unemployed ex-offender population that should be affected by program services. As noted above, programs also fail to analyze the number and characteristics of the rejected applicants to determine who requested but did not receive services. Furthermore, programs rarely collect adequate data following client placement to determine whether program services have had a positive impact on the clients' typical pattern of intermittent employment.

- EEPs are not designed to address the post-placement behavior and adjustment needs of ex-offenders.

  EEPs focus on preparing ex-offenders to enter the labor market, developing jobs, and placing clients. After preparation and placement, ex-offenders are essentially on their own. Post-placement services such as adjustment counseling, social service referrals, career guidance counseling, and crisis intervention assistance are minimal or non-existent in most EEPs.

- EEPs do not generally initiate re-entry services prior to release from prison and jail.

  EEP services are typically available to offenders only after they have been released from incarceration. Very few community-based programs provide services to inmates who are within six months or less of their release date. Services such as job preparation workshops, vocational testing, and career counseling generally are not used to facilitate the re-entry of releasees into the community or to decrease the time between release and employment.

- EEPs do not provide career counseling and written career action plans.

  Chronically unemployed ex-offenders often leave one job to look for a better position and refuse to work until the "right" job comes along. Unfortunately, programs do not teach clients how to search for a better job while maintaining some type of employment. Very few programs do more than discuss a client's vocational interest or, for an occasional client, administer vocational and aptitude tests. Career counseling and development require clarification of a client's aptitudes, interests, and development needs. An appropriate sequence of jobs can then be identified--one that begins with jobs requiring his current level of skills and ends with his career goal.

- EEPs are not designed or implemented in a manner which will have maximum impact on the recidivism of their ex-offender target population.

  Most practitioners emphasize the employment goals of their programs. Resources are focused on labor market entry (i.e., placement) and correction of skill deficiencies (i.e., job preparation services and training). Additional services are not provided to ex-offenders after job preparation and placement to help them obtain necessary crisis intervention or social services, increase their job retention and minimize spells of unemployment, facilitate their community reintegration and social adjustment to the work setting, or assist them in improving their position in the labor market. Without these additional services, many ex-offenders who graduate from training or are successfully placed return within several months to the ranks of the chronically unemployed and are characterized by a high risk of recidivism.

- EEPs place a high percentage of clients in jobs that are at the bottom of the labor market.

  These jobs are characterized by low rates of pay and high turnover rates for all employees, not just ex-offenders.

- EEPs fail to address several important employment barriers for ex-offenders.

  EEPs do not typically address discriminatory laws, licensing requirements, or regulations. These programs also fail to consider the labor market entry problems caused by unions. In addition, EEPs do not attempt to augment eligibility guidelines of welfare, mental health, and other social service systems which limit or totally prohibit access to necessary treatment and emergency subsistence services for ex-offenders. These social services are often essential to ameliorate problems which serve to limit the ex-offender's ability to maintain employment.

- EEPs do not use business and labor organizations effectively.

  Many programs have little contact with groups such as the Human Resource Development Institute (HRDI) of the AFL-CIO, the National Alliance of Business (NAB), or unions. These organizations are used primarily for employer education and public relations; they are not used systematically to arrange contacts for job developers as a prelude to placement. Little effort is devoted to nurturing relationships that may result in union affiliated jobs or training.

- There is virtually no exchange of information among individual EEPs to facilitate program development.

  Conferences, newsletters, ex-offender employment service associations, and other forums for information exchange are virtually nonexistent. Few of the existing technical assistance materials developed by federal agencies have reached the EEPs. Refinement of any program's techniques for service delivery and coordination with corrections, parole, and probation is presently a slow and parochial process. Valuable information and potential solutions of many common problems are not being effectively disseminated among employment programs.

- Ex-offenders have difficulty gaining access to employment and social services that are not specifically targeted for them.

  Every employment or social service program is selective. Most programs are equipped to serve only a small portion of their target population and must, therefore, reject some applicants. Formal intake criteria and informal staff judgments are used to determine the applicants who will or will not receive services. The selection process is determined by guidelines from

local, state, or federal funding sources and the program's need to achieve and maintain a fairly high level of client success. Ex-offenders and other clients (i.e., youthful offenders and drug and/or alcohol dependent clients) are often viewed as less likely to succeed or benefit from program services. As a result, many intake staff may set conscious or unconscious quotas on the number of hard-core clients that will be accepted--if any. Many existing federal, state, and local funding agencies focus on clients who are economically disadvantaged, minority group members, or hard-core unemployed. It is possible for programs to serve clients with these characteristics while simultaneously excluding ex-offenders.

- Funds for ex-offender employment programs are shrinking and some program planners recommend that ex-offenders be served along with the general economically deprived and chronically unemployed population.

  Practitioners are experiencing an overall decrease in support for ex-offender employment services at both the state and local levels. As funds continue to shrink, practitioners must increase their reliance on "referral" services from agencies which thus far have been reluctant to serve ex-offenders. Furthermore, the recommendation to serve ex-offenders as part of a larger, more general population rather than as a special target group appears shortsighted. While employment problems of ex-offenders may be due in large measure to the fact that they are disproportionately unskilled, under-educated, young, and minority group members, it does not follow that ex-offenders will have equal access to employment services when forced to compete with a non-offender population.

- Health problems of ex-offenders limit their availability to work.

  Many practitioners interviewed for this study identified health problems as a major obstacle to employment for a small percentage of ex-offenders. These clients are unable to work because of poor physical or emotional health which often deteriorated while they were inmates. The poor diets, psychological stress, assaults, and availability of contraband alcohol and drugs have serious detrimental effects on these individuals. Prison health services are usually inadequate to meet the health care needs of inmates.[10]

[10] National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, Health Care in Correctional Institutions (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

1.4 Conclusions

Ex-offender employment programs have several major flaws that limit the positive potential impact of employment services on the readjustment, reintegration, and labor market survival of ex-offenders. A large number of ex-offenders may be turned away from these programs at the time of their application. Programs generally lack an adequate emphasis on planned re-entry and adjustment services after placement. These deficiencies must be addressed if employment programs are to have a significant and favorable impact on the labor market entry and recidivism rates of ex-offenders. The existing programs must capitalize on their preparation, development, and placement services, while adequately addressing employment barriers and remedying the above-mentioned deficiencies. They may then evolve from employment programs to ex-offender treatment programs which have employment as their cornerstone.

Chapter 2
SYNTHESIS OF ISSUES

In the 1960s public policy was enacted to assist offenders with their employment problems. The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962 created special employment assistance for ex-offenders. Resources were made available for institutional training and vocational counseling and additional counselors were provided in federal and state employment services to assist ex-offenders in obtaining jobs. During the next decade, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) provided funds to initiate many new community-based rehabilitative programs which had employment services as a major component. More recently, LEAA has emphasized employment through its pre-release, work-release, and prison industry initiatives. In addition, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA), as amended in 1978, gave special attention to offenders. Congressional interest in the relationships among employment, unemployment, and crime still remains high.[1]

2.1 The Relationship Between Employment and Crime

The rationale for providing employment services as part of offender rehabilitation efforts has been based on the assumed relationships among employment, unemployment, and crime. There is, in fact, a good deal of evidence to support the contention that various forms of economic deprivation--poverty, unemployment, and unstable employment at low wages--are among the precipitating factors in the commission of crimes. While no causal relationship between economic status and crime rates has been established, many correlational studies have shown an association between these two factors. In addition, sociological theories of criminal behavior identify unemployment as a contributing factor to crime and employment as a contributing factor to crime prevention and rehabilitation.

Ecological research on the neighborhood correlates of crime (especially juvenile crime) indicates that poverty is highly correlated with crime. Gordon's comprehensive review of this research concluded there was a strong association between delinquency and socioeconomic status, even when the

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Unemployment and Crime, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, 95th Congress, 1st and 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

methodological errors in the various studies were taken into account.[2] Research on the relationship of crime to labor market conditions and business cycles also indicates a strong positive correlation between crime and economic indicators such as income and unemployment. Studies conducted by Brenner[3] and Robinson, Smith, and Wolf[4] found significant positive correlations between unemployment rates and prison admissions over time spans of 36 and 11 years, respectively. Studies by Fleisher,[5] Weicher,[6] and Danziger and Wheeler[7] are among others which have provided support for the hypothesized relationship between income level and crime.

Early studies by Glaser[8] and Pownall[9] traced the post-release employment recidivism patterns of released prisoners. These studies indicated that unemployment may be among the principal factors involved in the recidivism rates of adult ex-offenders. In recent research examining 4,000 released prisoners in Texas and Georgia, Smith, Martinez, and Harrison[10] and Stevens and Sanders[11] found that unemployment was one of the principal predictors

[2]Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency," American Sociological Review 32 (December 1967): 927-944.

[3]Harvey M. Brenner, Time Series Analysis of the Relationships Between Selected Economic and Social Indicators, 2 vols. (Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Services, March 1971).

[4]William H. Robinson, Phyllis Smith, and Jean Wolf, Prison Population Costs--Illustrative Projections to 1980, U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, April 1974.

[5]Belton M. Fleisher, "The Effect of Income on Delinquency," American Economic Review 56 (March 1966): 118-137.

[6]John C. Weicher, "The Effect of Income on Delinquency: Comment," American Economic Review 60 (March 1970): 249-256.

[7]Sheldon Danziger and David Wheeler, "Malevolent Interdependence, Income, Inequality and Crime," Readings in Correctional Economics, American Bar Association, Correctional Economics Center, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 35-66.

[8]Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964).

[9]Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Problems of Released Prisoners, by George A. Pownall (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

[10]Charles L. Smith, Pablo Martinez, and Daniel Harrison, An Assessment: The Impact of Providing Financial Assistance to Ex-Prisoners (Huntsville, Tex.: Texas Department of Corrections, 1978).

[11]Jack L. Stephens and Lois W. Sanders, Transitional Aid for Ex-Offenders: An Experimental Study in Georgia (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Offender Rehabilitation, 1978).

of the ex-offenders who would be arrested during the first year after release.

These research studies provide strong but not conclusive support for the economic model of crime, which suggests that many people engage in crime following a rational weighing of crime's costs and benefits, rather than solely on the basis of mental pathology and social conditioning (i.e., deviance). In their research reviews, Gillespie[12] and Glaser[13] detailed the extensive methodological problems which limit the explanatory value of most studies. Poor specification of the economic variables, such as labor force participation rates, and inconsistent use of age-specific data limitations in arrest, conviction, and prison admissions data may allow for spuriously high correlations between unemployment and crime.

In spite of the many limitations in the research, however, both Gillespie and Glaser concluded that the validity of the economic model of crime had been established. After reviewing 30 studies which examined the connection between crime rates and unemployment rates or income, Gillespie concluded that there is substantial if not overwhelming support to the general validity of the economic model of crime. Glaser's comprehensive review considered studies using four different types of data to determine the relationship of economic factors and crime, human ecology, social class, business cycles, and circumstances of the offender. He concluded that:

> . . . even a cursory review reveals that findings from each of these four types of investigations, while somewhat inconsistent and controversial, predominantly show that extreme poverty (in comparison to the rest of the community) is highly correlated with crime.[14]

While these studies provide evidence for an association between unemployment and crime, they do not specify the nature of the causal relationship which is involved. Research has not determined the exact conditions and populations for which: (1) an increase in unemployment results in an increase in crime

[12]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, "Economic Factors in Crime and Delinquency: A Critical Review of the Empirical Evidence," by Robert Gillespie (1975), reproduced in U.S. Congress, House, Unemployment and Crime.

[13]Daniel Glaser, "Economic and Sociocultural Variables Affecting Rates of Youth Unemployment, Delinquency and Crime," January 1978. Prepared for the Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA, Conference on Employment Statistics and Youth, and contained in U.S. Congress, House, Unemployment and Crime, pp. 708-740.

[14]Ibid., p. 708.

rates; or (2) an increase in employment or income results in a decrease in crime rates. It is also possible that changes in both employment and crime rates are the result of a third factor, such as a decision to "go straight." After a critical review of the relationship between employment and crime, the researchers of the Vera Institute of Justice Employment and Crime Project stated:

> Our review qualifies the widely accepted view that unemployment directly causes crime and that employment is always an effective deterrent to criminal activity. While these direct (causal) relationships clearly obtain for some groups in certain circumstances, they do not fully account for other employment and crime relationships among different sub-populations, nor for divergences within the same sub-population over time. Thus our review leads us to expand and specify particular employment and crime relationships and to consider instances where the relationship between employment and crime is indirect, brought about by other institutional and subcultural patterns.[15]

There are processes which underlie the unemployment and crime relationship and mediate individual behavior. These processes are complex and unclear, involving such factors as social conditioning, culture, and individual motivation. For example, some unemployed individuals may commit crimes only when they lack sufficient resources for food, housing, clothing and other necessities. Other unemployed individuals may commit crimes whenever they can because they are not willing to accept low-paying or menial jobs. Employed individuals may commit crimes because of inadequate income, peer group pressure, or a drug habit which requires more income than even a "good" job can provide. Without an understanding of these processes, practitioners and policymakers will find it difficult to identify criminally involved individuals who are more susceptible to the benefits of employment intervention. Sociologists have attempted to explain these relationships by developing behavioral theories which focus on concepts such as deviance, labeling, subcultures, peer groups, social integration and isolation, anomie, and differential opportunity. These theories have provided a necessary but not sufficient base for developing intervention programs for offenders and ex-offenders. In fact, major reviews of programmatic attempts to deter crime by means of employment services indicate that practitioners and policymakers have experienced limited success in manipulating the employment and crime linkages.

The major findings of the NEP Phase I study of employment services conducted by the Lazar Institute show that:

[15]Vera Institute of Justice, "Employment and Crime: A Research Design" (background paper), January 15, 1979, p. 2.

- There is great variation across programs in the types of employment services offered and the ways these services are delivered; however, little is known about the types of services which seem most effective or about the best method for providing any given service.
- Many programs have analyzed whether clients obtain jobs, and most have reported that the majority of clients are successfully placed.
- Available analyses usually indicate that program clients experience lower rates of recidivism than are commonly thought to occur for ex-offenders as a whole.
- Most outcome studies use quite limited impact measures, such as placement and rearrest rates, and do not consider factors such as job stability, job quality, or the severity of crimes committed.
- Few studies compare the outcomes of program clients with those of similar groups of non-clients; consequently, the extent to which successful client outcomes should be attributed to the programs' interventions or to other causes cannot be determined.[16]

Earlier reviews of offender and ex-offender employment services reached similar conclusions. In a study of MDTA-funded prison based training programs, no strong relationship was found between post-release performance and training program characteristics.[17]

Rovner-Pieczenik[18] and McCreary and McCreary,[19] while emphasizing the potential success of employment programs for offenders and ex-offenders,

[16]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, "The Transition From Prison to Employment: An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs--National Evaluation Program Phase I Report," by Mary A. Toborg, Lawrence J. Center, Raymond H. Milkman, and Dennis W. Davis, Washington, D.C., 1977, p. i.

[17]Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, An Evaluation of the Training Provided in Correctional Institutions Under the MDTA, Section 251, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1971).

[18]Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, A Review of Manpower R&D Projects in the Correctional Field, 1963-73, by Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, Manpower Research Monograph No. 28 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973).

[19]National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, Job Training and Placement For Offenders and Ex-Offenders, by Phyllis Groom McCreary and John M. McCreary (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

noted the lack of information and consensus regarding which service and delivery mechanisms are most effective for specific client populations. In a more recent review of research evidence and program outcomes, Tropp concluded:

> Programs that attempt to reduce crime by affecting an offender's employment status--generally do not in fact improve his employment status, and therefore cannot plausibly be expected to diminish his propensity toward criminal behavior, its frequency, or its seriousness; decay steeply in their impact after several months, at an accelerating rate, in those few instances where there is good data indicating transient positive effect upon employment status and post-release recidivism; and generally decay steeply in their crime reduction impact even in those very few instances when the data indicates that the employment status gains are not transient. Moreover, most program evaluations extended over too brief a follow-up period to report whether employment status or crime reduction gains do or do not decay over time.[20]

2.2 Obstacles to Program Success

The inability of most programs to demonstrate significant long-term effects on employment success and recidivism reduction should not be surprising given: (1) the multiple problems and deficiencies in human capital assets of the ex-offender population; (2) the myriad of "barriers" to employment for ex-offenders; and (3) weaknesses in the service delivery systems. These factors defy easy solution; yet they must be overcome if positive outcomes for ex-offenders are to be obtained.

2.2.1 Deficiencies in Human Capital Assets

Human capital assets refer to all attributes that make an individual employable. The deficiencies in the human capital assets of the ex-offender population are extensive; they include deficiencies in educational skills, work experience, vocational skills, and work habits. In addition, health deficiencies of ex-offenders can serve to limit their availability for employment.

[20] Richard A. Tropp, "Suggested Policy Initiatives for Employment and Crime Problems," in Crime and Employment Issues, ed. Leon Leiberg (Washington, D.C.: American University, 1978), p. 27.

Deficiencies in Educational Skills

A high level of education is often a prerequisite for good paying jobs and the most desirable training programs. The positive correlation between years of education and income is well established. Recent census data also indicate that only 20 percent of all employed men aged 25 to 64 had not completed high school.[21] Furthermore, educational requirements and expectations for the American work force are increasing rather than decreasing. Because inmates and ex-offenders are generally less well-educated than the work force as a whole, they require special assistance to avoid falling far behind in the competition for employment. Regrettably, prisons appear to do little to correct the educational deficiencies of their inmates.[22]

Inmates and ex-offenders who are illiterate, retarded, or possess serious learning disabilities face a very serious obstacle to employment and participation in vocational training programs. Only the lowest paying job opportunities are available to educationally handicapped individuals. Many ex-offenders will turn these jobs down or, if accepted, will quit after only a few weeks of work. This behavior, which is often interpreted as "lack of middle class work values," may be a response to the barrier imposed by educational skills or the desire for better jobs and occupational mobility. As Tropp stated:

> Parolees and blacks also quit jobs and withdraw from the labor force at twice the rate of white adults.
>
> A high quit rate indicates that they all are using voluntary turnover and job search to acquire the labor market information which they never received in school, in prison, from probation or parole officers, or from friends, parents, and relatives. The voluntary turnover process is a healthy expression of their desire for wage and status mobility, and the process does in fact sometimes result in such mobility.
>
> As they move in and out of easily acquired but unsatisfactory jobs, they learn about their capabilities, what they enjoy doing, and what labor market options are available to them. This learning process brings about a realistic adjustment of their expectations about themselves and the market, and presumably induces their reservation wage to converge with the market's measure of their productivity.
>
> One unfortunate side effect of this pattern of casual attachment to the labor market is that employers know that young, minority, and ex-offender workers are probable quit candidates.[23]

[21] U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Money Income in 1976 of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 114 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

[22] U.S. General Accounting Office, Correctional Institutions Can Do More to Improve the Employability of Offenders (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979).

[23] Tropp, "Suggested Policy Initiatives," pp. 32-33.

Deficiencies Due to Lack of Work Experience

For many ex-offenders who have had little or no work experience, the world of work is a mystery. These ex-offenders are unfamiliar with the basic expectations of employers, lack experience in receiving supervision in work settings, and lack the references from previous employers which are often needed to obtain well paying, desirable jobs.

Deficiencies in Vocational Skills

Many ex-offenders do not have specific vocational skills which enable them to command decent wages. The American labor market is specialized and demands greater and more varied skills than it did in past decades. Automation, the increase in the average level of education of the American worker, and the generally high unemployment rates have increased competition in the labor market to a level where the vocational skill levels of many ex-offenders are uncompetitive.

Because they lack marketable vocational skills, many ex-offenders find unskilled labor and service work to be their only options. Unskilled inmates who do not have the opportunity to participate in prison industry training will leave prison as unskilled as they were when they entered. Those who also have serious deficiencies in their educational skills may find it almost impossible to participate in programs capable of improving their vocational skill levels, since training courses typically require applicants to have specific minimum mathematics and reading levels for admission.

Deficiencies in Work Habits

Employers seek employees who are able to learn new tasks quickly, work efficiently, avoid interpersonal problems with other employees, and attend work regularly. Individuals who have little or no work experience, or who have been away from a work setting for a considerable period of time, must establish (or re-establish) good work habits when given the opportunity for employment.

With the exception of work release participants and some prison industry graduates, ex-offenders were not afforded the opportunity as inmates to develop good work habits they never had or to maintain those that they may have possessed prior to incarceration. Institutional work activities generally lack the structure, incentives, and expectations of normal work settings and usually consist of maintenance activities which require little self-regulation or learning. Work habit deficiencies will prevent many new releasees, especially if they are young with no work experience, from retaining good employment opportunities after they are found.

Health Deficiencies

The deficiencies in human capital assets are further exacerbated by physical and emotional health problems which afflict some ex-offenders. The physical and emotional health of offenders frequently deteriorates during confinement. Prison health services are woefully inadequate in terms of diagnosing new conditions or treating pre-existing conditions.[24] The poor diets, psychological stress, physical assaults, and availability of contraband alcohol and drugs have serious detrimental effects on many inmates. An extensive study of inmate deaths in New York City correctional facilities indicated suicide, heart disease, bronchial pneumonia, drug overdose, homicide, accidents, cirrhosis of the liver, and neoplasms as the most frequent causes of the 128 deaths over the 50-year period under study.[25]

2.2.2 Barriers to Employment

In addition to the deficiencies in human capital assets, ex-offenders and employment service practitioners must combat a formidable array of barriers. These barriers include:

- employer discrimination;
- a limited number of job opportunities in the labor market and poor access to the primary labor market;
- formal legal or licensing restrictions on ex-offender employment;
- bonding requirements;
- absence of adequate financial resources to support subsistence needs and job search activities;
- union membership, civil service tests, and other job entrance screening mechanisms;
- correctional policies, procedures, and conditions which inhibit or prohibit educational, training, or community reintegration programs; and

[24] National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, Health Care in Correctional Institutions (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

[25] L.F. Novic and E. Remmlinger, "A Study of 128 Deaths in New York City Correctional Facilities (1971-1976)," Medical Care XVI (September 1978): 249-265.

- blocked or limited access to programs and supportive services necessary to address food, clothing, housing, child care, medical, educational, and employment needs.

The manner in which these barriers block access to employment for ex-offenders has been described extensively in the literature. This body of literature includes descriptions of inadequate vocational counseling and assessment, prison industry, and treatment program services in correctional systems,[26] inadequate financial resources of released prisoners,[27] inability to provide services based on predetermined release dates,[28] formal legal restrictions on ex-offenders' employment opportunities,[29] bonding problems,[30] limited labor market opportunities,[31] and discrimination against ex-offenders by employers.[32]

[26] U.S. General Accounting Office, Correctional Institutions Can Do More.

[27] Kenneth J. Lenihan, Financial Resources of Released Prisoners (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Social Research, 1974) and Robert Horowitz, Back on the Street--From Prison to Poverty--The Financial Resources of Ex-Offenders (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, 1976).

[28] Leon Leiberg and William Parker, The Mutual Agreement Program: A Planned Change in Correctional Service Delivery, Parole Corrections Project, Resource Document Number 3 (College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1973).

[29] H.S. Miller, Closed Door--The Effect of a Criminal Record on Employment With State and Local Public Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Institute for Criminal Law and Procedure, 1972); J. Hunt, J. Bowers, and N. Miller, Laws, Licenses, and the Offender's Right to Work (Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1974); and American Bar Association, Removing Offender Employment Restrictions--A Handbook on Remedial Legislation and Other Techniques for Alleviating Formal Employment Restrictions Confronting Ex-Offenders (Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association, 1976).

[30] R.R. Smith and W.O. Jenkins, Bonding Assistance--A Demonstration Project on Prisoner Training Programs--Final Report (University of Alabama: Rehabilitation Research Foundation, 1972).

[31] U.S. Department of Labor, Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs, by Regis Walther (Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Service, 1976).

[32] U.S. Department of Labor, "Employer-Barriers to the Employment of Persons With Records of Arrest or Conviction," by Neal Miller (draft report), 1979.

Several points should be noted with regard to the concept of "barriers" to employment. First, many of the barriers discussed in the literature have not been systematically addressed by programs, policy initiatives, or legislation. Isolated examples can be identified in which programs have attempted to alleviate the effects of some barriers such as encouraging contact between individual employers and job development and placement staff to discourage discrimination against ex-offenders. A federal program has also been developed to address bonding problems of ex-offenders.[33] There has also been considerable effort through correctional policies and procedures that enhance employment opportunities for offenders through vehicles such as work-release, pre-release, and prison industry or educational programs.

The impact of those measures, however, is limited. Programs rarely challenge the legal and licensing restrictions, union membership rules, civil service obstacles, or exclusionary policies of many social service and educational agencies. Although these barriers are firmly rooted in laws, administrative procedures, and general attitudes about offenders, no gains can be achieved in combatting ex-offender unemployment unless many of the barriers are dismantled or at least weakened. A few attempts to eliminate these barriers have proven successful, especially with regard to union activity. Unions typically vote on the acceptance of applicants for union training progams (i.e., apprenticeships) and union memberships. Union members often give preference to family and friends in these votes. Furthermore, several unions, such as the building trade unions, control access to jobs through a union hiring hall or work assignment center. However, the Step-Up program in Norfolk, Virginia successfully enlisted the aid of the state AFL-CIO council and local affiliates in obtaining employment for female ex-offenders. The program utilized the industrial and service unions, which do not directly control job access, and capitalized on the greater receptivity of certain unions to accepting special populations such as minorities. Wage levels, job tenure, and adjustment to work settings were improved with the union assistance.[34]

Another point worthy of noting is that many of these barriers apply to other groups of unemployed people and do not affect ex-offenders. Specifically, the ex-offender population is disproportionately young, under-educated, unskilled, and composed of minority group members. These attributes have traditionally posed employment problems. There are, however, two additional factors faced only by ex-offenders that further frustrate their ability to

[33] Many companies are insured against employee theft by commercial bonding. The Federal Bonding Program provides fidelity bonding for individuals who qualify for a particular job but would not otherwise be hired because commercial bonding is denied to them.

[34] See Section 4.3.3 for further discussion of unions.

find and retain employment. First, ex-offenders are generally considered high risk clients by social service programs. Formal and informal intake criteria frequently limit the number of ex-offenders enrolled in programs in order to maximize success rates. Therefore, programs confronted with two 19-year-old black applicants, one of whom has the label "ex-offender," are likely to accept the non-offender.

Second, ex-offenders are often unable to inform prospective employers of their criminal history without losing the job opportunities. Many ex-offenders feel compelled to lie about their criminal records and are later fired, ostensively because of their dishonesty during the application process.

2.2.3 Service Delivery Dilemmas

In attempting to serve the unemployed ex-offender client, practitioners are confronted with many difficult implementation and service delivery dilemmas. These problems include:

- selecting a constellation of services which is applicable to the wide range of needs, interests, and motivation levels exhibited by the ex-offenders who seek employment assistance;
- implementing a service delivery process which can accommodate walk-in clients who may not have sufficient financial resources for housing, food, clothing, and transportation;
- implementing a system which can accommodate large numbers of ex-offenders seeking employment assistance;
- selecting the services to be offered in-house rather than through referral agencies;
- maintaining adequate funding levels despite the decreasing funds which are available for offender programming; and
- providing services to distressed ex-offenders who may not meet income guidelines for admission because the earnings of the head of household or from a job that was recently lost are above standard minimum levels.

Improving the effectiveness of employment services for ex-offenders is a formidable task for practitioners and policymakers. Program evaluations have not assisted them in weeding out ineffective treatment strategies or identifying those worthy of further refinement and funding. Basic research has established a general relationship between unemployment and crime, but it has failed to detail the specific causal linkages. In addition, practitioners have established few theoretical guidelines for matching specific types of clients to specific constellations of services or for attacking the myriad of barriers which hamper effective program intervention. Add to these dilemmas the difficulty of implementing a multifaceted program for a difficult treatment group and it becomes clear that attaining positive outcomes for ex-offenders will require time, patience, ingenuity, and extensive resources. The following chapter details several successful approaches to overcoming this dilemma.

Chapter 3
BASIC APPROACHES

3.1 Overview of Program Types

As suggested in the preceding chapter, the employment status of ex-offenders is inversely related to the risks of recidivism: those risks increase as employment becomes less frequent. Although there is some debate about the extent to which the employment of ex-offenders will reduce recidivism, there is clearly a connection between the two, and it is upon this connection that ex-offender employment programs have been developed.

Although programs serving ex-offenders have both employment and criminal justice goals, the latter goals--those which address recidivism and community reintegration--are attained indirectly through the impact of the employment service. Interviews with practitioners indicate that program staff view their activities primarily as employment services. As such, program resources are focused on market entry problems and skill deficiencies rather than on recidivism and community reintegration.

Despite the variety of approaches used to assist ex-offenders, the programs share three common objectives:

- to provide pre-placement adjustment and preparation services such as job coaching, career planning, counseling, supported work/work experience, skill training, and education;
- to identify and expand the number of employers willing to hire ex-offenders; and
- to place ex-offenders in unsubsidized jobs.

In addition, while not necessarily specifying them as program objectives per se, many programs hope to achieve the following goals:

- to coordinate program services with the activities of criminal justice and social service agencies;

- to provide planned re-entry services for institutional releasees; and

- to provide post-placement assistance to ex-offenders and/or employers in order to increase job satisfaction and retention.

By these means, programs hope both to eliminate the intermittent employment pattern of ex-offenders and to reduce the rate of participants' recidivism.

The majority of ex-offender programs have six phases of service delivery: (1) intake and assessment; (2) pre-placement job preparation; (3) job development; (4) job placement; (5) post-placement assistance; and (6) follow-up. However, programs often differ in terms of client populations, services offered, emphasis on a particular phase of service delivery, costs, and implementation difficulties. On the basis of these differences, ex-offender programs can be grouped as follows:

- job development and placement;
- residential services;
- supported work/work experience;
- skill training;
- job readiness; and
- financial assistance.

Only two types--job development and placement and residential services--address all six phases of ex-offender employment service delivery. The other four types focus on the second phase, pre-placement job preparation. Each of these program types is described briefly below, and is discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Job development and placement programs provide assessment, counseling, and job development for clients at various skill levels. Clients are matched to jobs and interviews are arranged by staff. The time period between intake and placement usually ranges from two to six weeks. More time is required if clients are routed into pre-placement preparation services such as short-term skill training, adult basic education, or work experience services.

The residential services program is designed to provide 24-hour support and guidance to ex-offenders and releasees who are making the transition from prison into the community and the labor market. The program provides a sheltered residential environment to ex-offenders who have difficulties adjusting to the world outside of prison. It is differentiated from the other types of programs by the inclusion of residential components (e.g., halfway houses, work-release, or pre-release facilities). The ex-offender's work day and non-work time are supervised, and support and counseling are provided to insulate the client from negative influences such as drugs, alcohol, and friends who are still involved in crime. This approach has a variable time frame, depending upon which employment services are used. However, clients generally remain in the residential component for up to six months.

The supported work/work experience approach is designed to provide peer support, graduated stress, and close supervision to clients with poor work habits, substance abuse, and adjustment problems. Participants in programs falling into this category receive a stipend or taxable minimum wage and usually work 30 to 40 hours per week for 15 to 50 weeks. A small business is often developed to serve as the work site and to provide wages. This approach is targeted at high risk, hard-core unemployed ex-offenders, many of whom have had little previous work experience. Job tasks are structured and performance ratings are used to provide participants with feedback concerning their ability to meet the performance standards for an unsubsidized job.

The skill training approach addresses the ex-offender's lack of education and technical skills by offering remedial work and/or new training in the skills needed for employment. These services are provided in a variety of settings, including colleges, adult education courses at local high schools, vocational schools, union apprenticeships, and on-the-job training in companies. Training services are usually given within a 20-week period of time. Skill training is often found as part of the services included in other types of programs as well.

Programs using the job readiness approach rely on a strategy and set of services designed to teach ex-offenders job-finding skills. Ex-offenders frequently do not know how to apply for jobs, what the application procedures are, how to conduct themselves in interviews, or what is expected of them in work settings. The job readiness programs provide training in areas such as the application and interview processes, employer expectations, and client work habits. These instructional services are generally presented in a workshop or classroom format along with films, group discussions, video tape feedback, and practice activities such as role playing. The amount of time allocated to readiness training ranges from three to 60 hours. The strategies and services contained in the job readiness approach are often included as a component of other types of programs such as job development and placement.

The financial assistance approach is designed to provide new releasees from correctional institutions with cash assistance in order to relieve intense financial pressures due to family obligations or subsistence needs. The financial assistance provided by such programs should not be confused with the emergency aid that is offered by most ex-offender employment programs. While emergency aid to meet subsistence needs is typically provided in voucher form, financial assistance programs issue weekly or biweekly cash payments and offer either referral or direct assistance in job placement. Financial assistance is provided for one to three months, based on the rationale that the cash will give ex-offenders time to adjust to the community and stabilize their living arrangements while they seek employment.

Each of these approaches is described in greater detail in the remainder of this chapter. These descriptions vary in format, as do the different programs, in terms of the emphasis given to one or more phases within a particu-

lar approach. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the relative ease and effectiveness associated with the implementation of each type of program.

3.2 The Job Development and Placement Approach

The underlying philosophy of the job development and placement (JDP) approach is that ex-offenders represent an untapped source of good labor. As a group, ex-offenders possess a wide range of motivational levels, skills, education, and work experience--abilities and talents frequently underestimated by the business community. Because many employers are most concerned with an employee's desire to work and ability to attend work regularly, even ex-offenders with no skills and little education or experience are considered to be marketable; however, only those who are able to perform at certain required skill levels are referred to available jobs. The selectivity with which referrals are made increases the likelihood that employers will be satisfied and will accept additional referrals.

The JDP approach to acquiring employment for ex-offenders has been heavily influenced by the techniques and strategies of the federal employment service (ES) established by the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933. This employment service is a system designed to match unemployed workers with available jobs: job orders are received from employers; applicants are registered and classified according to skills and interests; clients are referred to available jobs; and the employment is verified. Placement is regarded as the end of the process. Supplementary services after placement such as counseling, skill training, and follow-up are not routinely employed, although clients are sometimes referred to various community agencies.

Although the employment service developed and maintained relationships with potential employers and developed job opportunities when none were available through the listings, the employment service basically accepted the labor market as is. For example, it was only recently that ES staff made an effort to improve employer attitudes about hiring special population groups. Formerly, only applicants who fit the expectations (and needs) of employers were referred. Special population groups, such as ex-offenders and minorities, were often viewed as unfit for referral. However, following the passage of the Equal Opportunity Act in 1964, there was a tremendous increase in pressure on all public and private agencies to address the needs of minorities and other special populations, including ex-offenders. The ES and other employment-related programs have responded with new staff and strategies to assist members of special populations. JDP programs are among those responding to these special needs populations. (Appendix B includes several forms used by Community Correctional Services, a job development and placement program in Geneva, Illinois.)

3.2.1 Basic Objectives

The basic objectives of the JDP approach are to:

1. identify the skill and experience levels of ex-offender clients;
2. provide pre-placement preparation services to ex-offenders in order to ease their entry into the labor market and improve their position in that market;
3. identify available jobs;
4. develop new employment opportunities for ex-offenders;
5. match clients with jobs for which they have the prerequisite skills;
6. arrange interviews for clients; and
7. provide follow-up assistance to employers and clients after placement.

3.2.2 Basic Strategy

There are two basic elements to the JDP strategy: (1) ex-offender intake, assessment, and preparation; and (2) job development. Clients are interviewed, assessed, and then provided with some form of pre-placment preparation. Preparation activities may include short-term training, supported work, basic education, and counseling. While pre-placement preparation is being provided, staff members develop jobs which match the skills, education, experience, and interests of the client. Staff members contact potential employers and familiarize them with the goals of the program so that interviews can be arranged for the clients. If the client is not hired, the reasons for the rejection are determined and shared with him. If the client is hired, he is provided with follow-up services on an as-needed basis. The JDP process is usually rapid; the time required from intake to placement ranges from several hours to 15 or more weeks. (Clients frequently must be placed in a job very quickly because the subsistence needs of both the clients and their families are not being met when they enter the program.)

In Section 3.2.3 the components of both parts of the JDP process are discussed in greater detail. Section 3.2.4 provides a discussion of the potential impact of the JDP approach.

3.2.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Group. The JDP programs serve a broader range of ex-offenders than do the other types of programs presented here. Clients with skills, education, and experience ranging from excellent to virtually nonexistent can be served by agencies using this approach because JDP agencies have the flexibility to provide either immediate placement (under three weeks) or extensive preparation prior to placement (15 weeks or more). However, although JDP programs can and do serve some highly skilled ex-offenders, they are unlikely to improve outcomes significantly for this group as a whole, since a high percentage of highly skilled ex-offenders succeed in finding jobs without the aid of an employment program.

Client Recruitment. Programs using the JDP approach generally offer services to clients at various stages in the criminal justice process. JDP staff send out flyers and letters to probation, parole, corrections, and social service agencies to inform them of their employment program. Some programs also use radio and television advertising to reach ex-offenders who are not under some form of supervision (i.e., the walk-in population). These publicity methods are amplified when programs conduct intake interviews or information sessions at correctional facilities. However, intake activities within an institutional setting can have both positive and negative effects, since inmates may view the program initially as an extension of the law enforcement agencies.

Intake. Background, eligibility, and career information are obtained from clients at intake. Background information includes a client's social history, vocational skills, and work-related assets (e.g., desire to work, reliability, and so on). Strengths are identified for their potential usefulness in matching the client to jobs, as are weaknesses which may need to be addressed by other services (e.g., adult basic education, skill training, and drug or alcohol treatment). Work-related assets are probed at intake when clients have few or no obvious skills.

Eligibility and resource information is obtained to determine whether the client has a place to stay or any income that can be used for food, clothing, and transportation. Emergency services can be provided if the client is unable to meet immediate subsistence needs. Residence and income information are also used to determine CETA eligibility.

Career information (desired jobs, hobbies and interests, future plans, etc.) is used to determine the type of career that may interest the client. Attitudes about different types of work, levels of pay, and future goals are determined to aid the staff in matching a client with a job. When clients possess few or no obvious skills, discussions about hobbies and interests often reveal talents the client has never used on a job but which can be used to "sell" the client to an employer.

Assessment. Because JDP programs generally prefer to use their resources to develop jobs and to prepare clients prior to placement, intake and assessment are usually conducted in the shortest possible time period. Under these circumstances, staff take advantage of every contact with the client to learn about the client's attitudes, skills, aptitudes, and work habits. Some programs have specifically trained their staff to assess the client's work-related attitudes, habits, and behaviors during a single interview. Appearance, punctuality, posture, eye contact, interest and energy levels, voice level, clarity, attitude, ability to organize and present personal facts, and the client's explanation of his criminal record are some of the attributes which are focused on and rated by these programs. (See Appendix B-3 and B-4 for a sample interview critique form and job readiness checklist developed by Community Correctional Services, Geneva, Illinois.)

Many programs using the JDP approach also utilize testing as a part of the assessment process. Testing is not used to screen out applicants but, rather, to gain additional information about the client after he has been accepted into the program. Several programs use testing to: (1) identify interests and talents; (2) provide clients with an objective appraisal of their strengths and weaknesses; and (3) provide employers with documentation of clients' skill levels.

Although many different tests are available, the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) appears to be the one most frequently used by JDP programs. Tests to assess the client's manual dexterity and level of basic education are usually considered by practitioners to be the most useful for the placement process, although the costs involved in conducting and scoring test batteries frequently determine the tests actually administered.

JDP Pre-Placement Preparation. A variety of pre-placement preparation services may be offered, although only job coaching or readiness training is viewed as a mandatory component of the JDP approach. Other pre-placement services such as career planning, adult basic education, high school equivalency classes, short-term skill training, and supported work are optional and are targeted at special groups within the client population.

The purpose of job coaching or readiness training is to help clients make a favorable impression on a potential employer. Most programs use a single workshop (approximately three hours long) in which interviewing techniques, job applications, appearance, and work habits are discussed. Some programs offer as much as 60 hours of job readiness training provided over a two or three week period. The ability to obtain an interview and to handle it properly are stressed. A major question raised by ex-offenders in these workshops concerns the manner in which criminal backgrounds should be explained. Most workshops are designed to help ex-offenders over this hurdle and to provide them with some insight into how employers will view them.

Career Planning is an optional service provided by a few JDP programs. Clients' interests, aptitudes, experiences, and fantasies about the "ideal me" are discussed at length when developing a career plan. The processes for making decisions and setting goals are also explained. Career planning usually results in a written career path and action plan which assists clients in distinguishing between a low paying job which is essentially a "dead end" and one that can be the first rung on their career ladder. Ideally, this plan should precede any attempts to match the individual with a job. (See Appendix B-7 for a sample career plan.)

Skill Training or refresher courses can facilitate the major objective of matching a client with a job. These short-term training and refresher courses are intended to enhance quickly a client's value in the labor market and are provided to the client who needs them to qualify for an entry level (or better) position on his career path.

Longer term courses may also be arranged for some clients. However, since the JDP approach is designed to place clients quickly, on-going educational services are generally arranged after placement. Exceptions are sometimes made for special cases. For example, clients who are illiterate or semi-literate often lack the confidence to pursue employment, and applications, signs, and instructions become major obstacles for them. Adult basic education can alleviate these problems, although the service may not be able to correct them totally within a short period of time. High school equivalency degree preparation can also be provided on either a short-term or part-time basis while a client is working. In general, educational services are provided quickly and do not keep the client out of the labor market for a considerable period of time.

Clients who have exhibited a poor attitude, an inability to keep appointments with program counselors, or problems with application procedures and interviews are provided with short-term work experience. These services are also provided to a client with no recent work history who needs to re-establish his work habits. These placements, which usually last no more than 15 weeks, are intended to provide clients with experience in applying, interviewing, and working. Placement sites are chosen carefully and the supervisors provide both the client and the program with constant feedback. Social service agencies are often used as work sites.

Job Development and Placement. Unlike the job development process characteristic of on-the-job training which requires long-term conditional commitments from an employer before the ex-offender becomes a regular full-time employee, the job development process for JDP programs is quite straightforward. The JDP job developer approaches the employer with a candidate for immediate full-time regular employment. The employer is asked to make a "thumbs up-thumbs down" decision on the basis of the skills, education, or experience the candidate already possesses. If the candidate is hired, the employer is expected to offer him only the training or other programs routinely available to other full-time employees.

Before a candidate is presented to an employer, however, the JDP job developer actively sets the stage for his client. Usually, an appointment is made with the personnel director or employer to introduce the particular JDP program, present information about ex-offenders in the area and their desire to turn their lives around, and describe the range of skills and abilities of typical program clients. The employer is then asked to describe such things as the type of work performed and the types of positions in the company, as well as the benefits, working hours, and skill requirements for new employees. The job developer also determines whether there are any types of ex-offenders (e.g., those who have committed a certain type of crime) that the employer will consider ineligible. After the employer's feelings concerning ex-offenders are discussed, he is asked about his willingness to interview a qualified ex-offender candidate.

A typical interview between a job developer and a potential employer takes approximately 45 minutes. At its conclusion, the job developer leaves his business card and tells the employer that he will be in contact if he finds a candidate meeting the needs of the company. The employer is also asked to call if any positions become available or if the job developer can be of assistance in providing services to a company employee having an adjustment problem.

The job developer will contact the employer again when an appropriate candidate is identified, even if it is not clear that a specific opening exists. The ex-offender's qualifications are described and, if requested, his criminal history is given. An interview date and time is then arranged. An employer will often want to interview a client whose qualifications seem appropriate, even if there is not an immediate opening. If the client is hired, the job developer calls the employer to verify the hire and offer any assistance the employer may need. If the client is not hired, both the client and the employer are interviewed to determine the nature of the problem. This information is usually recorded so that the next client who is referred to the same employer can be better matched to the company. The client is also given feedback on how he was perceived during the interview, and suggestions are offered for doing better in subsequent interview situations.

Follow-Up. Although JDP programs recognize the importance of client follow-up after placement, little staff time is actually spent on follow-up activities since most of the staff's attention must be devoted to job development and placement activities. In the programs surveyed for this study follow-up was limited to telephone checks at various specified intervals (usually during the first week of placement and again several times during the first year). If a client quits or is fired, he is placed on another job if he can be contacted. Although fewer clients would be lost through this form of attrition if previous arrangements were made for either the employer or the client to call the JDP program prior to or immediately upon termination, few of the programs surveyed had such an arrangement.

3.2.4 Potential Impact

Programs using the job development and placement approach can have a significant impact on large numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled ex-offenders. (Although there is nothing in the JDP approach per se which would limit its effectiveness with skilled ex-offenders, few persons in this group come into contact with a JDP program since they are usually able to find jobs on their own.) JDP programs can assist semi-skilled ex-offenders in recognizing, presenting, and building their assets. Unskilled ex-offenders can use the various pre-placement preparation services to prepare themselves quickly for entry into the labor market. While the JDP approach appears to be effective with a broad range of ex-offenders, it is not very effective with ex-offenders who have severe drug, alcohol, or mental health problems. These problems interfere with the ability of clients to hold onto a job after placement and cannot be resolved by multiple job placements alone. The residential services and supported work approaches (discussed below) are better designed to address the needs of these clients. The positive impact of the job preparation, job development, and placement services on clients is greatly reduced because many placements are in jobs in the lowest sector of the labor market and post-placement supports and services are not routinely provided. Employment outcomes such as job retention and adequate wages are not likely to occur, given the high turnover and low wages characteristic of these jobs. Even when placements are in better quality jobs, job retention and actual earnings are often poor because of the absence of adequate post-placement support.

3.2.5 Implementation Options

There are many implementation options for programs using the job development and placement approach. First, program planners must select the set of pre-placement preparation services which best meet the needs of clients in their area. Job readiness workshops are generally offered by all JDP programs. Adult basic education and high school equivalency programs are also common. In-house skill training and supported work or work experience services are less common because they significantly increase overall program costs. However, these services enable programs to better prepare hard-core unemployed ex-offenders for labor market entry.

JDP program planners must also determine the intensity of intake and assessment interviews to be used by the program. In-depth probes, though more costly than a superficial interview, provide better information with which clients can be matched to jobs. Similarly, verification of client employment and criminal history may also be extensive or superficial. While the advantage gained by extensive verification of criminal or social history information is unclear, the advantage of extensive verification of work history may be substantial. Staff members are able to identify negative and positive work patterns of clients and thus can better match clients to preparation services. In addition, letters written to previous employers requesting

information very often produce jobs. Many programs have found that results like these more than offset the additional staff time required for extensive work history verification.

Programs also differ in their preference for individual or group placements. Individual placements require more time to develop and make follow-up more difficult, but this type of placement can lead to a better match between clients and jobs. Group placements at large companies can also be very valuable in the long run. Group placement sites can generally accommodate new groups of clients every six or 12 months. In addition, follow-up services can be provided easily to groups of clients on-site. Job retention may also be enhanced through the use of ex-offender support groups--groups which are easy to establish and maintain within a single setting. In spite of these advantages, however, program staff must guard against the tendency to place clients in available group slots when the jobs are not suited to the clients' interests and career goals.

Another job development option is the use of third parties rather than staff members to identify new employment opportunities for ex-offenders. Organizations such as National Alliance of Business (NAB), Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI) of the AFL-CIO, the local Chamber of Commerce, and unions can be used either singly or in conjunction with staff development efforts to identify employers who are willing to hire ex-offenders.

Programs can also choose to focus on either self-placements of ex-offenders or on program-facilitated placements. The former are often emphasized when programs seek to make clients self-sufficient job finders. This process is often slow, however, and does not enable every client to find a job on his own. On the other hand, while program-facilitated placements are responsive to the immediate needs of clients, they do not provide them with an opportunity to learn how to progress from one job to another without staff guidance.

Finally, follow-up services range from almost nonexistent to extensive counseling and supportive services. Very few programs using the JDP approach offer extensive post-placement services, since the flow of new clients requiring placement leaves little time for staff to provide follow-up services. Even though extensive follow-up services might increase the degree to which long-term employment and criminal justice goals are met, the design of services and allocation of staff in existing programs would have to be altered considerably to achieve this end. Because all of the options mentioned above have implications for staffing patterns and costs, it remains the task of program planners to select the combination of these options which will best meet the needs of the ex-offenders served in their particular programs.

Table 3.1 illustrates some of the major strengths and limitations of many JDP programs.

Table 3.1

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Job Development and Placement Programs

Strengths

- Services are delivered rapidly (two weeks to four months in duration) and clients can be placed quickly in "starter" jobs in order to meet subsistence needs while they are being matched to suitable permanent jobs.

- A wide range of ex-offenders can be addressed by matching a client with any level of skill, education, and experience to a job, accepting clients from many sources, and including a planned re-entry program which provides needed transition or adjustment for institutional releasees.

- Job coaching or readiness workshop provides clients with a specific strategy for dealing with questions about ex-offender status.

- The effectiveness of pre-placement services is judged by whether a client is placed or not.

- The follow-up process responds to a client or employer who requests help, does not intrude into the work situation of someone who is adjusting well, and provides an indication of job retention on initial placement.

- The development process builds a large and expanding base of participating employers (up to 12,000 or more companies in some large urban programs) and uses local business, labor, and community organizations to help develop jobs.

Limitations

- Placements are often in jobs at the bottom of the labor market, characterized by high turnover rates and low wages.

- Post-placement services are generally not provided, minimizing employment outcomes and recidivism impact.

- Drug, alcohol, mental illness, or medical problems are not addressed.

- Because of the speed with which intake and assessment occurs, clients with learning disabilities (who may panic and leave when asked to fill out forms without staff assistance) are not recognized, tools and equipment used in non-work situations are not identified, and, in general, employment history is not verified.

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Job Development and Placement Programs

Limitations

- The decision to place a client in preparation service is often based on convenience: the client needs a job fast and is placed in a paid work experience slot when qualified to enter the unsubsidized market.

- Supported work/work experience does not provide sufficient feedback or present clearly articulated goals to clients.

- A specific career plan is rarely developed.

- There is a tendency to urge a client into a job simply because it is available, while the job may be well paying but not of real interest to the client. This happens most often when no career action plan has been developed.

- There is a tendency to give new jobs to clients who have failed previously after placement, rather than to address adjustment problems prior to the re-placement.

- The follow-up process allocates limited time for working with clients who are not adjusting well--contact is usually infrequent during critical periods (first week and month)--and no interpersonal support system is provided to encourage clients to continue to work and do well after placement.

- Programs offer no systematic assistance to help clients move up a predetermined career ladder.

- There is no systematic accounting of the percentage of time a client is employed during the first year. Even if there are job changes, a client can be employed 90 percent or more of the time for the first year.

- Jobs are sometimes developed on the basis of "doing a favor" or "good deed" and are not based on the ex-offender's ability to succeed in a job. Similarly, a developer may release an employer of responsibility in the hiring decision ("Take my word for it and hire him" vs. "I think he can do it. If you agree, then hire him.")

- No systematic effort is made to build long-term, beneficial relationships with unions, which can foster an openness to hiring ex-offenders. In addition, programs may fail to recognize the difference between industrial and service unions.

3.3 The Residential Services Approach

Unlike either the JDP programs or other types of programs to be discussed later in this chapter, programs utilizing the residential services approach do not assume that the ex-offender's housing, food, and interpersonal support system (i.e., family and peer group) can be stabilized quickly. Only emergency housing and food services are provided by programs operating under the other approaches, and counseling is relied upon to help the client handle problems stemming from negative family situations, substance abuse, or a crime-oriented peer group. Under the residential services approach, however, programs provide a supervised and supportive environment during and after work or training. Support and supervision are offered 24 hours a day, seven days a week, through the use of a residential facility which is usually a halfway house. In addition, many of the techniques and services (e.g., job readiness workshops and skill training) characteristic of the other approaches are also used in residential services programs.

3.3.1 Basic Objectives

The basic objectives of programs using the comprehensive residential services approach are to:

1. provide ex-offenders with a residential community with a supportive peer group and adjustment counselors;
2. provide a wide range of job preparation services for ex-offender clients;
3. provide direct treatment of substance abuse, attitude, or readjustment problems which render ex-offenders unpresentable to employers; and
4. carefully phase each client into regular employment and unsupervised residences.

3.3.2 Basic Strategy

After successfully completing the employment preparation services and obtaining a job, clients are taught how to budget their funds and find unsubsidized living quarters. Follow-up support is provided to help clients adjust to both independent living and new employment. The entire process is fairly long in duration, requiring three months to a year to complete. An individual client's problems and types of job preparation services provided determine the amount of time required to implement the approach.

3.3.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Group. Any ex-offender who needs extensive job preparation guidance and 24-hour support and supervision in order to succeed in the community is a good candidate for programs using the residential services approach. Fortunately, many ex-offenders do not require this intensive level of service. For example, services of this nature would be inappropriate for ex-offenders who have some marketable skills and the support of family and friends in the community. Instead, residential programs should be directed at clients who either are rejected from, drop out of, or consistently fail in programs using other approaches. For example, some prime targets for residential services programs would be:

- clients with severe drug or alcohol problems;
- new releasees with severe readjustment problems;
- clients who have serious attitude, aggressiveness, or self-esteem problems;
- clients with mental health problems; and
- clients who are proven failures in other employment programs.

(This list is not intended as all-inclusive, and it would not be necessary or desirable to have only clients with the above-mentioned characteristics in a program using the residential services approach.)

Implementation Process. The residential services approach can be viewed as a five phase process. Clients are assessed and stabilized in the first phase of the program. During this phase a variety of employment-related problems can be identified, such as lack of technical skills, work experience, or basic literacy. Clients are also being stabilized in the "house" environment during this stage. Group sessions and orientation to house rules and expectations are provided. The stabilization period may last only several days for clients with minimal adjustment problems, while it may be several months for more serious substance abusers. Regardless of the intensity of a client's problems, however, he is immersed in treatment during the first three to six weeks. Later in the program, weekend passes and family visits are allowed to facilitate the community reintegration process.

In the second phase of the program a treatment plan is developed for each client, specifying expected behavioral changes as well as training and employment activities. Based on this overall plan, the staff may develop additional weekly or daily plans for clients. Joint plans for services are developed with the employment services staff.

Clients are placed in employment services at the third stage of the program. Clients with serious problems are placed in closely supervised job preparation services (i.e., supported work, work experience, or in-house training sessions), while clients with lesser problems may be placed in skill training or basic education courses conducted by the program or other community agencies. In either case, clients receive constant support and pressure to improve. Residential, counseling, and training staff meet frequently to discuss each client's progress and to coordinate the 24-hour a day treatment environment. These intensive treatment and employment services are generally provided for three to six months before job placement.

After a client has been placed in a job and is earning wages, the program provides assistance in developing a budget, finding a suitable living arrangement, and learning how to shop for food and clothes. At the end of this fourth phase the client moves out of the residence and into an apartment or family residence. The amount of time required for clients to progress through the residential phases of a residential services program ranges from one to nine months.

The final stage of a residential service program is post-placement support. This phase is designed to help clients survive in their new residence and keep their jobs. Emergency assistance may be provided to clients during the first month in their new residence.

3.3.4 Potential Impact

Because residential service programs are designed to focus on a small number of ex-offenders with serious and multiple problems, their impact is potentially very effective. They may also have a somewhat broader impact in terms of the labor market entry and job retention of skilled and semi-skilled ex-offenders, especially those with substance abuse problems. Since these programs are expensive to operate, however, many programs prefer to limit their clients to those for whom no other type of service is effective. The extensive supervision and support provided during non-working hours may increase job retention and earnings while limiting opportunities to commit new crimes. Thus, residential service programs may have a greater likelihood for reducing recidivism than the other types of programs.

3.3.5 Implementation Options

It is common in programs of this kind for project staff to provide any and all services needed to enable a client to become self-supporting. Thus, it is not possible to describe specific service options typically used by these programs. Most of the services found in programs employing less comprehensive approaches are also found in residential services programs, and it

remains for program staff members to decide the combination of services that will best meet the needs of individual clients.

Programs may be distinguished, however, by the degree to which services are provided by a network of agencies as opposed to a single large and costly operation. An important consideration concerns whether the residential services are provided by the program itself or through coordination with existing halfway houses, residential substance abuse programs, or pre-release centers. While programs with their own residential component are more costly, they gain greater control over placement in the residence and can be used for emergency housing when necessary.

Another important decision concerns the timing and circumstances under which clients are terminated from the residence. Some programs terminate the client one month after a steady income is obtained, although employment services and follow-up are still provided. Others terminate the client from the residence after three months of employment. This policy permits the client to save some money for future needs and allows residential support and supervision to continue for a considerable period after job placement. Several programs have found that terminating clients from the residence at the first sign of success on the job often results in failure shortly after termination.

Table 3.2 provides an overview of the major strengths and limitations associated with the residential services approach.

3.4 The Supported Work/Work Experience Approach

Many ex-offenders have had little or no actual work experience, and may thus be unaware of their own capabilities in the work environment or the expectations and needs of employers. Supported work/work experience programs are designed to increase the employability of these hard-core unemployed or high risk offenders by providing an employment situation in which clients may develop good work habits and gain an understanding of the requirements and obligations of employment.

While basically similar in their approach and intent, supported work and work experience programs differ slightly in the kind of work environment they provide and the specific services they make available to ex-offenders while they participate in the program. In the supported work approach, the program generally establishes its own small business, develops service contracts with various organizations and agencies, and assigns clients to work crews which then provide the contract service. The work experience approach, on the other hand, does not establish its own business. Instead, program clients are placed in jobs in nonprofit social service agencies.

Table 3.2

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Residential Services Programs

Strengths

- Clients who are usually rejected, drop out, or fail after placement under other approaches may be assisted by these programs.
- The residential component counteracts negative peer group and family influences, eliminates the need for emergency food and housing, and provides 24-hour support and supervision for substance abusers.
- The suspension of employment services due to a drug or alcohol dependency does not lead to termination from the program.
- An excellent opportunity is provided for collaborative efforts with community agencies.
- Some support is provided after job placement.

Limitations

- Funding sources are difficult to find and maintain.
- Programs with their own residential components are very costly.
- It is often difficult to determine whether the residential or employment counselor should be designated as the client's primary counselor.
- Programs operating with an outside halfway house may have difficulty establishing a collaborative relationship and most halfway houses are not willing to provide emergency housing for clients.

The primary service or treatment of these programs is the work experience. Although most clients participate for a period of two to 15 weeks, some programs provide long-term placements for periods of up to 12 months. Clients are then released from the program to find unsubsidized jobs.

3.4.1 Basic Objectives

The supported work/work experience approach is designed to provide:

1. opportunity for clients to learn and master work habits, handle stress, and develop attitudes required for unsubsidized employment;
2. support, supervision, and individualized feedback for each participant;
3. "graduated stress," that is, a gradual decrease in supervision and increase in work demands until the employment environment is similar to that of a regular job;
4. hourly wages to each participant in addition to other financial and non-financial incentives for participation;
5. ancillary services to address the clients' special problems such as substance abuse and mental illness; and
6. an opportunity for clients to demonstrate good work habits and skills.

3.4.2 Basic Strategy

The basic strategy of the supported work/work experience approach is to provide hard-core unemployed or high risk ex-offenders with a carefully structured environment in which they can gain the experience necessary for employment in unsubsidized jobs. It thus represents an intermediate step between institutional programs (which may provide an unrealistic work environment) and employment in unsubsidized jobs (which may present too many unfamiliar demands for ex-offenders with little or no previous work experience).

While the key strategy of this approach is the provision of work experience, supported work/work experience programs may also provide: (1) close super-

vision, which includes feedback on performance and work habits; (2) peer support, which may include the employment of ex-offenders as supervisory personnel, holding meetings of all participants, or encouraging healthy competition among client groups; and (3) graduated stress. Generally, programs using the supported work approach provide these additional treatments more often than work experience programs.

3.4.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Groups. The following types of clients are the principal targets of programs using the supported work/work experience approach:

- ex-offenders with substance abuse problems;
- ex-offenders with no work experience; and
- ex-offenders who have been unable to establish good work habits and attitudes toward work or supervision in spite of several work experiences.

Implementation Process. In order to implement a supported work/ work experience program, it is first necessary to develop work sites. This can be done by setting up a small business, developing service contracts with local companies or government departments, or obtaining public funds to finance work for which no revenue is received.

The work site is designed to offer a highly supportive environment for the ex-offender. Clients assigned to the work site are typically those who cannot be placed in the labor market because of serious problems in terms of attitude, work experience, or substance abuse. In supported work sites, clients are assigned to work crews that are supervised by a skilled craftsman or a former client with experience in the program. Work experience clients are generally assigned to a nonprofit social service agency for no more than 15 weeks and are supervised by a member of the agency staff.

Intensive feedback and supervision are provided to clients during work periods. Written personnel performance ratings are often provided on a weekly or biweekly basis. In addition, support is provided to clients in a number of other ways. Supported work programs hold weekly meetings with the crew and crew chief to discuss problems, performance, and the production schedule for the coming week. Competition among crews serves to foster group cohesion and constructive peer pressure. Cash bonuses are often awarded to the crew or individuals exhibiting the best attendance or production rates. For example, a bonus may be provided to every client who is not absent more than once or late more than twice during a one-week period. Leave time is also provided so that clients can receive supportive

services or treatment. In work experience sites, the supervisor and the employment counselor provide one to one support to clients. Peer support is not as much of a factor in work experience programs due to the relatively short placement period.

Supported work and work experience programs enable clients to become gradually acclimated to actual job pressures. Supervision is decreased as production demands, work habit requirements, and the performance required for bonuses increase. Tasks are structured by level of difficulty--as a client develops good work habits, more difficult tasks requiring increasing levels of reliability are assigned. Clients leaving these programs are expected to be reliable and responsible employees.

Many clients can place themselves in unsubsidized jobs after graduating from supported work programs. In the National Supported Work Demonstration, which is funded by the Department of Labor and administered by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, approximately 60 percent of those ex-offenders who graduated and were employed were self-placed. Supported work clients generally stay for six months before graduating. In work experience programs, placement staff members develop jobs for clients while they are involved in the work experience component. Clients are then placed in unsubsidized jobs after completing either 15 weeks in the program or two to three weeks of work experience without absences, tardiness, or performance problems.

3.4.4 Potential Impact

Supported work programs can have a significant impact on clients with no skills or prior work experience, and with clients who have serious attitude and substance abuse problems. The programs are apparently effective in preparing ex-offenders for the pressures and expectations of the labor market. This is shown, for example, in the National Supported Work Demonstration, which is testing the effectiveness of supported work on a variety of population groups, including ex-offenders. The preliminary results of the demonstration are encouraging. The ex-offender sample under study had an 82.8 percent attendance rate and 26.2 percent of the clients obtained employment during the first year. Of the ex-offenders who departed the program for employment, 61.6 percent were self-placed. The average program stay for ex-offenders was 6.2 months, the lowest of all the target groups. An examination of the status and history of these clients prior to participation in the program indicates that the program had a substantial and positive effect: in the 12 months prior to program participation, the ex-offender clients averaged six weeks of work; 18.7 percent of these clients never had a job; and 56.4 percent had no earnings.[1]

[1] U.S. Department of Labor, Second Annual Report on the National Supported Work Demonstration, by Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (New York: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1978).

The potential impact of supported work programs on employment and recidivism outcomes is reduced when clients are expected to place themselves after they complete the program, since self-placements can often result in low paying, unsatisfying jobs. Unfortunately, supported work programs devote few resources to developing unsubsidized jobs and improving career development skills.

In comparison with supported work programs, work experience programs can affect a broader range of clients. Placement assistance is usually provided, and clients are therefore less likely to obtain poor quality jobs.

3.4.5 Implementation Options

Supported work/work experience programs use a variety of work sites, supervisors, and treatment time frames to address different ex-offender populations. One option is a long-term supported work approach process which requires six to 12 months of client participation. Work sites for long-term programs are usually developed through service contracts with local government and nonprofit agencies as well as private companies. Some supported work programs also have their own revenue producing enterprises which serve as work sites and these businesses are used to offset part of the programs' operating costs and provide a portion of the wages. These efforts are typically difficult to implement because of the required capital and the prohibition against using government funds to compete with the private sector.

Clients can be assigned to work groups or crews, or they may be placed individually. The "crew" system provides the advantage of peer support and close supervision that is not available in individual placements. Supervision is provided by either an experienced craftsman with counseling skills or a former client. Placement after graduation may be performed by either program staff members or clients who find their own jobs.

Long-term supported work programs are not very common. High costs (approximately $10,000 per client) and the difficulty of obtaining service contracts have had an impact on the number of programs that are able to implement this approach.

The other major option is to provide work experience by assigning clients to individual placements in nonprofit social service agencies for periods ranging from two to 15 weeks. Work is performed individually rather than by a crew. The nature of the work and level of supervision are specified in a written agreement with the social service agency. Supervision is provided by someone who is already at the social service agency and the supervisors may or may not possess special technical or counseling skills. Generally, the clients most suited to this approach are those who need to improve their work

habits or become acclimated to a work environment and schedule. The hard-core unemployed may not benefit from this approach, as graduated stress, peer support, and close supervision are often not provided.

While participating in the program, clients' wages are paid through CETA work experience funds. Clients are placed in unsubsidized jobs after they have maintained good work habits for two to three weeks. The work experience approach does not rely on self-placement after graduation. Staff members usually arrange interviews and placements while the client is still involved in the work experience activity.

Table 3.3 summarizes the major strengths and weaknesses of the supported work/work experience approach.

3.5 The Skill Training Approach

While many jobs do not require a high level of technical skills, the majority of jobs offering good salaries and career mobility have skill and educational prerequisites for entrance. The skill training approach is designed to increase the ability of chronically underemployed or unemployed clients to acquire and retain well paying jobs with growth potential.

Skill training courses designed specifically for ex-offenders are similar to those for any hard-core underemployed or unemployed individuals in the community. Many programs using this approach have curricula developed by vocational educators in industry, colleges, schools, and the armed forces, some of which are specifically designed for students with poor reading and math levels, short attention spans, and various learning disabilities. Skill training programs necessarily vary greatly in the number of courses and the manner in which they are offered.

3.5.1 Basic Objectives

The basic objectives of skill training are to:

1. provide training in areas in which jobs are available upon graduation;
2. provide clients with at least an entry level proficiency in the skill area for which training is provided;
3. improve the career mobility of clients;

Table 3.3

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Supported Work/Work Experience Programs

Strengths

- A transition period and immediate wages are provided for institutional releasees.
- It is not necessary to select the best of the applicants, since the programs address the hard-core, high risk clients who are rejected, drop out, or fail after placement in other types of programs. Clients who are taking part in other treatment or employment programs can also be served.
- Many social service agencies, many private companies, and some government agencies are willing to accept supported work/work experience clients if the costs of training and work are assumed by the employment program.
- When wages are provided by a government agency, clients can perform public service work that would not be done otherwise (e.g., renovating parks and clearing vacant lots).
- Post-program placement is facilitated by virtue of the good work habits, high attendance records, and good attitudes displayed by graduates.
- There is a greater potential for success with hard-core unemployed ex-offenders on whom prior expenditures did not produce any benefits.

Limitations

- It is difficult to obtain service contracts with the government or private sector.
- Supervisory staff find it difficult to establish smooth operations, since the "best" clients are graduated and the program is always working with problem clients.
- It is difficult to find sites that provide sufficient and meaningful work.
- It is difficult to find supervisors who can provide clients with adequate supervision and feedback.
- It is difficult to create work opportunities without competing unfairly with business or labor.

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Supported Work/Work Experience Programs

Limitations

- The types of work available are limited when service contracts are used to pay wages (e.g., renovation, weatherizing, clerical, and maintenance). Programs cannot usually address the career interests of enrollees when finding work sites or creating service contracts.
- Technical skills or experience in a chosen career field are not usually increased during supported work. Even if the work is in a client's chosen field, he must leave as soon as good work habits have been mastered.
- Programs place too much emphasis on self-placements, while little or no emphasis is given to job-finding skills or career counseling.
- Cost per client is high and programs need large amounts of initial capital to develop service contracts. A large capital outlay is required if a program runs its own small business. Furthermore, it is difficult to produce self-sustaining income and large amounts of government funding are needed over the life of the program.
- Graduated stress is often lacking at work experience sites. Supervisors often fail to confront clients with realistic working conditions and demands.

4. improve the confidence of clients;

5. improve the work habits of clients; and

6. facilitate the placement of clients in jobs upon graduation.

3.5.2 Basic Strategy

The basic strategy of skill training programs is to delay the client's re-entry into the labor market until skill levels have been improved by means of short-term instruction in a carefully selected area. Skill training is generally a rapid process. Courses usually require 200 to 800 hours of instruction. The success of this strategy is primarily dependent on: (1) careful labor market analysis to determine which industries are seeking new skilled employees; and (2) the ability of the program to transmit the skills to the clients.[2]

There are many alternative strategies for transmitting skills and facilitating placement. These strategies vary with regard to location of training site (e.g., classroom, simulated shop, or real shop) and guarantee of placement (e.g., no guarantee or a contract to hire). One particularly interesting and effective strategy requires joint development of the training curriculum with specific companies, training on company equipment in a company setting, and evaluation of trainees by company supervisors. Another effective strategy is to provide remedial education and pre-vocational training to clients before they enter traditional training courses. In addition, clients who seek employment upon graduation from pre-vocational training are viewed by employers as semi-skilled or partially trained. This status gives graduates from the pre-vocational center a distinct advantage over many other applicants for entry level positions. This strategy eliminates the mid-course crises common to many vocational programs when it is discovered that some participants do not have the requisite reading or math skills.

3.5.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Group. Skill training is most appropriate for semi-skilled and unskilled ex-offenders. Some skilled ex-offenders who need a refresher course or training in a new field can also benefit from skill training programs. The clients admitted to skill training courses must meet minimum

[2]Attendance and the quality of training equipment, curricula, and instructors all contribute to the program's ability to transmit skills.

level reading and math requirements. In addition, manual dexterity and good physical condition are usually required.

Implementation Process. The first step in the skill training process is an analysis of the labor market. Planners will determine work force needs in the geographical area where graduates of the training program will be seeking employment, noting areas in which entry level and trained personnel are being sought. The planning staff must then determine the size of the available pool of applicants for these jobs and the increases that can be expected in the size of the pool during the next six to 12 months. Existing enrollments in similar training courses should also be determined. Then, jobs which will be available in the next three to 12 months and require only short-term courses of instruction are tentatively selected as skill training areas. Potential employers are contacted in order to verify the present and future availability of jobs for which training will be provided.

After the need for training in particular skill areas has been verified, the course design and curriculum may be developed jointly with potential employers. The major objective of this collaborative effort is to ensure that the course of instruction provides the exact skills required for employment. Shop conditions and procedures are simulated to the extent possible so graduates will be able to assume full production responsibilities soon after hiring.

Minimum education and interest levels are set during the next phase to enable the screening of applicants. In addition, the proficiency levels that must be attained by each trainee prior to graduation are determined before the course is started. Applicants are then rated and screened on the degree to which their present educational skills and career interests match the prerequisite levels. Once the course is initiated, it generally focuses on exposing clients to increasingly difficult tasks in simulated shop conditions.

The last stage of implementation is the testing and placement phase. Proficiency tests are administered to determine whether trainees are ready to graduate. Testing is usually conducted in phases throughout the course before a final comprehensive examination is administered under shop conditions prior to graduation. Interviews, testing, and placements are also arranged prior to graduation at companies collaborating with the training program.

3.5.4 Potential Impact

Skill training can have a significant impact on unskilled and semi-skilled ex-offenders. Skill training is limited, however, in terms of the number of ex-offenders it can address. These courses are generally small; the labor

market could not accommodate large numbers of graduates each year in most skill areas. In addition, skill training will have little impact on the hard-core unemployed ex-offenders who have few educational skills and are often plagued by problems such as drug abuse. These clients are often unable to complete the training courses.

Skill training programs provide extensive supportive services and the opportunity for clients to become acclimated to the co-workers and social climate of their eventual jobs through on-the-job training arrangements. This program is designed to assist clients in attaining more stable and better paying jobs in the labor market. As a result of better job retention and earnings, it is hypothesized that recidivism rates will be reduced.

3.5.5 Implementation Options

As stated above, skill training programs differ with regard to prerequisite education and interest levels; selected skill areas; number, duration, and types of training courses offered; and training site location--classroom, simulated shop, or on-the-job training. Curricula may be developed by program staff either alone or in conjunction with potential employers, or programs may use existing curricula of schools, the armed forces, or other vocational programs. The training courses themselves can take advantage of various teaching techniques and periodic client testing or interviews to monitor progress. Finally, the level of program involvement in job placements after graduation from skill training must be deterimined.

Table 3.4 lists some of the major strengths and limitations which may be present in many skill training programs.

3.6 The Job Readiness Approach

The job readiness approach appears to have developed as a response to job search problems experienced by many ex-offenders who do not understand the world of work or who do not possess the good work habits needed to keep a job. This approach is designed to enhance the client's ability to find suitable employment opportunities and to make a positive presentation during employment interviews. It is not a comprehensive remedy for ex-offender employment problems. Job readiness workshops do not provide sufficient preparation, placement assistance, or post-placement services to help the average ex-offender get and keep a job. Although some programs offer only job readiness coaching, job readiness services are usually components of other approaches.

Table 3.4

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Skill Training Programs

Strengths

- Ex-offenders' skills, labor market positions, and earnings can be enhanced quickly.
- A wide range of unskilled and semi-skilled ex-offenders can be addressed and ex-offender clients can be accepted from many sources.
- Ex-offenders' confidence, motivation, and self-images are often improved.
- A classroom setting provides fewer distractions than real work settings and permits greater control of supervisor responses to ex-offenders.
- An on-the-job training component gives clients the opportunity to learn social as well as performance skills.
- Programs are able to utilize the latest teaching techniques (e.g., programmed instruction, audiovisuals, and computer-aided systems) and may borrow curricula from other vocational programs instead of developing their own.
- Actual work experience can be incorporated with academic components --skill training can mesh well with adult basic education and pre-vocational programs.
- Ex-offenders are provided with an opportunity to implement career plans.
- Joint curriculum development with employers gives them a vested interest in the program and thus increases the opportunity to provide trainees with the skills employers value most.
- Jobs can be pre-arranged or guaranteed before training begins, particularly when an on-the-job training component is involved.

Limitations

- Skill training necessarily delays entrance into the unsubsidized market.

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Skill Training Programs

Limitations

- The education prerequisites associated with these programs can serve to: (1) decrease the pool of eligible ex-offenders· (2) deny acceptance to clients who have poor educational skills and need training the most: (3) grant acceptance to clients with much more than minimum education requirements (e.g., clients with 10th or 11th grade levels) to the detriment of clients who barely meet requirements (e.g., sixth grade level)· and (4) grant acceptance to clients who are not particularly interested in the area in which skill training is being provided.

- Remedial education is often attempted during, rather than before, the training course. Clients who cannot keep pace with the curriculum may drop out or graduate with less than the skill level required for entry level positions.

- Poor curriculum development, which may occur if the employing company is not clear about its future needs, can result in graduates performing below industry standards.

- Programs are often unable to place clients in jobs upon graduation. Poor labor maket analysis and unpredictable fluctuations in the work force needs of local companies can leave new graduates unemployed and even more frustrated than when they were unskilled and unemployed.

- Job placement is often a secondary concern of staff. Supplementary placement and preparation services may not be provided until after a placement is made and in some programs staff members stop trying to place a client after only a few weeks have elapsed.

- Inadequate support services may lead to excessive absenteeism, dropouts, and recidivism prior to the completion of training.

3.6.1 Basic Objectives

The basic objectives of the job readiness approach are to:

1. teach the client procedures to identify available jobs, complete applications, and respond effectively during interviews;

2. teach ex-offenders how to overcome barriers which block their access to jobs;

3. provide guidance on how to respond to questions about ex-offender status or felony convictions on applications and in interviews;

4. provide opportunities for clients to rehearse their job seeking skills in a workshop setting prior to placement attempts; and

5. motivate clients and instill in them a greater sense of confidence about their ability to find and keep jobs.

3.6.2 Basic Strategy

The basic strategy of this approach is to: (1) offer instruction on how to find a job and how to overcome employment barriers; and (2) provide exposure to the work habits which must be established in order to keep a job. The readiness approach is a relatively short process which requires no more than three weeks to implement. The basic strategy does not involve intensive practice and is generally provided in a one-day workshop (three to six hours). An alternate strategy would include an intensified practice phase. This practice strategy generally requires more time to implement (six to 60 hours) and provides wages for clients during their participation.

3.6.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Group. Job readiness workshops can be useful for all ex-offenders. The services offered by this approach, however, are sufficient to remedy the employment problems of only a small portion of the total unemployed ex-offender population, i.e., the skilled, experienced ex-offenders who need a brief exposure to the principles of finding and obtaining employment. In spite of this, every ex-offender should be exposed to the techniques used to overcome the job search problems common to ex-offenders. The job readiness workshop is appropriate for planned re-entry activities in institutions, halfway houses, and pre-release and work-release facilities.

Implementation Process. The job readiness approach is implemented in three phases. In the first phase, the proper procedures for obtaining job interviews are presented. Techniques to identify job openings through classified advertising in newspapers or through employment agencies are presented and practiced. More importantly, an attempt is made to show the ex-offenders how they will appear to potential employers. Clients are taught the ways in which they may inadvertently eliminate themselves from consideration when applying or interviewing for jobs. This phase of the process is designed to provide ex-offenders who have failed previously in their attempts to find jobs with some insights into the reasons for their failures.

In the second phase, ex-offenders are instructed about the expectations they will face after they get jobs. Attendance, lateness, sick calls, response to supervision, relationships with co-workers, and other behaviors and habits important to job retention are discussed.

The activities in the third phase are designed to reinforce concepts and procedures which were introduced during the first two phases. Role playing, mock interviews, filling out practice applications, and rating other clients on appearance are some of the practice activities in which ex-offenders participate.

An alternative strategy requires clients to participate in more intensive practice activities. The additional practice is provided because many clients understand what should be done but need guidance to translate this knowledge into practice. In order to compensate for the delayed entrance into the labor market and the delay in receiving wages, each client may receive the minimum hourly wage for participating, with deductions taken for lateness and absences. Clients may be sent out on practice interviews in real settings with volunteer employers or be given access to a telephone so they can set up actual interviews. "Standard lines" are practiced until they are presented smoothly and feedback is provided on the clients' clarity and effectiveness on the telephone.

3.6.4 Potential Impact

Programs utilizing the job readiness approach can have a significant positive impact on the labor market entry of skilled and educated ex-offenders. This group may need assistance only in locating jobs and responding effectively to "the" question on employment applications: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?" Job readiness workshops alone can have only a minimal effect on ex-offenders who have little or no educational skills or work experience. This group needs far more service than a workshop can provide to remedy their problems with labor market entry and job retention.

3.6.5 Implementation Options

Programs utilizing this approach stress different topics, use various instructional techniques, and devote varying amounts of time to reinforcement and practice activities. Programs can offer either a one-time workshop which can be presented in three hours or a comprehensive course in job-finding, employment barriers, and work habits. The longer course provides opportunities for clients to practice the principles and techniques which are taught. Wages may or may not be provided for participants in the longer version of the workshop. Programs using the job readiness approach may also use combinations of various presentation methods, such as video tape techniques, role playing, guest speakers, and films, to supplement the lectures and group discussions.

Some of the major strengths and limitations of the job readiness approach are shown in Table 3.5.

3.7 The Financial Aid Approach

Over the past several years, the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) has supported a series of experimental programs which provided financial aid to prisoners immediately after their release. These programs grew out of the following set of observations:

- prisoners receive meager amounts of gate money, enough to last only a few days;
- it often takes weeks and even months before released prisoners find their first jobs; and
- in the meantime, releasees have pressing needs for money to pay for clothes, food, housing, and transportation (especially to conduct a job search).

The goals of these DOL programs were to: (1) develop and test procedures for providing financial assistance to new releasees; and (2) determine if the assistance reduced recidivism and eased the transition from prison to employment.

The first program was established in 1971 and worked with 432 Maryland state releasees who were returning to live in the Baltimore area. The program was conducted on an experimental basis: half the releasees were randomly assigned to receive financial aid[3] and half were not. Financial aid consisted

[3] Some releasees included in the experimental group did not want financial assistance and did not attend the program. The performance of these "no-shows" was included when the recidivism rate of the experimental group was calculated.

Table 3.5

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Job Readiness Programs

Strengths

- The programs are fast (usually a one-day workshop or a series of three workshops spread over a three-week period), hold clients' attention, and enable clients to share and learn from each others' experiences.
- The programs often provide ex-offenders with their first explanation about what will be expected of them on the job.
- The services can be provided to any type of ex-offender, in or out of the prison setting.
- Telephone, application, and interviewing skills can be reinforced in role playing and practice sessions.
- Very few staff are required and implementation is not costly.

Limitations

- The length of participation is too short to allow mastery of job-finding skills.
- Most clients need more than a workshop to remedy their employment problems because the opportunity for development of clients' work habits is very limited and must be learned in a classroom setting.
- There is no systematic re-teaching of principles to clients who are unable to find or keep jobs.
- Most jobs are found through personal contacts, yet most job readiness sessions do not stress the development and maintenance of such contacts and the program staff members are not represented as part of the clients' network of contacts.

of 13 weeks of payments at $60 per week, or a total of $780. If a releasee receiving financial aid got a job during that period, his weekly payment was reduced by a certain amount based on his earnings, but the payments were extended beyond the 13 weeks until he exhausted his total allotment of $780. The disincentive to work created by the financial aid was minimized under these conditions, and it was always in the releasee's economic self interest to take a job if he had the opportunity to do so. In addition, clients had sufficient funds to pay for initial job-related expenses (e.g., clothing, transportation, and lunch). Consequently, the experimental releasees had higher employment rates, better jobs, and higher incomes during the first year. Thus it appears that the clients in the experimental group were more selective in their job search because they were not under pressure to take the first job that came along.

One reason for the experimental group's higher rate of employment was the decreased likelihood that they would be in trouble with the law. In fact, the most important outcome of the study was that the experimental group had a lower rearrest rate for property crimes ($p = .06$). The results of the experiment were as follows:[4]

Rearrested for Property Crimes

	First Year	Base
Experimental Group	22%	(216)
Control Group	30%	(216)
Difference	8%	

Based on the results in Baltimore, the Department of Labor decided to support two more experiments, one in Texas and one in Georgia, with roughly 2,000 persons in each state. It was anticipated that these larger experiments would have implications for national legislation. Therefore, it was necessary to anticipate how such a national policy would be executed, who would be responsible for administering such a program, and how it would be implemented. Accordingly, it was determined that the best vehicle for the distribution of financial aid to released prisoners would be the state employment services and that financial aid should be issued under the unemployment insurance rules and regulations. This decision represents a departure from the Baltimore experiment, which was administered by social researchers and was not bound by unemployment insurance considerations. In Texas clients in the experimental group were entitled to receive $64 per week; in Georgia they were entitled to receive $70. In both states some experimental clients received the weekly amount for 26 weeks, while others received it for only 13. The money was distributed by the regular employment service personnel under unemployment insurance rules which stipulated that an experimental releasee who found a job would no longer receive any benefits. All clients participating in the study were followed for a period of one year after release. At the end of this time no difference was found in rearrest rates for property crimes between the experimental and the control groups.

[4] U.S. Department of Labor, Unlocking the Second Gate--The Role of Financial Assistance in Reducing Recidivism Among Ex-Prisoners (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1977), p. 15.

What went wrong? Procedures in the Texas and Georgia programs, unlike those in the Baltimore program, apparently suffered from serious design flaws. Financial aid was provided in a manner which discouraged job seeking behavior: released prisoners were being asked to choose between working at low wages or remaining idle and receiving financial aid.[5]

The results of these experiments have many implications for the design of programs utilizing the financial aid approach. First and most important, the Baltimore experiment indicates that reducing post-release financial pressure can have a desirable impact on recidivism, employment rates, and total earnings for releasees. Second, both experiments indicate that design problems can reduce or totally counteract the positive impact of the aid on clients. Therefore, financial aid programs must provide: (1) assistance in a manner which facilitates job-seeking behavior; and (2) adequate placement and post-placement assistance. The following overview of the financial aid approach is based on the goals and procedures of the Baltimore program.

3.7.1 Basic Objectives

The basic objectives of the financial assistance approach are to:

1. provide financial assistance during the initial months following release from prison;
2. reduce financial pressure on clients due to family obligations or food, clothing, housing, and transportation needs;
3. disburse funds to participating clients who report to the program in person each week; and
4. provide job placement services to clients.

3.7.2 Basic Strategy

The basic strategy of the financial assistance approach is to provide cash assistance to clients recently released from prison and to provide placement assistance while they are receiving financial aid. Financial aid is not

[5] A more complete analysis of the financial aid programs in Texas and Georgia can be found in Peter H. Rossi, Richard A. Berk, and Kenneth J. Lenihan, Money, Work and Crime: A Field Experiment in Reducing Recidivism Through Post-Release Financial Aid to Prisoners (Social and Demographic Research Institute, University of Massachusetts, forthcoming).

terminated when a client does find a job. Payments are reduced but continue until the allotment is exhausted, thereby minimizing the disincentive to seek a job. In this way, clients have sufficient funds during the initial weeks of work for transportation, food, and clothing. Allotments can range from $500 to $1,000. Placement services and financial aid are provided for a period ranging from approximately 10 to 30 weeks.

3.7.3 Approach to Ex-Offender Clients

Target Group. Any releasee who does not have a job or other legitimate means of support available upon release from prison could be provided with financial aid. However, in the Baltimore experiment releasees who committed "economic" or "survival" crimes responded more positively to financial assistance than other releasees. Ex-offenders convicted of property and economic crimes recidivated less than a comparable group of ex-offenders in the experiment. It should be recognized that it is difficult to select a specific target group for this type of program. Providing assistance selectively to clients scheduled for release requires program and correctional staff to have information about the specific resources that will be available to each inmate upon release. Even those releasees with a prearranged job or an adequate family support structure should not necessarily be excluded because the job and support may fall through at release or shortly thereafter.

Implementation Process. Implementation of the financial aid programs reviewed for this study have been guided as much by research considerations as by client needs. Random assignment of clients, lack of follow-up services, and the utilization of existing delivery systems such as the state employment services have contributed little to the efforts to refine the service delivery process. Therefore, the implementation process described below does not have any of the sophisticated assessment, job preparation, or placement services characteristic of the other approaches.

Programs using the financial assistance approach begin by interviewing inmates who are scheduled for release. The interviews are designed to determine when the inmate will be released and where he will be going, in addition to family, school, and employment histories, and the extent of financial needs upon release.

Clients are then enrolled in the program and instructed to arrive at the program's office upon release. Identification is issued for check cashing and the first checks are provided at the first visit. The client is then provided with placement assistance, which can best be described as a "shotgun" approach--any method will be tried if the staff views it as potentially effective. The client's weekly allotments are reduced after placement in a job according to how much he earns per week, although the client's allotments are not reduced during the first week of employment.

3.7.4 Potential Impact

The impact of financial assistance programs can be substantial for new releasees who have no legitimate means of support upon release. The positive impact of financial aid can be diminished when the financial aid competes with job search activities. Programs such as those in Texas and Georgia had little opportunity to reduce recidivism because clients received aid only if they failed or chose not to find employment.

The Baltimore program, on the other hand, had a positive impact on client recidivism, in spite of the limited follow-up services provided to clients. These positive outcomes have been attributed to the fact that the program effectively minimized the disincentive to work created by the financial aid.

3.7.5 Implementation Options

Due to the straightforward nature of the financial assistance concept, alternative approaches to those described above are quite limited and resemble other service-oriented approaches. For example, some so-called financial assistance programs provide work experience, placement, and wages immediately upon release from prison. The client receives immediate wages while also developing his work habits and skills. This process may be superior to simple cash assistance, since work skills and habits are improved while financial aid is being provided.

One such program is a "day labor" program that provides services to anyone over 18 years of age who is released from a correctional institution. The client must have applied for services within 30 days of release. Once enrolled, each client is allowed to work three days per week for up to six months (75 days) at a wage of $3.50 per hour. Wages are paid at the end of each day. Supportive services are provided to a client on his days off to assist him in finding a private sector job or a skill training program.

Table 3.6 provides an overview of the major strengths and limitations associated with financial aid programming.

3.8 Summary Comparison of the Six Basic Approaches

3.8.1 Program Implementation

Employment programs for ex-offenders are not easy to initiate, implement, or maintain. It is frequently very difficult to choose an effective service

Table 3.6

Strengths and Limitations Associated with
Financial Assistance Programs

Strengths

- Clients receive immediate relief from financial pressures.
- Ex-offenders previously convicted of "economic" crimes (e.g., robbery as opposed to assault) can be positively affected.
- Clients have more time to find and select a good job which interests them.

Limitations

- Clients may misuse the program if it is improperly structured--aid can be a disincentive to finding a job and clients may delay job search activities until financial aid has been exhausted.
- Placement services are generally less sophisticated than those provided by other approaches.
- Follow-up services have not typically been a part of the design of these programs.

delivery approach, target the right clients, obtain an adequate budget, hire qualified staff, manage the operation to ensure efficiency and effectiveness, and maintain the program's funding from one year to the next. However, the six approaches presented in this chapter vary widely with respect to the degree of implementation difficulty they present. The six approaches are ranked in Table 3.7 from least to most difficult based on the type of clients served; length and difficulty of treatment services; number, specialization, and coordination of staff; size and complexity of the budget; and average start-up time.

As Table 3.7 indicates, the job readiness approach is the easiest to implement. Financial assistance and skill training approaches are approximately equal in terms of implementation ease. The difficulty associated with the job development and placement approach depends upon the number, type, and complexity of pre-placement preparation services which are offered. The residential services and supported work approaches are far more difficult than any of the others to implement. These approaches also cost eight to ten times as much as the other types of programs.[6]

3.8.2 Program Impact

It is difficult to compare the relative effectiveness of the basic approaches because they address different but overlapping types of ex-offenders. Until more comparative research, including cost-effectiveness studies, is performed, only the potential impact of these programs on the problem of ex-offender unemployment can be discussed. These approaches should also be addressed in terms of their potential to reduce the recidivism rates of program participants, yet the research evidence is not sufficient to permit identification of the approaches with a greater potential for reducing recidivism. Nonetheless, potential impact can be considered in terms of: (1) the probability of increasing positive employment outcomes for high risk, hard-core unemployed ex-offenders; (2) the capacity to serve large numbers of ex-offenders; and (3) the capacity to serve a wide range of client types.[7]

A subjective application of these criteria on the six approaches is presented in Table 3.8. According to this assessment, the job development and placement approach is most likely to have a desirable impact on the employment problems of a broad range of ex-offenders. Supported work and residential services programs are limited in terms of the number of clients who can be served because of their high costs, although these approaches are necessary

[6] Supported work programs cost approximately $8,000 to $10,000 per client per year. The cost of residential services programs ranges from $5,000 to $9,000 per client per year.

[7] Client types range from those who are skilled, experienced, and relatively free of adjustment problems to those who are unskilled, inexperienced, and burdened with multiple adjustment problems.

Table 3.7

Implementation Difficulty Associated with the Six Basic Approaches of Ex-Offender Employment Programs

		Type of Clients Served	Length and Difficulty of Treatment	Number, Specialization, and Coordination of Staff	Budget Management and Maintenance	Start-Up Time
Least Difficult	1. Job Readiness Approach	Difficult: Mixture of all types; no screening	Easy: Usually three to six hours in duration; workshop format, advice and practice; minimal supervision	Easy: Instructor and perhaps assistants to help with practice activities	Easy: Very low cost per client because of limited number of needed staff and materials	Under two months (to hire staff, develop presentations, and publicize workshop)
	2. Financial Assistance Approach	Difficult: Mixture of all types; no screening	Easy: Under three months in duration, cash disbursement and placement only; minimal supervision	Easy: Small number of placement staff and staff needed to mail checks and arrange cashing privileges	Easy: Reasonable cost per client and simple budget	One to four months (to establish intake procedures with corrections dept. and disbursement process)
	3. Skill Training Approach	Mild: Mixture of all types, *but* screened on motivation and prerequisite skills	Difficult: Under 20 weeks in duration; difficulty dependent on skill areas selected, training site location (classroom or OJT), and degree of client screening	Easy: Small number of specialized staff; coordination between training staff and company is most difficult phase	Easy: Reasonable cost per client; can be maintained on DOL/CETA, Voc. Rehab., and other funds	One to four months (depending on availability of staff and equipment delivery time)
	4. Job Development and Placement Approach	Difficult: Mixture of all types of clients, some hard-core	Difficult: Ranges from two weeks to four months in duration; difficulty dependent on which pre-placement preparation services are offered	Difficult: Large number of specialized staff; great coordination required between intake, job preparation, development, and placement staff	Difficult: Reasonable cost per client; can be maintained on DOL/CETA, Voc. Rehab., and other funds	One to four months (to hire staff, establish business contacts, and set up preparation services)
	5. Residential Services Approach	Very Difficult: Large percentage hard-core unemployed, substance abusers, mental health problems, major attitude problems	Very Difficult: Six-12 months in duration; 24 hours a day; close supervision	Difficult: Large number of specialized staff; great coordination required between residential, employment, and clinical/substance abuse staff	Very Difficult: Residential services very costly; difficult to maintain purchase of servies reimbursement contracts; no DOL/CETA funding of residential treatment centers	Nine to 12 months or more (to locate and staff a residential facility)
Most Difficult	6. Supported Work Approach	Very Difficult: Hard-core unemployed, substance abusers, mental health problems, major attitude problems	Very Difficult: Six-12 months in duration; close supervision	Difficult: Large number of specialized staff; great coordination required between counselors, skilled craftsmen/work site supervisors, placement staff, business/budget managers, legal staff, etc.	Very Difficult: High cost per client ($10,000) and very large annual budgets; risky small business ventures, large government service contracts for wages, sophisticated payroll system needed for client wages and bonuses; difficult to maintain on local funding	Nine to 12 months or more (contracts, staff, work sites, and large amount of up front money must be obtained)

Table 3.8
Indicators of Program Impact

Approaches	Impact High Risk/Hard-Core Ex-Offenders?	Impact Large Numbers of Ex-Offenders?	Impact a Wide Range of Client Types?
1. Job Development and Placement	Yes, some	Yes	Yes
2. Residential Services	Yes	No	Yes
3. Supported Work	Yes	No	Yes
4. Skill Training	No[a]	No	No[a]
5. Job Readiness	No[a]	Yes	No[a]
6. Financial Assistance	No[a]	Yes	No[a]

[a]This is a qualified "No." The approach could have a substantial impact if used in conjunction with other services.

in order to work successfully with high risk and hard-core unemployed ex-offenders. Job readiness, financial assistance, and skill training programs are less likely to have a significant impact on the employment problems of ex-offenders without the provision of counseling, job development, placement, and post-placement follow-up services.

Chapter 4
AN INTERVENTION SYSTEM AND SUGGESTED APPROACH FOR THE DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF EX-OFFENDER EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

4.1 Introduction

The effectiveness of many existing ex-offender employment programs is lessened by the numerous design defects or implementation gaps characterized within the six basic approaches described in Chapter 3. While our research indicates that some techniques do exist to help fill these gaps and correct the defects, practitioners in one program are frequently unaware of the effective strategies and techniques used in other programs. This chapter presents a general intervention strategy and provides examples of implementation techniques that may correct the most common defects and gaps found in these programs.[1] The chapter was designed to enhance the problem-solving activities of practitioners, planners, and policymakers as they refine or redesign segments of their programs. Practitioners in existing programs and those interested in starting new services must determine the particular combination of techniques that best suits their locality and client population. For the former, the suggested approach can be used as a point of comparison against which their present structure and strategies can be re-examined. For the latter, it offers a guideline that will enable them to avoid many of the pitfalls encountered by existing programs.

Among the major defects common to existing programs are:

- a high rejection rate for high risk clients;
- a lack of planned re-entry programs and limited methods of outreach to high risk clients;

[1] Technical assistance guides are also a valuable source of information for practitioners and prime sponsors who are establishing or redesigning employment services. See, for example, Coordinated Community Offender Employment Programs (CCOEP), CCOEP Pre-Employment Training Curriculum, by Osa D. Coffey (College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1979); and Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, "The Employment and Training Program for Offenders: A Guide for Prime Sponsors," by Planning and Human Systems, Inc., Washington, D.C., July 1977.

- poor linkages with other social service agencies or organizations;

- little post-placement support to increase job retention and no recycling mechanisms to aid clients who become unemployed at a later date; and

- restriction to short-term goals for clients ending in job placement, coupled with a lack of adequate instruction in long-term goal development and pursuit.

These defects erode the positive impact of employment services on the employment and recidivism outcomes for clients. For example, existing programs typically reject 40 to 60 percent of the ex-offenders who apply for employment services. The rejected clients may be considered too young to benefit from program services or they may have drug, alcohol, mental health, or serious adjustment problems. Even when these high risk clients are referred to other programs such as substance abuse programs or mental health clinics, few ex-offender employment programs have made provisions to accept or reconsider these clients at a later date when they are better able to benefit from employment services. Furthermore, many ex-offenders never reach the application stage because most programs have no mechanism for informing or working with clients while they are incarcerated. In addition, few programs pursue an active outreach campaign to attract high risk ex-offenders who have already been released. Thus, a program's potential impact for reducing recidivism is limited at the outset in terms of the number of ex-offenders who apply or are actually served.

In addition to the limitation on the number of ex-offenders served, most programs also limit their focus to that of immediate job placement. Little staff time is devoted to the development of long-term career goals, follow-up, or recycling clients through additional preparation and placement services on an as-needed basis. Clients are not often instructed in job maintenance techniques. Few programs provide post-employment services. Hence, many clients are lost to the program when they quit or are fired from their initial job placement. This short-term focus necessarily limits the potential impact of programs on both client employment and recidivism rates.

Programs utilizing the suggested approach would serve a large percentage of high risk ex-offenders. This approach would provide outreach and planned re-entry services targeted at a wide range of clients. An extensive network of service agencies would be developed. Intensive career counseling, post-placement support services, and additional preparation services for clients who fail after job placement would be crucial components of this approach. Programs using the suggested approach would facilitate the development of positive interpersonal support mechanisms to assist clients with their social adjustment and to inform them about better opportunities in the labor market. These features, which are generally lacking from present approaches, would increase the effectiveness of the employment services, thereby increasing the impact of the program on the duration and quality of employment as well as client recidivism.

4.2 Intervention Strategy

It should be recalled that six broad categories of services were identified in Chapter 1 to provide a basis for site selection in the present study: institutional preparation; community readjustment; pre-placement job preparation; job development; job placement; and post-placement support. The intervention system proposed in this section, and set forth in Table 4.1, consists of a series of six steps or components that should be included in ex-offender employment programs. These six steps parallel the service categories in Chapter 1 with two exceptions: first, the institutional preparation and community readjustment categories described in Chapter 1 are both encompassed by a planned re-entry step in the intervention system. This departure is due to the assumption that community readjustment ideally occurs during planned re-entry, before inmates are released into the community and faced with a number of readjustement problems that could prevent them from obtaining employment and contribute to recidivism. Second, in addition to the service categories in Chapter 1, the intervention system contains a non-service component: program evaluation. Through program evaluation efforts, knowledge and awareness of effective program practices and the conditions of success can be increased, providing the basis for informed policy decisions and program modifications.

The intervention strategy thus consists of six components, each of which follows sequentially from the preceding stage: (1) planned re-entry services; (2) pre-placement job preparation services; (3) job development services; (4) job placement services; (5) post-placement supportive services; and (6) evaluation of program services. For each of the six steps in the intervention system, Table 4.1 presents:

- examples of the types of program elements that might be included (such as specific services, activities, and staff positions);

- the intended changes that the program elements may produce (in client assets or behavior, job charcteristics, attitudes or behavior of employers, subsequent program operations, etc.); and

- basic assumptions concerning the effect that program elements and the changes they produce will have on ex-offender unemployment (e.g., facilitate community reintegration, increase employability, minimize employers' resistance to hiring ex-offenders). These assumptions provide the framework for development of the program elements.

The intervention system is intended to provide examples of specific elements that program policymakers may choose to incorporate, not to set forth a comprehensive list of services or prescribe the best methods and techniques for carrying out these program elements. While the intervention system

Table 4.1
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 1: Planned Re-Entry Services

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• Intake and gathering of basic client information (e.g., social security number, employment and criminal histories) • Client assessment • Anticipation of housing and subsistence needs upon release and determination of possible sources of assistance • Prison industries • Drug and alcohol treatment • Medical screening and treatment • Family and community reintegration counseling • Career and vocational counseling • Job readiness workshops • Work release • Seminars on community readjustment, available community services, etc. • Volunteer sponsors	• Increased coping skills • Minimized health problems • Greater knowledge of services available upon release • Greater knowledge of client background and skills to permit appropriate targeting to services and jobs • Improved job skills and work habits • Increased receptivity to employment and employment services • Easier reintegration into family and community • Greater options and resources for housing, food, clothes, and transportation • Earlier readiness for post-release employment services and job placement	• Addiction, subsistence, medical, family, and other problems can interfere with employment and use of employment services; when the effects of these problems are minimized, employability increases • Ex-offenders will be better equipped to readjust to non-institutional living, obtain a job, and resist further involvement in crime if both their current problems and those anticipated upon release are addressed while they are still institutionalized • Initiation of employment program services prior to release will improve the quality and speed of job placement

Table 4.1 (cont'd)
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 2: Pre-Placement Job Preparation

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• Client assessment • Job readiness workshops • Skill training • Adult basic education or general equivalency degree preparation • Supported work/work experience • Career counseling	• Greater knowledge of client background, skills, and career aspirations to permit appropriate targeting to services and jobs • Increased education, technical skills, and job retention skills (i.e., employability) • Increased receptivity and adjustment to employment	• Increased education, technical skills, and job retention skills (i.e., employability) will increase client access to jobs characterized by high wages, career growth potential, and minimal turnover • Intermittent employment, long periods of unemployment, and high risk of recidivism are less likely when ex-offenders are able to obtain good jobs targeted to their backgrounds, skills, and career aspirations

Table 4.1 (cont'd)
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 3: Job Development

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• Education of employers concerning ex-offender employment opportunities • Maintenance of on-going contact with actual and potential employers • Utilization of unions to identify new job opportunities • Coordination with business organizations (e.g., Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Business) • On-the-job training	• Increased receptivity of employers to hiring ex-offenders • Greater number of jobs available to ex-offenders • Increased likelihood that clients will be placed in "good" jobs consistent with their backgrounds, skills, and career aspirations	• Employer and union fears and reservations about hiring ex-offenders can be minimized by information delivered in person by job developers • Increased employer awareness of ex-offenders' employability will increase the number and quality of jobs available to them • Many jobs are found through "contacts" rather than want ads or other formal listings; by developing contacts for ex-offenders, more offenders can obtain appropriate employment

Table 4.1 (cont'd)
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 4: Job Placement

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• Familiarization of ex-offender clients with the job search and hiring process • Staff-arranged job interviews • Organization of files containing information on employers (e.g., benefits, salaries, hiring preferences) and the outcome of each placement attempt • On-the-job training placements	• Greater awareness of individual employer needs, actions, and opportunities • Increased number of job placements • Increased number of placements in "good" jobs consistent with client backgrounds, skills, and career aspirations • Decreased time period between initiation of the job search and acquisition of a job	• Employable ex-offender clients may remain unemployed due to lack of knowledge and experience in effective job search techniques • Greater knowledge of individual employer needs, actions, and opportunities increases the likelihood of success in subsequent placement attempts with the same employer

Table 4.1 (cont'd)
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 5: Post-Placement Supportive Services

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• On-going counseling and support (e.g., in groups, on-site) • Hotlines • Volunteer sponsors • Additional placement assistance to facilitate movement up the career ladder • Referral to additional services as needed (e.g., drug or alcohol treatment, evening education)	• Increased adjustment to employment, co-workers, and work settings • Decreased rate of post-placement failures (i.e., voluntary or involuntary terminations that do not represent calculated career moves) • Increased utilization of available training and social services on an as-needed basis • Increased likelihood that clients will reach ultimate career goals	• Post-placement support will increase ex-offenders' job retention and length of job tenure • Post-placement support will enhance clients' ability to advance in their career paths

Table 4.1 (cont'd)
Suggested Intervention System for Ex-Offender Employment Programs

Step 6: Program Evaluation[a]

Program Elements	Intended Changes Produced by Program Elements	Assumptions Upon Which Program Elements are Based
• Program monitoring, including program records analysis, observations and checklists, and surveys of clients, program staff, staff of referral agencies, and employers • Impact evaluation, including specification of target population, program intervention strategies, research design, and outcome measures	• Increased knowledge of effective program practices • More efficient allocation of staff and resources	• Program success can be maximized where knowledge is gained on the effectiveness of existing practices and techniques

[a]See Chapter 5 for a discussion of program evaluation procedures.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

itself has broad applicability to most jurisdictions and provides a general organizing principle for a comprehensive ex-offender employment program, the specific methods and techniques used to implement this strategy must be tailored by practitioners to local needs and conditions.[2] Thus, each set of services or program elements presented in the intervention strategy can be provided in a variety of ways.

Figure 4.1 provides an overview of the sequence of steps contained in the intervention system and their intended impacts on ex-offender clients and employment and recidivism outcomes. Unfortunately, typical ex-offender employment programs omit several key program elements or services set forth in the intervention system outlined here. Programs often fail to achieve the intended cumulative impacts because: (1) there is no systematic linkage between community-based ex-offender employment programs and correctional training and re-entry programs; (2) few joint treatment efforts are attempted with other programs; (3) post-placement supportive services are not provided; and (4) program services are not evaluated.

Two general delivery system characteristics which are needed to implement the intervention system--an interagency network and linkages with institutional programs--are discussed in the following section.

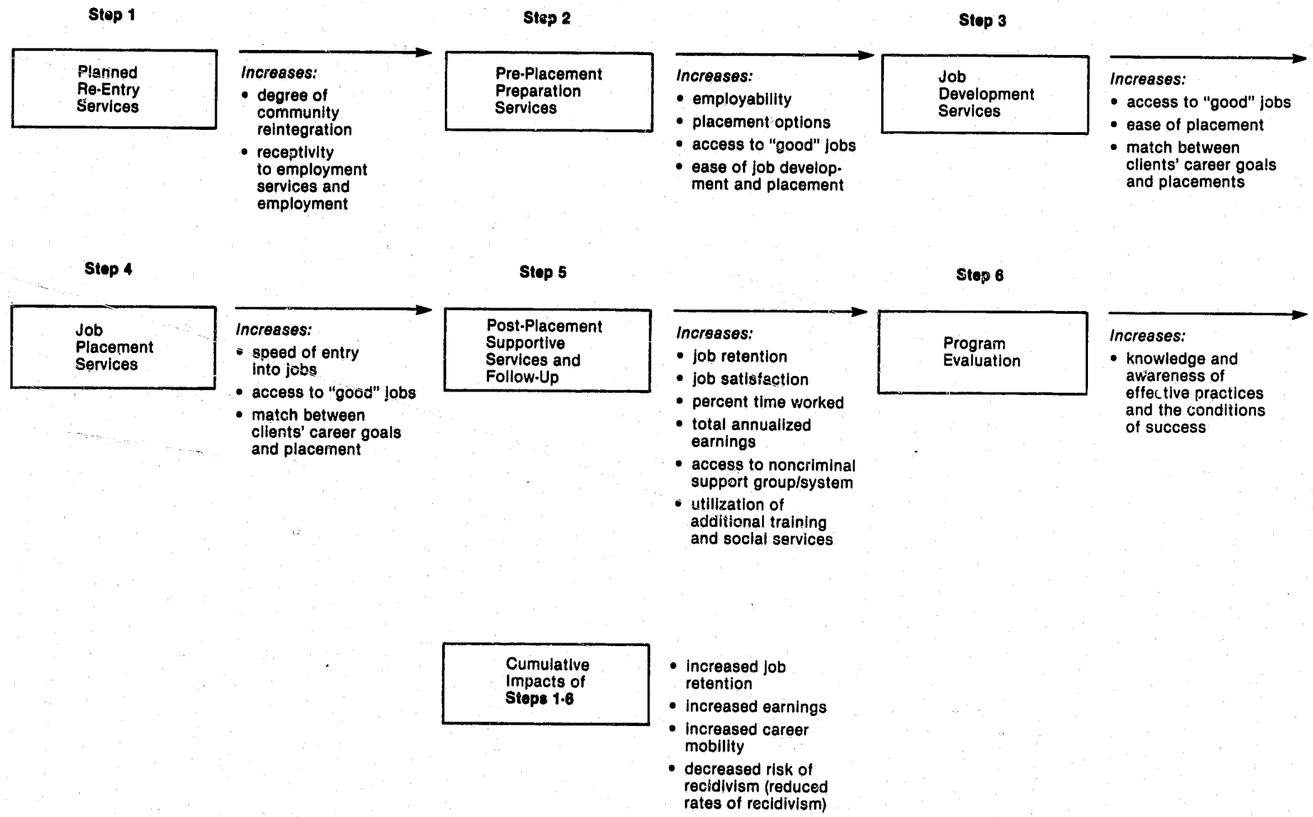
4.2.1 Delivery System Characteristics

The implementation of the intervention system requires an interagency network that can provide a wide range of services to ex-offender clients on an as-needed basis. Residential drug and alcohol services, out-patient mental health services, family counseling, medical services, and legal services are those which are most often needed by ex-offender clients. Because ex-offender employment programs typically do not have sufficient funds or staff expertise to provide quality services in all of these areas, they most often reject the clients who are actually in greatest need of receiving employment services. A network of agencies that provides joint treatment services is necessary to prevent the exclusion of ex-offenders with drug, alcohol, medical, mental health, and legal problems. The network should be capable of providing specialized services and subsequent job preparation, job development, and placement services. This process should be differentiated from the general practice of referring ex-offenders with special problems to another agency when they are rejected from employment services programs.

The implementation of the intervention system also requires direct and formal linkages between institutional programs and the community-based interagency network. Prison industry, work-release, and pre-release programs by their

[2] Sound intervention strategies are sometimes rejected as failures because the methods and techniques used to implement the strategies were not transferable from one locality to another.

Figure 4.1
Intended Impacts of the Intervention System
on Ex-Offender Clients and Employment and Recidivism Outcomes



nature do not generally provide the support necessary for successful reintegration and employment after the inmate has been released from confinement. The community-based ex-offender employment program should be equipped to provide the necessary additional supportive services and coordinate the delivery of these services with the network of community-based correctional agencies.

4.3 A Suggested Approach

The approach presented here incorporates a number of potentially effective program methods or techniques. A modified job development and placement approach is included, containing three main components: (1) an outreach, intake, and assessment unit; (2) a preparation services unit; and (3) a job development and placement unit. Table 4.2 details the responsibilities assigned to staff members in each of the three units.

This approach requires linkages between the ex-offender employment program and a network of criminal justice institutions, legal and social service agencies, educational and training programs, and business, community, and labor organizations.

Each component of the suggested approach is described in the remainder of this section. In the discussion which follows and in Appendix C, examples are provided from existing programs that have devised strategies for the successful implementation of particular elements of this approach.

4.3.1 Outreach, Intake, and Assessment

Planned Re-Entry. Most existing programs do not provide a planned re-entry process for inmates who are about to be released from correctional facilities. As a result, many releasees who are not psychologically prepared to face the world outside prison or who are without any anticipated means of support are not brought to the attention of these programs. Certain initial obstacles must be overcome when establishing a planned re-entry program--difficulties caused by lack of cooperation from corrections officials, inmate apathy and suspicion, or inmates who do not understand the voluntary nature of the employment program or the importance of their active participation. The potential gains from addressing these obstacles certainly merit the extra staff effort involved--the program is brought to the attention of those inmates who are most likely to need its services and the time period between a client's enrollment in the program and placement on a job can be considerably shortened, since many intake and preparation tasks can be accomplished prior to release. For example, a problem such as the absence of a social security number (which could delay employment for up to two months) could be solved prior to the date of release. In addition, time consuming but important activities such as career and vocational counseling, verification of

Table 4.2

Responsibilities Associated With Three Main Components of the Suggested Approach

1. Outreach, Intake, and Assessment Unit

Staff members are responsible for developing or conducting:

- introduction of program to local criminal justice and social service agencies to facilitate referrals;
- outreach campaigns through the media;
- planned re-entry;
- client profiles containing information on education, skills, and employment and criminal histories;
- in-depth client interviews;
- client testing; and
- written career action plans.

2. Preparation Services Unit

Staff members are responsible for providing or arranging:

- job readiness workshops;
- adult basic education or general equivalency degree training;
- pre-vocational and skill training;
- supported work/work experience; and
- referrals to other programs providing needed training, counseling, or treatment services.

3. Job Development and Placement Unit

Staff members are responsible for:

- arranging interviews for clients;
- conducting follow-up on interviews that lead to rejection;
- maintaining written information on each employer and attempted placement;

Table 4.2 (cont'd)

Responsibilities Associated With Three Main Components of the Suggested Approach

- coordinating job development with business and labor organizations;
- arranging job marts;
- developing union placement mechanisms;
- developing on-the-job training sites;
- training clients for employment at a specific company; and
- providng post-placement support services including follow-up investigation and additional placement and social services assistance.

previous employment, and identification of previous employment patterns could be initiated before release. (See Appendix C-1 for a discussion of the planned re-entry services provided by the Heart of America Job Therapy M-2 Program in Kansas City, Kansas.)

At a minimum, the programs using the suggested approach would offer inmates the following services prior to release:

1. an introduction and orientation to the ex-offender employment program;
2. an opportunity to complete work and criminal history forms;
3. a review of available community resources and additional supports that may be needed;
4. assessment services to identify individual capabilities;
5. career and vocational counseling services to determine general interest areas for employment; and
6. job readiness workshops.

The degree to which services such as skill training and remedial education courses can also be offered will, of course, vary according to local circumstances. However, services should be coordinated with existing prison programs. Placement assistance, if unavailable through the prison industry program, should also be provided.

Community-Based Intake and Assessment. It is essential that the program be properly introduced to local criminal justice and social service agencies to avoid duplication of services that are already available and to facilitate referrals between these agencies and the employment program. Techniques for introducing an ex-offender program into the network of existing agencies are discussed below in Section 4.4. (Appendix C-2 provides a discussion of the intake and assessment processes of Community Correctional Services in Geneva, Illinois.)

Recruitment is fairly straightforward after the program has been properly introduced. The type of clients, range of services, and average time needed for service delivery should be reiterated constantly to referral sources. The program should guard against coercing clients into enrolling: the program is voluntary and places responsibility on the clients for helping themselves.

In addition to reliance on other agencies for referrals, media advertising should be used both to educate the community and to notify ex-offenders about the services provided by the program. The media message should discuss

former clients who have received services and succeeded in finding and maintaining desirable jobs. The role of the business community should also be noted for helping ex-offenders to succeed in this respect.

Information on work history, education, criminal history, vocational skills, and other relevant characteristics should be collected after a client has entered the program. Work history information should be verified with former employers and prior work patterns (both positive and negative) should be identified. Criminal history should also be verified thoroughly. The verification of other types of information should be conducted on the basis of funding requirements.

The decision of whether to accept or reject applicants should also be made in accordance with funding guidelines. No ex-offender should be denied any services. Therefore, those who do not qualify for participation in the program should be referred to a network agency.

The assessment process begins when the client and staff meet for the first time. Dress, behavior, attitude, language, posture, eye contact, punctuality, ability to organize and present personal information, and any other behavior exhibited by the client should be at least subjectively--and, when possible, objectively--rated. An in-depth interview addressing the client's hopes, goals, and "ideal self" should be conducted before any attempts are made to involve the client in job preparation or placement activities. Aptitude, vocational interest, and manual dexterity tests should be administered to permit the identification of educational skills and vocational interests. Because many ex-offenders may be unable to provide an accurate estimation of their strengths and weaknesses, the testing process can often provide a more realistic perspective on the client's capabilities. The assessment data may allow the career development counselor and client to decide upon the services needed.

A written career action plan is an essential component of the suggested approach. The plan details the specific training needs and job sequence that will lead the client to his career goal. In many programs career planning consists of a five-minute discussion of training or immediate placement interests. This is clearly inadequate. Substantial effort is required to explore short- and long-range career goals and to determine the client's starting point. After the goals and starting point have been determined, the program must address a strategy for meeting the client's survival needs while seeking an initial job and subsequent jobs as outlined in the career plan. The plan also specifies the job preparation services to be provided, either directly or by referral to a network agency. The purpose of each element of the plan should be discussed thoroughly, along with the type of job sought and the degree of effort that will be required on the part of the client. Finally, the career action plan should be signed by both the client and the counselor.

At this stage in the process, most employment programs would reject high risk clients with problems that render them "unpresentable" to employers. Clients with severe drug, alcohol, mental health, or attitude problems would be the primary candidates for rejection. Under the suggested approach, however, these clients would not be rejected. While the services and budget of the program would not be expanded to meet the needs of these clients, linkages with agencies which specialize in the provision of drug, alcohol, and mental health services would be utilized. Clients who apply to the program would be provided with a career action plan that specifies the types of intensive treatment they will receive. In addition, the prerequisite conditions for further employment services would be stipulated. An extensive problem-free period is not necessary before employment services can continue. Clients should be moved into job preparation activities as soon as it is feasible.

4.3.2 Preparation Services

The pre-placement services offered within the suggested approach are similar to those preparation services offered by job development and placement (JDP) programs. Job readiness workshops (see Appendix C-3 for a discussion of Employ-Ex's workshop in Denver, Colorado), adult basic education, high school or general equivalency degree preparation, short-term skill training and refresher courses, and short-term supported work/work experience are the major options for assisting clients who are not yet ready for placement. It is during this phase that the agency network is utilized most fully. A program using the suggested approach coordinates the preparation services it offers with those available through other sources, thus avoiding costly duplication. It is important, however, for the preparation services staff to maintain on-going supervision of those clients who were referred to other programs to obtain a particular vocational or educational service.

Long-term supported work is the major addition the suggested approach will make to the usual constellation of JDP preparation services. The program would provide six to 12 months of support, graduated stress, and close supervision. These services are essential for many high risk clients who have been referred to other agencies for intensive treatment.

This suggested approach would also offer at least one in-house skill training course and one in-house supported work/work experience site. These services provide the necessary direct supervision and support for particularly difficult cases, since they permit more direct control of treatment and training staff. The Esperanza program in San Jose, California (see Appendix C-6), for example, operates an in-house clerical training class and a print shop that provides printing services for nonprofit agencies. Both sites allow counseling staff and trainers to work with the clients in a coordinated fashion.

4.3.3 Job Development and Placement

Again, the process used within this suggested approach resembles that of job development and placement programs. Job developers explain the program and special needs of ex-offenders to personnel directors and prospective employers. The placement process and the availability of support services are discussed. At the same time, the developers can learn about the company's policies and procedures, skill requirements, pay scale, and other features relevant to the employment of ex-offenders. The job developer will contact the employer when a qualified client is available, even if it is not clear that a job opening exists. This type of on-going contact serves to remind companies about the employment program's existence and may result in a job placement, since employers frequently choose to interview a client after hearing about his qualifications. In addition to arranging interviews for clients, the job developer contacts the employer when clients are interviewed but not hired to determine why the rejection occurred. Failures are then diagnosed and the information is shared with the client. This information is also used to benefit other clients, who can be better matched to the needs of the particular employer involved. A profile should be kept on each employer, along with a record of the outcome of each attempted placement.

Hiring ex-offenders should be presented as a wise business decision to potential employers. The job development and placement process does not require the employer to do a favor for the ex-offender. Although it can be argued that an employer has a civic responsibility to help another human being and to contribute to the reduction of recidivism, these points should not be overemphasized. Instead, the employer should be advised to hire the ex-offender if he feels he is qualified for the job and can perform in the company's work environment.

Additional development and placement strategies can also effectively increase the number of successful placements. These strategies include: (1) coordination with business and labor organizations; (2) development of union placement mechanisms; (3) individualized on-the-job training placements; and (4) training clients for employment at a specific company.

Coordinated Job Development with Business and Labor Organizations. Programs operating under the suggested approach would coordinate their efforts with labor and business organizations such as the Human Resource Development Institute (HRDI) of the AFL-CIO, the National Alliance of Business (NAB), and local Jaycees and Chambers of Commerce. The strength of the various organizations and their interest and previous success in working with ex-offenders vary greatly from one locality to another. However, many of these organizations participate in employer education and public relations activities and are frequently strong advocates of ex-offender employment. While these groups are often involved in job development and referral processes, they usually lack a thorough intake, assessment, and screening capability. Therefore, programs should attempt to coordinate their assessment and screening activities with the employer contacts in these organizations.

The ex-offender job mart, designed to bring area employers and ex-offenders together to facilitate job development and placement, is another activity which should be undertaken periodically. Company representatives typically staff individual booths to provide information to ex-offenders concerning potential employment opportunities. Hopefully, the company representatives at the job mart will schedule follow-up interviews and make a number of on-the-spot hires. (See Appendix C-4 for a discussion of the Massachusetts Department of Correction's job mart activities.)

The job mart is an important technique that can: (1) educate employers who have not worked with either the program or ex-offenders; and (2) solidify relationships with employers who are already experienced in hiring ex-offenders. Furthermore, the mart can be of immense public relations value and can provide a forum for the exchange of ideas among members of the business and criminal justice communities. For example, the job marts held by the Massachusetts Department of Correction have successfully brought together several hundred employers with thousands of ex-offenders and produced a significant number of on-the-spot hires. Publicity for the job marts was provided by public service announcements carried on a variety of local radio stations. Media coverage of the marts was also extensive. Major local newspapers provided nearly a full page of coverage, which included interviews with both ex-offenders and employers. Local television stations ran film clips of the mart on their nightly news programs. (See Appendix D for sample news releases and the brochure distributed to participants by the Massachusetts Department of Correction.) Third-party organizations played a significant role in both the recruitment of employers and the publicity for these job marts. Their valuable resources and potential assistance should not be overlooked.

Finally, coordination with labor organizations should be achieved to strengthen program efforts to modify discriminatory laws, regulations, and social service guidelines that serve as barriers to ex-offender employment. Recent efforts to counteract discriminatory laws and practices have slowed significantly and, unfortunately, the social climate is ripe for additional restrictions. Groups such as business and labor organizations can be invaluable as allies and advocates. Many of these organizations are already familiar with and committed to the cause of ex-offender employment, and their political and social clout extends far beyond that of most ex-offender employment programs.

Development of Union Placement Mechanisms. Program staff should develop a long-range strategy to improve ex-offenders' access to union membership and placement activities. The assumption that unions are always barriers to ex-offender employment must be re-evaluated in light of the recruitment and placement efforts of unions in several localities where women, ex-offenders, and minorities receive special assistance from many local, state, and national union organizations. (See Appendix C-5 for a discussion of the successful union placement mechanisms of the Step-Up program in Norfolk, Virginia.)

Several important aspects of the prior and current involvement of unions with special populations should be considered in any strategy to develop union placement mechanisms in a particular locality. First, many building trade unions actively recruit members from special population groups in order to maintain control of the work assignments on government funded construction sites. Contractors can recruit workers from a non-union pool if there is not a sufficient number of minority and women union members, thereby breaking up the strength of the union hiring hall.

Second, some unions have historically been more receptive than others to granting membership to special population groups. In various studies of blacks and the labor unions,[3] the relative degrees of difficulty encountered when approaching three major groupings of unions are as follows:

- Easiest access: The trowel trades--bricklaying, plastering, cement finishing, etc. Familiarity with skills can be gained by working as hod carriers and tenders.

- More difficult access: Carpentry, painting, and operating engineer trades. With hard work, significant gains have been made in increasing minority membership.

- Most difficult access: Electrical, plumbing, and mechanical trades. Electrical, plumbing, pipefitting, sheet metal, and iron work unions have historically been the most exclusionary. Admission to unions and training opportunities is limited and state and municipal licensing requirements are used to enforce exclusionary policies.

Third, the establishment of working relationships with unions is a process that is best developed from the top down. National and state councils are generally more receptive than local chapters to special population recruitment.

Finally, the most important aspect of union membership is that many industrial and service unions offer memberships to individuals after a company has hired them. If an individual posseses the necessary skills and is hired, the union will automatically offer membership after a probationary period. Unlike the building trade unions with hiring halls, industrial and service unions must allow employers to control hiring decisions. In states with "open shop" laws, unions are very anxious to have every new employee join the union to increase its membership and strengthen its bargaining position.

[3] Ray Marshall, The Negro and Organized Labor (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965); and Richard L. Rowan and Lester Rubin, Opening the Skilled Construction Trade to Blacks: A Study of the Washington and Indianapolis Plans for Minority Employment (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

Individualized On-the-Job Training Development. The two strategies outlined above are broad yet potentially effective approaches to the general problem of employing ex-offenders. Several existing programs have also experienced great success with individualized on-the-job training (OJT) and training targeted for employment at a specific company.

Programs operating under the suggested approach would be capable of developing on-the-job training sites for their clients. Many CETA-funded OJT efforts use large companies or training sites in which CETA applicants (hard-core unemployed, displaced homemakers, youth, the handicapped, and ex-offenders) must compete with each other for available job slots. By developing an OJT site or sites of its own, the program can establish OJT practices that conform to the career goals of its ex-offender clients and eliminate some of the competition with other CETA client groups. Although there should be an option for long-term employment, these OJT sites should be viewed primarily as training sites. It is not necessary for employers to be contractually obligated to hire the ex-offender after the training has been completed. This approach will enable the program to offer specialized training to ex-offenders. These OJT efforts would be similar to work experience slots, but they would offer a higher level of skill training.

Training for Employment at a Specific Company. Under the suggested approach, a program would develop or contract for training courses designed to provide a specific company with ex-offenders who can begin production level (as opposed to training level) work immediately upon their being hired. This type of training would eliminate the usual two- to three-month training process which most new employees undergo. The curriculum of the program's training course would be developed jointly with the company staff and should include both off-site and on-site training at the company plant, as well as adjustment to the work setting, co-workers, supervisors, specific equipment, and the company schedule. One training contractor using this approach is so pleased with the results of this process and the response from business that he has signed a "guaranteed placement" contract: the ex-offender program pays for the training services only after each trainee has been placed. (See Appendix C-6 for a discussion of this type of guaranteed placement contract developed by Esperanza in San Jose, California.)

Post-Placement Support Services. Under the suggested approach, the responsibility of the program's job development and placement staff does not end when a client has been successfully placed on a job. Instead, a significant portion of staff time is devoted to providing post-placement assistance to both employers and clients. At present, such follow-up assistance is virtually non-existent in most ex-offender employment programs. Follow-up is usually limited to periodic telephone contacts with the employer to determine if the client is still employed. Although job developers offer assistance if either the employer or client reports problems, little time is devoted to "trouble shooting" or adjustment counseling.

In contrast, a program operating under the suggested approach would have a sufficient number of job developers to allow each one to spend 20 to 40 percent of his time providing post-placement assistance. Programs might also train volunteers to provide friendship, support, and guidance for as long as the client desires such help. Follow-up activities, which will vary somewhat with the type of program and its target population, might include: (1) group counseling and support sessions held regularly during the early months of employment; (2) on-site counseling with groups of clients and their supervisors; (3) hotline services; (4) additional placement assistance when clients are ready for another step forward in accordance with their career action plans; and (5) arranging for additional services such as evening education or training classes, family or marriage counseling, drug or alcohol treatment, and other social service assistance.

During the post-placement phase, programs should provide ex-offender clients with an on-going interpersonal support system. Program counselors, volunteers, or other employed clients should be available to provide social support. The program staff members should also view themselves as employment "contacts." Ex-offenders often lack an extensive network of friends, family, and past employers who can provide them with employment leads. Clients should be encouraged to call staff members for information on new jobs and recommendations for better positions.

The few programs that regularly provide some of the post-placement services listed above have found them to be effective in improving their clients' job tenure. For example, the Esperanza program in San Jose, California attributes much of its long-term client success rate at a group placement site to group counseling sessions held at the plant. Another program, Project HOLD in Brighton, Maine, notes that its hotline has handled many late night crises that could have prevented employed clients from attending or keeping their jobs.

4.4 Implementing the Suggested Approach

Identification of the target group(s) to be served is the initial task to be undertaken by the program planners. The suggested approach is responsive to the needs of a broad array of clients and is flexible enough to shift its emphasis from one approach to another as local conditions change. Program planners must determine at the outset: (1) the client groups most likely to require program assistance in finding and keeping jobs; and (2) the combination of services that will best meet their needs. Planners must also identify: (1) the number of releasees and parolees returning to the program's catchment area; and (2) the percentage of unemployed ex-offenders that could feasibly be served by the program. Corrections and parole staff should be interviewed to construct educational, employment, criminal history, and substance abuse profiles on the local ex-offender population. These interviews will also help planners to select target groups and determine those that should be given priority.

Analysis of the local labor market is also an important component of program implementation and a necessary and integral activity of existing programs. Local labor market conditions are subject to change and program planners should monitor local trends closely to ensure that their services do not train clients for jobs in a glutted area of the market. CETA prime sponsor analyses, state employment data, market reports, and interviews with personnel directors of selected companies are among the sources planners can use to assess the employment opportunities, skills required to penetrate the local labor market, and segments of the market where growth is occurring.

To prevent the duplication of services that are already available elsewhere, the identification of existing services should begin with a comprehensive review of relevant local service providers. These agencies may include:

- halfway houses and drug and alcohol treatment houses, to which program clients can be referred when they demonstrate a need for residential support and supervision, and from which clients in need of employment services can be referred;
- social service agencies providing emergency food, housing, clothing, and child care;
- mental health clinics providing short- and long-term out-patient services for mental illness, individual psychiatric care, and family and marriage counseling;
- legal services to handle a variety of problems (e.g., alimony, child support, and outstanding warrants) that may be serious enough to interrupt employment; and
- business and labor organizations that advocate ex-offender employment, such as the local chapters of Human Resource Development Institute of the AFL-CIO and the National Alliance of Business. While not service agencies in the traditional sense, such organizations can be extremely valuable for job development assistance and employer education. Unions and Chambers of Commerce should also be involved to the greatest extent possible. Relationships must be cultivated and maintained in order to fully utilize these organizations. Lack of attention to and collaboration with these organizations would be a major deficiency in program operations.

An interagency network, composed of service providers such as those listed above, should be established before the program is initiated.[4] The network should be a "closed" or self-contained system that provides specialized services to ex-offenders on an as-needed basis, both before and after job placement. For example, clients with substance abuse and serious social adjustment problems can be referred to appropriate centers or halfway houses prior to placement in jobs. Similarly, a wide variety of services may be needed after placement to enable clients to become regular and productive employees. The program itself need not provide these support services directly and, indeed, it would be both unnecessary and costly to duplicate services available elsewhere in the community. However, program staff should retain primary responsibility for seeing that their clients receive the support services they need and career development plans should include referrals to other agencies whenever possible. This is particularly important for those clients who are referred to other agencies as part of their pre-placement services. It is also important that supplemental services be provided for an extended period to help the clients maintain and expand their progress.

The selection of direct service offerings should be based on: (1) the needs of the client population; (2) the characteristics of the local labor market; (3) existing employment-related services for ex-offenders; and (4) the requirements of funding agencies. As stated above, both the needs of the client population and local labor market characteristics tend to be fluid. Changes will also occur in the service capabilities of network agencies. Therefore, program planners and practitioners alike should be cautioned to examine and re-evaluate these variables at regular intervals to ensure the best fit between the services they provide, services available from other agencies in the community, and client needs.

Identification of funding sources and their criteria for funding is essential to the program's success. Multiple sources must be identified to enable the program to serve ex-offenders with a wide range of needs and income levels. The mandate of a single funding source is generally not wide enough to accommodate all phases of the suggested approach described in this chapter. However, a creative approach to multiple sources can result in the funding of all phases of a given program and, in addition, may produce "experimental" or "research and development" monies that can be used to expand the services offered. Taken singly, these "extra" funds may seem insignificant and unworthy of the extra time and effort required to obtain them. For example, a $500 grant from a business organization for outreach advertising and a $2,000 appropriation for experimental job development strategies may not

[4] Note that comprehensive systems or networks can provide ex-offenders with specialized services and easier access to other systems such as mental health or vocational rehabilitation agencies. They also enable the ex-offender employment program to provide clients with the help they need without drastically increasing staff and budget size. However, networks do not guarantee appropriate or quality treatment services. The network is the framework for providing good services, not the services themselves.

appear on the surface to merit the staff time involved in procuring the funds. However, the impact of these funds can be immense when they are obtained by program planners as part of a carefully considered strategy.

The use of multiple sources can also minimize the impact of one source's specific funding guidelines on various target groups. For example, CETA income requirements frequently affect the program's acceptance of clients: ex-offender applicants are rejected if their prior earnings make them ineligible to participate in CETA-funded training. Yet, from a criminal justice treatment orientation, the frustration and desperation exhibited by ex-offenders are far more important than past income levels: an ex-offender fired from a high paying job may be more likely to recidivate than an ex-offender who is not accustomed to success in the employment world. Programs drawing solely from CETA funds could not serve such a client, while programs with multiple funding sources might very likely meet his needs successfully and at a minimal cost.

Staffing needs will, of course, be determined by both the particular services offered by the program and the number of clients to be served. The required number of staff members will also be determined by the allocation of staff time between the immediate goal of job placement and the longer term objectives of job tenure and career success. The degree to which the program coordinates with network agencies and the number of volunteers used to aid clients will also affect the number of staff required. The hiring of ex-offenders as staff members is essential in all programs. They demonstrate a rapport, sensitivity, and tolerance with clients that serve to increase client communication and improve the attitudes of other staff members and potential employers. Planned re-entry services, job preparation workshops, and post-placement contact in the community may be better received by clients if ex-offenders are involved in performing these tasks. Furthermore, employers who are hesitant about interviewing ex-offenders, or have stereotyped views about the conduct and capabilities of ex-offenders as a whole, may be convinced to re-evaluate their attitudes by a job developer who is also an ex-offender.

Program evaluation is essential within the suggested approach. Like other social service organizations, ex-offender employment programs have a responsibility to their clients, the public, and their funding sources to assess continually and improve upon the efficiency and effectiveness of their services. When performed properly, evaluation can provide objective and reliable information on program performance. Unfortunately, however, the evaluation of ex-offender employment programs is a difficult task. It requires pre-planning, trained personnel, extensive staff time for data collection, cooperation from many different organizations, and a commitment from program staff that they will participate. The merits and difficulties inherent in program evaluation are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5
PROGRAM EVALUATION

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter program evaluation was included as an essential component of the recommended intervention system. Information gained through program evaluation is needed in order to refine operations, redesign intervention strategies, and, when necessary, terminate ineffective approaches and adopt new strategies. Program evaluation can provide practitioners, planners, and policymakers with information on: (1) the strengths and weaknesses of current implementation efforts; (2) the types of clients who benefit most from the program; (3) the types of clients who drop out or otherwise fail to benefit from the program; and (4) overall program effectiveness or other outcome measures which can be used to justify continued funding for services.

Currently, practitioners and funding agencies devote a considerable amount of time and resources to various forms and levels of evaluation. Federal agency funding requirements have resulted in the collection of a large amount of client data by most programs. Demographic information and criminal and employment histories are typically maintained on each client participating in these programs. Programs also generally record the number of clients served and the number placed on jobs. In addition, they may record the length of time spent on the job and whether clients are rearrested or reincarcerated.

Unfortunately, relatively few programs have been evaluated thoroughly or properly. Although the time and resources invested in data collection are substantial, program data are generally under-utilized for evaluation purposes. The under-utilization appears to be the result of: (1) confusion and lack of research experience among practitioners; (2) the infrequent use of external sources of expertise; and (3) limited financial resources for evaluation. The confusion of practitioners is amplified when their priorities are unclear: they may be advised to emphasize one set of concerns by criminal justice agencies and another set of concerns by manpower agencies.

The criminal justice agencies and evaluators are typically concerned with the impact of employment and employment services on the rearrest and reincarceration rates (i.e., some form of recidivism) of clients. The critical question

they seek to answer is: "As a result of employment services, did ex-offenders who received these services exhibit lower rearrest or reincarceration rates than a comparable group who did not receive services?" If it is established that rearrest and reincarceration rates are indeed lower for those who received services, the criminal justice criterion of success is satisfied. The limitation of this, however, is that a client who participates in employment services and is placed in job after job without retaining a single one for more than several weeks will be considered a success if he has not been rearrested or reincarcerated in 12 months.

In contrast, the manpower agencies and evaluators are concerned primarily with the labor market entry and job retention of ex-offenders. For them, the primary evaluation question is: "Have the employment services improved the labor market entry and retention rates of ex-offender clients?" From the perspective of the manpower evaluator, a client who finds and holds a single job for 12 months and then is rearrested or reincarcerated may be considered a success because the labor market entry and job retention goals were achieved. The measures preferred by criminal justice agencies and manpower agencies for determining program success both have their merits, and thus it appears that evaluations should not focus on one set of concerns to the exclusion of the other.

In general, evaluations may be conducted on two different levels. The first, termed a monitoring assessment, investigates the relationship between program inputs, outputs, and short-term effects. Often, this involves examination of the program process--the number of ex-offenders served, the length of time they remain in the program, or other characteristics of the way the program is administered and operated. Monitoring assessments may also examine some of the short-term effects of the program, such as its effectiveness in maintaining offenders' employment or reducing their involvement in crime while they are participating in the program.

Most often the monitoring assessment will not involve additional data collection efforts, as it uses the types of data normally collected by the ex-offender program. This level of evaluation is generally inexpensive to conduct, and may be carried out by the program staff themselves. Issues involved in monitoring assessments are examined in Section 5.2.

The second level of evaluation, the impact assessment, addresses more long-term effects of the program, i.e. whether the program has had its intended impact and the degree to which the program is responsible for the impacts achieved. Although program staff may conduct these evaluations, it is often more practical to employ trained evaluation experts to develop the evaluation plan. The evaluators will develop an overall research plan, including selection of the research designs, evaluation criteria, and standards. In addition, they will establish procedures for analyses, sampling, data collection, and general management. It is important, however, that the program practitioners collaborate with researchers in the development of the research plan, data collection, and analyses. For example, the practitioner must be

familiar with the research plan because it determines how and when program staff, clients, and researchers will interact during the course of the research. Practitioners may also provide insight into the feasibility of certain research activities and the disruption they may potentially cause. Collaboration will also allow practitioners to expand upon their research skills and understand the evaluation process so they can increase their programs' self-sufficiency in future evaluation efforts. Impact evaluations are discussed in Section 5.3.

Although monitoring assessments and impact evaluations are often conducted separately, the short-term program outcomes and long-term impacts which they examine may be causally related. Figure 5.1 illustrates the causal sequence of typical program inputs, short-term outputs, program outcomes, and impact outcomes. In general, practitioners should involve all programs in monitoring assessments, while subjecting only a few programs to impact evaluations. Because monitoring activities are far less costly than impact evaluations, all ex-offender employment programs can benefit from this type of assessment. By conducting impact evaluations in only a few carefully chosen programs, the efficiency of common program intervention strategies can be tested.

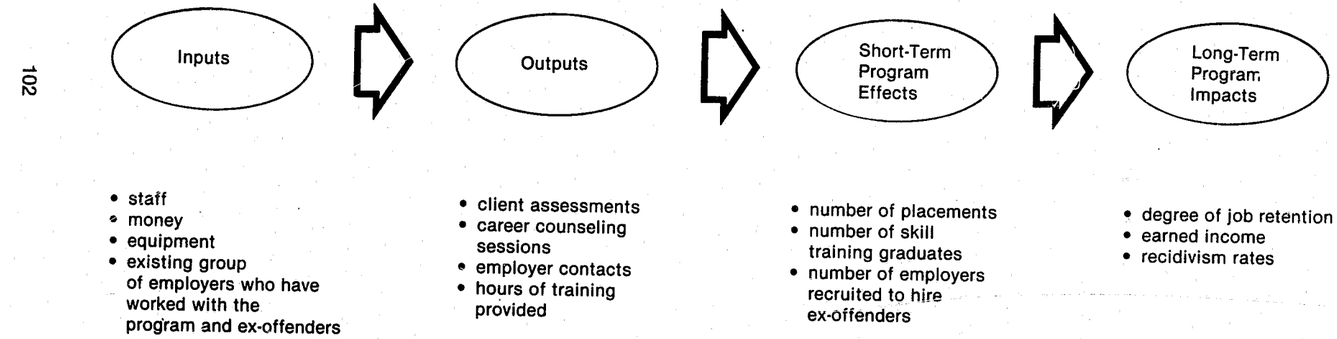
The following sections will discuss the purpose, common methods, and outcome measures for monitoring assessments (Section 5.2) and impact evaluations (Section 5.3). Three questions frequently posed by practitioners will be addressed:

1. Why aren't data such as the number of job placements and graduates from my training course capable of proving program effectiveness?
2. When is my program ready for an evaluation?
3. How can I make effective use of trained evaluation experts who are not part of my staff?

The sections provide a discussion of the general issues involved in monitoring and impact evaluations of ex-offender employment programs. They are not intended as step-by-step guides for practitioners, who should consult additional sources if such comprehensive guidance is desired.[1]

[1] Peter H. Rossi, Howard E. Freeman, and Sonia R. Wright, Evaluation: A Systematic Approach (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979) is a very comprehensive and readable evaluation and monitoring text with excellent step-by-step illustrations. A clearly written synthesis of evaluation theory is provided in Carol H. Weiss, Evaluation Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972). For a step-by-step guide that uses a work release program to illustrate important concepts and data analysis techniques, see Center for Human Services, Management-Oriented Corrections Evaluation Guidelines, by Jack Reynolds, 1977, reissued by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979).

Figure 5.1
Causal Sequence of Ex-Offender Employment Program Variables



5.2 Program Monitoring

In conducting monitoring assessments, the practitioner should address at least three basic questions:

1. Is the program reaching the appropriate target population? (e.g., are high risk or minority applicants being excluded?)

2. Are the services being delivered in accordance with the intervention strategy or design of the program? (e.g., do clients receive the required career counseling or job readiness training and assessment before they are referred to a job?)

3. Are program inputs and outputs adequate to produce the desired effects? (e.g., are there enough staff members involved in job development so that no client requires more than three weeks for placement?)

A program cannot be considered effective or worthy of impact evaluation if some of the intended services are never provided to clients or if the services are not being provided to the intended population. Monitoring activities address these types of concerns. Implementation problems or gaps, staff training, supervision needs, and intake procedures must be evaluated to ensure the acceptance of targeted clients.

Monitoring can be performed by either in-house staff or independent researchers. While program staff are capable of collecting the data for monitoring their programs, independent researchers may be helpful in designing data collection instruments, organizing project records to facilitate evaluation, performing analyses, and providing periodic guidance.

Practitioners must specify: (1) the program's intervention strategy and process outcomes; (2) the characteristics of the intended target population; (3) the variables to be studied; (4) the standards or objectives against which to compare actual performance; and (5) a research plan which specifies both the data collection schedules and analyses to be performed.

The standards or objectives used for comparison are generally either: (1) data from previous years on similar clients under similar conditions; or (2) quantitative objectives set arbitrarily or based on previous data. For example, one performance standard might be to reduce unemployment during 1981 among local prison releasees from 60 percent (based on 1980 parole data) to 20 percent; or a program may set a goal of identifying 100 new employers willing to hire ex-offenders. When data on clients from previous years are used for comparison or to set standards, there is generally an implicit

assumption that the characteristics of the clients and the labor market conditions are comparable for the two different time periods. However, if 1981 releasees are younger and less educated than 1980 releasees and the number of jobs in the labor market has decreased, the 1980 data do not provide a fair standard for comparison or goal setting. Therefore, it will sometimes be necessary to anticipate labor market changes or releasee characteristics based on economic forecasts or characteristics of the inmate population. Researchers in local universities or funding agencies can often provide valuable assistance in this regard.

The typical methods used by practitioners in conducting program monitoring include:

- records analysis;
- observations and checklists; and
- surveys of clients, program staff, staff from referral agencies, and employers.

Project records are a key source of evaluation data and care should be taken to maintain the quality and accuracy of: (1) data obtained from the client at intake; and (2) data entered in client files by staff during and after treatment.

The following data are frequently collected and used by ex-offender employment programs for evaluation purposes:

Client Demographic Data

- Race
- Sex
- Age
- Education level
- Family information
- Criminal history
- Work history
- Drug/alcohol involvement
- Means of support (i.e., family, welfare)

For each client and applicant, particular attention should be given to determining the: (1) current duration of unemployment; (2) duration of last two or three jobs, if any; and (3) last hourly wage earned and highest wage ever earned.

Caseflow Data (Monthly)

- Number of applicants
- Number of clients accepted for services

- Number of referrals to other service agencies
- Number of dropouts
- Number of additional non-positive terminations
- Number of graduates from skill training
- Number of placements

Follow-Up Data

- Number of weeks employed after placement
- Number of weeks employed on the original placement
- Number of absences from work
- Income earned (monthly)
- Number of rearrests
- Number of reincarcerations

Practitioners should exercise caution in selecting data to be collected. Some data are very difficult and time consuming to collect, and the information may not be worth the effort. Practitioners should also use cross tabulations to gain insights about operations. Cross tabulation or breakdown refers to a tabulation of the number of cases that occur jointly in two or more categories (e.g., the number of dropouts who were poorly educated and had an extensive criminal history). Developing data on more than one item can answer questions such as:

1. Of the clients who drop out, how many had other means of support such as welfare?
2. Of the applicants rejected, how many had drug or alcohol abuse problems?
3. Of the clients who completed skill training, how many were still employed after six months?
4. Of the clients placed in high paying jobs, what portion were members of minority groups?

The use of a computer and an analysis package such as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)[2] may be required to answer these types of questions. (See Appendix C-7 for a discussion of operations research in Community Correctional Services in Geneva, Illinois, which used a sophisticated statistical analysis to identify client characteristics associated with program failure.) Practitioners can often obtain free assistance and computer time by allowing graduate students in computer courses to analyze the data as part of their computer training.

[2]See Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner, and Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1975).

As a final note on monitoring assessments, it should be stated that they do not provide "proof" that a program has produced the desired impacts. For example, practitioners often view the number of clients placed in jobs, the number of months in continuous employment, or the percentage of clients employed as proof of program success. This type of information, which is usually obtained in monitoring efforts, does not prove that the program actually produced or caused the observed effects. Other plausible explanations of the effects weaken the practitioners' claim of success. For example, increased employment rates in 1980 for the targeted releasees may have occurred because the 1980 release population is different from that of 1979. The 1980 program clients may have been older or may have possessed more education or work experience. An increase in employment outcomes may also be due to an influx of new jobs to the area.

Without the special controls characteristic of impact evaluations, interpretations of program performance are difficult at best. An impact evaluation must be conducted to: (1) determine whether there is a causal link between program inputs, outputs, process outcomes, and intended impacts, and (2) determine what portion or component of the desired change is due to the program, since other factors will undoubtedly contribute to employment and recidivism outcomes.

5.3 Impact Evaluations

The objective of an impact evaluation is to determine whether or not an intervention is producing its intended effects. Impact assessment is appropriate only after it has been determined that a program is being implemented properly and appears to be producing its short-term effects.

Impact evaluations require:

1. a clear definition of the target population;
2. clear specification of the program design or intervention strategy;
3. a research design; and
4. a set of valid outcome measures to determine program impacts.

Each of these requirements will be discussed in the following sections. However, it should be emphasized here that even if these requirements are adequately satisfied a successful evaluation will not automatically follow. Many unanticipated problems or complications can interfere with the evaluation, depending on the particular program and the setting in which it is

carried out. The best safeguard for a program is to employ research personnel who are skilled in evaluation methods and are able to trouble-shoot problems as they arise.

5.3.1 Defining a Target Population

It is important in any evaluation to provide a clear definition of the target population. Such a definition enables one to make critical judgments concerning the generalizability of the results or findings of the evaluation. For example, an impact evaluation of a particular type of service or program may not reveal success with a target population that had an extensive criminal history, little education, and no work experience. However, the apparent lack of program success should not discourage practitioners in other programs providing similar services to a target population consisting of well-educated first offenders with considerable work experience.

In defining a population, the type of recruitment and source of clients should be considered. Recruitment and referral to the program usually occur at some point in the criminal justice system. For example, client sources might be one or more prisons, a parole or probation department, or a court diversion project. Programs need not be confined to one source and may use multiple sources if there is a great deal of cooperation with the criminal justice agencies. In addition to the recruitment source, the time period during which clients are recruited should be stated; for example, persons released from Elmira State Prison from January 1980 to the present, or persons placed on parole in Harris County from January 1980 to February 1981.

Some programs may introduce as criteria the kind or severity of the charge against the person, such as felony, misdemeanor, or minor offense. For example, a project might exclude persons whose charges are rape or other crimes against persons. Alternatively, the program may define its clients according to the length of time spent in prison or jail, such as more than six months or more than one year. Evaluators must also consider the location of the program--where the client resides or will be working. Obviously, a program cannot provide services everywhere and usually must restrict itself to one or two cities or counties. In addition, there are a host of personal characteristics that may be used to define a client population: age, sex, education, work experience, alcohol and other drug use, and so on.

The following list is a hypothetical definition of a client population.

- Recruitment Source: Chino State Prison, Harris County Jail
- Time Period: Released from January 1980 to December 1980
- Legal Status: Parolees only, no first offenders
- Charges: No crimes against persons, felonies only

- Incarceration: Served at least six months
- Location: Returning to live and work in Harris County
- Age: 18 to 30 years old
- Sex: Both male and female
- Education: Less than high school diploma, no illiterates
- Marital Status: Single only
- Work Experience: Less than two years, no professional or skilled workers

5.3.2 The Research Design

The research design must be tailored to the type of data to be analyzed, the degree of certainty required, and the funds available for the evaluation. Practitioners and trained research personnel should collaborate to construct the research design that best meets the information needs of the program and the requirement for good evaluative research.

There are three types of basic designs from which to choose: pre-experimental, "true" experimental, and quasi-experimental designs. Each type has several variations and only a few will be discussed here.[3]

Pre-experimental Designs

Pre-experimental designs are so termed because they lack built-in controls. They involve observations of the behavior of only one group of individuals: those who receive program services. For example, the employment and recidivism rates of an identified group of clients might be observed both before and after program services (known as a one group pretest-posttest design). The data are then examined for differences between pre-service and post-service outcomes. In some designs (such as the after-only or ex-post-facto design), no direct observations can be made prior to the administration of program services. In these cases, researchers use previous records or information gained through retrospective interviews along with post-service observations. Data are not obtained on another group of individuals with which results can be compared, and thus, the possibility that factors other than program services caused any of the observed changes cannot be ruled out. Even if significant changes are evident in a group's behavior after service,

[3]For more information see, for example, Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1966) and Stuart Adams, Evaluative Research in Corrections: A Practical Guide (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

one cannot assume that they were caused by factors related to service delivery and not by pre-existing conditions. Due to these limitations, pre-experimental designs are not recommended to evaluate the effectiveness of employment service programs for ex-offenders. However, these designs are frequently used because they are inexpensive and can be quickly implemented and operationalized.

Experimental Designs

A true experimental design has the advantage of offering a reasonable certainty that observed differences in client data are attributable to program services. The random assignment of clients to treatment and control groups is a critical feature of true experimental designs. Groups formed by random assignment are likely to be nearly equal to each other on all pre-existing variables. Changes observed in the experimental group can, therefore, be reasonably attributed to the program intervention.

In the pretest-posttest control group design, individuals are randomly assigned to two groups before observations or measurements are made. One group, the experimental group, receives program services while the other one, the control group, does not. The two groups are observed once again after their participation in the program. If the employment patterns and recidivism rates of the experimental group have improved significantly during the time period between the two sets of observations while the rates of the control group did not (or improved to a significantly lesser extent), the differences between the two groups can be attributed to the effects of the program intervention. Because the groups were formed randomly and were thus assumed to be equal to each other in all respects, any significant differences between them are presumably the result of the different conditions to which they were exposed.

True experimental designs provide evaluators with the most control over confounding or extraneous variables and enable them to infer a cause-and-effect relationship between program services and observed outcomes. Unfortunately, these designs are the most difficult to implement in field settings due to the sophistication in research design they require to be operationalized, the expense of conducting true experiments for extended time periods, and the unresolved ethical questions concerning the denial of services to control group clients.

Quasi-Experimental Designs

Quasi-experimental designs occupy an intermediate position between pre-experimental and true experimental designs. In one type of quasi-experimental design, the group receiving treatment is compared to a similar group which does not receive treatment. However, unlike experimental designs, these groups are not formed by random assignment. Instead, a matching method may be used to select a group that is similar in major characteristics to the experimental group of program recipients. Such characteristics might include the previous number of jobs held, highest wage earned, years of education,

and years incarcerated. To determine the program's impact, data are then obtained on the two groups before and after program services are administered. Because the individuals in the two groups are similar only with respect to the matched characteristics, it is possible that they differ markedly on some other characteristics; these differences, rather than program services, may lead to the changes observed.

Quasi-experimental designs are not merely "careless" experimental designs. These designs control for specific factors or sources of error, and the researcher knows in advance which of these are controlled. Accurate interpretations of the findings can therefore be made. Quasi-experimental designs are very useful when conditions prevent the use of a true experimental design.

After the tentative selection of a research design, the practitioner should:

- determine the types of errors or contamination controlled for by the design;
- determine the types of errors or contamination not controlled for by the design; and
- obtain second and third opinions on the appropriateness of the design for the evaluation objectives.

With this information, the advantages and disadvantages of the chosen design can be clearly identified before staff time, energy, and resources are expended in the implementation of the evaluation.

5.3.3 Measuring the Goals of an Ex-Offender Employment Program: Valid Outcome Measures

Employment programs for ex-offenders have two principal goals: (1) to improve the employment experience of ex-offenders; and (2) to decrease their involvement in crime. These two goals are hypothesized to be causally related: employment services increase successful employment, which, in turn, reduces criminal involvement. There are, however, other situations which might occur. For example, an employment program could increase employment with no subsequent reduction in crime. Alternatively, a job service might fail in its effort to increase employment, yet it could reduce crime simply as a result of the attention that clients are given. To determine which of these processes are operating, the variables of employment and crime must be measured accurately using available indicators and data sources. The analytic work at a later stage is facilitated by the collection of appropriate data at the outset of the evaluation.

Dimensions of Employment

Ex-offender clients generally fall into three broad classes: (1) some will not find a job at all and will be unemployed during the entire follow-up period; (2) others will work steadily at the same job for the entire period; and (3) others will have several different jobs--intermittent employment alternating with stretches of unemployment. The third category poses the most difficult questions for data collection purposes, as the same information must be obtained on each job that a client holds during the prescribed follow-up period. The items listed below should be recorded for each job that an individual holds:

- length of time between entry in program and first job;
- source of job;
- job description (sufficient information should be obtained so that the standard U.S. Census Bureau classification can be used);
- hourly wage;
- weekly earnings before taxes;
- social security deductions; and
- number of days absent (including reasons, such as illness, court appearances, detention, etc.)

The same information must be obtained from all clients--in both experimental and control groups--at regular intervals throughout the follow-up period. Assuming a follow-up period of one year, the staff should conduct follow-up interviews with clients each month if possible. Because monthly interviews are costly and sometimes require an increase in staff, they may not be practical for some programs. If there is an extensive time period between interviews, however, clients are far more likely to forget critical information such as actual previous wages, number of hours worked, and so on, and staff members may lose track of clients. Quarterly interviews may represent a reasonable compromise in such cases. Program staff may be able to verify information provided by clients or obtain additional information by interviewing employers or obtaining access to company payroll or personnel files. These activities should not be attempted if the employer is unaware of the client's ex-offender status.

After the data have been collected, the information can be summarized in various forms covering different time periods, such as total hours worked per month, quarter, year, and so on. For clients who have held several jobs, it is important to examine the changes that occurred with each new position, as well as the number of jobs held. Do their wages increase? Does the skill level of the job go up? Frequent job changes may be an indicator of either

problems or success. If an individual simply cannot maintain a job for an adequate length of time, it is an indication of problems and job instability. In contrast, it is an indicator of success if an individual appears to be improving himself with each new job and increasing wages or skill level.

Measuring Criminal Involvement

In general, the level of clients' criminal involvement is measured using one of three kinds of data: arrests, convictions, or prison sentences. It is important to note that all three of these measures are indicators of actions by official agencies rather than the actions of the client himself. It is the client's actions, however, which should be the chief concern of program evaluation. Therefore, arrests, convictions, and sentences are indirect measures of criminal involvement, but they are used because direct measures are impossible or impractical to obtain. Direct measurement would require 24-hour observation or personal interviews with the clients to obtain valid and comprehensive data. Most clients would be unwilling to reveal their criminal actions in an interview. Even if they were willing, some people do not recognize many of their actions as illegal even though they are officially classified as such (e.g., assault, buying and selling stolen goods or drugs).

Of the three indirect measures listed above, arrests are preferable,[4] not because arrests are a perfect indicator, but because the other two--convictions and sentences--are woefully inadequate. Convictions and sentences are several steps removed from the crime itself and are subject to various kinds of official manipulation which do not bear on the question of whether a crime actually took place. If convictions are used, arrests that result in state cases, nolle pros, diversion, or dropped charges (due to uncooperative witnesses or faulty police practices) are ignored. If sentences are used, convictions that result in fines, suspended sentences, and probation are ignored. All of these actions are based on the judgment of the courts as to whether a case can be adjudicated and what is in the best interest of all parties involved--not on whether the crime actually took place. (It is estimated that only 40 percent of arrests result in convictions.)

A further problem in using convictions or sentences is the amount of missing data. Courts do not report their actions to other agencies. Consequently, police or sheriff records, the state criminal identification systems, and FBI files are seriously incomplete on dispositions. (It is estimated that the FBI receives dispositions on only 45 percent of its cases, and only one-third of the files in local agencies show dispositions.)

If arrests are used as the indicator of criminal activity, it is important to recognize that the amount of crime may be incorrectly stated. On the one hand, it will be understated because: (1) many people will not be arrested

[4] Warrants have also been recommended by researchers in the field as indicators of criminal activity.

for all the crimes they have committed; (2) only about half of the crimes that take place are reported to the police; and (3) the police clear only about one in four of the complaints that come to their attention. On the other hand, use of arrest rates may overstate criminal involvement due to false arrests which contribute to official figures. Ethical concerns can be raised regarding the use of arrest rates to measure program effectiveness, since defendants are not guilty until conviction. It is not acceptable to regard an individual as "criminally involved" merely because he was arrested. However, this argument may be tempered by the fact that figures on the number of arrests are used only in aggregate form for program evaluation purposes. They describe groups of clients rather than the behavior of specific individuals.

The best sources of arrest information are the local agencies that create them--the city police and the sheriff's office. Many states now have criminal identification systems, but the completeness of these files depends on the cooperation of the local jurisdictions. The extent of coverage varies with the state; in New York it has been estimated that the state system contains about 75 percent of the arrests that occur, while in California the estimate is 60 percent and in New Jersey it is 50 percent. FBI files contain only about 40 percent of the arrests that occur in jurisdictions across the country.

To carry out a thorough check on arrests, the researchers should first obtain the following information on each client:

- name;
- aliases;
- date of birth;
- social security number;
- FBI number;
- state identification number;
- local jurisdiction number; and
- prison number (changes with each incarceration--use the most recent)

Some clients may not be able to recall their social security numbers, while others may never have obtained one. Programs should verify all social security numbers and, if necessary, obtain numbers for those clients who do not have one as soon as they enter the program. It is important that all social security numbers and dates of birth be listed accurately because they will become the critical client identifiers as the research proceeds.

Information about arrests should be obtained in as much detail as possible, including: (1) the specific charge or charges (frequently there will be more than one charge for an arrest); (2) the date that the crime took place; and (3) the date of the arrest. Additional information is needed on whether the person was held in detention and, if so, the period of detention. The court of jurisdiction should also be noted so that dispositions can be obtained directly from the courts when they occur.

Some clients may have more than one arrest during the follow-up period and each one should be recorded. If a prison record shows that a warrant has been issued but does not provide the reason, court records may contain the missing information. Similarly, parole violations may be indicated on the arrest record; these should be investigated to determine the reason for the violation.

Continuing evaluation is of critical importance to the success of any employment service program for ex-offenders. A sound evaluation approach with adequate monitoring and data gathering capabilities enables staff to detect operational problems early enough to develop remedies. An alert staff can thus identify ways to improve program operations and develop alternative service delivery strategies.

Chapter 6
Recommendations

6.1 Future Research Needs

Our interviews and observations indicated that the formal and informal intake criteria of employment and other social service programs may exclude or reject ex-offenders at a high rate. While programs may justifiably reject ex-offenders when the services are not designed to meet their specific needs, the end result may be that ex-offenders who are motivated enough to apply for assistance are turned away. Research is needed to identify: (1) the characteristics of ex-offenders who request but are denied employment services; and (2) the circumstances under which rejection occurs. Data reviewed for the present study indicate that the rejection rate may be from 40 to 60 percent. Thus, it appears that limited access to employment and social services is one of the most important ex-offender employment barriers which needs to be addressed by policy planners and practitioners. Research on the access ex-offenders have to services may elucidate the effectiveness of existing funding and client intake guidelines in targeting services for ex-offenders and facilitating access to services. An analysis of the application records of ex-offenders who requested but were denied CETA services might be a feasible starting point.

An assessment of the impact of planned re-entry services and post-placement supportive services on the employment problems of releasees is needed. The addition of planned re-entry and post-placement supportive services to the traditional services offered by ex-offender employment programs may have substantial effects on job retention, annual earnings, duration of spells of unemployment, and recidivism rates.

Further research is needed on employer discrimination against ex-offenders. The reasons and methods for discriminating against ex-offenders should be detailed. Variation in the degree of discrimination or exclusionary hiring policies in various levels or segments of the labor markets should be identified. Programs appear to place ex-offenders in minimum wage or low paying jobs without great difficulty; it is not clear whether employers want ex-offenders to have the jobs or whether employers are more likely to block their access to better jobs. More effective civil rights safeguards and programs for employer education and could possibly result from research in these areas.

A comparative study of the costs associated with the six existing approaches for providing ex-offender employment services should be initiated. Such a study would provide practitioners and program planners with cost information with which to design or select new programs and services.

6.2 Coordination and Technical Assistance Needs

In addition to the need for specific research, there is a need for additional federal, state, and local funding for ex-offender employment services which can encourage: (1) interagency service delivery networks; and (2) technical assistance for correctional agencies, CETA prime sponsors, and practitioners.

Interagency service delivery networks are needed because most ex-offender employment programs do not have sufficient funds or staff to provide all of the specialized services that the client population may need. In addition, the delivery of the necessary residential, drug, alcohol, mental health, and vocational rehabilitation services are often the primary mission of other agencies.

Furthermore, halfway houses and residential drug and alcohol programs often attempt to provide employment services, rather than utilizing the established services and staff expertise of a centralized employment program. The employment components or employment counselors in halfway houses and drug and alcohol treatment programs often compete for access to the same employers and jobs. The overall quality of the employment services in these settings is generally poor because employment assistance is a secondary function and receives a small allocation of the available resources. In order to remedy this situation and encourage the development of interagency service delivery networks, funding agencies at the federal level should coordinate their funding guidelines and undertake joint initiatives.

The need for quality technical assistance should be addressed by these agencies. Corrections staff and CETA prime sponsors need assistance in establishing and redesigning employment services for new releasees and other ex-offenders. There appears to be a pressing need to assist prime sponsors, some of which are hesitant to fund ex-offender programs because they fear high failure rates.

On another level, technical assistance to existing programs could be enhanced through the exchange of information between programs and practitioners. Practitioners rarely possess the resources or opportunities to learn about the best methods and techniques employed in other programs. In all of the programs studied for this report, practitioners expressed great interest in learning about the apparently effective techniques that had been observed in other programs. In one jurisdiction, a program with effective training methods sought information on intake procedures. In another jurisdiction

only 30 miles away, a program with an exceptional intake process was seeking new training ideas. Although each program knew that the other existed, neither was aware that particular--and in this case complementary--strengths could be shared. Practitioner to practitioner technical assistance can be effective and inexpensive; however, forums for information exchange must be financed, developed, and publicized by funding agencies.

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APPENDIX A

TELEPHONE SURVEY LIST

Employment Services for Ex-Offenders

Telephone Survey List

Achievement Training Opportunities
Atlanta, Georgia
(out of business)

Aiken Youth Correctional Ctr.
Program
Columbia, South, Carolina
(803) 758-5806

American Indian Center
Ex-Offender Program
Omaha, Nebraska
(402) 344-0111

Arizona Ex-Offender Program
Coolidge, Arizona
(602) 723-5351

Catholic Family Service
Hartford, Connecticut
(203) 522-8241

Community Acceptance Program
Birmingham, Alabama
(205) 324-4625/251-9534

Community Correctional Asst.,Inc.
Youngstown, Ohio
(216) 744-5143

Community Correctional Services
Geneva, Illinois
(312) 232-2400, ext. 219

Community Resource Development
Indianapolis, Indiana
(317) 633-4153

Community Services Center
New Orleans, Louisiana
(502) 897-6277

Comprehensive Employment
Training Service
Toledo, Ohio
(No number)

Correctional Employment Service
Champaign, Illinois
(217) 351-9175

COSOAP
Cincinnati, Ohio
(513) 597-9300

East St. Louis Model Ex-Offender
Program
East St. Louis, Illinois
(618) 857-9300

Employ Ex-Offender
Denver, Colorado
(303) 837-8842/572-8616

Esperanza
New Hope for Women
San Jose, California
(408) 287-5230

Frankfort Habilitation, Inc.
Frankfort, Kentucky
(502) 227-9529

Friends Outside
San Francisco, California
(415) 863-5100

Gay Community Service Center
Los Angeles, California
(213) 464-7400 ext. 246 /
(464-7466)

Heart of American Job Therapy
Kansas City, Kansas
(913) 281-4432

Help Industry Resolve Employment
Disability, H.I.R.E.D.
Minneapolis, Minnesota
(612) 348-8560

Help Offenders Procure Employment
Rockford, Illinois
(815) 987-5647

Illinois COMP Program
IDOC Corr. Manpower Ser. Project
Chicago, Illinois
(217) 522-3799

Indian Halfway House of Sacramento, Inc.
Sacramento, California
(916) 452-4600

Institute for the Development of Human Resources
Newark, Delaware
(302) 737-7488

Job Therapy Inc.
Seattle, Washington
(206) 624-3406

Kenosha Partners, Inc.
Kenosha, Wisconsin
(414) 657-3142

Lincoln CETA
Lincoln, Nebraska
(402) 474-1328

Lutherans Involved in Ex-Offenders Employ. Opp.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 937-4859

Mahoning County Corr. Assoc., Inc.
Youngstown, Ohio
(216) 744-5143

Manpower Corrections Program
Rochester, New York
(716) 428-5196

Manpower Training Division
Augusta, Maine
(207) 289-3375

Maryland Ex-Offender Program
Baltimore, Maryland
(301) 383-5508

Massachusetts Dept. of Corrections
Office of Manpower Affairs
Boston, Massachusetts
(No number)

Metropolitan United Citizens for Prison Reform (MUCPR)
Kansas City, Missouri
(186) 924-6900 ext. 57

Minnesota Dept. of Employment Services
Duluth, Minnesota
(218) 723-4730

Model Ex-Offender Program (MEP)
Joliet, Illinois
(815) 723-8998

Morrow Projects
Sanford Bates House
New Brunswick, New Jersey
(201) 247-2770

Native American Correctional Treatment Program
Lincoln, Nebraska
(402) 477-5231

New Start Inc.
Springfield, Illinois
(217) 522-4048/2810

New Way In-JOB Assistance
Lansing, Michigan
(517) 484-8473

Offenders Aid and Restoration of New York State
Ithaca, New York
(607) 273-5500

Offender Re-Entry Program
Bridgton, Maine
(207) 647-5231

Orange County Halfway House
Anaheim , California
(No number)

Parole Rehabilitation and Employment Project (PREP)
Columbus, Ohio
(614) 466-2794

Philadelphia Urban Coalition Institute
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
(225) 732-9222

Prison Apostolate of New York Catholic Charities
New York, New York
(212) 317-1000 ext. 221

Project DARE
The Safer Foundation
Chicago, Illinois
(312) 322-4729

Project Detour II
1017 North Main Avenue
San Antonio, Texas
(512) 226-6321

Project FIRE
Hartford, Connecticut

Project J.C.V.E.
San Diego, California
(714) 233-5285

Project MORE
New Haven, Connecticut
(203) 865-5700

Project Resource
Newark, New Jersey
(201) 624-3933

Public Action in Correctional Effort, Inc. (PACE)
Indianapolis, Indiana
(317) 639-2545

Public Service Employment Program
Jacksonville, Florida
(904) 633-6435

Quincy Vocational Center
Dept. of Offender Rehab.
Tallahassee, Florida
(904) 488-5021

Salvation Army
Dallas, Texas
(214) 742-9131

San Francisco Sheriff's Comm. Re-Entry Center
San Francisco, California
(415) 558-3126

Self Development and Release Support Program
Boston, Massachusetts
(No number)

SER
Fresno, California
(209) 237-5555

Seventh Step Foundation
Northwestern Ohio Chapter
Toledo, Ohio
(419) 246-3663

Seventh Step Foundation
Phoenix, Arizona
(602) 254-6218

Sojourner Center
Phoenix, Arizona
(602) 258-5344

Step-Up Program
Norfolk, Virginia
(804) 461-4555

T.A.E. & T.C. Offender Program
CETA Services
Toledo, Ohio
(419) 246-3663

Today Not Tomorrow Workshop
Boston, Massachusetts
(No number)

Turning Point
Bakersfield, California
(805) 323-7475

Turning Point
Fresno, California
(209) 442-8075

Urban League-Female Ofender
Project
Little Rock, Arkansas
(501) 372-3037

Voc. Mass. Employment Program
Boston, Massachusetts
(617) 727-3950

Walnut House Ex-Offender
Employment Program
Jacksonville, Florida
(904) 633-4059

Wider Opportunitues for Women
Washington, D.C.
(No number)

Wildcat Service Corp.
New York, New York
(212) 949-8600/8768 &
8769

Wisconsin Correctional Service
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
(414) 271-2512

Women Offenders Resource Center
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
(405) 528-7613

Women Offenders Resource Center
Tampa, Florida
(813) 223-4997

Women Offenders Resource Center
Tulsa, Oklahoma
(918) 932-4679

APPENDIX B

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES,
GENEVA, ILLINOIS

1. Policy Form
2. Client/Counselor Contract Agreement
3. Interview Critique
4. Job Readiness Checklist
5. Employability Development Plan
6. Sample Budget
7. Career Plan of Action
8. Form Letter to Previous Employers

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, 409 CAMPBELL STREET, GENEVA, IL. 60134
TELEPHONE: (312)232-2400

CCS POLICY

1. CCS IS A VOLUNTARY PROGRAM: You may voluntarily apply to CCS for services, and CCS may voluntarily accept you for program services.

2. CCS may refer you for additional services to other agencies in order to offer you the most appropriate career development opportunities.

3. If you are rearrested after you complete this application, CCS may suspend or terminate service delivery.

I have read this policy and agree to it.

signature date

witness

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, 409 CAMPBELL STREET, GENEVA, IL. 60134
TELEPHONE: (312)232-2400

CLIENT/COUNSELOR CONTRACT AGREEMENT

I understand that the Community Correctional Services Program will help me choose and develop a personally satisfying career. I understand that the first part of the program will help me to know myself and the possible career choices available to me and that Community Correctional Services may be able to provide training and educational opportunities once that choice is made.

I agree to cooperate fully in the Community Correctional Services Program and will accept responsibility for:

1. punctuality for all meetings and appointments
2. phone calls to my counselor if any appointments cannot be met
3. regular attendance at training or treatment programs
4. working with my counselor
5. working toward the goals that I will set for myself during the program
6. aggressively seeking employment after counseling is completed
7. notifying my counselor of any changes that will effect my program participation.

(For individualized contracting)

I understand that when I complete the counseling/planning/training phase of the program, and if I have lived up to this agreement, I will be eligible for receiving placement assistance directed toward my career choice.

_____
CLIENT

_____
CAREER DEVELOPER

_____
DATE

KJK/sw
12/76

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

INTERVIEW CRITIQUE

1. APPEARANCE - The physical aspects of the interview

A. What does he look like?

1.	Cleanliness	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Hair	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Shave	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Clothing Style	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Clothing cleanliness	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Other _____					

B. Does he use attending behavior?

1.	Posture	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Eye contact	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Interest level	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Energy level	1	2	3	4	5
5.	No distracting motions	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Other _____					

C. How does he sound?

1.	Voice level	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Clarity	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Interesting	1	2	3	4	5
4.	No street talk	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Speech speed	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Other _____					

2. CONTENT - The message part of the interview

A. Does he sell himself?

1.	Sincerity	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Positive attitude	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Responding	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Performance indicators	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Aggressiveness	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Other _____					

B. Is he prepared?

1.	Organized	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Documentation	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Dates and facts	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Other _____					

C. What's my line?

1.	Explanation of status	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Explanation of offense	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Where he's at now	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Other _____					

OVERALL RATING 1 2 3 4 5

WOULD YOU HIRE HIM? NO YES

Name: _____

JOB READINESS CHECKLIST

Application

1. Examine the Form
   A. Reading Directions _____
   B. No Blanks _____ _____
2. Complete & Accurate Data
   A Dates are Important _____
   B. Addresses are too _____ _____
3. Saying the most in a few words _____
4. Final Application _____

What to Bring

1. Social Security Card _____
2. Driver's License _____
3. Final Application _____
4. Certificates, Commendations & Awards _____
5. Transcripts from Training _____
6. No Friends!! _____
7. Work Samples _____
8. Resume or Listing of Skills _____ _____

Interviewing

1. Apearance - Discussion on physical aspects of interview _____
   A. Dress _____
   B. Grooming _____
   C. Attending _____
   D. Eye Contact _____
2. How You Sound - Discussion on spoken aspects of interview _____
   A. Street talk _____
   B. Sincerity _____
   C. Aggressiveness _____
   D. Performance indicators _____
   E. Positive attitude _____
3. Where You've Been - Discussion on offense _____
   A. Talking straight _____
   B. Turn it around _____
4. Role Playing Interview Poor 1 2 3 4 5 Great
   Critique
5. Role Playing Interview Poor 1 2 3 4 5 Great
   Critique

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

Employability Development Plan

*Required
**Required when applicable

*A. Participant's Name: _____

Counselor: _____ Date: _____

Title: I ( ) II ( ) III ( ) VI ( ) VIII ( )

*B. Participant's Vocational Objective:

Short Term (to be accomplished during participation in CCS)

_____

Long Term

_____

**C. Plan For Skill Development

Component	Dates (Begin/End)	Hours	Responsible Person or Agency
Assessment Testing			
Adult Basic Education (ABE)			
General Education Development (GED)			
English as a Second Language (ESL)			
Adult Performance Level (APL)			
High School Diploma			
Developmental Studies			
Pre-Vocational Exposure Industry/Business			
Vocational Training Program			
Other			
Classes			

**D. Component	Dates (Begin/End)	Hours	Responsible Person or Agency
Work Experience			
On-The-Job Training (OJT)			
PSE (Title II or VI Sustaining)			
PSE (Title VI Project)			
Job Readiness			
Placement			
Title III			
Other			

*E. Strategies to Overcome Other Barriers to Employment

Barrier	Objective	Time Frame	Responsible Person or Agency

*F. Final Placement Goals

Short Term (accomplished at conclusion of CCS)

_____

_____

_____

Long Term

_____

_____

_____

Career Development:

SAMPLE BUDGET

Estimated weekly income:

Gross....._____
Net....._____

Estimated weekly expenditures:

Rent....._____

Food....._____

Car Payments....._____

Insurance....._____

Gas/service....._____

Utilities....._____

Medical....._____

Clothes and daily expenses....._____

Savings....._____

Total expenditures:....._____

Total income....._____

Total income:....._____
- Total expenditures..._____
Balance....._____

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

Plan of Action

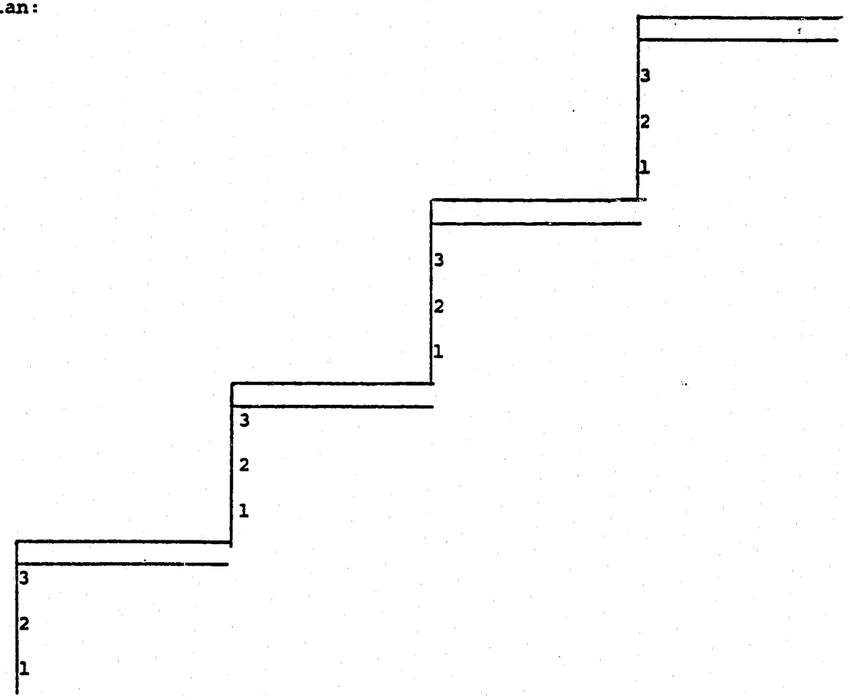
Name: _____ Counselor: _____

Career Interest Area: _____
Job Goal: _____
Alternative Job Goal: _____
Alternative Job Goal: _____

Problem Areas: _____

Strengths: _____

Career Plan:



_____
Client

_____ _____
Counselor Date

COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE, 409 CAMPBELL STREET, GENEVA, IL. 60134
TELEPHONE: (312)232-2400

Dear

_____, social security #_____, has applied to our program for employment. We would appreciate receiving the applicant's employment history with your company.

Date Hired_____Last Day Worked_____

Position Title_____ Final Salary_____

Quality of Work Rating_____
Quantity of Work Rating_____
Attendance Record Rating_____
Ability To Get Along With Others_____
Lost Time Due To Industrial Injury_____

Reason For Leaving_____

Would You Rehire_____ If No, Why? _____
_____

Remarks_____
_____

Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter. If we may reciprocate, do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Shelley R. Mueller

Shelley R. Mueller
Screening Unit Coordinator

APPENDIX C

SPECIAL FEATURES

1. Planned Re-Entry Services: *Heart of America Job Therapy*
2. Client Intake and Assessment: *Community Correctional Services*
3. Job Preparation Workshop: *Employ-Ex*
4. Job Mart for Ex-Offenders: *Massachusetts Department of Correction*
5. Job Placement Via Unions: *Step-Up*
6. Guaranteed Placement Contract: *Esperanza*
7. Operations Research on High Risk Clients: *Community Correctional Services*

1. Planned Re-Entry Services: Heart of America Job Therapy M-2 Program, Kansas City, Kansas

The Heart of America Job Therapy M-2 (Matching Two People; Man to Man) Program in Kansas City, Kansas is a low cost volunteer program that provides: (1) pre-parole seminars to discuss community adjustment problems; and (2) private citizen sponsors who can relate on a one to one basis with inmates. M-2's primary goal is to provide inmates with friendship and assistance to facilitate post-prison readjustment so that fewer releasees return to prison. M-2 also provides a vehicle for community education, planned re-entry for offenders, and a potentially unlimited follow-up for M-2 clients.

Volunteer sponsors are "matched" to inmates. These sponsors typically have no previous expertise in counseling or correction, and are recruited from local churches and social clubs such as the Christian Businessmen's Association. There is personal contact between inmates and sponsors. The typical sponsor sees his "friend" for 90 minutes once or twice a month for a one year period.

M-2 has a budget of $48,000. Of this amount, $15,000 in United Way funds and $10,000 in Vista positions are permanent. The remaining $23,000 is obtained from private and church donations.

Interviews with staff of the Kansas State Penitentiary (KSP) reflected favorably on the M-2 program and on the strategy of providing a positive interpersonal support system and planned re-entry for each releasee.

M-2 Clients and Acceptance Criteria

The Kansas M-2 program will accept any inmate at participating institutions who is at least six months away from his release date. M-2 established this minimum time requirement to allow sufficient time for matching the client and sponsor-client interaction. There is no maximum limit on the time period until the inmates' expected release date.

M-2 screening consists of an orientation session for inmates who are motivated to participate in a program of self help. The program will not urge the parole board to release anyone, nor will they apply pressure to prison authorities because of confinement conditions or practices.

Interviews with M-2 sponsors and clients indicated four primary reasons for inmate participation in the program:

1. Many inmates experience intense loneliness, as they receive few or no visits from friends and family while incarcerated. These "forgotten men" often ask to participate in M-2 because of the visits and correspondence they will receive.

2. The M-2 program has gained a good reputation in the prisons, at least partially based on the involvement of ex-offenders in the program.

3. The inmates seek information about changes that have occurred in the community since their incarceration.

4. The inmates want to obtain assistance to enhance their likelihood of success on parole.

Mr. Curtis Shoop, the M-2 director and an ex-offender himself, identified the inmates' loneliness, need for "believeable" information about the outside world, and fear of returning to the community as motivators. He pointed out that an inmate who receives no visits from family and friends has only three groups of people from whom he can obtain information: (1) fellow inmates who have been incarcerated as long as or longer than he and, therefore, are equally uninformed; (2) inmates who have just arrived and are bitter about the outside community which incarcerated them; and (3) prison staff members, who are not generally trusted or believed by inmates. Based on the perspectives of these groups, inmates are often somewhat ignorant and fearful of the world to which they are returning. M-2 provides a "friend" to combat the loneliness, provide current information on the community, and allay some of the fears.

It should be noted that M-2 does not impose selectivity criteria. M-2 clients cannot be categorized as either hard-core or model inmates. M-2 clients are a heterogeneous group composed of individuals who often cause or are involved in problems in the institution.

Sponsors and M-2 Screening

M-2 sponsors are generally white, middle class, white collar workers recruited from local churches and social clubs. The project director and, occasionally, M-2 board members speak at various church meetings about the M-2 Program and the need to assist inmates returning to the community. A slide presentation on prison life is shown at the meeting and the program director stresses the importance of obtaining a firm commitment from volunteers. No one is pressured into joining as a sponsor and the drop out rate has been very low. (Of the last 200 sponsors, only 4 have dropped out and those were due to job transfers out of the area.)

M-2 sponsors are provided with guidelines for maintaining a friendship with the inmates, rather than a counseling or social work type of relationship. Sponsors are not allowed to give gifts to the clients or act in any manner which will place the inmates in their debt.

The only scheduling constraint imposed on M-2 is that the Kansas State Penitentiary requires a minimum seven day period between M-2 visits to a particular inmate. As a result of the good working relationship between the Kansas Department of Corrections and M-2, M-2 visits are not counted against the allotted visits for each inmate.

The Matching Process

Since M-2 cannot recruit enough volunteers to match sponsors with all the inmates who would like to participate in the program, training sessions are initiated when 10 to 12 new sponsors are recruited. Once the sponsors are recruited and have completed the application, the director matches inmates with sponsors. There are no standardized criteria for matching; however, it is important to note that older sponsors matched with younger inmates, and white sponsors matched with black or hispanic inmates appear to be consistently successful. Rematching is done in those few cases (one in 20) where the match between sponsor and inmate is not suitable.

Seminars

The program has six seminars, which are held once a month and begin promptly at 7:00 P.M. and end at 8:30 P.M. Inmates who are at least six months away from release have sufficient time to participate in all of the seminars.

The first joint session between inmates and sponsors begins with a seminar on M-2 guidelines. The guidelines seminar is a review of the material presented in the inmate orientation and public recruitment meetings. The seminar consists of an informal talk by the director or sponsors followed by an open group discussion. The seminar is used as a catalyst for the sponsor-inmate "raps" which follow the group discussion.

The other five seminars in M-2's series are presented in the following order:

- goals and achievements;
- job success;
- money matters;
- family affairs; and
- facing reality.

Planned Re-Entry

M-2 staff and sponsors identify potential employers for the inmate and arrange job interviews. M-2 works with a special ex-offender employment counselor at the Kansas Employment Service to arrange job placements. Counselors there can take inmates out of the prison for scheduled job interviews.

An M-2 sponsor may also locate housing for the inmate if he is not returning to his family or going to a halfway house. Therefore, when an inmate is paroled he can get assistance in finding a job and a place to live and can maintain a close tie with the community through his sponsor.

After the inmate's re-entry has been planned, the sponsor picks up the inmate on the day of his release and transports him home or to his new residence. The sponsor usually spends the entire first day out with his newly released "friend."

Follow-Up

During the first three months after release, the sponsor and parolee contact each other periodically by telephone. After three months the parolee chooses whether or not to continue the relationship. The sponsor-parolee relationships typically extend for six months, although some continue for many years. Follow-up may be an inappropriate term to describe M-2's post-release work because the "treatment" is not terminated by the program. Sponsors are not forced to stop working with a client so that another client can be helped. The client is encouraged to maintain the supportive relationship for as long as he desires.

Community Education

The M-2 Program also provides a vehicle for community education. Sponsors learn about the correctional system and the need for more resources to improve prison conditions and vocational and counseling programs. The sponsors also learn about the problems releasees must face when they return to the community. Sponsors often become informed advocates for the programs and resources needed to improve the criminal justice system and aid clients. Since many of the M-2 sponsors are business and community leaders, M-2 educates many influential people.

Female Offender Services

Heart of America Job Therapy also operates a W-2 (Woman to Woman) program at the Kansas State Penitentiary for women. The process used for delivering services is the same as M-2's. At the time of our site visit for this study,

W-2 had matched 58 of the 100 women at Kansas State Penitentiary for Women with sponsors.

Contact: Mr. Curtis Shoop
Heart of America Job Therapy
M-2 Program
907-1/2 N. 7th Street
Kansas City, Kansas 66101
(913) 281-4432

2. Client Intake and Assessment: Community Correctional Services, Geneva, Illinois

New applicants are interviewed at one of the three Community Correctional Services (CCS) field stations, local correctional facilities, or the work release center. The application and assessment process is explained by the staff to each applicant. Then the client completes an application, providing information on work and criminal histories. An income statement, policy agreement, and release forms are signed. (Appendix B contains samples of many of the forms used by CCS.)

At this point, the CCS intake process becomes more comprehensive than those of the other programs that were observed or surveyed for this report. CCS screeners conduct a "behavioral interview" with each applicant. This interview is designed to assess the applicant's appearance, attentiveness, verbal skills, general attitude about himself and others, and ability to organize and present his social, criminal, and work histories. Each contact with the applicant is designed to permit an assessment of his ability to handle a job interview and work responsibility. Screeners must formally rate applicants on these dimensions and indicate whether they would hire the applicants given their behavior during intake. These ratings aid the career development counselor in developing an individualized career and treatment plan for each client.

Next, the screener uses the behavioral interview to gather information on each applicant's residential situation, physical disabilities, and history of mental illness and drug or alcohol abuse. The screener avoids posing "why" or "whether" questions on these sensitive topics. For example, the screener will ask, "How often do you use drugs?" "What kinds?" "With whom?" This minimizes the potential for dishonest responses to questions such as "Do you use drugs?" Screeners feel that a high level of honesty and openness is achieved during the interview, allowing them to address real rather than assumed problems.

Third, the screener conducts a thorough investigation of the applicant's educational, criminal justice, employment, and social service histories. Letters are sent to former employers, former programs, and schools attended. Pre-sentence investigation, reception, and classification reports are obtained on probationers and parolees. The information obtained from schools and employers is valuable. Negative behavior or response patterns exhibited at various work and school sites enable CCS members to determine the degree of preparation a client will require prior to placement in an unsubsidized job. The letters to former employers also identify those who are willing to accept the client back on the job. Many ex-offenders never consider asking if they might be able to return to former jobs. Several immediate CCS placements each year can be attributed to the thoroughness of the intake process.

Fourth, the screener arranges an appointment with the CCS career development counselor if the client is eligible for CETA and no serious drug, alcohol, physical, medical, or mental health problems exist that would prohibit placement on the job.

Fifth, the screening process continues after acceptance into the program. If required, aptitude and vocational testing is performed after acceptance. These tests provide additional information to assist in training and placement and are not used to screen clients out of the program.

Sixth, the CCS staff develops a career plan for each client on the "Plan of Action" form. The client is asked to discuss his "ideal self" and how he might develop himself into that ideal person. Career interests and goals, alternative goals, problem areas, and strengths are noted on the "Plan of Action" form. This form also charts the steps the client must take along his career path. Staff members also assist each client in developing a budget that reflects subsistence needs, family obligations, and work-related expenses. Based on individual income needs, the career action plan includes an immediate or delayed full- or part-time job, in addition to job preparation services. At this stage, all of the intake information is utilized to determine whether the client will be placed in unsubsidized employment, educational services, vocational training, or work experience activities.

As a result of this process, every contact between staff and client and all available historical information about the client are utilized to determine the client's needs and wants. A decision to place the client in a job is based on actual work history and work habits revealed to CCS (i.e., lateness, absenteeism, attitude) during the intake process. A decision to place the client in educational or vocational training activities is based on a thorough assessment of his aptitudes and weaknesses. Finally, during the intake and assessment process each client has the opportunity to: (1) clarify his values, goals, and expectations; and (2) develop a career plan with the assistance of the CCS career development counselor.

Contact: Mr. Kenneth J. Klimusko, Director
409 Campbell Street
Geneva, Illinois 60134
(312) 232-2400

3. Job Preparation Workshop: Employ-Ex, Denver, Colorado

Employ-Ex, an established program refined over the past six years, has the most rapid placement process of any program surveyed or visited during the present study. Almost all clients are placed within two weeks. The success of this rapid delivery system is a result of the program's philosophy, staff coordination, and superb job preparation workshop.

Job Preparation Workshop

The Job Preparation Workshop is a three and one-half hour session using a lecture and group participation format. The workshop is offered on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week. Up to 12 ex-offenders attend each session. This workshop motivates and entertains the ex-offenders, in addition to teaching them important job finding and job retention skills. Highlights of the workshop curriculum follow:

1. The first part of the workshop is designed to teach the ex-offender how to remain in consideration during the hiring process. The perspective of the employer when hiring is discussed at length:

   - Employers don't like to hire, have too many applications to read, and too much of their time is devoted to getting someone who may quit anyway.
   - Employers usually don't know how to get the critical information from the applicant that they need to make the hire.
   - Don't believe the qualifications in the newspapers. Those qualifications are there to get you to eliminate yourself. Employers want to minimize the number of applicants. Get information about the job from the employer.

2. The correct procedures for calling an employer focus on how to prevent oneself from being eliminated:

   - Don't give anyone too much information on the phone. The interview is the place for a detailed discussion. You won't get the job over the phone, although you can get an interview. Be brief and to the point: "My name is _____. I'm calling about the job of _____ advertised in _____. I have _____ months of experience in related work. When can I see you today?"
   - Don't forget to get the time, place, and name of the person you are going to see.

3. The interview is discussed next, including presentation of information on the application, when to arrive, and what to wear. Again, methods to remain in consideration are discussed:

   - Show up 30 minutes before the interview. Be prepared to fill out the application. Have dates and names already written on a piece of paper. Don't take more than 15 minutes to fill out the application. Five minutes is too fast and sloppy and 30 minutes proves you're slow--you might not get hired.
   - Read literature on the company history, growth potential, and benefits while you are waiting. Be prepared to explain why you would like a job at this particular company.
   - Don't sleep, slouch in the chair, or flirt with the receptionist. She's the one who takes your application and can give you the kiss of death before the employer even reads your application.

4. The application is a major concern of ex-offenders, especially "the" question: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?" The workshop addresses this question extremely well.

   - If you answer that question with a "no," it will usually catch up with you. You will always be looking over your shoulder. Write "Yes, will explain in the interview." Be honest, but don't put any details on paper that might follow you around. Criminal history information should be given face to face. Answering, "Yes, will explain," will get you some interviews just because the employer will be curious.

5. The interview itself is presented as an opportunity to present the information you want to present:

   - Control the interview, talk about your interests in the company and its goals, but start by bringing up the felony conviction first.
   - Tell the employer, "I do have a felony conviction, but I don't want that to be the reason I don't get the job . . ."
   - Accomplish four things:

     a. Start by being honest--something ex-offenders are not supposed to be.
     b. Tell the employer you want the job.
     c. In a tactful way, tell the employer, "Don't discriminate against me because of my conviction."
     d. Take control of the interview.

- Interviews usually last 20 to 30 minutes. Use up some of that time on your own terms. Tell the interviewer what he needs to know.

6. The instructor then discusses the most beneficial manner of presenting experience and how to weave institutional work experience and skills into the application and interview. The instructor destroys the myth about not being able to get a job if you only made license plates in prison. (In order to make license plates, several sophisticated machines must be used.)

7. The employer's decision process is presented (intellectual process vs. situational needs vs. gut level decision) in preparation for discussion of how to close the interview.

8. Closing the interview is then discussed at length:

   - You want to know: (1) if you got the job; and (2) when you can start. Don't ask if you got the job. Ask the second question first: "I want this job, when can I start?" This is a secondary close.

   - If the employer does not want to make the decision, then use the "puppy dog close." You know when you are trying to get rid of puppies, you don't come out and ask, "Do you want one?" You talk to your neighbor about something else while petting the cute little thing. Then you let him hold it and pet it. Now, you ask, "How would you like to keep it?" It's hard to turn you down. Do the same thing with that job.

   - Tell the employer to let you work for one week and then, if he decides to hire someone else, he'll have a week's work and you'll have a week's pay. If the employer gives you a chance, it is difficult to turn you down after one week if you take care of business.

9. Ex-offenders are also taught when to stop selling themselves and start buying the job:

   - Sell until you are offered the job, then buy. Don't keep talking about how much you want the job or your qualifications after that point. Don't talk yourself out of the offer you just got! Now it is appropriate to ask about salary, hours, and benefits.

10. Another part of the workshop explains the dynamics of the job search:

    - If you leave 100 applications for jobs, you may get one or two interviews!

    - If you get eight to 10 interviews, you'll get a job!

    - Focus on getting the interviews!

11. The workshop also has an interesting approach to skill levels and experience. The instructor asks the ex-offenders to list what they could offer an employer if they had no skills, education, or experience. The following list of assets is developed with some coaching at first:

    - willingness to work
    - ability to learn
    - good attitude
    - good appearance
    - loyalty
    - ambition
    - reliability
    - stability
    - honesty
    - ability to get along with people

12. Later in the session, when the employer's process for making a decision is discussed, the participants are asked: "What else is the employer looking for besides skills?" The same list is generated. These same assets are listed a third time when the group discusses how to keep the job. The ex-offender with few skills is given some confidence about other assets he can offer. The workshop also addresses goal setting, career planning, learning from past mistakes, and a multitude of other relevant issues.

Contact: Mr. Cal Harvey, Director
1600 Pennsylvania
Denver, Colorado 80204
(303) 837-8842

4. Job Marts for Ex-Offenders: Massachusetts Department of Correction, Office of Manpower Development

The job mart, sponsored by the Office of Manpower Development (OMD) at the Massachusetts Department of Correction, is a conceptually simple, creative, and apparently effective technique for job development and employer education. The job mart technique demonstrates the high level of involvement that can be developed between ex-offenders and the business community. In addition, the mart enables projects to strengthen their relationships with employers who are already accepting ex-offender referrals.

The basic strategy of the mart is to gather a large group of employers together with a large group of unemployed ex-offenders in a setting where the employer is not distracted by other responsibilities and the ex-offenders are not competing with applicants who are not stigmatized by the label "ex-offender." Employers who have been working with the ex-offender employment program are recruited to set up booths and conduct interviews for a large number of ex-offenders who are seeking jobs. The first day of the two-day mart is devoted to employer education and discussions and the second day is devoted to interviewing ex-offenders. Guest speakers from the business, criminal justice, and political communities are invited to increase the visibility of the mart and media coverage.

The OMD completed its seventh job mart in Worcester, Massachusetts on February 22, 1979. Approximately 80 area employers attended, including Digital Equipment Corporation, the Norton Company, Holy Cross College, General Electric, and the H.P. Hood Corporation. The mart resulted in 39 on-the-spot hires and 70 follow-up interviews for the ex-offenders who attended. The previous mart, held in Boston on October 11, 1978, attracted approximately 100 companies and approximately 800 offenders and ex-offenders. The Boston job mart resulted in 80 on-the-spot hires.

Participants and staff members were interviewed at the Worcester job mart to obtain first hand knowledge of the mart's operations. The following description of the job mart process is based on those interviews.

Planning the Job Mart

- Develop a list of the employers, companies, and training institutions to which your program has referred ex-offender clients. This is the pool from which participants are recruited.

- Do not plan a job mart if you do not have working relationships with business representatives in your area. Do not expect a large number of employers who do not know about your program to attend the mart.

- Next, set up a steering committee composed of individuals who are knowledgeable concerning ex-offender employment problems, such as:

1. jail/corrections representatives;
2. parole representatives;
3. probation representatives;
4. members of the business community who have hired or worked with ex-offenders;
5. CETA representatives;
6. local criminal justice planning agency representatives (LEAA); and
7. ex-offender representatives.

- The purpose of the steering committee is to select seminar topics and speakers. The committee is also responsible for publicizing the job mart to probation, parole, and corrections departments as well as their clients.

Seminars

- The steering committee should select the topics for the seminars, develop a list of potential speakers, approach candidates in order of preference, and obtain firm commitments from the speakers.

- Speakers should be selected from the business, law enforcement, ex-offender, and political communities.

- At a minimum, seminars should present information on:

  1. the reintegration problems faced by ex-offenders;
  2. ex-offenders as a labor pool with something to offer employers;
  3. retention and performance of ex-offenders after they are hired (based on program and employer experience); and
  4. techniques for improving ex-offender job performance and retention.

- The seminar sessions should conclude with a review of job mart procedures (i.e., booth activity and interviews).

Selecting and Reserving the Conference Site

- A list of potential conference sites (usually hotels) should be compiled on the basis of:

  1. availability;
  2. cost;
  3. available space for company booths;
  4. proximity to good public transportation; and
  5. proximity to cities or towns to which the largest number of prison or jail releasees return.

- Reserving a conference site requires, at a minimum, six months advance planning and it is not uncommon for hotels to book conference space 12 months in advance. Availability of reduced conference rates for nonprofit agencies should be explored.

Recruiting Companies

- Program staff should set up appointments with personnel directors or, in select cases, presidents or vice presidents of companies six to eight months prior to the mart. Information about the program, hiring ex-offenders, other companies that are participating, and the mechanics of the mart should be discussed.

- Follow up initial commitments to attend with correspondence. Request advance payment of registration fees and require that hotel reservations be made by a specific date. Encourge employers to bring written material describing their company to the mart for distribution at the booths.

- Participating companies should be encouraged to have positions available at the time of the mart so that they may make job offers to qualified ex-offenders. The number of employers who attend the mart with available jobs may be affected by the season of the year.

Publicity

- As soon as the conference site schedule, seminars, and speakers are confirmed, print a brochure for distribution. (See Appendix D for a sample brochure.)

- Send letters and brochures to parole, probation, and pre-release centers, and work-release and halfway house programs. Request that these agencies inform their clients about the mart.

- Prepare and distribute press releases and community service announcements about the mart. (See Appendix D for sample press releases.)

Costs

- The cost of the mart can be minimized by requiring a fee from participating companies who set up booths and a registration fee from each company representative who attends. (The OMD job marts charge $75 for booth set-ups and a $25 registration fee for each company representative.)

One-Day vs. Two-Day Job Marts

- A two-day mart is recommended until the mart becomes an established event. The two-day mart should devote the entire first day to employer education and orientation. This will allow sufficient time for open discussion and sharing of concerns. The second day should be devoted to establishing contact between employers and ex-offenders.

- A one-day mart is advisable when the majority of employers attending have participated previously in more than one mart, and express more interest in interviewing ex-offenders than in seminar participation. The one-day mart can begin with a two-hour breakfast seminar and devote the remainder of the day to booth activities and interviews.

Contact: Edward Gallagher
Director, OMD

or

Jacqueline M. Habib
Massachusetts Department
of Correction
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108
(617) 727-3950

5. Job Placement Via Unions: Step-Up, Norfolk, Virginia

Very few ex-offender employment programs around the country have any significant relationships with local unions. Rarer still are programs that are oriented to female ex-offenders and have the full active support of local unions in placing clients in non-traditional jobs. The Step-Up program in Virginia provides this unusual blend.

Want ads and employment service listings, company contacts, and union personnel are used by Step-Up staff to identify potential jobs. However, the most interesting and effective mechanism for job placement is the union network. Attendance at local union council meetings and telephone inquiries directed at union representatives in local companies provide Step-Up counselors with current information on training opportunities, planned work force expansion, and turnover rates. Step-Up counselors are then prepared to approach the companies with new job openings. The union representatives have gone so far as to intercede when Step-Up staff have been given the "run-around" by certain employers.

An important part of Step-Up's job placement activities is centered on the industrial and service unions. While these unions do not control hiring directly, they do notify Step-Up of job openings. Large companies, such as the shipyards in Norfolk, hire new employees through their personnel office. Union representatives are aware of openings and notify Step-Up so that clients can be referred for the opening. This is unlike the "hiring hall" process of the building trade unions, in which union officials assign workers to sites and thereby control access to jobs.

The unions also fulfill a support role for new employees. A Step-Up client placed on a union affiliated job is usually assigned a union "buddy" who helps the client adjust to the work environment and co-workers. The union hopes that this support mechanism will encourage the new employee to join the union after the 90-day probation period on the job. The client does not feel that this is a drawback. The client has a "buddy" and advocate from the first day of employment, an element that is especially important for women placed in non-traditional jobs.

As a result of Step-Up's affiliation with the State AFL-CIO Council and the active participation of Step-Up in union meetings and activities, the local unions view Step-Up and its clients as their own. Step-Up has attained a high rate of placing clients in high paying jobs ($4.25 to $7.00 per hour to start). Approximately 40 percent of Step-Up clients are placed in union affiliated jobs.

Contact: Sandra Brandt, HRDI
Janaf Executive Building
Janaf Shopping Center, Suite 203
Norfolk, Virginia 23502
(804) 461-4557

6. The Guaranteed Placement Contract: Esperanza, San Jose, California

Esperanza offers services to a wide variety of female offenders. The client population is approximately 40 percent Hispanic, 12 percent Black, and 48 percent Caucasian. These women have been involved in many types of offenses, ranging from welfare fraud to crimes of violence.

Esperanza offers residential services, a variety of skill training courses, in-house work experience sites, placement, and post-placement services. For female ex-offenders with the most serious adjustment and treatment problems, Esperanza can offer a well coordinated, 24-hour a day rehabilitative environment.

The Guaranteed Placement Contract

One of many apparently effective techniques in use at Esperanza is the guaranteed placement contract. Esperanza developed such a contract with the Advancement and Training Center (ATC), which stipulates that ATC receives no payment for training services unless Esperanza graduates are placed after training in the fields for which the clients were trained. As a result of the quality of the ATC training process, Esperanza's supportive system for clients, and the contract, the ATC placement rate for Esperanza graduates is 100 percent.

First, ATC provides extensive support for Esperanza clients who are enrolled in their training courses. Although clients are screened to ensure that they have requisite educational, skill, and motivation levels, no attempt is made to select only those clients exhibiting the highest levels. ATC requires that clients referred to ATC by Esperanza be at least 18 years old and have a seventh, eighth, or ninth grade mathematics level, depending on the particular course of study that is planned. ATC provides a counselor to assist Esperanza trainees and a crisis counselor is available to assist any of the ATC students. ATC does not expect to receive clients who have no problems. In fact, the clients generally have many problems. Attitude, motivation, academic, attendance, and child care problems occur frequently; however, ATC and Esperanza counselors coordinate their efforts in order to keep these problems in check and minimize terminations. ATC believes in confronting trainees about poor attitudes and attendance problems. The staff members feel that too many programs expect ex-offenders to "mess up" and therefore their failure is tolerated. ATC, like Esperanza, rejects this approach. Although attendance is a serious problem for some clients during the first half of the training period, the last four to six weeks of training is well attended.

Second, ATC uses a sophisticated process for choosing training areas, developing curricula, and developing relationships with the business community. The basic ATC process is as follows:

- Labor Market Analysis

ATC obtains labor market and population information from the Santa Clara County prime sponsor. ATC then conducts its own survey of 30 to 40 local firms to determine their labor and training needs.

- Selecting Training Areas

ATC targets those training areas that require ninth grade math and reading levels or less.

ATC chooses training areas that require relatively short-term training periods (240 hours to 780 hours).

ATC offers training in areas with a fair amount of repetitiousness so tasks can be mastered fairly easily.

ATC also offers training in areas with clear career growth potential, such as:

1. electronic assembly;
2. sheet metal work;
3. machine operation;
4. drafting;
5. electronic inspection;
6. inventory control;
7. electro-mechanical assembly; and
8. semiconductor processing.

ATC develops curricula in conjunction with individual companies. The goal is to produce trainees who can move into production immediately after ATC training. Each participating company assists ATC in developing a curriculum which will address each company's specific equipment, routine, and products.

ATC assists companies in meeting training and staffing needs and does not ask for guaranteed jobs from the companies after training. If the companies feel that the trainees are qualified, they have the option to hire them. This approach alleviates the pressure characteristic of OJT contracts to hire the trainee regardless of their demonstrated interest or capability.

- Training Process

The location of training is an important aspect of the training process. Trainees are given two weeks of instruction at the ATC training center. They usually receive the remainder of their training (eight weeks) on site at the participating company.

Trainees become acclimated to company schedules, rules, equipment, supervisors, and co-workers. Although the trainees work in a specific training area, they are encouraged to question other employees about their work and rules. Trainees also eat lunch with the other

employees and attend company parties and functions. At the end of the training session, trainees know the company and the company knows them.

- Placement

At the end of training, 95 percent of the trainees at each company remain with that company. It is common for training to end on Friday and regular employment to begin the following Monday. Supervisors and co-workers often encourage the personnel department to hire trainees because they have developed respect for the trainees' skills and attitudes, and because friendships have developed. Trainees who leave the company training site after training do so because they were not offered a job, or because they would prefer to work at another company that offers more benefits or easier access by public transportation. ATC has a 100 percent placement record for Esperanza graduates.

Contact: Medina Gonzalez
1460 Knoll Circle
San Jose, California 95112
(408) 287-5230.

7. Operations Research on High Risk Clients: Community Correctional Services, Geneva, Illinois

Community Correctional Services (CCS) has a very sophisticated in-house research capability. The CCS research is designed to provide information on program performance and information about the types of CCS clients most likely to be terminated from the program prior to placement or fail after placement. Research on the "high risk" client is the most interesting aspect of the research unit's activity.

The client characteristics associated with CCS failure were identified using a sophisticated statistical analysis. These characteristics were then used to identify new clients with the same characteristics who were likely to terminate or fail (i.e., a high risk group). CCS then chose additional intensive services designed to decrease the number of clients who terminate prior to placement or fail after placement. The services were provided to new clients selected at random from both the high risk and non-high risk groups. Staff were not informed as to whether the clients receiving intensive services were high risk. Staff provided these clients with more weekly contact, a mandatory third party to aid CCS (i.e., a volunteer on another program or a family member), and greater emphasis on socialization and living skills. CCS wants to determine whether the intensive services are effective with the high risk clients. This is the only program encountered during the course of preparing this report that utilized an intensive in-house research effort to modify its service delivery to meet the needs of the clients that the program was failing.

Contact: Mr. Kenneth J. Klimusko, Director
409 Campbell Street
Geneva, Illinois 60134
(312) 232-2400

APPENDIX D

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION JOB MART FOR EX-OFFENDERS

1. Press Releases
2. Brochure Distributed to Participants

Massachusetts Department of Correction

News Release

For Release: IMMEDIATELY

Date: JANUARY 24, 1979

Contact: LARRY PARNELL

Tel. Number: 727-3321
727-3300

Edward Gallagher, Director of Manpower Development for the Department of Correction today announced that the First Central Massachusetts Job Mart for Ex-Offenders, scheduled for February 22, 1979, is expected to involve approximately 100 area employers and agencies to participate in the effort to assist ex-offenders in securing employment.

The Job Mart, held from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. on February 22nd at the Sheraton-Lincoln Inn in Worcester, will bring together ex-offenders and employers from all over central Massachusetts. Personnel representatives will staff individual booths to inform applicants of possible employment opportunities with their companies. Individuals eligible to participate in the program include men and women currently incarcerated and on the work-release program, those on probation or parole, and ex-offenders experiencing difficulty securing meaningful employment.

The Department of Correction Job Marts are the only ones of their kind in the country. The upcoming Mart is modeled after the previous five held in Boston on an annual basis, and a recent Mart in Springfield for western Massachusetts held in April, 1978. As such, these functions have attracted much national attention from Corrections officials and employers. Since the inception of the Department of Correction Office of Manpower Development in 1974, approximately 800 employers and agencies have attended Job Marts throughout the state. Such employers include Honeywell, Digital Equipment Corporation, General Electric, IBM, Polaroid, and Procter & Gamble Mfg. Co. It continues to be endorsed by such state and national associations as the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, regional Chambers of Commerce, and personnel associations.

> "It is increasingly clear that manageable solutions to so many of our social and political efforts are dependent upon the extent to which we have a viable economy.
>
> This is especially true for the ex-offender population and the reality of the rehabilitative process itself.
>
> The Job Mart is designed to establish and develop those necessary linkages between the job and the person upon which so many other hopes and expenditures, both public and private, rely.
>
> The Associated Industries of Massachusetts supports this vital linkage project and those leading companies which are seeking practical ways to refine

OVER

Massachusetts Department of Correction

News Release

For Release: IMMEDIATELY

Contact: LARRY PARNELL

Date: JANUARY 24, 1979

Tel. Number: 727-3321
727-3300

our techniques so that we may sustain and increase greater individual, social and productive equilibrium in Massachusetts."

Walther P. Muther
President and General Counsel
Associated Industries of Massachusetts

Preceeding the Mart, a seminar and reception will be held at the Sheraton-Lincoln on February 21st for company representatives. This portion of the program is designed to familiarize the participating businesses with the history and development of the Job Mart concept and the ways in which it can be applied at the local level. Featured speakers during the seminar are H. Roger Erickson, President of the Personnel Management Association of Worcester, Thomas J. Hourihan, Director of Human Resources for the Norton Company, and John J. Conte, District Attorney of Worcester County.

A dinner, hosted by Edward Gallagher, will include guest speaker Samuel E. Zoll, Chief Justice, District Courts of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and closing remarks by Sheriff Frances Deignan.

Any individuals or businesses who would like additional information on the Job Mart should contact Jacqueline M. Habib at (617)727-3950.

Massachusetts Department of Correction

News Release

For Release: AT WILL

Contact: Lawrence J. Parnell

Date: February 27, 1979

Tel. Number: 727-3321 6327
727-3300

FIRST WORCESTER JOB MART CALLED A SUCCESS

Correction Commissioner Larry R. Meachum and Manpower Director Edward Gallagher today termed the First Worcester Job Mart for Ex-Offenders a "successful first effort, that should serve to pave the way for continued success at future efforts in the Worcester Area."

According to Gallagher, in excess of 80 area employers were represented at the Mart, held at the Sheraton-Lincoln Inn, including such notables as the Digital Equipment Corporation, the Norton Company, Holy Cross College, General Electric and the H.P. Hood Corporation.

Manpower office records indicate that there were 39 on-the-spot hires of current and ex-offenders, and 70 more scheduled for follow-up interviews with employers represented at the Mart.

The Department of Correction Industries Division, was also represented at the Mart, and reportedly made several sales of office supplies and equipment manufactured in the various institutions to area State agencies and colleges.

Commissioner Meachum and Gallagher also stressed the community awareness of the ex-offender that developed as a result of the seminar held beforehand for local business and civic leaders.

The next Job Mart for Ex-Offenders is scheduled to be held in Boston, Monday, November 26, 1979 at the Copley Plaza Hotel.

For additional information on employment for ex-offenders, contact the Manpower Office, (617) 727-3950

FIRST CENTRAL MASSACHUSETTS JOB MART FOR EX-OFFENDERS

FEBRUARY 21-22, 1979

SHERATON-LINCOLN INN
WORCESTER, MASS

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133

MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS
GOVERNOR

On July 10, 1978, a meeting of the Manpower Steering Committee was held to formalize plans for the Worcester Job Mart for Ex-Offenders to be held at the Sheraton-Lincoln Inn on February 22, 1979.

This Job Mart is designed specifically to meet the employment needs of the ex-offenders. For many decades researchers have consistently held that employment is a major contributing factor toward reducing recidivism. That assumption has been proven in practice. The recidivism rate of ex-offenders who are graduates of one of the pre-release centers or are work-releasees from an institution has been greatly reduced in comparison with the average rate in the Commonwealth.

I strongly endorse this Job Mart and sincerely believe that it will continue to have a great impact on both ex-offenders and employers. Statistics have demonstrated for the past few years that ex-offenders, when placed in an appropriate situation, prove to be excellent employees.

I urge all employers in the Commonwealth to participate in this worthwhile venture.

Sincerely,

Michael S. Dukakis

INTRODUCTION

The Department of Correction in conjunction with other state and county agencies brings to the Sheraton-Lincoln Inn on February 22, 1979 the first Worcester County Job Mart for ex-offenders. This Mart, for men and women still incarcerated and on the work release program and those on probation and parole, will be the first of its kind in Worcester County. This effort is again considered to be the most progressive step taken by the Commonwealth in its endeavor to seek meaningful employment for those men and women to whom it has the responsibility of rehabilitating. There will be, with the cooperation of business and industry, approximately 150 companies represented in individual booths with personnel to interview and inform applicants of the opportunities and advantages of being an employee in their particular company.

THE SEMINAR

The Seminar being held on February 21, the day preceding the Job Mart, is a major part of the over-all prospectus of the Job Mart. We hope that you will find the program complete and effective, and that all of your questions can and will be answered in detail.

Program for February 21, 1979 for Ex-Offenders Seminar

Isaiah Thomas and Bancroft Rooms
Sheraton-Lincoln Inn
Worcester, Mass.

Seminar 1:30 – 5:00
Moderator: Jacqueline M. Habib

Louis A. Murray
Director, Governor's Office of Community Services
(Greetings from the Governor)

Jack Newcomb
Assistant Director, Center for Advanced Engineering Study
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Anne Garberg
Regional Executive, National Alliance of Businessmen

L'Chester Garron
Corporate Project Manager for Ex-Offender Programs and Employer Relations Digital Equipment Corporation

Linda Lerner
Director of Personnel, Tufts University

Arthur Frederick
Department of Labor Industries, Division of Apprentice Training

Coffee Break

H. Roger Erickson
Director of Personnel, Worcester County Institution for Savings
President, Personnel Management Association of Worcester

Thomas J. Hourihan
Director of Human Resources, Norton Company

Robert Thomas
Director of Industries, Department of Correction

John J. Conte
District Attorney of Worcester County

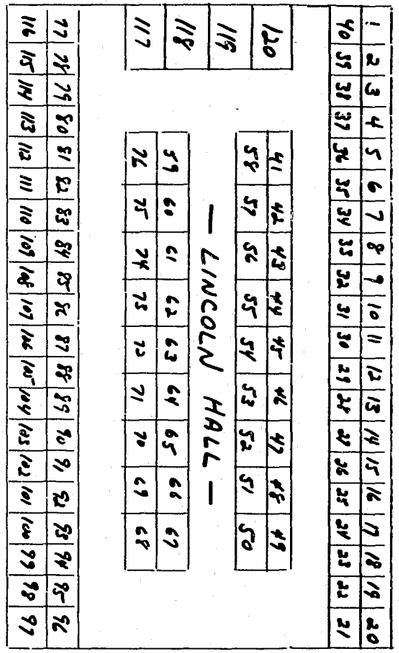
Martin Feeney
Department of Correction, Office of Manpower Development

Marvin E. Watts
Employment Service Manager, Procter & Gamble Co.

Job Mart Procedures • Question and Answer Period

Guest Speaker – Robert Palmer, Director of Community Relations, Polaroid Corp. Chairman of Governor's Advisory Commitee

Closing remarks – Francis Deignan, Sheriff of Worcester County



JOB MART for EX-OFFENDERS
SHERATON-LINCOLN INN
FEBRUARY 22, 1979

Evening Program FEBRUARY 21

5:00 - 6:00 Cocktails

6:00 Dinner, Chartley Room
Hosted by Edward Gallagher, Director, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Correction, Office of Manpower Development

Keynote Speaker – Frank A. Hall, Commissioner, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Correction

Guest Speaker – Samuel E. Zoll, Chief Justice, District Courts of Commonwealth of Massachusetts

PURPOSE OF THE JOB MART

It is clear that meaningful employment plays an important role in the successful reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-offenders. The Job Mart is the mechanism through which both employers and ex-offenders in the Commonwealth can attack the problem of matching available manpower with available jobs. The Mart will serve as the forum in which employers will be informed of the existence of and advantages attached to the manpower resource defined by the clients of the criminal justice system. Ex-offenders will be afforded the opportunity to plug into a centrally located source of jobs in a way which will also initiate needed coordination and cooperation within the system.

The Business Community in Massachusetts is sensitive to the serious social problems confronting all of us today. We in the private sector are conscious of our responsibilities and recognize that we have a role to play in contributing to the solution to those compelling social issues. Employing the Ex-offender is one such contribution.

The National Alliance of Businessmen highly endorses the concept of annual Job Marts for Ex-Offenders.

Anne Garberg
Regional Executive
The National Alliance of Businessmen

It is increasingly clear that manageable solutions to so many of our social and political efforts are dependent upon the extent to which we have a viable economy.

This is especially true for the ex-offender population and the reality of the rehabilitative process itself.

The Job Mart is designed to establish and develop those necessary linkages between the job and the person upon which so many other hopes and expenditures, both public and private rely.

The Associated Industries of Massachusetts supports this vital linkage project and those leading companies which are seeking practical ways to refine our techniques so that we may sustain and increase greater individual, social and productive equilibrium in Massachusetts.

Walter P. Muther
President and General Counsel
Associated Industries of Massachusetts

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPATING COMPANIES IN THE JOB MART for EX-OFFENDERS SHERATON-LINCOLN INN FEBRUARY 22, 1979

A participating Company in the Job Mart will receive a furnished booth 8' x 5', complete with sign, for $75. This will include a table, chairs, and accessories; a telephone can be furnished upon request. You may bring in any display material, literature or other material for your booth which you feel is necessary.

The Person (1) designated by your Company to occupy the booth will be able to attend all program activities pertaining to the Seminar and the Job Mart on the 21st and 22nd. (However, any additional personnel may attend the Job Mart to assist in the booth on the 22nd). The time of the Job Mart will be from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.

Any Company who wishes to register any additional personnel for the Seminar on February 21st will be charged an additional $25 per person (this includes the Cocktail Hour and the Dinner).

This program will be coordinated by the Office of Manpower Development, Department of Correction, Leverett Saltonstall Building, Government Center, 100 Cambridge Street, Boston, Mass. 02202. Attn: Mr. Edward Gallagher or Jacqueline Habib.

Any further information can be obtained by contacting this office: Tel. 727-3950 · 3951 · 3952.

REGISTRATION FORM for February 21-22, 1979

Name of Company participating in Job Mart

_____

Street _____

City _____ State and Zip _____

Telephone No. _____ Ext. _____

Contact Person _____

Specify copy for sign _____

_____

Your check should be made payable to the Manpower Development Steering Committee and mailed to: The Office of Manpower, Department of Correction, Leverett Saltonstall Building, Government Center, 100 Cambridge Street, Boston, Mass. 02202. Attn: Mr. Edward Gallagher.

You will be notified of your booth location upon receipt of this form.

Please list on the reverse side of this form the name of those attending the Job Mart at the Sheraton-Lincoln Inn on February 22nd.

Registration form should be returned in the enclosed envelope before January 12th.

Indicate: Check Enclosed ☐ Please Invoice ☐

Personnel attending the Job Mart on February 22nd

_____

_____

_____

SPONSORS:

Department of Community Affairs
Division of Employment Security
Division of Civil Service
Executive Office of Manpower Affairs
National Alliance of Businessmen
Associated Industries of Massachusetts
Manpower Steering Committee
Department of Correction
Massachusetts Parole Board
Department of Probation
Chambers of Commerce
Veteran's Administration
Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission
Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice

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