THE TRANSITION FROM PRISON TO EMPLOYMENT:

An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs

—NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM
PHASE I REPORT—

by

Mary A. Toborg, Principal Investigator
Lawrence J. Center, Co-Investigator
Raymond H. Milkman, Co-Investigator
Dennis W. Davis, Research Associate

of

The Lazar Institute
Washington, D.C.

March 1977

U.S. Department of Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

THE LAZAR INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE TRANSITION FROM PRISON TO EMPLOYMENT:

An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs

—NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM
PHASE I REPORT—

by

Mary A. Toborg, Principal Investigator
Lawrence J. Center, Co-Investigator
Raymond H. Milkman, Co-Investigator
Dennis W. Davis, Research Associate

of

The Lazar Institute
Washington, D.C.

This project was supported by Grant Number 76NI-99-0083, awarded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official positions or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

March 1977

U.S. Department of Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

ABSTRACT

This report assesses the present state of knowledge regarding community-based programs which provide employment services to prison releasees. More than 250 such programs exist and offer a wide range of services, including counseling, work orientation, training, job development, job placement and follow-up assistance after placement. These services are provided because the acquisition of employment is often considered essential for a releasee's successful adjustment to a crime-free life in the community.

The Lazar Institute conducted this assessment as part of the National Evaluation Program sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Past studies and original data analysis are summarized for project operations, outcomes and external factors affecting them. Major findings include:

- 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 such factors 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS
(continued)

PREFACE

This report summarizes the existing state of knowledge concerning community-based programs which provide employment services to prison releasees. The study was conducted by The Lazar Institute between March 1976 and April 1977, as part of the National Evaluation Program of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

The state of knowledge assessment is not intended to be a definitive evaluation of employment services programs; rather, it presents the current state of knowledge regarding these programs and describes the additional evaluation needed to fill important gaps in that knowledge. The assessment incorporates the major findings from four earlier working papers: an issues review, universe identification and sample selection analysis, case study analyses and client flow diagrams of individual projects and selected program materials acquired at various projects. Two additional working papers address evaluation needs: one paper describes a proposed national evaluation of employment services programs and the other discusses evaluation considerations for an individual project.

During the course of this study a number of persons provided invaluable assistance. The authors would particularly like to thank Dr. Daniel Glaser of the University of Southern California; Dr. Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, now with the Police Foundation; and Mr. Ross D. Davis of Davis and Simpich for helpful advice and comments throughout the course of the study. Within the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Mr. Lawrence A. Greenfeld, our project monitor, was unfailingly supportive of our efforts to understand this complex set of programs; Ms. Jan Trueworthy provided a number of useful suggestions; Dr. Richard T. Barnes offered much helpful advice; and Mr. George Bohlinger was instrumental in getting the study underway successfully. Mr. Joseph Nay of the Urban Institute also provided a number of important comments.

Staff at individual employment services programs not only furnished us with a wealth of information on their programs but also shared their experiences and opinions with us. Many other persons in various communities also provided us with insights concerning employment services programs. Such persons included corrections officials, parole officers, staff members at other local employment programs or human service agencies, employers and personnel directors. The authors would like to thank all those who tried to help us develop an accurate, useful study. If we succeeded, it is largely due to their efforts. Any remaining errors of fact or judgment are solely our responsibility.

SUMMARY

Introduction

Many programs help individuals make the transition from prison to employment. During this study alone, more than 250 such organizations provided information on their activities. These programs offer many types of assistance, including counseling, job development, job placement, work orientation, training and supportive services.

This study assesses the current state of knowledge regarding employment services programs for prison releasees. To accomplish this project, three major data collection activities were undertaken:

- a review of existing literature and work in progress;
- a mail/telephone survey of more than 250 employment services programs; and
- site visits to fifteen programs.

These activities provided a broad perspective on employment services programs and their impact. The views of program staff, criminal justice system representatives, employers, researchers and other knowledgeable individuals have been reviewed to develop this report. Major findings and recommendations are presented below.

Need for Employment Services Programs

Studies conducted over a period of more than forty years have found that unemployment and recidivism are closely related for prison releasees and other ex-offenders.[16,19,21,50] As a result of these observations, some researchers have proposed that there is a causal relationship between unemployment and criminality.[19] Other analysts have argued that unemployment and recidivism are highly correlated only because each is associated with another factor (e.g., the influence of family members or a decision to "go straight") which induces widespread behavioral changes.[72] Still other authors have suggested that it is income, rather than employment, which is the major variable affecting recidivism.[19,39,41] Although explanations vary, the relationship between unemployment and recidivism has been frequently observed.

Despite the apparent importance of employment, it is often difficult for prison releasees to obtain jobs. They face a variety of employment barriers, caused by poor work histories, low skill levels, prejudice on the part of potential employers, statutory restrictions and similar factors. In addition, the time immediately following release from prison may be a critical adjustment period, requiring the releasee to deal successfully with a large number of problems.

Without assistance, releasees may be unable to overcome the many barriers hindering their efforts to find jobs. Consequently, employment services programs have been established to assist prison releasees in obtaining the employment which is often considered essential for reduced recidivism.

Program Operations

Employment services programs provide many different types of assistance. These include:

- assessment of client needs—to analyze the clients' backgrounds, abilities, interests and goals and develop employability plans to assist them in obtaining jobs;
- counseling—to help clients implement their job plans and solve a variety of problems associated with successful community reintegration;
- job readiness training—to orient prison releasees to the world of work and assist them in developing the skills needed to seek and keep jobs;
- skills training—to help releasees qualify for occupations requiring specialized knowledge;
- supported work training—to permit releasees to gain work experience in a "sheltered" environment, before obtaining a regular job;
- educational training—to teach releasees basic skills they often lack (e.g., reading, arithmetic) or otherwise provide them with needed instruction;
- supportive services—to help releasees meet such needs as housing, legal aid, medical attention, family assistance or welfare;
- job development—to identify suitable employment opportunities for releasees;
- job placement—to refer releasees to appropriate job openings; and
- follow-up assistance—to help releasees solve problems which arise after employment has been obtained.

Individual employment services programs provide these services in a variety of combinations. Some programs focus on a few services and refer clients to other organizations for any additional assistance needed, while other programs offer a comprehensive array of employment services. There are also many differences in the way each service is provided. For example, job readiness training may be offered as a two-week seminar or one-day workshop, in conjunction with other services such as skills training or as a separate activity and as either an initial program service or the last assistance before job placement.

Despite this variation in types of services offered and manner of service delivery, little is known about the types of services which seem most effective or about the best ways to provide any given service. These topics have not been systematically addressed in past analyses.

External Factors

There are a number of external factors which affect program operations and client outcomes. One such factor is the universe of potential clients. Although a program can, to some extent, select from the universe of potential clients those whom it will serve, a program has relatively little influence on the overall size of that universe or the characteristics of persons within it.

In addition, certain "environmental" factors can either help or obstruct program efforts to assist prison releasees. These factors include:

- the nature of local corrections and parole systems, whose cooperation would make such program tasks as client identification and follow-up easier to accomplish;
- the type and quality of other service agencies in the community, since many programs must rely on other agencies to provide selected client services; and
- the nature of the local labor market, because client employment will be easiest to achieve in a prosperous economy, particularly if employers have positive attitudes about hiring prison releasees.

Although programs may have little control over these various external factors, the manner in which they adjust to them will influence the extent of services available to clients and the degree to which clients achieve successful outcomes.

Outcomes

Employment services programs may have a variety of impacts on their clients and the surrounding community. To increase clients' employability and to decrease their recidivism are two of the major goals of most programs and thus two of the major outcomes of interest.

Many programs assess the extent to which clients obtain jobs, and most report that the majority of clients are successfully placed.[1,9,14,54,69] This finding is of limited value, however, because programs rarely compare the placement outcomes of their clients with those of similar individuals who did not receive program services. Therefore, the extent to which successful job placement should be attributed to the programs' interventions or to other causes cannot be determined.

Moreover, placement rates provide only a limited assessment of employment outcomes. Other important considerations include job stability (i.e., to extent to which employment is maintained) and job quality (i.e., the type of job obtained).

A number of studies have documented that releasees' first jobs may be held only a short time and that ex-offenders placed in jobs through program assistance may leave them soon after.[31,50,56,67] However, programs often do not analyze whether releasees become (and remain) unemployed or whether they obtain better jobs within a short time. Such information is crucial for adequate assessment of job stability outcomes.

A comprehensive analysis of releasees' employment adjustment would consider job quality as well as job placement and stability outcomes. Although the importance of job quality has been widely acknowledged,[30,45] such quality is often difficult to assess. Consequently, few programs have analyzed this characteristic.

Most programs assume that improving releasees' employment statuses will reduce their recidivism rates. Available analyses usually indicate that program clients experience lower rates of recidivism than are commonly thought to occur for ex-offenders as a whole.[1,9,12,14,24,76] There has been much less analysis of the recidivism patterns (i.e., the frequency and severity of crimes committed) of program clients. Moreover, recidivism outcomes of program clients are rarely compared with those of similar groups of non-clients. Thus, little is known about the programs' influence on achieving improvements in client behavior.

Recommendations

Recommendations which emerged from this study are as follows:

- conduct a follow-up analysis of client outcomes, as compared with outcomes of appropriate groups of non-clients;
- prepare a "handbook" providing step-by-step instructions on ways to conduct evaluations at different levels of complexity and distribute this handbook to employment services programs;
- analyze ways to improve linkages between the Department of Labor and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (the two major funding sources of employment services programs for prison releasees) at the Federal, State and local levels;
- disseminate useful materials developed at individual programs to other programs which could use them;
- assess ways to improve the linkages between staffs of corrections facilities and employment services programs;
- expand the employment services currently available to women releasees; and
- explore ways to establish job creation programs for prison releasees.

These recommended activities would provide essential information concerning program impact, improve the present delivery of services to prison releasees and test the efficacy of new approaches for assisting individuals in making the transition from prison to employment.

I. INTRODUCTION

As part of its National Evaluation Program, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice has commissioned a series of Phase I evaluation studies. These studies assess current knowledge about a project type, additional information which could be provided through further evaluation, and the cost and value of obtaining such additional information. In some cases Phase I assessments will be followed by Phase II evaluation studies to collect the additional information considered warranted.

Phase I assessments have six parts:

- review of issues, existing literature and work in progress;
- description of actual project operations;
- development of analytical framework(s) for understanding major project types;
- assessment of the state of knowledge concerning project activities and impact;
- design of an evaluation for the overall program (if necessary); and
- design of an evaluation for an individual project (if necessary).

This report presents the results of the third and fourth stages (development of analytical framework and assessment of the state of knowledge) of a Phase I study of community-based programs providing employment services for prison releasees. In this chapter the need for such programs is considered, and the earlier Phase I study

activities are reviewed. The following chapters of the report present specific findings concerning program operations and outcomes.

A. Need for Employment Services Programs

Programs providing employment services to prison releasees evolved from the following observations:

- The time immediately following release from prison is a critical adjustment period; the first few months in the community may determine whether an individual becomes successfully reintegrated or returns to criminal behavior.
- Employed releasees often have lower recidivism rates than those who are unemployed; therefore, employment status may be an important factor affecting successful readjustment to the community.
- Prison releasees face a number of barriers to employment; without assistance in overcoming these barriers, they may be unable to obtain jobs.

These findings, which led to the establishment of programs that help prison releasees become employed, are discussed in greater detail below. In addition, the actual employment status of releasees is considered, and the nature of employment services programs assisting releasees is described.

1. The Postrelease Period

Upon release from prison an individual may face a number of immediate problems in making the transition to community life: locating a suitable place to live, re-establishing relationships with family and friends and finding a legitimate means of support. A releasee who has been removed from the community for a significant period of time may also have difficulty adjusting to the pace and flexibility of life outside the prison walls. As a result, many releasees experience "postrelease shock."[1]

Since releasees often have very limited financial resources, they have little time to deal with this shock. They must immediately develop a source of income. Moreover, the manner in which they handle this and other postrelease problems may affect their lifestyle for months to come. Thus, the first few months after release from prison are often considered a crucial time period for determining whether a releasee will become successfully rehabilitated or will return to criminal activity.

2. The Employment-Recidivism Relationship

Studies conducted over a period of more than forty years have documented a close association between employment status and recidivism. One of the earliest analyses, published in 1930, found the "association between post-parole success or failure and success or failure with respect to employment was very high."[2] More recent studies supported this finding, one concluding that "criminal behavior will be a negative function of the individual's success in the labor market."[3] Another major analysis of the employment status and recidivism rates of prison releaseees found that "variations in economic opportunity have a major influence on the rate at which adult males commit crimes."[4] A 1969 study of former Federal prisoners found that crime by releasees varied directly with their unemployment and that a positive relationship existed between arrest rates and unemployment rates of all age groups.[5] Other studies have also documented that crime rates often vary directly with unemployment.[6]

The apparent relationship between criminality and unemployment has been explained in different ways. Some researchers have proposed that there is a causal relationship between unemployment and crime.

This viewpoint is supported by, for example, the finding that unemployment may be among the principal factors involved in the recidivism of adult male offenders.[7] Other analysts have argued that recidivism and unemployment are highly correlated because of their relationship to other truly explanatory variables, that is, they do not cause each other but simply co-vary:

> Since the skill level of a man coming out of prison has not usually improved, his job opportunity is basically unchanged from before when he "decided" to commit a crime rather than take a menial straight job. His decision to go straight and become employed must be based not on his desire for and ability to find unskilled employment, but on other factors that have moved him away from crime as a way of accomplishing certain goals. Whether this be maturation, the proverbial "getting tired of hustling," or the influence of family, it affects both employment and criminal behavior. The decision causes the correlation.8/

Whether one believes that employment itself causes a decrease in criminal behavior or that both employment and lessened recidivism result from other factors, available evidence indicates that unemployment and recidivism are strongly associated with each other. This supports the belief that employment may be essential for releasees' successful readjustment to the community. However, many releasees have difficulty obtaining jobs through their own efforts, due to a variety of barriers which hinder their employment search.

3. Barriers to Releasee Employment

Prison releasees face two different types of employment barriers: discrimination resulting from their status as ex-offenders and barriers caused by their own lack of skills or other deficiencies. External employment barriers include:

- attitudes of employers—employers are often reluctant to hire any ex-offender. Bonding requirements as well as fear of theft, adverse customer reaction or negative employee repercussions may make employers hesitant to offer prison releasees jobs.

- statutory restrictions—many statutes and government regulations restrict the employment opportunities of prison releasees and other ex-offenders. Occupations which require licensing are often closed to released prisoners, because of the qualifying requirements imposed by each State.9/

- union discrimination—the lack of acceptance of releasees into various craft unions also limits potential employment opportunities. At the local level unions often have autonomy which allows them to operate somewhat differently than national union policy may dictate.

In addition, prison releasees may have difficulty obtaining jobs because they lack needed skills. Such employment barriers include:

- lack of education, including in some cases inability to read, write or solve simple arithmetic problems;

- lack of specific occupational skills needed in the local labor market;

- limited knowledge of job acquisition techniques, such as completing job applications or handling interviews; and

- limited orientation to the "world of work," including the importance of punctuality, regular attendance, appropriate dress and good working relationships with peers and supervisors.

These employment limitations of offenders have often not been addressed during the period of imprisonment. For example, wardens have estimated that 70% of inmates need to acquire various job skills in order to obtain steady outside employment and that only 34% are likely to do so during their incarceration.[10]

Besides the employment barriers already discussed, prison releasees often have poor employment histories, characterized by much

mobility, low wages, and low work status. This is illustrated by the results of a study of inmates in State correctional institutions at the end of 1974:

- Almost half of the inmates had been employed for 28 weeks or less on their last job.
- In the year preceding incarceration, 42% of the prisoners had incomes below or near the $2,492 amount designated by the Federal government as the poverty level for a single person in 1974.
- Inmates' prior work records overrepresented such occupations as nonfarm labor, operatives and service workers and underrepresented such fields as professional and technical workers, managers, administrators, sales workers, clerical personnel and supervisors.[11]

Prison releasees also frequently exhibit psychological characteristics typical of many disadvantaged persons who have experienced difficulty in adjusting to life in the "straight" world. The following characteristics have been repeatedly found by prison-based projects which use psychological tests: inability to plan or work towards long-range goals; low frustration tolerance or tolerance for normal stress; inappropriate aspiration level; inability to tolerate delay of rewards; impulsiveness; self-centeredness; broad mood changes in response to events; and negative self-concept, self-image, and self-confidence.[12] Many releasees are also members of minority groups and relatively young. These various factors make it difficult for releasees to achieve employment success. As one study concluded:

> The criminal offender is perhaps the most disadvantaged of the "disadvantaged." [H]e has all of the deficits of the economically and culturally disadvantaged non-offenders, accentuated by (1) increased self-doubt; (2) formal and informal employment restrictions; (3) experience in a non-rehabilitative prison environment; and (4) an almost irreversible label of "criminal" and the accompanying stigma.[13]

4. Employment Status of Releasees

In view of the many employment barriers facing prison releasees, it is not surprising to find that they often have difficulty obtaining jobs. This is shown, for example, by a 1976 analysis of the unemployment rates of recent parolees in ten States: these rates often exceeded 20%.[14]

A study, published in 1969, which assessed the employment problems of released Federal prisoners found that 17% of the releasees in the labor force were unemployed. Moreover, even those releasees who had jobs often experienced problems in maintaining steady employment. Twenty percent were working only part-time, and more than half of the releasees studied had experienced at least one period of unemployment during the postrelease year. Employed releasees most commonly worked on unskilled, service or operative jobs.[15]

The time immediately following release from prison may be a period of especially high unemployment for many ex-offenders. The 1969 study cited above found that the majority of the individuals leaving prison did not have prearranged jobs. Moreover, the unemployment rates of persons out of prison for less than six months were significantly higher than for individuals who had been in the community longer.[16]

This difficulty in acquiring and retaining suitable employment may affect a substantial number of releasees in a given year. For example, during 1974 more than 100,000 persons were released from Federal and State penal institutions.[17]

5. Employment Services Programs

To help releasees become successfully employed, many programs

providing a variety of services have been developed. A brief history of these programs appears in Appendix A.

Employment services programs for prison releasees offer many types of assistance, including:

- assessment of releasees' needs and development of appropriate "employability" plans, to guide releasees' efforts to become employed;
- job readiness training, to help releasees conduct more effective job searches;
- job placement assistance, to refer releasees to suitable job openings;
- job development activities, to identify potential employment opportunities for releasees; and
- a variety of counseling and supportive services, to help releasees prepare for the work world and to assist them in adjusting to it after they have become employed.

This study assesses the present state of knowledge regarding the provision of these services and programs' impact on both clients and the surrounding community. Programs of primary interest are those which serve adults, rather than juveniles, and releasees who have been removed from the community for a significant period of time (e.g., more than six months), rather than persons jailed for a short period or placed on probation. In addition, the study focuses on programs which are community-based, rather than on those operating within prisons or in highly supervised settings (e.g., work-release programs or halfway houses).

Many operating programs and a number of past analyses are relevant to this study, even though they have a somewhat different focus. For example, it is common for programs to consider "ex-offenders" as one group, without differentiating among prison releasees,

persons jailed briefly or probationers. Such programs may provide valuable services to prison releasees, even though other groups are served as well.

Additionally, many of the analyses of prison-based projects and of community-based programs for the "disadvantaged" have addressed problems similar to those faced by community-based programs for releasees. Consequently, findings from related studies have been incorporated into the present report, where appropriate.

B. Development of State of Knowledge Assessment

In order to assess existing knowledge concerning programs which provide employment services to prison releasees, three major data collection activities were undertaken:

- a review of existing literature and work in progress;
- identification of the universe of employment services projects; and
- site visits to fifteen employment services programs.

These activities are briefly discussed below. In addition, major findings from these activities have been incorporated into the relevant sections of this report.

1. Literature Review

The literature review covered existing evaluations or analyses of individual programs, related materials on vocational programs for inmates and non-offenders, comparative studies of programs, and possible data sources for analysis of employment services programs serving prison releasees. Many of the existing studies which have evaluative implications have analyzed program operations in a single place. Some of these analyses have been conducted by the programs

themselves, although certain analyses stemmed from the interests of Federal or State funding agencies.

There are few significant evaluation studies focusing solely on community-based employment services programs for prison releasees. Most studies are of community programs that serve "the ex-offender" or of programs operating in prisons or other incarceration-like settings.

Employment and recidivism are the major outcomes assessed in most studies. However, these outcomes are often not compared with either client or program characteristics in order to assess the most effective kinds of services for different types of individuals. Moreover, existing studies rarely compare the results achieved by clients with outcomes for non-clients who are otherwise similar to program participants. Thus, it is difficult to attribute client outcomes to the programs' interventions.

The lack of appropriate evaluation studies has been widely commented upon. A 1969 analysis decried the lack of consistent recordkeeping and the absence of reliable follow-up data.[18] A review of ten years of correctional manpower projects concluded that "a lack of concern with the interface between theory and program implementation has hampered projects in their attempt to create a cumulative picture of 'what works' and 'why'."[19] Another study concluded that "with the exception of work release, most of the non-traditional manpower programs are experimental" and that "most lack validating research as to their results."[20] That study also discussed the need for evaluation and observed that little good evaluation had been done:

> Critics have charged that there has been very little proper evaluation, no establishment of standards or criteria by which to measure degree of success or failure, and no way of knowing whether offender rehabilitation programs are working and are worth the investment.
>
> In many projects the evaluation techniques or findings have been found faulty when subjected to rigorous examination, in others the evaluation results could not be generalized to make them universally applicable because the persons, conditions, and circumstances were unique to those programs at a particular time. In most, the evaluation has consisted of a presentation of operational statistics such as number entered, number trained, number placed, number employed, and number recidivating. In some cases, outside evaluators have been hired to evaluate projects after the fact, with the evaluation design being dependent upon the limited project data available or reconstructed data.21/

Despite these evaluative limitations of existing literature, past studies do provide much information about types of services, manner of service delivery and operational problems. In addition, selected studies provide insight about program impact on client behavior. Consequently, results of relevant studies have been incorporated into various sections of the present report.

2. Universe Identification.

A variety of organizations were surveyed to obtain information on the identity of programs providing employment services to prison releasees. These organizations included:

- Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) regional offices;
- State Planning Agencies funded by LEAA;
- the corrections departments of all States; and
- national and State organizations concerned with ex-offender problems (e.g., the Fortune Society, National Association of States Attorneys General, etc.).

In addition to programs identified through this survey, a number of employment services programs were identified through the review of relevant literature, from interviews with Labor Department officials, through an earlier ex-offender program survey conducted by the American Bar Association[22] and from other sources.

All programs identified were asked to complete and return a two-page questionnaire, which is included as Appendix B of this report. Information requested included:

- program age;
- number of clients served;
- eligibility requirements;
- sociodemographic characteristics of clients;
- services provided;
- staff-client contact;
- program success criteria;
- staff size and type;
- funding source and level;
- numbers of prison releasees served; and
- nature of contact with prison and parole officials.

Besides the mail responses, selected follow-up telephone calls were made to increase the survey's coverage. A total of 257 programs, located in all parts of the country, completed the survey questionnaire. These programs reflect a wide variation in structure, service delivery, and relationship with the community. Some programs are associated with parole departments, others are adjuncts of the State Employment Service, while still others are part of a prime sponsor's Comprehensive Employment and Training Program. Some programs attempt to provide as many employment services as possible in-house, others rely almost totally

on referrals to other community employment services programs, and many provide some services in-house while referring clients to existing community agencies for other needed services.

Detailed survey findings appear in Appendix C. Highlights of the results, based on programs' self-reported data, include:

- Approximately half the programs had been in operation four years or more.
- Forty-four percent of the programs served fewer than 300 clients during the past year.
- The most frequent limitations on client elibigility are that only ex-offenders are served (reported by 46% of the programs) and clients must be older than a certain age, usually 18 years (reported by 39% of the programs).
- The most common services provided directly by the programs are job placement, job development and counseling. The most common services provided by referral are skills training, on-the-job training and education. The services least likely to be provided (either directly or by referral) are transitional employment/supported work and vocational testing.
- Almost 80% of the programs reported that staff-client contact occurred at least once a week, with 29% of the programs reporting daily client contact.
- Fifty-five percent of the programs reported that the average length of client contact with the program was one to six months, and an additional 26% of the programs reported an average length of client contact of seven to twelve months.
- The most common success criteria used by programs are successful job placement (reported by 79% of the programs) and successful reintegration into the community (reported by 58% of the programs).
- About 60% of the programs have less than ten staff members.
- Most programs have some ex-offenders on their staff.
- Thirty-six percent of the programs have annual budgets of less than $100,000, and an additional 24% of the programs have budgets between $100,000 and $300,000.
- The major funding source for most programs (51%) is the Federal government, followed by the State government (21%).
- The number of prison releasees served over the past year varied considerably across programs: of approximately 200

programs providing this information, 26% served less than 50 releasees, 33% served 50-199 releasees, 20% served 200-499 releasees and 21% served more than 500 releasees.

- The most common way that prison releasees come to the programs is through referral by probation and parole officers; the next most common way is through referral by prison officials.

3. Site Visits to Programs

After analysis of the program universe and consideration of the major issues raised in the literature on employment services programs, a sample of fifteen programs was selected for more detailed analysis. These programs reflect the full range of variation found in the program universe along such dimensions as type of services provided, number of clients served, geographic location, funding source, etc. Characteristics of the programs in the site visit sample are shown in Appendix D.

Analysis of the sample programs was performed through site visits by one or two people, who usually spent two days at the programs. The first morning was spent interviewing the program director about the objectives and overall operations of the program, its relationship with other community organizations, and the data collected and/or analyzed by the program for reporting or evaluation purposes.

The remainder of the site visit included interviews with program staff members, who provided more detailed information concerning service delivery and client processing. Additionally, interviews were conducted with representatives of the local criminal justice system, officials of the employment services system with which the programs interfaced, and representatives of the business community. People interviewed concerning their perspectives on the employment

services program included police officials, parole officers, Comprehensive Employment and Training Program staff, National Alliance of Businessmen representatives, State Employment Service staff and personnel managers of local employers.

In addition to providing varying perspectives on program operations, these individuals contributed many ideas concerning appropriate evaluation measures for employment services programs serving prison releasees. Interview guides used during the site visits appear in Appendix E.

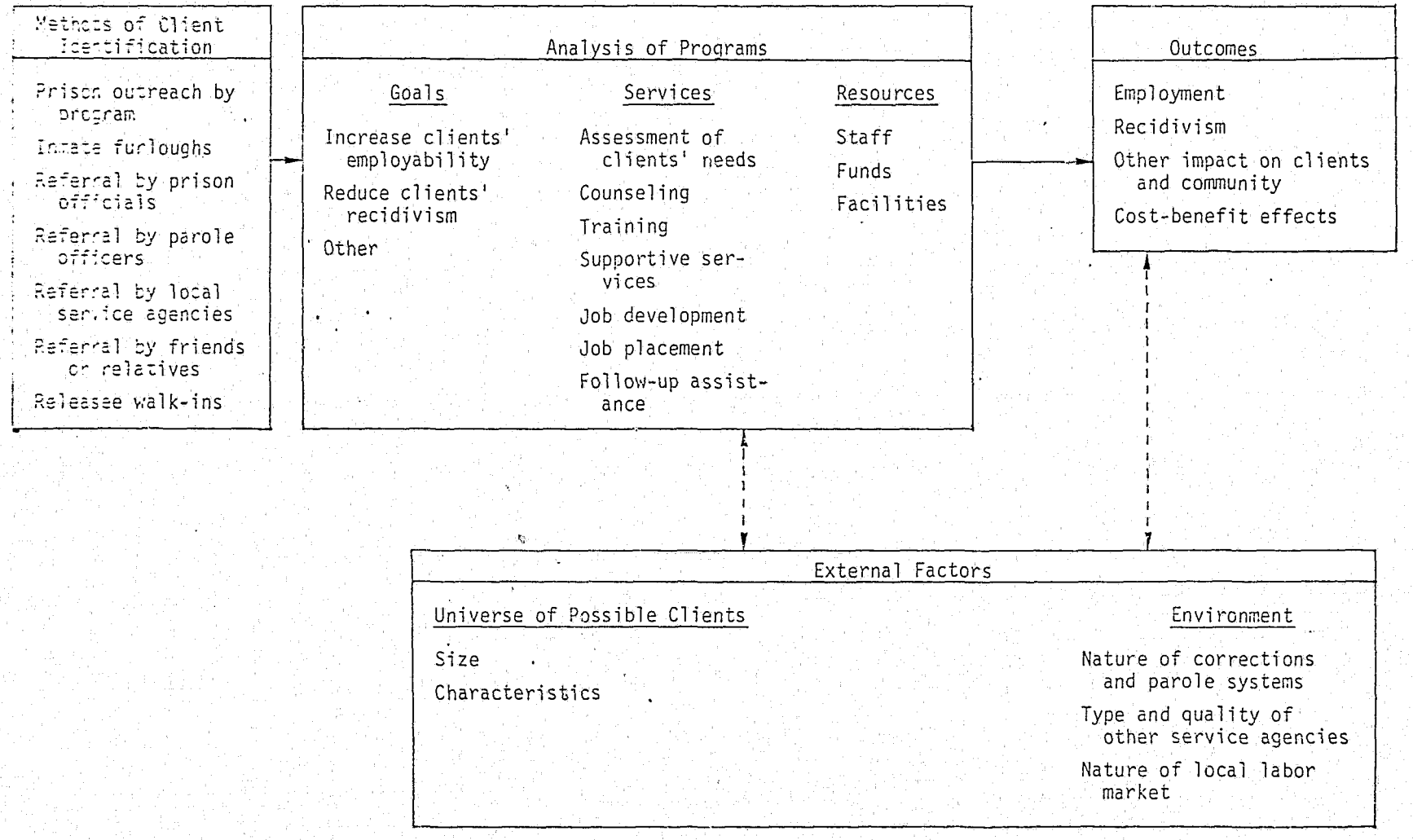
C. Organization of This Report

This report is organized in terms of the analytical framework shown in Figure 1. As illustrated, clients are identified in several ways and may receive a variety of services by programs trying to achieve their goals while using certain fixed resources. Programs are affected by a number of external factors (e.g., nature of local labor market) over which they have little control but which may help determine program outcomes.

The following five chapters of this report consider the various aspects of the analytical framework in detail. Chapter II addresses program operations, including the manner in which prison releasees are referred to programs, receive services in accordance with program goals, are channeled to employment opportunities and are assisted in adjusting to employment, once it has been obtained. Topics discussed include:

- the manner in which programs provide services during the various stages of client participation in the program;
- the major assumptions underlying the provision of different services;

FIGURE 1.—Analytical Framework for Assessing Employment Services Programs



- the present state of knowledge (including identification of important knowledge gaps) concerning the efficiency and effectiveness of the various program activities; and
- potential analyses which would improve the present state of knowledge about employment services programs.

Chapter III considers program resources, specifically staff, funds and facilities. The availability of these resources and programs' utilization of them are both assessed.

Chapter IV discusses a number of external factors which may affect program operations. These include:

- the size and characteristics of the potential client universe;
- the nature of the corrections and parole systems with which programs interact;
- the type and quality of other service agencies in a community; and
- such other factors as the condition of the local economy and the prevailing attitudes of area employers.

Chapter V presents information on program outcomes. The major outcomes considered concern clients' employment and recidivism. However, possible program effects on the surrounding community are also assessed.

Chapter VI reviews major findings of the study and suggests several areas for future research. Of particular importance is the need for adequate analyses of client outcomes after program participation, as compared with outcomes of otherwise similar non-clients. The absence of such studies at present precludes definitive statements about the impact of employment services programs for prison releasees.

II. PROGRAM OPERATIONS

This chapter discusses the goals, referral methods, specific services and client flow processes of community-based employment programs serving prison releasees. Topics considered in this chapter include the assumptions which underlie various program activities, the manner in which different program services are delivered, the present state of knowledge concerning program operations and possible analyses which would fill important knowledge gaps.

A. Goals

The primary goals of most employment services programs for prison releasees are to increase clients' employability and to reduce their recidivism. The hypothesis that the programs can achieve these goals is a major evaluative consideration; possible measures of the validity of this hypothesis will be considered throughout this report, especially in Chapter V on outcomes.

Many programs have specified additional goals, such as to provide needed social services or to increase the receptivity of the business community toward ex-offenders. Other programs have established operational objectives related to the general employment and recidivism goals, such as placing a certain number or percentage of clients in jobs or achieving a specific recidivism rate. For example, Employ-Ex, Inc., a community-based program in Denver, Colorado, has established two main effectiveness objectives: to reduce recidivism of program

participants over one year by 25% more than the recidivism experienced by a comparison group of similar offenders and to insure that program participants who are placed in jobs, training or educational positions will be employed, in training, or in school an average of 60% of the time they are in the program and available for employment, training or school.[23]

Some programs have developed a number of operational objectives, designed to measure the efficiency and effectiveness of specific program functions as well as the overall program. One such program, Helping Industry Recruit Ex-Offenders (H.I.R.E.) of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has established several primary program objectives, each with minimal, expected, and optimal goals, which are related to specific performance objectives for each program staff member.[24]

Programs sometimes have difficulty establishing specific goals and thus state them more broadly. For example, one employment services program's goals are to develop capabilities of probation-parole and correctional officers to aid offenders in finding and keeping jobs upon release; to enlist the support of employers in hiring ex-offenders; to build an effective working relationship with trade and civic organizations; to integrate the overall ex-offender training and employment program with a Labor Department program; and to develop an effective delivery system of ex-offenders to job placements.[25] In some cases programs establish such broad goals that evaluation of progress toward achieving them is virtually impossible.

Even though a program may possess adequately defined goals, these may be understood only by the director. Program administrators sometimes fail to convey a clear understanding of goals to staff members.

For example, a management audit of a Decatur, Illinois, employment services program concluded that, although the program had written organizational goals and objectives, these were not clearly understood by all staff members. Additionally, the process of setting objectives, their implementation and their effect on the program's goals were misunderstood by some staff members.[26] Thus, staff perceptions of goals must be considered, as well as formal statements of those goals.

Often program goals are tied to program funding requirements. Programs may be required to place a certain number of clients in full-time employment in order to receive allocated funds. This may result in an overemphasis on literally meeting set goals; consequently, the number of placements may be emphasized at the expense of the appropriateness of the placements. For example, clients may be referred to jobs in occupational areas in which they are not interested or for which they are overqualified. Although an immediate placement may be obtained, the client may soon leave the job.

Thus, program goals may be determined in a variety of ways and may be stated in very broad terms or quite precise ones. However accomplished, the specification of goals will affect a program's day-to-day operations, including types of services delivered and methods of identifying potential clients.

B. Client Identification Methods

A prerequisite for a successful community-based employment services program is the identification of appropriate and sufficient numbers of clients. This may be accomplished in several ways:

- The program may identify potential clients by visiting local prisons and other correctional facilities.
- The prison staff may refer inmates on furloughs to the program before their release or recommend that they contact it after release.

- Parole officials may refer clients to the program.
- Staff at other community service agencies or organizations may identify ex-offenders and refer them.
- Releasees may be referred by friends or relatives who possess knowledge of the program.
- Releasees may appear at the program on a "walk-in" basis, as a result of having heard about it in prison or in the community.

Most programs identify clients through several of these methods. The following sections describe each of these client identification techniques and discuss problems affecting the extent to which they are successful in identifying potential clients for the programs.

1. Program Visits to Prisons and Correctional Facilities

Many programs attempt to contact potential clients before they are released from prison. Staff will visit prisons and interview prospective releasees to explain the program's objectives and services and to assess whether the inmate would be interested in participating upon release. This kind of outreach effort is based on the belief that it is important to establish contact prior to release, so that the releasee will be aware of the opportunity for help immediately upon returning to the community. Some programs also engage in prison outreach in order to screen out individuals who are not motivated or who are ineligible before their return to the community.

Many programs assume that inmates need more counseling support during the pre-release period than institutional counselors provide. They therefore make regular visits to prisons to counsel inmates in any areas where they can provide assistance. These contacts vary considerably across programs and depend on available staff time and proximity of the prison.

Programs sometimes leave brochures describing their services at the institution and rely on interested inmates to contact the program by mail. The rationale behind such activity is often that the inmate should take the initiative in contacting the program in order to demonstrate motivation.

In some cases programs conduct group interviews at the prisons. Staff relate the goals and services of the program, client and counselor duties, and employment prospects in the community.

Programs may also begin serving inmates while they are still incarcerated. This may include locating jobs for prospective releasees or identifying training opportunities and enrolling inmates at times to coincide with their release. Employment services programs sometimes conduct classes for interested inmates who are expecting release. Project H.I.R.E. in Minneapolis, for example, has conducted a course in "work orientation" and resume preparation for residents of a pre-release center run by the Minnesota Department of Corrections.[27]

Programs which visit institutions to contact inmates often encounter a number of problems making the process time-consuming and difficult. Prison officials or staff may be uncooperative towards "outsiders." Synchronizirg interview schedules with the times inmates will be available can prove difficult. Even space in which to conduct private interviews with inmates may be hard to obtain. In certain instances, programs have been forced to abandon this kind of client identification activity, because too many of these problems could not be overcome.

2. Furloughs As Means of Client Identification

In many instances, prisons permit furloughs, so that inmates can attempt to obtain employment before their release. The use of the

furlough is especially important for inmates who must have a job in order to secure release on parole. According to a recent survey, 38 of the 50 State parole boards require inmates to have a job in order to be granted paroles.[28] As a result, an inmate will often accept any job in order to gain release and may be unemployed soon after.

When inmates receive furloughs, community-based employment services programs can assist them in locating suitable employment. Because the program can interview the inmate in depth before release, its staff can spend time locating an appropriate job opening while the person is still incarcerated. Such program efforts not only help the inmate secure release on parole but can also help the inmate obtain a better job than would otherwise have been acquired during the furlough's limited time period.

In several States, parole boards are becoming more cognizant of the problems surrounding parole job requirements and have allowed a service commitment by an established community-based employment program to represent a valid substitute for actual employment.

The furlough method of client identification poses certain problems. Sometimes interested inmates are unable to obtain furloughs to visit employment services programs. In other cases, if initial program efforts to obtain a job for an inmate do not succeed or if the program needs more information, the inmate may be unable to secure a second furlough. In these cases, the advantages of personal interaction are lost unless the program can interview the inmate at the prison.

3. Client Identification by Prison Counselors

In many communities program staff may not possess the time or be

sufficiently close to prisons to conduct in-prison interviews with prospective releasees. Additionally, the prison officials may not release inmates on furlough to look for employment. In these circumstances community-based programs often rely on institutional counselors to refer releasees to the program.

This process may be informal or routine and may or may not involve regular contact between program and prison staff. For example, prison staff may send programs lists of the names and addresses of releasees who will be returning to the community during the following month. Or prison counselors may simply give a releasee the name and address of a community employment services program and advise the releasee to contact the program.

In this type of client identification, programs must rely to a great extent on the cooperation of prison staff. If prison counselors do not think well of the program or are apathetic about reminding releasees to contact it, the program may fail to make contact with a large number of prospective clients. Once inmates return to the community, it becomes much more difficult for the program to locate them. This is especially true for those releasees who are not under any form of corrections supervision. Those under supervision may often be referred to the program by their parole agents.

4. Client Identification by Parole Agents.

A great many of the persons assisted by employment services programs are referred by parole officials. Twenty-eight percent of the programs surveyed during this study reported this as the most common way that recent prison releasees come to the program.

Methods of referral depend on the individual parole official involved. Some parole officers accompany releasees to the program to ensure their arrival. Other agents give the parolee the name and address of the program and suggest contacting it. In certain cases, the parole agent will provide the program with specific client data before the parolee is referred.

Often, whether a parolee is referred an employment services program will depend on the identity of the parole agent to which the parolee is assigned. Parole officials frequently have high caseloads and may find it difficult to remain aware of the specific problems faced by their parolees. Thus, they may not be able to identify those clients who are experiencing serious employment-related problems. Moreover, parole officials sometimes do not follow up on referrals to employment services programs to ensure that the parolee appeared.

Effective referral from parole officials to programs may require formal mechanisms. One such approach is that adopted by the Clearinghouse for Ex-Offenders in Louisville, Kentucky.[29] Each Louisville parole officer is matched with a counselor at the Clearinghouse. This leads to the development of ongoing relationships between parole and program staffs as well as more efficient client processing.

A controversial issue associated with client referral by parole officials concerns the impact of pressure by parole agents on parolee outcomes. Program staff often state that parole agents "force" releasees to appear at the program by threatening them with parole violation if they do not. Many program staff members assert that the great majority of the parolees who are "forced" into the program lack the motivation of other clients and drop out after a brief

period. However, other program staff think the threat of parole violation may provide the incentive releasees need to obtain jobs and succeed in them.

Despite this wide difference in opinions, there is little evidence available with which to resolve the controversy. Analyses have not been conducted of the relative success rates of parolees who were pressured into program participation versus those who were not so influenced.

5. Client Identification by Other Service Programs

Releasees often come into contact with other service programs upon their return to the community. Staff at such programs may identify releasees who need employment services and refer them to an appropriate program.

Referral procedures vary. Staff of a community agency, such as a drug or alcohol treatment program, may telephone an employment services program and notify the intake staff that they are referring a person. In some cases, they may provide background information about the person during this initial conversation. In other situations, staff from a community service agency may accompany persons to the employment services program.

Referrals by other agencies often depend upon the personal knowledge of the individual staff member interviewing an individual. The extent of knowledge about an existing employment services program may vary considerably among staff of the same agency. Additionally, some community agencies do not try to identify ex-offenders. In these instances, the releasee might never be referred to an available employment services program.

6. Client Identification by Family or Friends

When a releasee returns to the community, the extent of support received by family and friends often plays a critical role in readjustment success. Programs often find that potential clients are referred by family of friends for employment assistance. Ex-offenders who were served by the program in the past may discuss it with other ex-offenders, and knowledge of the program may become widespread.

7. "Walk-in" Clients

Some program clients may not be referred by any specific individuals, such as prison counselors, parole agents, family or friends. They may learn of the program themselves as a result of program outreach efforts (e.g., brochures left at community agencies or speeches made by program staff). In other cases, they may have been served by the program in the past and wish additional assistance.

Some programs do not serve "walk-ins." Instead, they require releasees to be referred by one of a number of community resources. Even those programs which do serve "walk-in" applicants rarely identify many of their clients in this way. This is partly explained by the fact that "walk-in" applicants have not been screened for motivation or eligibility, as is often done for referrals by parole agents, prison officials or services agency staffs. Therefore, "walk-ins" are more likely than other potential clients to be inappropriate or ineligible for service.

8. Effectiveness of Various Client Identification Methods

The relative effectiveness of client identification methods has rarely been analyzed. Assessment of client outcomes as compared with various client identification methods could indicate the identification

techniques which result in the most and least successful clients. Program emphasis could be changed accordingly.

Programs could also analyze the extent to which they are identifying all members of the universe of potential clients. For example, a program could obtain from the State Corrections Department the number of persons released to the community which the program serves. The number of unemployed releasees on existing parole caseloads could be added to that figure. A program could then compare this number with the persons it served to assess penetration of the potential client universe. Such analysis would also have to consider the program's financial and staff resources, since low penetration rates would be expected for programs too small to serve all potential clients.

C. Eligibility and Program Intake

1. Methods for Eligibility Determination and Intake

When releasees appear at community-based employment services programs, they are usually referred to designated staff members for intake services, which include those associated with program application and eligibility. Even programs with very broad eligibility criteria usually establish a structured intake process to collect background information on applicants.

The methods by which programs implement intake vary, as do criteria for client acceptance. Eligibility criteria depend on the purpose and design of a program. A survey conducted as part of this study obtained data on the client limitations at 257 programs. As shown in Table 1, the most common eligibility requirements relate to ex-offender status. The next most frequently used criteria concern age and residency requirements.

TABLE 1.—Client Limitations Reported by Programs Serving Prison Releasees (N = 257)

LIMITATION	Programs Reporting Limitations	
	Number	Percent
Only serve ex-offenders	117	46%
Only serve persons recently released from prison	30	12
Only serve clients older than a certain age	101	39
Only serve clients younger than a certain age	14	5
Only serve males	25	10
Only serve females	8	3
Only serve people on probation or parole	30	12
Only serve residents of the same county where program is located	50	20
Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in the same county where program is located	17	7
Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in same State where program is located	31	12
Do not serve persons convicted of:		
Homicide	8	3
Rape or other sex crimes	13	5
Serious assault	19	7
Armed robbery	7	3
Only serve persons whose previous incarceration was was less than a certain number of years	6	2
Other limitations	123	48

NOTE: A program may have more than one limitation on clients who can be served.

Many programs impose minimum age requirements. This is often due to the fact that juvenile offenders face different needs than older ones. Very few programs have sex limitations, although most programs appear to serve a predominantly male population. Many programs have residency requirements of a city- or county-specific nature, which are often due to funding restrictions.

Funding restrictions may limit client populations in a number of ways. Many employment services programs are funded by local prime sponsors under the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). In such cases, program clients must meet the same eligibility criteria as other non-offender CETA applicants. These usually include being unemployed or underemployed for a previous period of time, living within the jurisdiction administering the CETA program, and being over a minimum age.

Other community programs are connected to the State Employment Service (SES), which requires that applicants be "employable." Clients considered "unemployable" and thus ineligible are those who are:

- actively involved in drug abuse;
- active alcoholics, especially if not enrolled in a treatment program; or
- persistently dishonest in dealing with program staff.[30]

Some offender employment services programs are funded by State Departments of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR). Eligibility criteria at these programs are the same ones applied to all applicants for vocational rehabilitation services:

- The client must possess a physical or mental disability.

- The disability must constitute a substantial vocational handicap.
- The client must have the potential to return to gainful, competitive employment as a result of program services.31/

Programs funded by corrections agencies often serve only certain portions of the releasee population, e.g., parolees. Other programs may establish priorities of client eligibility, depending upon client status within the criminal justice system. For example, Employ-Ex, Inc. in Denver tries to serve those persons most likely to recidivate, because the program believes they are most in need of service. Consequently, persons most recently released from prison are served first, and dischargees released more than 18 months ago are not given priority.[32]

Programs may also establish informal eligibility criteria based on applicant motivation. If the intake staff believes that a person has been "forced" to appear by a parole officer and does not wish to work with the program staff, the applicant is often rejected.

Programs use different means to assess client motivation. Although motivation may not be a formal eligibility requirement, it may be utilized to screen persons in or out of the program at an early date. For example, the Institute of General, Mechanical and Electrical Science, an employment services program operated by the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, places all new clients in a 30-day probationary status, during which they are evaluated as to their appropriateness for the program.[33] Some programs do not officially enroll clients until they have returned two or three times and thus evidenced interest and motivation.

Community-based programs sometimes have no formal eligibility criteria and accept "all" releasees who apply for aid. These programs do not engage in any "creaming," the process by which programs refuse services to those clients who they believe would not be helped and attempt to serve only those clients who have a better chance to be "successful." Because of their "open door policy," these programs expect a higher "failure rate."

The identity of the staff member performing intake varies. Often a specialist is employed to collect intake information and conduct an assessment interview. All applicants are referred to this person, who supervises the completion of a program application, conducts an assessment interview and makes initial decisions concerning eligibility. Small programs may utilize whichever staff members are available to perform the intake function. In some instances, a third party is involved in this process. For example, programs funded by State Departments of Vocational Rehabilitation (DVR) may receive assistance from DVR staff during the intake process.

The specific information collected at intake varies from program to program, although general categories of information are often similar. Frequently, the specific type of data collected depends on the requirements of programs' funding sources. However, many programs collect the following intake information from applicants:

- personal data, including name, address, age, marital status, health, etc.;
- criminal history, including previous convictions, dates convicted, sentence lengths and institutions, courts in which convicted, current criminal justice status, and current parole agent;

- vocational interests, including present employment interests, ultimate job goal, past participation in manpower programs, and job-related skills and aptitudes; and
- educational history, including schools attended, years completed, and courses taken.

Programs may attempt to collect much of this information from sources other than the applicant, since releasees may often be "turned off" by the time devoted to data collection during the intake process. For example, a 1971 study concluded: "Few [offenders] experienced any satisfaction or rewards from structured interviews. All reacted negatively to intake workers and counselors who gave the impression of being wedded to pieces of paper and more concerned about gaps in information than individual needs."[34]

Sources of information on the applicant's background include the parole officer and the institution where the releasee was incarcerated. In some cases parole agents send relevant information to the program with the applicant.

The intake period is also a stage at which programs can gain knowledge about the pre-intervention attitudes or abilities of clients in certain areas for comparison with scores after program intervention. For example, the Institute of General, Mechanical, and Electrical Science in Philadelphia compares client scores on vocabulary, arithmetic, and job readiness ability tests at intake and after training.[35]

The intake process is usually accompanied by an orientation to the program. Some programs may consider orientation a separate process, while others may rely on institutional counselors or parole agents to orient applicants to the program before they arrive. Also, some programs disseminate program descriptions within the prison(s).

Regardless of the technique, programs usually try to ensure that applicants understand the objectives and services of the program. Points usually explained include program goals, staff responsibilities, client responsibilities, the client flow process, reasons for expulsion, program participation requirements, program completion requirements, and program duration information.

After a determination is made concerning an applicant's eligibility, the intake staff member completes all required forms for those clients deemed eligible and refers ineligible clients to other community agencies. Such agencies include the local State Employment Service Office, a Comprehensive Employment and Training Program (CETP), the welfare office, charity-sponsored emergency need centers, drug or alcohol treatment programs, or other ex-offender programs.

The manner in which programs perform this referral varies. A program counselor may review a community resource manual with the releasee to ensure an appropriate referral. For example, staff at Operation DARE in Chicago use a Resource Manual summarizing all community agencies in the Chicago metropolitan area in order to refer ex-offenders to an appropriate resource.[36]

In other instances, the amount of effort expended on the referral of an ineligible applicant may largely depend upon the interest of the counselor or staff member involved. Some may merely suggest a program and give the releasee its name and address, while others may telephone the program, notify a contact person of the referral and make an appointment for service. At some programs referrals are arranged by specific staff members who specialize in certain service areas. For example, this is done at Project MORE in New Haven,

Connecticut. Depending upon the intake interviewer's assessment of a releasee's needs, the person is sent to the appropriate staff member, who in turn makes the referral to another agency.[37]

2. Potential Analyses

There are a number of potential analyses which would increase existing knowledge about eligibility and intake procedures. One important area in which programs need increased knowledge concerns the appropriateness of their eligibility criteria and of the clients they are serving. An analysis of the intake process would help programs understand both who was being served vs. who was being missed and whether intake procedures were efficient. Major questions to address include;

- Are significant portions of the releasee population being missed because they are being judged ineligible?
- Are certain subpopulations of releasees being over- or under-represented compared to their percentage in the universe of possible clients?
- Is the time period for the intake process an appropriate one?
- What types of clients drop out of the program during the intake process and for what reasons?

Through such analyses, programs may be able to develop eligibility modifications, so that more of the potential client universe can be served; extend outreach efforts to certain agencies or officials, so that clients being under-represented are given more service; adjust the length of the intake process to retain client interest without sacrificing minimum data needs; and modify the intake procedures, so that fewer clients drop out of the program.

D. Overview of Program Services

Community-based employment services programs aiding prison releasees provide the following types of services:

- Assessment of Client Needs—This assessment examines client background, abilities, interests and goals in order to establish a plan by which the program will work with the client.

- Counseling—Counseling usually consists of individualized vocational counseling by an assigned staff member. Together the counselor and the client attempt to meet the client's needs and vocational goals.

- Job Readiness Training—This training usually provides the client with advice and techniques for seeking and retaining a job.

- Educational Training—Programs often provide clients with the assistance required to obtain a high school equivalency degree, enroll in a community college or meet other educational needs.

- Supportive Services—Releasees may need a number of supportive services in order to make a successful transition back to the community. If a program does not offer these services, it may refer the client to other appropriate agencies, such as welfare, medical, psychological, food and clothing, and family assistance services.

- Job Development—Programs may develop relationships with area employers and search for specific positions to which clients can be referred.

- Job Placement—Most programs attempt to place clients in jobs, often on an individualized basis in which a client's abilities and interests are matched with a position's prerequisites and duties.

- Follow-up Support—This support, provided to clients after they have secured jobs, helps them to cope with any problems encountered on the job and thus gives them a better chance of retaining their employment.

Some programs, in addition to providing some or all of these services, provide clients with additional assistance, such as vocational training. For example, the Institute of General, Mechanical, and

Electrical Science, operated by the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, provides clients with skills training.[38] Most programs, however, rely on other agencies to provide such training to clients.

Another specialized approach is utilized by Atlanta's Assistance to Offenders, Inc., which focuses on the supported work concept. Participants work in structured, closely supervised settings through which they can both learn good work habits and establish a work history.[39]

The number and extent of the services provided often depends upon program philosophy and available resources. In addition, the emphasis placed on a particular service often varies greatly across programs. For example, many programs provide clients with job readiness training services, but the time allocated to this training differs considerably among programs. Employ-Ex, Inc. in Denver offers a one-day Job Preparation Workshop, a Baltimore program devotes one week to job preparation, and the Parolee Rehabilitation Employment Program (PREP) in Columbus, Ohio, provides a two-week job readiness training class.[40]

The following sections discuss the various services offered by community-based employment services programs, including methods of implementation used, what is known about the effectiveness and efficiency of services provided, gaps in the state of knowledge, and potential analyses which can be used to assess service provision. Although these services are discussed separately, they are often provided in combination during the course of a client's participation in a community-based employment services program.

E. Assessment of Client Needs

1. Methods of Implementation

For those applicants found eligible for the program, the assessment process continues after intake. Often the intake worker (or a counselor to whom the client has already been assigned) conducts a detailed interview to assess the client's urgent needs and expectations. This interview is the initial step in the program's developing an "employability plan," or "schedule of services" for the client.

An illustrative example of the kinds of assessment information which may be obtained is provided by Project H.I.R.E. of Minneapolis, Minnesota.[41] This program asks clients to rank order:

- factors affecting the amount of satisfaction they get from a job, such as advancement possibilities, salary, hours of work, co-workers, security, and doing enjoyable work;
- types of work relationships which would prove most satisfying and challenging, such as work which involves "influencing other people," "working with hands and doing mechanical things," or "working with ideas"; and
- factors the client believes will influence a company's hiring, such as the client's previous working experience, educational background, work skills, and conviction record.

Program staff also conduct a "career education assessment," based on educational training factors, previous employment history, personal factors, physical factors, job-seeking factors, work expectations, particular job needs, and employment preferences. Such information helps program staff determine which kinds of jobs should be made part of the client's "employability plan." The information can also serve as a basis for continued vocational counseling.

Some programs supplement detailed assessment interviews with

testing. The uses of test results vary from program to program. Some programs utilize test results as a tool for accepting or rejecting applicants. For example, the Institute of General, Mechanical and Electrical Science in Philadelphia uses three simple tests to assess client potential; those applicants scoring below a specific total are not accepted, based on the assumption that the program could not benefit them. (Exceptions are made, however, for applicants with extremely high levels of motivation).[42]

Other programs use test results in the career planning process. Counselors study the scores on the individual tests to determine client strengths and weaknesses, employment potential, and human service needs (e.g., education, peer relationship counseling, money management, etc.). This information is used to help develop the client's "employability plan."

Tests in use range from those developed by the program itself to standardized tests utilized by professional vocational rehabilitation or employment workers. Standardized tests include the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory), the GATB (General Aptitude Test Battery), the BETA, the WRAT, and the Moony. Programs using their own tests usually focus upon vocabulary, spelling, arithmetic and reading.

Tests developed by the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections (EMLC), primarily as predictors of criminal behavior, have begun being used as assessment tools by staff at some employment services programs. These tests are the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS), the Weekly Activity Record (WAR), and the Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR).

The EDS, as one example, was originally developed to assess the degree of environmental deprivation or support as an index of behavioral malfunctioning in alcoholics and ulcer cases. It was adapted and refined by the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections for use in the analysis and prediction of criminal behavior. According to researchers who validated the instrument on a sample of nearly 300 released offenders, "the EDS pinpoints the employment area as crucial in adjustment, followed closely by interpersonal relationships. In addition, the scale points to other areas where specific intervention strategies should be initiated."[43]

The researchers emphasize the potential of the EDS for assessing releasee needs in the community: "The EDS should be most helpful to probation supervisors and related workers in systematizing basic information about an individual so that his areas of strength and weakness can be utilized and treated. The scale also permits the user to discriminate between those who need minimal assistance and those who require the maximum."[44]

The areas included on the EDS are:

- employment—work history for a specified time period;
- income—income of the client over a specified time period (e.g., week, month, year);
- debts—client's financial obligations and behavior in meeting those obligations;
- job participation—degree of the clients' job involvement, if employed;
- job status—amount of pride the client takes in the job and perceived importance to the organization, if employed (e.g., is client satisfied with job?, how long has job been held?, can client expect promotions?);

- hobbies and avocations—hobbies and non-occupational leisure activities in which client participates and is proud of participation, indicating support received from these activities;
- education—formal education;
- residence—degree of client's satisfaction and pride in residence and the neighborhood;
- church—frequency of attendance at religious services or functions;
- other organizations—extent to which the client is obtaining satisfaction from belonging to organizations, clubs, sporting groups, or other organized groups;
- friends—extent to which client has friends for discussion of important matters (excluding friends who encourage socially unacceptable behavior);
- relatives—degree of behavioral support client receives from relatives outside the immediate family;
- parents—amount of behavioral support client receives from parents;
- spouse—degree to which client has a behaviorally satisfying relationship with spouse;
- children—extent of support provided by client's children; and
- fear—client's plans for the future and self-estimate of ability to handle current and future problems.

The EDS is a behaviorally oriented instrument and may be of use to community-based employment service programs. However, the effectiveness of the EDS as a means of assessing releasee problems and planning intervention strategies has not been systematically evaluated for clients of employment services programs.

Other assessment instruments have been developed in recent years, although none was tested specifically with ex-offenders. One such assessment instrument is the Vocational Opinion Index (V.O.I.), which assesses client's job readiness.

The V.O.I. is a psychometric instrument, designed to measure the attitudes toward work or "job readiness posture" of trainees in Employment and Training Administration skills centers. The instrument was evaluated in an effort to establish norms which would permit determination of the adequacy of a trainee's job readiness posture as it related to successful transition from a training program to employment. The V.O.I. was administered to more than 2,000 trainees from 13 skills centers nationally. The sample consisted of active trainees and individuals who had either completed or dropped out of a program during the year prior to the test.

Variables investigated in the development of the V.O.I. related to client attitudes, living situations, vocational backgrounds, and mental and physical health. Researchers concluded that:

- The ability to reliably differentiate the work status of individuals based on the V.O.I. is significant because it permits detailed study of the "Job Readiness Posture" (JRP) and how it relates to transition to work.
- JRP correlates significantly with work status.
- V.O.I. provides the possibility of isolating potential "non-workers" at the beginning of their training, thus enabling the skills centers to provide them with supplementary services.
- Problems encountered by enrollees differ as a function of their stage in the transition to work process. Therefore, it appears necessary to teach them to cope with certain problems while in training even though the problems won't occur until the person leaves the program.45/

Although the V.O.I. was not tested on releasees, it was assessed with a disadvantaged population having many of the characteristics of ex-offenders. The V.O.I. could be utilized for assessment purposes by any program for which job readiness is a crucial client consideration.

Knowledge of the degree to which a releasee is job ready may influence the mix of services received from the program and should influence the employability plan developed by the program assessment worker or counselor together with the client.

2. Potential Analyses

Little is known about the relative effectiveness of various assessment methods. Programs currently have little to guide them in selecting assessment techniques, e.g., in-depth interviews, interviews and standardized tests, program-developed tests, etc.

If programs decide to utilize some form of testing to assess clients, they often do not know which tests are best for which purposes. Programs may use standardized tests merely because they are "accepted" without evaluating the tests' usefulness to the programs. To analyze the effectiveness of different tests, programs could:

- analyze staff opinions of the relative merits of various assessment tests; or
- determine the percentage of staff who actually utilize test results in working with the clients.

Where test results are used to make decisions regarding the development of client "employability plans," one might assess the relationship between the tests utilized and the appropriateness of the action taken.

To assess the efficiency of needs assessment methods, programs might conduct a cost analysis. Variables considered would include average staff time devoted to assessment, cost of production of assessment materials and average number of clients undergoing needs assessment over a specified time period.

F. Counseling

1. Methods of Implementation

After intake and needs assessment, clients are usually referred to a counselor with whom a relationship is maintained throughout program participation. The counselor referral is often determined by current caseloads. However, other variables may influence the decision:

- If a client has an urgent need in an area where a counselor possesses special expertise, the client will be referred to that counselor.
- If a client has difficulties with English, the releasee may be referred to a counselor conversant in the native language.
- If a client has been to the program previously, the client will probably be referred to the same counselor as before.

The scope and purposes of counseling vary across programs and sometimes even within the same program. However, counseling usually includes assisting clients in assessing their needs, abilities, and potential; providing guidance in the development of employability goals and the means to achieve them; and helping solve a variety of problems occurring during participation in the program.

The need for counseling is based on several assumptions:

- Prison releasees returning to the community will encounter personal and readjustment problems, and one of the most important of these is unemployment.
- To assist releasees in overcoming these problems, a relationship with a program counselor should be established.
- This relationship should be an ongoing one, facilitating continuity in releasee readjustment and development of a plan of action.

A major variable in counseling approaches is the frequency and

length of counseling sessions. Some programs visited in the course of this study require clients to attend counseling sessions once a month while maintaining regular telephone contact. Other programs mandate counseling sessions once a week. Still others are unstructured, requiring no set frequency of counseling sessions as long as counselors maintain steady contact with clients. Depending upon client needs and staff time, counseling sessions may vary in length from 15 minutes to more than an hour.

Most programs believe that more frequent or more extensive client-counselor contact will lead to stronger inter-personal relationships, which will in turn help the client readjust successfully. However, this hypothesis has not been systematically tested.

In addition to the extent of counseling provided, the background of the counselor may affect the client-counselor relationship and eventual client rehabilitation. Counselors may have varied academic training (e.g., sociology, psychology, social work) and different types of experience (e.g., former parole officer, prison counselor, manpower program employee). In addition, most programs have at least one ex-offender on the staff.

The usefulness of ex-offender counselors has been widely discussed in the existing literature and at employment services programs themselves. Ex-offenders are often considered to make good counselors, because they can more easily identify with the client. This may result both in greater understanding of the client's needs and in a lesser likelihood of being manipulated (or "conned") by the client. Additionally, some programs think that clients may be more at ease with ex-offender counselors, that this will lead to greater honesty

and openness in the counselor-client relationship and this will in turn result in greater levels of client success.

Ex-offender counselors may pose problems, however. One problem which may occur "from selecting an insufficiently mature ex-offender of the same background as the client is that the two may become stuck on the point of their fight against the 'establishment,' [which] becomes the scapegoat; no behavior change is demanded, and no responsibility is accepted, though the staff member may teach the participant how to beat the system."[46]

Another problem arises when ex-offender staff think that their status as ex-offenders automatically makes them good counselors. Such staff members may resist efforts to train them in counseling techniques. In addition, ex-offenders may experience a number of role conflicts, caused by having "establishment" jobs where they deal with clients experiencing a community readjustment which the ex-offender counselors may have undergone themselves quite recently. Also, in some cases ex-offender staff may be so assertive about rejecting their criminal past that they antagonize clients, rather than creating the rapport with them which is often considered an advantage of ex-offender counselors.

Despite possible disadvantages of ex-offender counselors, most program directors agree that they can be a valuable asset. Directors usually report that staff are not hired <u>because</u> they are ex-offenders but rather because they possess other attributes likely to make them good counselors. Moreover, some directors have expressed reluctance to hire "the professional ex-offender counselor," an individual who seeks employment only at programs serving ex-offenders and develops

neither career goals nor a non-offender identity. Indeed, Assistance to Offenders, Inc., in Atlanta, Georgia, requires ex-offender staff to leave the program after a certain period of time.[47] This is done to prevent ex-offender staff from developing an unhealthy dependence on the program and to force them to consider other job possibilities and career aspirations.

Qualities considered necessary for an effective employment services program counselor, whether an ex-offender or not, are similar to those of counselors at other human services program. One survey of program directors found that the most frequently cited qualities are competence, dedication, maturity and demonstrated responsibility, character, empathy and flexibility.[48]

Besides assisting clients; counselors often maintain a variety of records and complete a number of reports, required by funding sources or other program regulations. Counselors frequently assert that too much of their time is spent on such paperwork. As a 1971 study stated:

> Estimates of time spent by [program] counselors. . . filling out forms and generating written materials ranged from 30 to 35%. Much of this effort was spent filling out. . . reporting forms. There was general annoyance at the reporting requirements. . . and most staff viewed its relevance and reliability with a jaundiced eye. In their estimation, the system consumed an unwarranted and disproportionate amount of staff time and provided scant useful feedback to program operators.[49]

Despite the importance of counseling in many programs, there have been few efforts to evaluate the counseling function or individual counselor performance. However, one program which conducts such analysis is Project H.I.R.E. in Minneapolis, Minnesota.[50] Each program staff member is rated in three areas: skill development,

relationships, and accountability. Each of these factors is rated through supervisory, peer, and/or client responses. Accountability, which assesses performance in meeting expected position-specific goals, is the most important staff evaluation factor, weighted with 70 points. "Relationships" accounts for 20 points and "skill development," 10 points.

The accountability rating for all counselors with active caseloads is based on eight primary objectives and their associated performance goals. Minimum acceptable levels and optimal expectancies are set for each goal, and weights are assigned to each. As an illustration of this accountability rating process, Table 2 presents the primary objectives and expected goals for project counselors.

The variables which comprise the relationship factor are divided into two categories, peer ratings and client ratings. Peer rating variables include:

- openness to influence;
- constructive initiative;
- decisiveness;
- flexibility;
- communications;
- confidence; and
- dependability.

Client responses include both opinions of the quality of services received from the counselor and general, open-ended comments.

The skill development factor is rated more subjectively. Counselors are expected to identify specific skill areas and indicate the efforts they will make over the review period to develop that skill. After their

TABLE 2.—Accountability Factor for Counseling Staff at Project H.I.R.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota

PRIMARY OBJECTIVES	EXPECTED GOAL
1. OBTAIN STABLE EMPLOYMENT The percentage of terminees who obtain full time, unsubsidized employment (at least 30 hours per week) through 90 days after initial placement.	55% of all terminees
2. OBTAIN JOB PLACEMENT ONLY The percentage of terminees who obtain a full time job, unsubsidized, but do not complete 90 days of retention.	10% of all terminees
3. OBTAIN OTHER EMPLOYMENT The percentage of terminees who obtain part time, seasonal, temporary, unsubsidized employment.	5% of all terminees
4. OBTAIN OTHER MANPOWER SERVICES The percentage of terminees who obtain subsidized (wages supplemented by CETA) employment; vocational education or training, or another CETA funded program placement. Objectives 1-4 comprise the program placement rate into jobs and/or training=75% expected placement rate	5% of all terminees
5. OBTAIN REASONABLE WAGES Average earnings per hour at termination from program.	$3.35 per hour on 90th day of employment
6. OBTAIN OTHER APPROPRIATE COMMUNITY SERVICES The percentage of non-positive terminees who are referred to and accepted by another community service.	50% of all non-positive terminees
7. MINIMIZE PROGRAM LENGTH FOR POSITIVE TERMINEES The average number of program days from day of enrollment to job/training placement.	Average pre-placement days = 30
8. MINIMIZE PROGRAM LENGTH FOR NON-POSITIVE TERMINEES The average number of program days from day of enrollment to termination from program due to failure to obtain job/training placement. Persons so terminated should receive referral service and acceptance into another community service (see objective No. 6.)	Average pre-termination days = 50

Source: "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Counseling Staff," January 1976.

participation in skill development activities, counselors are required to describe the effect that the activities had on the performance of the duties described in the counslors' job descriptions. These data provide the basis for the skill development rating.

The information collected as a result of this evaluation is utilized by program administrators to examine program objectives versus achievements and to make decisions concerning ways to improve the operations of program components.

2. Possible Analyses

At present relatively little is known about the effectiveness of various counseling techniques, the importance of frequent counseling sessions or the impact of personal versus telephone contacts. These factors could be assessed by comparing various counseling approaches with subsequent client outcomes. For example, a group of program participants with similar backgrounds and vocational needs could be subjected to differing counseling methods in terms of frequency, length of counseling sessions, and mode of counseling. Outcomes assessed would include:

- whether clients continued in the program or dropped out;
- whether clients recidivated while participating in the program; and
- whether clients secured employment.

Such analysis would permit determination of the counseling approaches which seem most effective.

G. Training Services: An Introduction

Community-based employment services programs provide releasees with a variety of services which can be termed "training." These

services may be available at the program facility itself or may be provided through referral to another local program. The type of training services which may be available include:

- job readiness training—preparation to seek and keep a job;
- educational training—assistance in reading, arithmetic, English, etc., or courses leading toward a high school equivalency degree;
- skills training—instruction in the specific duties required to perform a certain job; and
- supported work training—temporary work associated with extensive support, designed to help the client adjust to the responsibilities and tasks demanded in the "world of work."

The following sections examine these different types of training, including the methods by which they are provided, what is known about their effectiveness and efficiency, and analyses which might be conducted to assess their importance.

H. Job Readiness Training

1. Methods of Implementation

Job readiness usually refers to the possession of adequate vocational and job-seeking skills, as well as an appropriate "world of work orientation." This latter factor can be defined as "a set of psychological constructs (attitudes and perceptions) which permits an individual to accept and work within the social constraints established by a work environment."[51] Many prison releasees lack such an orientation when they first enter a program and thus are in need of job readiness training.

The provision of job readiness training to prison releasees is based on a number of observations and assumptions:

- Prison releasees often have limited and/or unstable work histories.
- This instability or lack of employment continuity is partly due to past inabilities to seek a job effectively and to adjust to requirements imposed by the "world of work."
- After returning to the community and before actively seeking employment, clients should be exposed to job readiness training, which will enhance their chances to secure and retain jobs.

Implementation techniques for job readiness training vary across programs. A major difference among programs is the length of time devoted to such training. For example:[52]

- The Parolee Rehabilitation and Employment Program (PREP) in Columbus, Ohio, provides a two-week course in job readiness training.
- The Impact Manpower Services Program in Baltimore, Maryland, offers a one-week job preparation workshop.
- Employ-Ex, Inc., of Denver, Colorado, requires all new clients to attend a one-half day job preparation course before they can be referred to program counselors.

Another major variation across programs is the time at which job readiness training is provided to participants. Some programs, such as Employ-Ex, offer such training immediately after clients enter the program. Others do not provide this service until clients have undergone some counseling, and their counselors deem them in need of the service. Alternatively, programs may not provide job readiness training until clients have met other needs (e.g., clothing, housing, education, medical, skills training) and are ready to begin looking for a job.

In certain cases, job readiness training may be provided to clients in conjunction with other services. For example, the Vocational Alternatives Program (V.A.P.) in Decatur, Illinois, offers clients a half-time course in job readiness training while they are employed at

half-day supported-work jobs in the community.[53] In this manner clients are able to discuss their real-world job experiences in a classroom setting and implement the advice they receive on their jobs.

The techniques utilized for job readiness training vary, depending upon the number of clients participating and the length of time available. Typical methods used include:

- group lectures;
- rap sessions;
- mock interviews;
- films; and
- individualized review of clients' backgrounds and vocational potential.

Topics usually covered during job readiness training include:

- resume preparation;
- completion of job applications;
- job-seeking techniques;
- job interviews;
- job interview follow-up;
- punctuality and attendance on the job;
- dress at job interviews and on the job;
- peer relationships on the job;
- establishment and maintenance of good relationships with supervisors on the job; and
- solutions to job-oriented problems.

Some job readiness training courses offered by programs focus on needs besides employability skills, such as the availability of bonding, ways to obtain necessary identification and a driver's license, and methods of acquiring essential tools or clothing. Additionally, course content

is sometimes supplemented with printed materials which summarize major job-seeking and job-keeping techniques and which clients can review whenever necessary (e.g., before job interviews).

2. State of Knowledge Assessment

Although most program staff agree that prison releasees often need job readiness training, the extent to which such training contributes to client success is unknown. This conclusion is reflected in a study of the Parolee Rehabilitation and Employment Program (PREP), which specializes in job readiness training. The study concluded:

> The process and curriculum PREP utilizes appears to support its aim of making the recently released offender more prepared for the responsibility of employment. However, the project does not have sufficient data to make a comparison between PREP and non-PREP clients possible. There is no evidence to indicate the degree to which PREP clients are more successful in securing employment than are other parolees. Most certainly, however, it would seem that the PREP approach would increase the likelihood that the ex-offender would face the prospects of employment with a more positive, and possibly, productive attitude.54/

Several analyses have compared outcomes for clients who completed versus dropped out of job readiness training. For example, an evaluation of one program offering a two-week course in job readiness training found that 55% of program graduates were currently employed full-time and of those, 29% had held their jobs for 60 days or more. Only 18% of the clients who dropped out of the program before graduating were employed full-time, 65% for 60 days or more. Income figures, though incomplete, showed that the median hourly wage for program drop-outs was slightly higher than for program graduates. On the other hand, 73% of the drop-outs were unemployed, as compared to 34% of the graduates.[55]

The data generated by such a comparison are difficult to interpret, however, since differences in client characteristics which prompted one group to drop out and one to remain and complete the program may be responsible for different client outcomes. Thus, the true impact of job readiness training alone cannot be determined from such analyses.

3. Possible Analyses

The use of comparison groups would permit better assessments of the importance of job readiness training. One such analysis is planned by the State of Ohio Parole Department. This study will attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the job readiness training offered by the PREP program. The study will:

- compare the employment outcomes of PREP participants with a group of demographically matched parolees selected and supervised by the same parole officer; these groups will be matched on age, sex, race, educational attainment, number of prior felony convictions, type of offense, and prior employment history;

- include the administration of a battery of standard and attitudinal tests to PREP participants upon entry in the program, at the conclusion of the program, and at the completion of a nine-month follow-up period; these tests will also be administered to the matched comparison group at the beginning of their period of parole supervision and at the conclusion of the nine-month follow-up period; and

- examine the two groups of parolees with respect to the number of "declared parole violators," "number of arrests," and number of "returns to the institutions."56/

When completed, such analyses will enable the impact of the PREP program on clients' employment, recidivism and job-related attitudes to be determined.

Other analyses could also be used to assess the value of job readiness training for clients of community-based employment services

programs. For example, the clients themselves could be surveyed about the perceived value of such training. Also, client attitudes toward "the world of work" or knowledge of job-seeking techniques could be assessed prior to program intervention and afterward.

Additionally, employment outcomes for clients completing job readiness training could be compared with the outcomes of matched or randomly selected releasees in need of such training but not receiving it. To evaluate the relative importance of job readiness training, one could compare the employment outcomes of releasees receiving only job readiness training with outcomes for other releasees who received different types of employment assistance. Such outcome studies are discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

I. Skills Training

1. Methods of Implementation

The provision of skills training to releasees is based on the assumptions that many releasees possess few marketable skills and that without skills training, these releasees will be able to obtain only entry-level, "dead-end" jobs. Releasees often had low skill levels at the time of their imprisonment and received little skills training during incarceration. From their inception, institutional vocational skills programs have been beset by problems. These problems help illustrate the extent of the skills training needs of prison releasees.

In-prison training has frequently been associated with low-level jobs. According to past analyses, occupational areas selected for training often bear little, if any, relationship to the labor market situation in the community to which the releasee will return. Because of convenience or expedience, the desires and interests of participants

are often ignored in favor of the needs of the institutions.

Existing documentation emphasizes these conclusions repeatedly. A 1969 Department of Labor study found that the best predictor of releasee employment status was prior work experience and that the type of institutional work assignment was not significantly related to employment status. The author concluded that institutional training and work experience had very little influence on post-release employment status and observed that most prison skills training programs were associated with institutional maintenance. The negligible difference between those who did and those who did not have vocational training indicated that those programs were of little benefit to releasees. This study also found that those inmates trained in professional or technical skills were most likely to have successful post-release full-time employment, but that only a very small percentage of inmates qualified for and received this type of training.[57]

The data for that study are now approximately ten years old, and improvements have been attempted by those responsible for institutional vocational training. However, recent analyses have documented many of the same problems. A review of manpower correctional projects through 1973 found that, in general, the projects did not consider the seasonality of employment, wage levels, occupational status or the needs of the community to which the inmate would probably be returning after release.[58] Also, although most prison-based vocational training programs surveyed prisoner interest prior to program implementation, these interests did not play a significant role in the selection of training areas. Rather, the training areas selected reflected middle class biases concerning the kind of work offenders would be able to do;

most training offered was in blue-collar and service occupations.

A 1975 survey of 560 prisons reached many of the same conclusions:

- Vocational preparation in correctional institutions is generally inadequate.

- Less than half of in-prison industries, maintenance and service activities have as their primary goal the development of inmate job skills for employment upon release.

- The vocational preparation offered in formal vocational training programs is inadequate both in quantity and quality. The number of programs per institution is generally too small to meet the diversity of inmate training needs. Over half the inmates. . . want other types of training which are not available at their institution.

- Only 32 percent of the programs, by their own admission, have adequate, modern facilities with all necessary equipment in operable condition. . . . Only half of the directors of vocational training regard developing specific job skills as the most important goal for their programs.

- There is an apparent lack of relationship of job training to individual and local job market needs. Less than half of the inmates who participated in training. . . [had a] job waiting for them that was related to the training they received in the institution.

- Wardens estimated that 70% of the inmates need to acquire job skills in order to obtain steady outside employment. . . only 34% are likely to acquire sufficient job skills during their stay [in the institution].

- Unless it has roots in the community with job placement capabilities, an inmate-training program cannot be a useful rehabilitative tool.59/

In view of the skill level of most prison inmates and the low assessed value of many in-prison vocational training programs, one of the early decisions faced by a releasee and counselor of a community-based employment services program is: Does the releasee client need and desire skills training?

Skills training is very rarely provided directly by employment services programs themselves, due to physical, financial and staff requirements. Usually, programs rely upon other organizations to provide skills training to releasee clients. Such organizations include Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs (CETPs), Departments of Vocational Rehabilitation and vocational trade schools. Training is primarily available through the CETPs, since State Departments of Vocational Rehabilitation are shifting away from serving ex-offenders. Staff at community-based employment services programs often express dissatisfaction with training available through CETPs, for a variety of reasons:

- Waiting lists may be several months long.
- Programs are sometimes more concerned with obtaining job placements than with providing training of high quality.
- There is often little of the individualized instruction which the prison releasee may need.[60]

As a result of problems with existing training resources in the community, employment services programs sometimes develop their own training courses. For example, the Institute of General, Mechanical and Electrical Science, an employment services program sponsored by the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, offers clients:

- skills training courses in automotive mechanics, welding, foundry, and electronics with instruction by licensed teachers;
- specialized facilities of a local technical school; and
- coordinated counseling and job development activities.[61]

However, few employment services programs have the resources to conduct their own skills training.

2. Potential Analyses

At present little is known about the extent to which skills training contributes to successful releasee outcomes. Questions to be addressed include:

- Do releasees who receive skills training obtain "better" jobs (e.g., higher wages, higher skill level, more potential for advancement) than those who do not?
- Is the skills training received at available programs appropriate to the needs and desires of prison releasees?
- Is the skills training received reflective of labor needs in the community?

Analyses which might be utilized to assess these issues include:

- comparison of the employment outcomes of clients who received training with otherwise similar individuals who did not;
- analysis of employer or supervisor attitudes about the adequacy of the skills levels of releasees who have received skills training;
- assessment of the percentage of clients receiving skills training who obtain employment in the areas for which they were trained; and
- analysis of releasee opinions concerning the relevance of the skills training they received to the jobs they obtained.

J. Supported Work Training

1. Methods of Implementation

Since many prison releasees are relatively unfamiliar with work environments, some employment services programs offer supported work training. Such training is designed to provide releasees with work experience in a setting which lacks the full pressures of regular employment. These pressures can be reduced in several ways. For

example, a group of releasees may work together, so that peer pressure caused by the releasee's ex-offender status is lessened. Also, work supervisors may be specially trained and particularly sensitive to releasees' adjustment problems.

The need for supported work training is based on several assumptions, including:

- Many prison releasees are not used to a "regular" work environment.
- Job readiness training may not be sufficient to make releasees familiar with the demands and responsibilities associated with this environment.
- To bridge the gap between job readiness training and full-time competitive employment, prison releasees need a supportive employment experience in a temporary work environment.

Thus, supported work training is viewed as temporary employment which will provide job experience, develop good work habits and permit use of occupational skills within a work setting.

Supported work programs for prison releasees operate in a variety of ways. Some programs are run by existing nonprofit organizations experienced in the supported work concept. For example, the Pennsylvania Governor's Justice Commission sponsored a work experience program through the Goodwill Industries of Pittsburgh. The program offered clients the opportunity to establish a work record, so that Goodwill could provide job recommendations to prospective employers. Groups of approximately 30 clients spent 10 weeks in a program of work, counseling and placement assistance. Each client started at a fixed hourly rate and could be granted an increase of 10 cents an hour at the end of each of the first four weeks. The program goal was to refer each participant for a job or additional training between the fourth and sixth weeks.[62]

Another example of supported work activities is provided by the Vera Institute of Justice in New York City. For several years Vera has operated supported work programs for former drug abusers and ex-offenders. A program which received widespread attention was the Pioneer Messenger Service. Other supported work projects have operated under the auspices of Vera's Wildcat Corporation. Work performed by program participants includes the operation of offtrack betting parlors, the cleaning of public buildings, and environmental activities.[63]

This approach to helping ex-offenders and other groups is receiving increased attention at the Federal level. A supported work program based on the Vera Institute model is currently being implemented at thirteen sites nationwide. This three-year demonstration project, funded by six government agencies and the Ford Foundation, provides work experience to several disadvantaged groups in normal work environments offering necessary support. The program's objectives are to provide approximately 15,000-18,000 participants a year with opportunities for learning good work habits and developing employment histories and to determine which of the various disadvantaged client groups are most responsive to assistance. Ex-offenders constitute between one-fourth and one-half of the clients served.[64]

Another example of the manner in which the supported work concept has been implemented is provided by Assistance to Offenders, Inc. (ATO) of Atlanta, Georgia. ATO solicits contracts from individual employers in order to provide work experience for clients. The great majority of clients work under a maintenance contract with Atlanta's Omni Coliseum. ATO clients comprise the work supervisors and assistant

supervisors as well as the work crews. All program participants are evaluated weekly in terms of criteria important in "normal" work environments. These criteria include:

- punctuality;
- ability to follow directions;
- understanding of job duties;
- willingness to seek guidance;
- extent of cooperation with others;
- willingness to assist others;
- ability to work well with others;
- assumption of responsibility for quality of work performed; and
- overall attitude toward work.[65]

In some cases, programs provide supported work training in conjunction with other services. For example, the Vocational Alternatives Program (VAP) in Decatur, Illinois, develops half-time "on-the-job evaluation" positions (OJEs) for its clients. Releasees work at these positions and attend a job readiness class the other part of the day. Clients are evaluated weekly by their OJE employer.[66]

2. State of Knowledge Assessment

Several studies have been performed assessing the effectiveness of supported work. Evaluators of Vera's program found that participants tended to acquire good work habits, but many remained in the supported work program and did not seek jobs in the competitive labor market. For example, as of January 1, 1975, a total of 3,051 persons had entered the Wildcat program and only 438 had moved on to non-supported jobs.[67] As a result of these findings, the national supported work

demonstration program has established time limits of 12 to 18 months for client participation.

The gaps in current knowledge regarding supported work training concern the relative effectiveness of such training as compared with other possible assistance. In addition, the optimum length of supported work is also unclear; programs currently vary from several weeks to more than a year.

To alleviate these knowledge gaps, analysis could be conducted of the employment and recidivism outcomes of persons receiving supported work experience versus matched individuals receiving only job readiness training or a mix of job readiness training and supported work experience. Additionally, the time periods for supported work could be varied and outcomes analyzed.

An evaluation of the national supported work demonstration program will include analysis of outcome data for program participants and a control group receiving no supported work training. This analysis may help answer some of the current questions concerning the efficacy of supported work.

K. Educational Training

1. Methods of Implementation

At some stage in a client's program participation, the issue of education is usually addressed. This may occur immediately after intake and needs assessment or at a later date. The need to consider releasees' possible educational deficiencies is based on several assumptions, including:

- Many prison releasees have low educational attainment levels.

- Reading and mathematical abilities are essential for the satisfactory performance of many jobs.
- Therefore, many prison releasees need some form of educational training before they can be placed in a job.

It has been well documented that many persons being released from prison possess low educational achievement levels. According to the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, the majority of inmates in U.S. prisons average less than nine years of formal schooling.[68] Also, sixty-one percent of State inmates incarcerated in January 1974 did not receive a high school diploma, compared to 36% of the general male population over 18.[69] Thus, many prison releasees enter employment services programs with poor educational backgrounds, which may hinder their efforts to obtain employment.

Although some employment services programs have their own educational instructors to meet releasees' needs, most programs refer clients to local resources, such as adult education courses or community colleges. Tuition for program participants may be reduced, or other special arrangements may be developed with the educational facility. For example, the Offender Aid and Restoration Program (OAR) of Fairfax, Virginia, which relies heavily on Northern Virginia Community College to provide educational opportunities to clients, has established an agreement by which the college allows clients without high school diplomas to attend college classes while they are working toward a GED.[70]

No evaluation has been conducted of educational training provided to releasees by community-based employment services programs. However, assessments of education programs provided to prison inmates have been

performed. Because the educational disabilities of inmates are similar to those of prison releasees, the findings of these studies are relevant for community-based programs as well. Selected findings include:

- Remedial education is most effective when offered concurrently with vocational (or pre-vocational) training.
- A nontraditional teaching design (e.g., team teaching, individual tutors, tutors and educational machines) should be employed.
- Nontraditional teaching methods and materials (e.g., individualized teaching materials and the use of role playing) are more effective than traditional ones.
- Nontraditional teachers (e.g., formerly trained project participants, college volunteers, community workers) can direct the use of educational materials without academic training or certification in the field of education.71/

These conclusions suggest that employment services programs' heavy reliance on referral agencies for educational training may be unwise. This is because most referral sources (e.g., adult education programs, colleges, GED programs) utilize traditional educational techniques, focused around a classroom situation where a teacher instructs a group of students.

Since group instruction of releasees seemed somewhat ineffective, the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections (EMLC) developed individualized educational materials and assessed their use with ex-offenders. Findings included:

- Materials and procedures must be concrete, varied and short.
- Teaching machines inherently motivate interest, but personal attention and varied activities are a necessary supplement to their use.

- Learning contingencies (e.g., rewards) can be manipulated to encourage maximum performance.
- The use of individually programmed instruction reduced preparatory and training time when compared with traditional methods.72/

As a result of these findings, the individualized program instruction (I. P. I.) method is currently being used in some prisons and by selected States in their regular adult education programs.

2. Potential Analyses

Little is known about the outcomes of releasees who receive educational services or about the relative importance of educational training as compared with other types of employment services. Although programs often assert that educational training (particularly in reading and arithmetic) is a precondition for a releasee to obtain suitable employment, this hypothesis has not been systematically tested. One way to analyze the impact of educational training would be to compare the outcomes of clients who received such training with the outcomes of otherwise similar individuals who did not. However, such analysis has not been conducted.

L. Supportive Services

1. Methods of Implementation

The operations of many programs reflect the belief that a variety of supportive services are a necessary complement to employment services. Experience at these programs has shown that "marital, financial, housing and legal problems can be traumatic for the released offender."[73] During the transition from prison to the community, employment services alone may be inadequate for successful readjustment. As an Indiana

program reported:

> When this project was originally designed, it was believed that if an ex-offender is placed in a job situation, then most of the problems of reintegration into society would be solved. In retrospect, this appears to have been a very much oversimplified assumption. . . . Other major problems to the reintegration process exist for the ex-offender. . . . [M]any ex-offenders are neither ready, willing nor able to seek, obtain or keep jobs, due to a variety of needs, both material and psycho-social.74/

Thus, many employment services programs seek to meet releasees' needs for supportive services. A number of different types of supportive services may be required, including:

- assistance in finding suitable housing;
- help with legal problems;
- medical attention;
- specialized counseling (e.g., on marital difficulties or drug abuse problems);
- immediate financial aid;
- assistance in obtaining food, clothing or transportation; and
- help in making child care arrangements.

Usually supportive service needs are assessed at an early stage of client processing (e.g., during an initial assessment interview or counseling session). In addition, a releasee's counselor often continues to identify such needs and try to have them met throughout the client's participation in the program.

Although some supportive services may be provided by the program itself, it is more common to refer the releasee to other community agencies for these types of assistance. Both employment services and supportive services are typically provided to a releasee in parallel.

Techniques for identifying appropriate referral agencies vary considerably. Some programs have developed manuals describing community resources, eligibility requirements and referral procedures. Other programs rely primarily on the initiative of individual counselors to identify appropriate referral agencies. As a result, some counselors may have broad knowledge of existing community resources, while others are unaware of many local programs which could provide important supportive services to releasees.

Once an appropriate referral agency has been identified, the actual referral may be made in a variety of ways. Some counselors merely give the client information about a program which provides the needed service, while others will call the program and try to facilitate service delivery. In some cases counselors stock the intake forms used at referral agencies and help clients complete them.

Counselors often develop a variety of personal relationships with staff members at other programs as a means of obtaining better or faster services for their clients. Employment services programs' staff members interviewed during this study repeatedly emphasized the importance of establishing good working relationships with specific individuals at community agencies and taking the initiative in trying to circumvent bureaucratic hurdles at those agencies. Problems frequently encountered include:

- restrictive intake requirements;
- long waiting lists;
- scheduling conflicts; and
- communications failures.

When faced with these problems, clients often do not continue to seek the service, according to program staff. An example of the kinds of difficulties which exist is presented in an analysis of the Clearinghouse for Ex-Offenders in Louisville, Kentucky:

> Between October 1972 and February 1974, out of the total of 1,289 served by the Clearinghouse, 90 ex-offenders were referred for vocational training to other agencies—most often to MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) programs or the local CEP (Concentrated Employment Program) programs. Of this number, only 17 ex-offenders were enrolled. The Clearinghouse attributes the minimal enrollment to two causes. First, there was a federal freeze on training for a number of months; and second—and most important—there are long waiting lists for the most desirable training programs in the area and the ex-offenders get tired of waiting and discouraged.75/

After releasees are referred to other community programs, contact between the referral program and the employment services program varies. Some programs require mandatory contact on a regular basis. For example, Project Newgate in Minneapolis, Minnesota, sends monthly evaluation forms to supervisors at vocational or educational programs in which Newgate clients are participating. Supervisors are asked to rate the client's performance in terms of attendance, attitude, performance, and present level of ability or skill, if applicable.[76]

Other programs, though lacking such systematic procedures, maintain regular contact with referral programs, often through telephone calls. Still other programs have no contact with community agencies after clients are referred there.

Employment services programs may collect a variety of data concerning referral relationships with community supportive service agencies. These data usually describe the degree of success program staff have achieved in obtaining services for clients. For example,

Project MORE, a State-funded program in New Haven, Connecticut, collects the following referral information:[77]

- Counseling
  - —How referral was made
  - —Type of referral agency
  - —Type of counseling received
  - —Whether client appeared for first appointment
- Housing
  - —How referral was made
  - —Type of referral (public or private)
  - —Whether client appeared for first appointment
  - —Whether housing was secured
  - —Type of housing
- Education
  - —How referral was made
  - —Type of referral
  - —Whether placement was secured
  - —Level of client involvement
  - —Whether financial assistance was provided
  - —Whether financial assistance was generated by agency involvement
- Treatment
  - —Type of treatment required
  - —Nature of treatment
  - —Whether referral was successful
  - —Type of referral
  - —How referral was made
  - —Method of service payment

Through review of this information, Project MORE can identify referral agencies where relationships need to be improved.

Another approach to increasing program knowledge about supportive services provided to clients is used by the Illinois Model Ex-Offender Program (M.E.P.). This Statewide 12-unit program operates a computerized Management Data System for project monitoring, planning, and evaluation purposes. One of the files notes client contacts and supportive services provided either directly or by referral:[78]

- educational services;
- housing assistance;
- Employment Service referral;
- job coaching referral;
- legal aid/assistance;
- physical help (food, clothing, etc.);
- medical services; or
- multiple services.

By monitoring this computerized file, program managers can track the nature of services which most clients need. Through review of narrative comments on each form, knowledge of the specific type of counselor-client contact can be gained. One limitation of the system, however, is that information is often not available on the results of referrals to other agencies.

The lack of information on the outcomes of referrals to other agencies is a common problem at employment services programs. Often programs cannot answer such questions as the following:

- Is the service received what counselor and client thought it would be?

- Does the service meet client needs?
- Is the client satisfied with the extent of assistance received?
- Do clients receiving various supportive services have better outcomes than clients not receiving these services?

Without such information, it will be difficult to improve the manner in which supportive services are provided to releasee clients.

2. Potential Analyses

Several analyses would increase program knowledge about the supportive services being received by clients referred to other local organizations. For example, a program could assess the knowledge its staff possesses about such services. Such an analysis should consider staff knowledge of:

- the identity of agencies or services available in various areas of client need (e.g., housing, legal, clothing, medical, educational, etc.);
- nature of services provided by these organizations;
- specific individuals to contact when referring clients to local agencies;
- eligibility restrictions or problems associated with intake (e.g., waiting lists) at local agencies; and
- persons to contact at community agencies if clients encounter serious difficulties after being referred there.

Another useful analysis would consider the extent to which clients referred to community agencies are accepted and the reasons for rejection of some clients. If programs assessed the reasons for client rejection, they might make fewer referrals to certain agencies and try to channel releasees to the organizations most likely to provide

the needed service. On the other hand, employment services programs might work with the staff at selected referral agencies to try to persuade them to serve prison releasees more adequately.

A related analysis of the referral process would assess the extent to which clients are referred to community agencies, are accepted, and actually receive services. Many employment services program staff believe that their clients, after being accepted at other programs (e.g., vocational training, education, etc.), become disillusioned with long waiting lists or bureaucratic requirements and drop out. Such analysis could again be used by program staff to develop strategies for eradicating existing problems at referral agencies as well as to develop alternative sources for client referrals in the community.

A further potential analysis of the referral process is an assessment of client attitudes concerning the appropriateness of the referrals made. This analysis could include client opinions about whether the referral process was characterized by good or poor communication between the employment services program and the referral program and between both programs and the client. This information could assist in improving communications among programs as well as between the programs and clients.

To assess the relative value of supportive services, programs could compare employment outcomes for clients receiving such aid with persons needing it but not obtaining it. Such an analysis would help determine whether supportive services appear to be associated with client success.

M. Job Development

1. Methods of Implementation

Job development is the identification of employment opportunities for program participants. This entails making contact with local employers, identifying particular positions for which program clients would be considered and maintaining relationships with companies in order to track new employment openings. Most employment services programs conduct job development activities. Of 257 programs surveyed during the course of this study, only four percent did not provide job development.

Job development at an employment services program is based on several assumptions:

- Prison releasees seeking employment will encounter obstacles, based both on the condition of the job market and their status as ex-offenders.
- To facilitate the employment of clients, program staff must understand the local labor market and company attitudes toward hiring ex-offenders.
- Because of the nature of this task, "specialists" are required to communicate with employers and explain the objectives and services of the employment services program.
- Such an on-going activity will expedite the process by which program clients are referred to available jobs and hired.

Job development activities may be conducted by clients' regular counselors or by special "job developers." Backgrounds of job development specialists vary among programs. Some programs use older or more conservative job developers in order to appeal to the middle-class values of many employers. Other programs employ ex-offender job developers, who may be better able to explain clients' motivations and goals. Some programs utilize both types, and send the more

conservative job developers to companies that appear to be "traditional" and ex-offender job developers to others.

An important objective of job developers is to identify employers who may hire prison releasees. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways, including thorough analysis of the local labor market, area-wide publicity campaigns, and collection of "job orders" in a manner similar to that of State Employment Service agencies.

One method of identifying potential employers of prison releasees uses mass mailing as a starting point. For example, soon after the Clearinghouse for Ex-Offenders in Louisville, Kentucky, began operation, the staff mailed out several hundred letters to area employers to explain the program and solicit jobs. Usually, these letters were followed by telephone communication. Where employers expressed interest, personal contacts were made by Clearinghouse staff members.[79]

Programs may also make periodic surveys of known or "new" employer contacts in efforts to identify job opportunities for program clients. The Louisville Clearinghouse has an active file of approximately 100 employers which is reviewed regularly.[80]

Another method of job development utilizes mass telephone canvassing. For example, Project H.I.R.E. of Minneapolis, Minnesota, maintains contact with approximately 600 employers in the area. Each week, job developers telephone approximately 200 companies soliciting available job openings. These openings are distributed to all program counselors. Besides contacting employers to identify job openings, job developers continually attempt to establish relations with "new" employers who are not familiar with the program.[81]

Approaches used for job development may vary from employer to

employer. Such approaches may emphasize:

- an employer's responsibility for assisting a disadvantaged population;
- an employer's fulfilling of a required affirmative action program;
- the opportunity for an employer to receive prescreened applicants, whose interests and abilities have been matched with the job opening; or
- the fact that all employed program clients (and the employer) can receive follow-up support from the program, if problems arise on the job.

If an employer expresses interest in the program, the job developer will usually obtain the following information about the company:

- employer name and address;
- description of company products or services;
- types of jobs normally available and suitable for ex-offenders; and
- personal contact(s) at the company.

Some programs collect more detailed data about companies. For example, Project H.I.R.E.'s job developers gather information concerning:

- problems in employing ex-offenders;
- any personal interest in ex-offenders;
- the availability of public transportation;
- whether bonding is required for employees;
- whether the employer will consider on-the-job training contracts;
- the necessity for any tools, equipment or uniforms;
- the presence or absence of a unionized labor force and any requirements for joining a union;
- the availability of company training opportunities;

- the availability of apprenticeship opportunities;
- whether any testing requirements exist for job applicants;
- the possibility of job upgrading or promotion opportunities;
- the existence of any formal policy on the hiring of ex-offenders;
- the necessity for physical examinations;
- whether the company provides any social services to employees (i.e., day care, counseling); and
- whether the employer needs temporary or seasonal labor.[82]

Job developers at H.I.R.E. and other programs often categorize possible employment opportunities for clients by occupational areas. Typically, these include:

- professional, technical, or managerial;
- clerical and sales occupations;
- service occupations;
- farming, fishing, forestry, and related areas;
- processing occupations;
- benchwork occupations;
- structural work occupations; and
- miscellaneous occupational areas.

These occupational areas may also be classified according to skill level, experience required, education needed and hourly wage. Such information expedites the process of matching program clients with job openings.

Although job developers may use a variety of techniques, most agree that some methods are better than others. One study of correctional manpower programs made the following conclusions about job development:

- Personal visits to employers are preferable to telephone contacts.
- Close time connection is preferable between job development and participant placement.
- The participant's record should not be hidden from the prospective employer nor abilities overestimated.
- Development activities should feed information back to a project, so that employer concerns are taken into account.
- Coordination with other community employment services (e.g., Employment Service job banks) is important but should not substitute for a program's own job development activities.
- Employers should be made aware of and assisted with on-the-job supports needed by the ex-offender.83/

Similar points about ways to perform job development are contained in a manual developed by Employ-Ex, Inc., of Denver, Colorado, and distributed to all staff job developers. Selected suggestions in this manual include:

- All job developers should possess a current list of contacts the program has made to avoid duplication of efforts.
- Personal contacts are critical.
- Job developers should be prepared to answer all potential questions about the employment services program. Literature often helps employers become more familiar with the program.
- The job developer should explain to potential employers all services provided by the program to clients, not just the job development and placement services.
- Job developers should ask as many questions about the company as possible, including questions concerning jobs available, the benefits, and the potential and progress of the company. The greater the amount of the information, the more fully counselors can apprise their clients about the merits of particular job situations. This questioning also shows the employer the job developer is interested in the company and its accomplishments.

- Job developers must call or visit periodically to follow up with employers, even when not soliciting jobs. This keeps the relationship established and allows the company to stay informed of the program's progress.

- Job developers should not guarantee that individuals referred will always work out successfully, but should emphasize that the program screens its clients for aptitude, interest and potential prior to referring them to job openings.

- The job developer must convey the idea that the risk an employer is taking by hiring an ex-offender may be even less than when the company hires a person off the street, since so much more of background, work history, and potential or limitations may be known about the ex-offender than the walk-in applicant. Additionally, the job developer should make it clear that ex-offenders realize that when security is breached they will likely be the first suspects. As a result, ex-offender employees may work to prevent breaches of security by other employees, so that suspicion will not fall on themselves.

- It is important that the job developer attempt to work with or "sell" not only the personnel manager or director, but also the line foreman or the immediate supervisor with whom the ex-offender will be working daily. It is essential that these individuals be aware of the program and its goals and important that they are receptive to an ex-offender's being hired. It is usually the supervisor's influence that determines whether a person will be able to remain on a job—a goal far beyond job development.84/

Besides contacting companies to solicit jobs for program clients, job developers may have important responsibilities concerning client processing. For example, at some programs job developers may have to approve all job referrals, while at others they may contact the company prior to a client's job interview in order to provide background information about the applicant. At a few programs, job developers accompany prison releasees to the interview, although some people believe this is a poor practice, which "labels" the client and may foster dependence upon the program. Most job developers require either the client or the counselor to notify them of interview results.

Few employment services programs systematically analyze the performance of job developers. However, one program which does so is Project H.I.R.E. in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Job developers are evaluated periodically in terms of accountability, peer relationships and skill development. Accountability ratings are based on several specific objectives, each with expected minimum, goal, and optimal outcomes.[85] These objectives and their corresponding measures are shown in Table 3. Such data assist the program director in reviewing program goals and achievements. The information also helps identify staff who are experiencing difficulties and need assistance as well as areas of program processing where bottlenecks may be occurring.

2. Possible Analyses

There are a number of important analyses which could be conducted to improve the state of knowledge regarding job development activities. For example, programs could assess the percentage of employer contacts which result in job openings being identified and clients' being hired. In addition, various job development techniques could be compared with outcomes. Variables considered could include the manner of conducting job development (e.g., in person, over the telephone, by mail), the background of job developers, the frequency of contact between job developers and companies and the nature of job developers' contacts with employers concerning specific clients (e.g., whether job developers accompany clients to interviews or provide employers with background data in advance).

Since an important part of job developers' tasks is to locate relevant jobs for clients, a program could compare the occupations and skill levels of openings identified by job developers with those of jobs actually obtained by program clients. Such a comparison could

TABLE 3.—Job Development Evaluation Design, Project H.I.R.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota

PRIMARY OBJECTIVES	MEASURES	EXPECTANCIES			WEIGHT (70 Points)
		Minimum	Goal	Optimal	
1. OBTAIN JOB PLACEMENTS	The percentage of persons referred to job development who are placed in employment.	20%	40%	60%	35
2. OBTAIN DEVELOPED EMPLOYERS	The number of employers who are "developed" for ex-offender employment with H.I.R.E.	6	8	10	20
3. OBTAIN REASONABLE WAGES	The hourly wage of those employed.	$3.00	$3.50	$3.95	15

Source: "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Job Development Staff," January 1976.

indicate whether job developers were concentrating on the proper occupational areas and skill levels or whether they were developing jobs too difficult for clients to secure or too inappropriate for clients to accept.

An important measure of job development success is a comparison of employment outcome variables for clients who find jobs on their own and clients who are placed in positions identified by job developers. Variables to be considered would include:

- number of interviews prior to acquisition of jobs;
- percentage of clients finding employment by the end of given time periods;
- skill levels;
- starting salaries;
- length of time jobs are held; and
- clients' employment upgrading over a certain period of time.

N. Job Placement

1. Methods of Implementation

Most employment services programs provide job placement assistance to clients. Only two percent of the 257 programs surveyed during this study do not provide such assistance.

Job placement activities usually include:

- discussing job interests with the client;
- assessing the client's job potential in the context of the local job market;
- screening available job openings to insure that they match the client's abilities and interests;
- referring the client to specific job openings identified by the counselor, a job developer, or the client; and

- assessing the results of job referrals through discussions with the client, the employer or both.

These job placement activities are based on the following assumptions:

- Program staff specializing in job placement can better identify available job openings than clients themselves.
- Identified job openings will be screened for appropriateness by program staff.
- Staff screening will insure that clients are referred to positions for which they are qualified, eliminating wasteful referrals.
- Thus, since all clients are referred to "appropriate" jobs, all possess a better chance to obtain jobs.

The particular methods utilized by program staff to place clients vary considerably across programs. Counselors with client caseloads often receive "job orders" or lists of job openings from other staff members—either job developers or other counselors. These lists usually include employer names and addresses, job titles, skills required, and starting salaries. Counselors usually review this information and compare it to their clients' interests and skills. To facilitate this process, counselors at some programs maintain files of client job interests. In addition, some programs have wage guidelines, stating that clients should not be placed in jobs paying less than a certain salary (usually the minimum wage).

If counselors identify a job opening they believe is appropriate for one of their clients, they will usually contact the person who developed the job. Most programs maintain procedures for screening job referrals to avoid duplicative referrals. For example, each time a client at Employ-Ex, Inc. in Denver is referred to a job interview, counselors note it in a program master file and complete a job referral

card. These cards are channeled to the program senior clerk, who coordinates job referrals. No referrals are made without the clerk's approval.[86]

In some instances, programs have access to the "job bank" listings of the State Employment Service. Counselors in these programs can refer clients to jobs described on daily job bank lists after clearing the referrals through the Employment Service. However, many of the staff interviewed during this study de-emphasized the value of this approach. They stated that the quality of jobs available through the job banks is usually poorer than that of jobs they develop themselves, that the competition among Employment Service staff often leaves the ex-offender "last in line" for available job interviews and that clients often possess negative attitudes about the State Employment Service. These opinions are also reflected in earlier studies. For example, a 1971 assessment of Model Ex-Offender Programs concluded: "Many staff were critical of the Job Banks and reluctant to use them because of the limited number of listings and excessive competition for vacancies. A consensus of MEP staff indicated that the ex-offenders were at a decided disadvantage in competing with individuals who were 'clean' for listed vacancies."[87]

Once an appropriate job opening has been identified, many counselors will review job interview techniques with clients before making the referral. A program in Geneva, Illinois, utilizes a written checklist for this review, covering such points as the following:[88]

- Completing an Application
  - —Examining the Form
  - —Reading Directions

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

—Leaving No Blanks

—Providing Complete and Accurate Data

—Giving Correct Dates

—Giving Accurate Addresses

—Being Concise and Informative

- Providing References

—Identifying References

—Providing Addresses of References

- Bringing Material to an Interview

—Social Security Card

—Driver's License

—Certificates, Commendations and Awards

—Transcripts from Training

—No Friends

—Work Samples

—Resume or Listing of Skills

- Interviewing

—Appearing for the Interview

—How to Dress

—How to Maintain Eye Contact

—Using Proper Language

—Showing Sincerity

—Being Properly Aggressive

—Projecting Positive Attitudes

- Discussing Prison Background

—Telling Truth Directly

—Emphasizing Employment Benefits from Incarceration (e.g., Training, Motivation, etc.)

All programs do not engage in such a formal pre-interview check, but most try to ensure that referred clients are ready for the interview and appropriate for the job.

Some programs provide employers or personnel managers with a background sketch of the client before a scheduled job interview. Although many people disapprove of the practice, others believe it is helpful to accompany a client to job interviews. Those who accompany clients believe it demonstrates to the employer that the program will "stand by" the client and also provides needed moral support for the client. One evaluation of selected ex-offender programs connected with State Employment Services found that:

> Experienced job developers working as part of Employability Development Teams felt that an individual's chance of being hired increased as much as 50% if accompanied to an interview by a representative of the Employment Service. The special interest shown in behalf of the applicant impressed employers and an ES presence relaxed applicants and facilitated the initial interview. In States where Employment Development Teams were not part of standard operating procedures, most counselors and job developers were not sold on the idea but agreed that accompanying clients on their first interview helped—if for no other reason than to assure that the ex-offender followed through with the referral, arrived at the assigned destination, and did so on time.89/

People who disapprove of accompanying clients to job interviews believe this provides an inappropriate aid to the client, since the purpose of the program should be to help the client learn to function independently in the work world.

After a job referral has been made, most program staff attempt to learn the outcome of the interview. Some programs provide the client with an employer referral card to give to the interviewer. The interviewer is asked to complete the card, noting whether the client was hired and, if not, the reasons, and mail it back to the

program. Other programs give the client a similar card to complete and return on learning the results of the interview. Many programs telephone the employer, client, or both to learn the results of job interviews. If a client is not hired, feedback received from the interviewer may help the counselor better prepare the client for the next job interview.

2. State of Knowledge Assessment

Many employment services programs include job placement as a major objective and try to assess their success in meeting that objective. Moreover, many funding services require programs to determine job placement rates as a grant or contract condition. Thus, there is a substantial amount of information available about the job placement activities of employment services programs.

Most programs maintain the following information about each placement:

- name and address of employer;
- occupational area and skill level;
- date of hire; and
- starting salary.

In addition, some programs assess job placement rates according to occupational area, individual employers, or skill levels. Programs may also analyze the job mobility and wage history of clients who have been hired.

The following examples illustrate the types of analysis commonly conducted at individual programs:

- A job readiness training and placement assistance program for parolees reported that of all clients graduated over a five-year period, 68% achieved successful employment (defined as securing and holding the same job for 60 days after graduation).90/

- A comprehensive employment services program reported that the overall employment rate for participants was 48%, and 64% for graduates of the program.91/

- A centralized employment services program for releasees served 1,289 individuals over a 16-month period and made 2,332 job referrals, 34.1% of which resulted in job placements, or one placement for approximately every three referrals.92/

- One program reported that over a six-month period, average hourly wages of program clients at placement increased from $3.00 to $3.69.93/

In addition to collecting data on placement rates and referrals per placement, some programs try to estimate the cost per placement. For example, one program estimated its average cost of services as $54 per ex-offender, $30 per referral, and $88 per successful job placement. However, the estimate excluded the cost of many services which were contributed by other community agencies and thus understated actual placement costs.[94]

Past analyses of placement data have a number of limitations. Often outcome data for program clients are not compared with outcomes for a similar population. This makes it difficult to judge the program's impact on clients' employability. In other cases, inappropriate comparison groups are used, and differences in personal characteristics bias comparisons with program participants.

In addition, programs sometimes do not collect the data needed to evaluate outcomes properly. For example, one study assessing an employment services program for ex-offenders concluded that, although the program seemed to be providing important services to clients, many data problems made effective evaluation impossible. Some necessary data were not collected; some data were collected but aggregated in inappropriate categories; and the program did not adequately distinguish

between or relate data on individuals served and events. Also, data were not adequately correlated and data categories and recording practices were not standardized.[95]

As a result of these problems, there are a number of important knowledge gaps concerning the job placement activities of employment services programs. Little is known about the effectiveness of these activities or about the most efficient manner of conducting them. For example, programs do not know the optimal length of time for assisting clients with job placement. Some programs provide two or three job referrals per client, others make an indefinite number of referrals over a set time period, and still others work with clients indefinitely.

No analyses have assessed whether the provision of certain information about the client to a prospective employer improves the client's chances of being hired. Some programs do not provide any client information to employers, while other programs discuss the client's work history and skill level with the employer before the job interview. Still other programs discuss the client's past criminal activities and recent rehabilitation experiences.

Very few studies compare the kinds of jobs in which clients are placed to those occupational areas in which clients are interested. The problem of releasees' job interests or skills not matching their eventual jobs has been raised for many years in the context of prison-based vocational programs.[96] However, little is known about the success of community programs in this area. For many prison releasees, a job matched with skill level or occupational interest is admittedly a secondary concern to financial need. Therefore, many employment

programs, though desiring to obtain "meaningful" jobs for clients, place many clients in entry-level, low-paying jobs.

3. Possible Analyses

A number of potential analyses would improve present knowledge about job placement activities. A major need is for analyses using control or comparison groups. A planned evaluation of the Parolee Rehabilitation and Employment Program (PREP) in Columbus, Ohio, would use such a study design. Employment outcomes of program participants would be compared with a group of demographically matched parolees selected and supervised by the same parole officer. Variables to be matched between the two groups are age, sex, race, educational attainment, number of prior felony convictions, type of offense, and prior employment history.[97] Analyses of this type can permit assessment of the program's impact on improving clients' employability.

Besides assessing overall impact on placement rates, programs could analyze the types of clients who were experiencing greatest placement difficulties. These clients might need special types of assistance in order to become employed. In addition, placement rates of program clients could be compared with differences in the program's operating techniques, to determine which placement methods seem most effective. For example, placement outcomes could be compared with the manner in which job openings are identified, the amount of time staff spend with clients to achieve placements and the nature of the advance information given to the employer or client about the other before an interview.

Another useful analysis of job placement activities would assess the extent to which clients obtain jobs in occupations in which they

are interested. Although most staff at employment services programs state that they try to match client interests with job types, little information is available on the extent to which such matching occurs. Program counselors interviewed during this study observed that such matching of client interests with available jobs is often difficult, because:

- Though skilled in certain areas, clients often have unrealistically high salary expectations.
- Clients may not possess requisite skills for occupations in which they are interested, and training is often unavailable.
- The job market in areas in which clients are interested may be very tight.
- Clients may need immediate money and thus accept fast placements in entry-level, low-skilled jobs.

Systematic analysis would help determine the potential for meeting clients' job interests and the magnitude of the various problems which must be resolved in order to do so.

O. Follow-up Activity

1. Methods of Implementation

Employment services programs conduct two types of follow-up activity:

- one is designed to provide placed clients with the support needed for them to succeed in the job; and
- the other is oriented toward obtaining client outcome data in order to evaluate program effectiveness.

Follow-up activities are based on the following assumptions:

- The prison releasee has not been exposed to traditional work situations for some time.
- Thus, the client will experience difficulty or uneasiness in adjusting to the work situation, especially at the beginning of employment.

- Program support will ease the client's adjustment difficulties and help avoid potential problems on the job.
- Follow-up activity will also assist a program in measuring its effectiveness in terms of client job retention, job mobility and recidivism.

The follow-up activities utilized by programs vary by method and frequency. Some programs telephone clients periodically to check on their employment status and any potential problems. Other programs also telephone the employer or job supervisor. One program which provides relatively extensive follow-up is the Vocational Alternatives Program in Geneva, Illinois, where a "community worker" follows client progress for 42 weeks after placement. Weekly contact is made with clients, their families, and their employers for the first two months; thereafter, contact is monthly.[98]

Through these kinds of contacts, programs can identify problems affecting clients' work. Staff can then try to help clients solve these problems through counseling sessions, meetings with the clients' families, or discussions with the clients' employers or supervisors. The support provided by the program may make the difference between a releasee's keeping and losing a job.

Although most programs acknowledge the usefulness of follow-up activities, some programs do not conduct them because of budget limitations. To some extent, this reflects the emphasis that funding sources place on job placement as a measure of program success. As one program director states, "Ability to perform long-term and meaningful follow-up has always been the first economy in slashing funds and will continue to be as long as the public or legislature believes that a high percentage of hires per program completes the rehabilitation process."[99]

Programs performing supportive follow-up do so for different periods of time. Programs funded through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) often define a positive termination as being employed on one job for a certain time, usually 30 or 60 days. Supportive follow-up activity at such programs is commonly limited to this period. Other programs may provide follow-up support to clients for as long as a year. Moreover, even those programs which do not engage in routine supportive follow-up often encourage clients to return whenever they encounter problems on the job.

As stated earlier, programs may conduct follow-up activities to obtain the information needed to assess their effectiveness as well as to help clients adjust to the work world. In these cases, programs usually collect data concerning clients' employment outcomes and recidivist behavior. For example, some programs collect information on clients' employment status at specific intervals after "graduating" from the program. This shows the percentage of clients who were employed a certain number of months after program participation but does not indicate whether clients were continuously employed over the period.

To assess employment durability, programs may analyze the percentage of time that clients work, as compared with the available time that clients were physically able to work. Measuring employment (not necessarily at one job) over time in this manner gives a different perspective on the employment of program participants than is provided by placement rates.

Some programs analyze employment distributions as well as averages. For example, over a follow-up period of three months, one program found that clients worked an average of 71% of the time but that only 42% of the clients worked for the entire three months.[100]

Programs may also analyze client activities other than employment. For example, one program found that clients were enrolled in school for 2,483 days (6.5% of the time), were ill or injured for 1,448 days (3.8%) and were incarcerated for 2,191 days (5.7%). Clients were unemployed for 4,394 days during the period, or 11.4% of the time.[101] In some cases, programs will also analyze changes in job quality over time. Salary levels are often used as proxy measures of job quality.

In addition to clients' employment status, programs may assess the recidivist behavior of program participants. Because programs must depend upon other information sources (e.g., courts, police) for recidivism data, this analysis is often incomplete. However, it provides at least a rough indication of the extent of success programs are having in helping clients make the transition back to the community. Most programs that compile recidivism rates tend to compare them to estimated national or State averages; these comparisons usually reflect favorably on the programs, as will be discussed in Chapter V on outcomes.

2. Possible Analyses

At present little is known about the best way to perform follow-up activities. For example, a study of the Model Ex-Offender Program (MEP) in five States found that "some States toyed with the idea of using mailed questionnaires or telephone contacts. Others intended to use para-professionals and ex-offenders to contact MEP participants in the field. In general, States were uncertain about the duration of follow-up, number of contacts, by whom, and at what point in time follow-up should be terminated."[102]

The findings of the present study are similar. For example, there is little agreement about the frequency with which follow-up should occur. Some programs have daily contact with the client and/or

employer for a short time period, other programs have weekly contact with one or both over a longer time period, and still other programs rely on monthly contacts. At some programs there is no fixed schedule for follow-up activities, and staff contact clients on an ad hoc basis, as their other duties permit.

Moreover, the value of follow-up activities, however provided, has not been systematically assessed. No data exist to support or refute assertions by program staff that follow-up activities are critical to clients' job retention. This question of whether follow-up support makes a difference in terms of client outcomes is paramount to the issues of follow-up frequency, duration, or identity of persons contacted (e.g., client, employer, supervisor).

These gaps in existing knowledge could be filled with a variety of potential analyses. The most conclusive analysis would compare the outcomes of randomly assigned clients, placed in similar work environments, who received different types of follow-up assistance. Such variations in follow-up activities might include:

- follow-up with the employer or supervisor only;
- follow-up only with the client, at home and/or at the work site;
- follow-up with both the client and the employer; and
- no follow-up services at all after the client has secured employment.

In addition to varying the identity of the persons contacted during the follow-up period, such a study could analyze the effect of differences in the frequency and duration of follow-up support.

If comparative studies cannot be conducted, useful information may be obtained from other types of analyses. For example, a program could

assess clients' perceptions about job losses and whether support from the program would have helped. Although clients may have difficulty assessing the reasons for job losses, they may have insights about whether program follow-up efforts would have been helpful to them.

In terms of the kind of data to be collected through follow-up by employment services programs interested in self-evaluation, the priorities should be on employment and recidivism data for program clients. Comparisons of these two kinds of data for specific clients is the most effective manner in which follow-up activity can assess program effectiveness. If follow-up information shows no significant relationship between client employment success and recidivism outcomes, then the program concept may need to be re-evaluated. As will be discussed in Chapter V on outcomes, data on the employment and recidivism outcomes of appropriate comparison groups are also an essential part of any follow-up analysis assessing program impact on clients.

P. Client Flow

The services discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter may be provided in different combinations and in various orders by individual programs. Some programs have a very structured service provision process, while others do not. Also, some programs provide all services, while others offer only a few.

The flow diagram shown in Figure 2 illustrates one way that clients might be processed by a program offering comprehensive services. The various services indicated may in some cases be provided by the same staff members (e.g., counseling, job placement and follow-up may be conducted by the same person, even though these are different services).

FIGURE 2.—Example of Client Flow Through an Employment Services Program

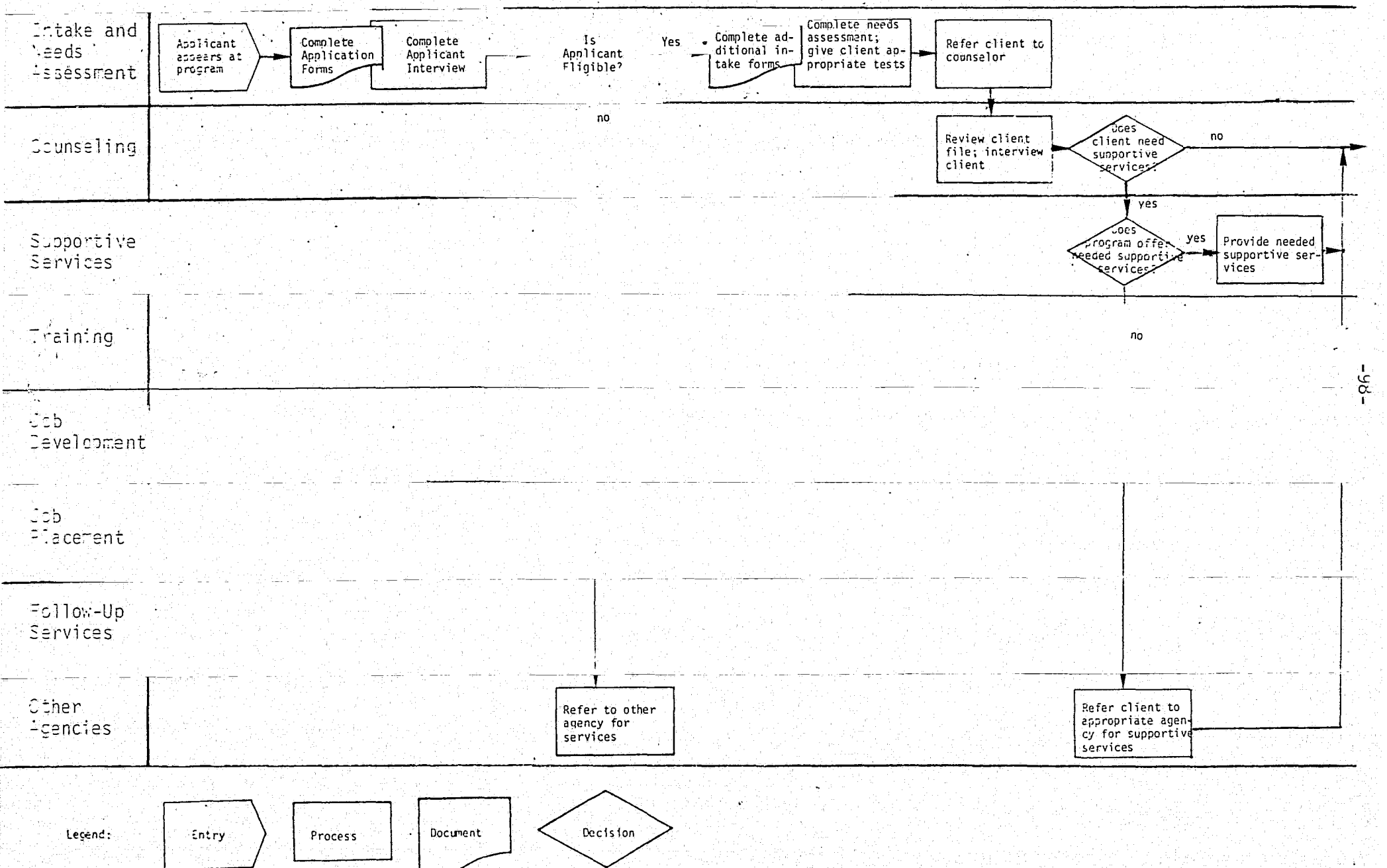


FIGURE 2.—Continued

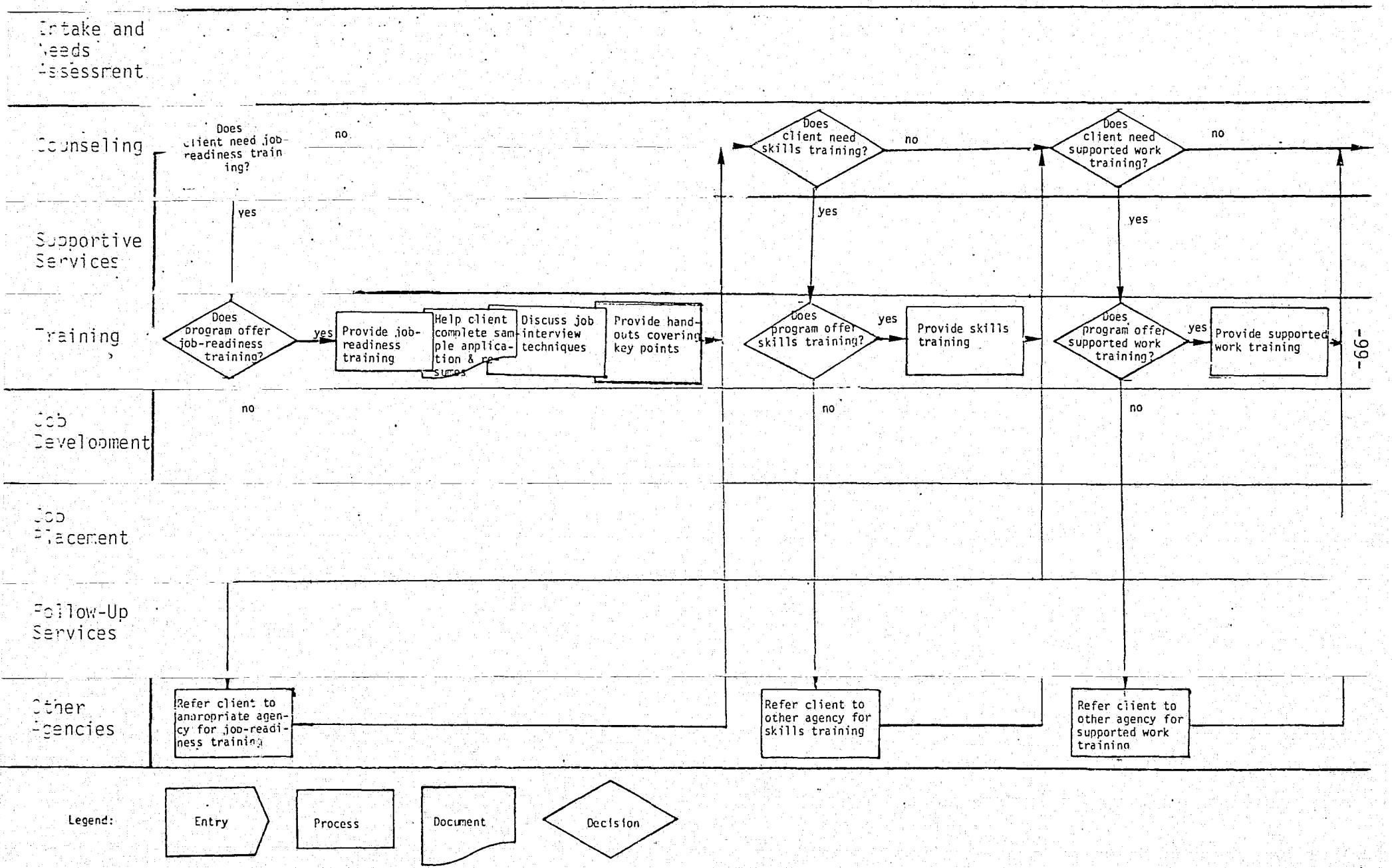


FIGURE 2.—Continued

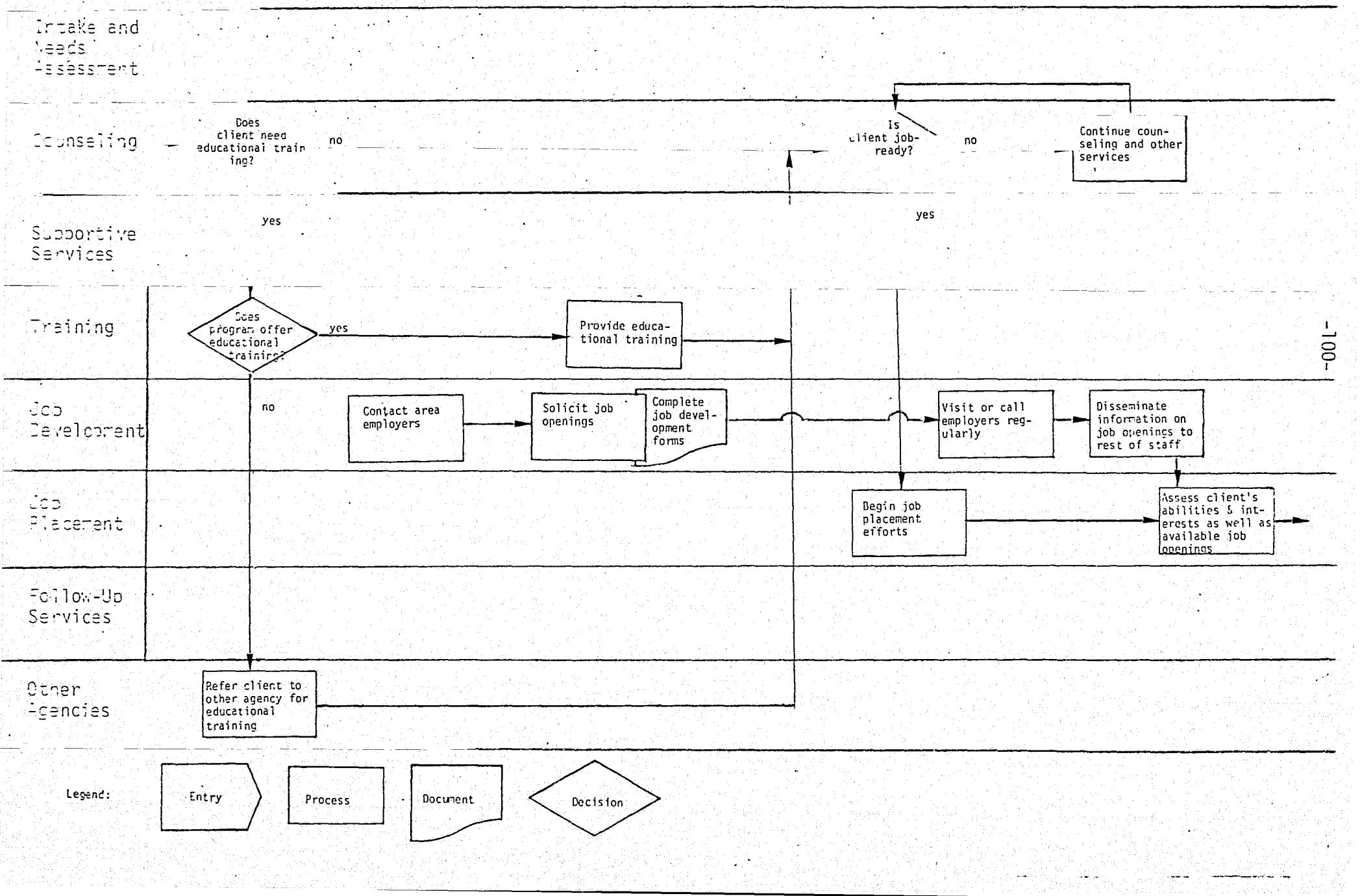
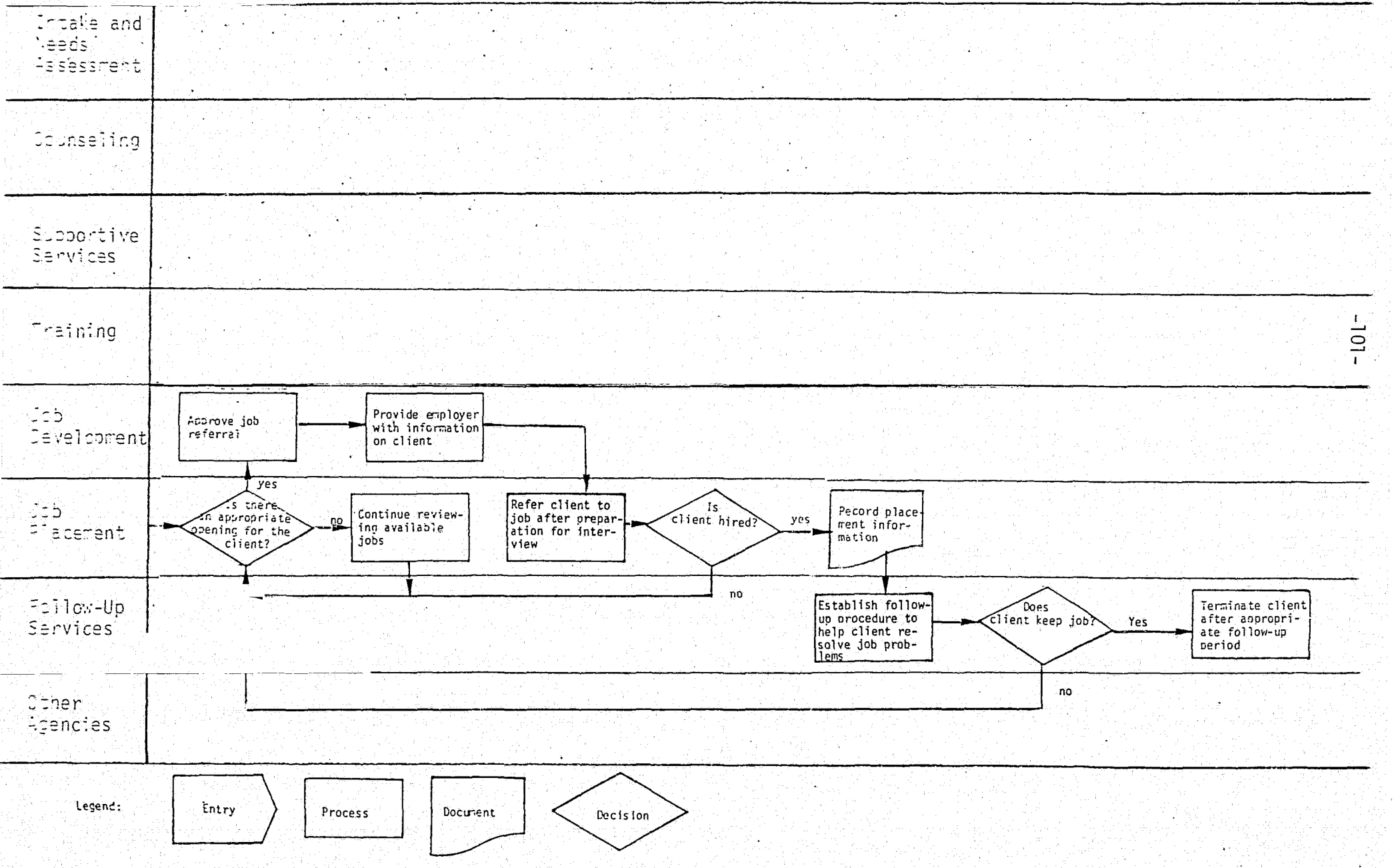


FIGURE 2.—Continued



III. PROGRAM RESOURCES

The resources available to programs, and the way these resources are used, must be considered in an assessment of the state of knowledge concerning employment services programs. Therefore, this chapter discusses programs' major resources: staff, funds and facilities. Important hypotheses concerning these resources include:

- Certain staff characteristics are associated with higher levels of program success.
- Better funded projects are more effective.
- Certain facilities constraints adversely affect program performance.

The following sections summarize available evidence regarding the validity of these hypotheses and discuss a variety of other issues related to program resources.

A. Staff Resources

Staff members of employment services programs have a variety of academic backgrounds and encompass many different types of past work experiences. Many of the staff have college degrees in such fields as psychology, social work or sociology. Other staff members are ex-offenders, who frequently have poor educational backgrounds. In terms of experience, staff may have worked in the State Corrections Department or Parole Division, at the State Employment Service or other employment and training programs or with one of the many local human service agencies. Programs emphasizing job development may try to

recruit individuals with a business background to contact local employers. Whatever their background, job developers often dress and act more conservatively than other program staff.

Although employment services programs usually have no difficulty recruiting suitable staff, they may experience high staff turnover. Many of the program directors interviewed during the course of this study commented that staff seem to "burn out" quickly (often within a year or so). Counseling prison releasees and dealing with their varied problems frequently requires a level of involvement and emotional intensity which cannot be maintained for long periods of time. In addition, counselors may have high caseloads and receive relatively low salaries. All of these conditions contribute to the high staff turnover rates many programs experience.

An important issue concerning program staff is the extent to which ex-offenders should be hired. As discussed in Chapter II in terms of programs' counseling activities, ex-offenders may make excellent staff members, who establish appropriate relationships with clients, the rest of the staff and local employers. On the other hand, ex-offenders may be too sympathetic toward releasees' problems to provide objective assessments of releasees' needs or, at the other extreme, so eager to demonstrate their own rehabilitation that they are overly critical of clients. Although ex-offender staff may pose certain problems, most programs have one or more ex-offenders on their staffs. Approximately 60% of the programs responding to the survey conducted as part of this study had at least one ex-offender staff member.

Past studies have sometimes identified desirable staff characteristics. For example, one survey of directors of employment services programs for ex-offenders resulted in the following conclusions:

- The most frequently cited qualities for a staff member who will be working with ex-offenders are competence, dedication, maturity and demonstrated responsibility, character, empathy and flexibility.

- Additional qualities often include the ability to operate in bilingual and bicultural situations, since in many areas ex-offenders do not speak, read or write English and are products of diverse cultural backgrounds.

- Staff training is essential before and during a program, especially concerning the problems of the ex-offender, community services, and the characteristics and background of the population to be served.

- Positive relationships with staff of other agencies, and with business, labor and community groups are crucial to program success. Failure to establish such relationships can produce serious conflicts and misunderstandings detrimental to the program.103/

An analysis of manpower programs in the correctional field concluded:

- While the most desirable mixture of professional and paraprofessional staff is unknown, most programs agree that it is important to maintain such a mix.

- Important job considerations for project participants are not usually considered for project staff. Career ladder mobility, frequent "feedback raises," and internal promotions are not generally structured for the paraprofessional. Projects often expect paraprofessional staff members to show middle-class work behavior and simultaneously establish rapport with lower-class participants.

- Since the paraprofessional is often hired for similarity with the ex-offender, training for personal and job competency is mandatory.

- Both professional and paraprofessional staff need training but often for different reasons: to introduce the professional to a new setting, new client and set of techniques; to structure the work behavior of the paraprofessional to meet program goals.

- A lack of project cross-fertilization concerning staff training and organization is evident; most projects developed training programs in isolation of available material developed by others.104/

Evaluation of staff performance occurs in various ways at different programs. Often, program directors review statistics developed by the

staff concerning the number of clients interviewed, referred to other programs for services, referred to job openings and placed in jobs. Some programs periodically evaluate individual staff members in terms of such criteria as:

- extent to which previously established goals were met;
- performance of assigned duties;
- relationships with clients, other staff members and referral agencies; and
- extent of improvement in various skill areas.

Chapter II provided examples of the way Project H.I.R.E. in Minneapolis, Minnesota, evaluates the performance of its counselors and job developers (see Tables 2 and 3). Such information for each program component is used to develop an overall assessment of staff performance in terms of meeting predetermined goals.

Although some programs evaluate staff performance, relatively little is known about the staff characteristics which are associated with different levels of program or client success. Thus, there are a variety of analyses which, if conducted, would improve the present state of knowledge regarding appropriate staff for employment services programs.

For example, staff backgrounds could be compared with performance measures. Such background variables as socioeconomic characteristics, education and prior criminal justice system involvement may be associated with differences in levels of program success. Such analysis should be conducted for individual program components, since different background characteristics may be important for different staff functions.

The amount and type of on-the-job training could also be assessed. This is the primary way that staff learn job responsibilities, and the

manner in which it is done may be associated with more effective program operations or more successful client outcomes.

Certain staff analyses may indicate that a program is experiencing difficulties. For example, high staff turnover often reflects problems within a program. On the other hand, high turnover may be associated with a particular event, such as a change of director. Moreover, many directors of employment services programs have stated that their staff members "burn out" within a short time and that high turnover is desirable. Thus, turnover data must be interpreted carefully and within the context of the program involved.

A measure related to turnover is the average length of time that staff members have been employed by the program. Programs with more stable staffs should be able to provide greater continuity of service, which could result in higher levels of success. This is because client success may be associated with the strength of client-counselor relationships; if counselors stay with a program for only a short time, good client relationships may be difficult to establish.

An analysis of staff vacancies may also be useful, since high vacancy rates may indicate problems within a program. However, the reasons for vacancies must be considered. They may be due to a program's inability to attract appropriate staff or a sufficient number of clients, or they may be the result of factors beyond the program's control, such as a delay in the receipt of approved funds.

Assessment of the staff-client ratio may provide a rough estimate of the amount of service a client receives, and greater levels of service may be associated with greater levels of program success. On the other hand, low client loads may reflect inefficient program operations, which do not generate higher client levels or provide

effective client services.

The staff analyses suggested above could be conducted for several program levels, including the overall program or each major component (e.g., intake, job readiness training or counseling). Such analyses would permit better assessment of the relationship between staff characteristics and program outcomes.

B. Program Funds

Funding levels for employment services programs vary greatly. Of the 219 programs which provided funding information during this study, 25% had budgets of less than $50,000; 17% were budgeted at $50,000 to $99,999; 28% at $100,000 to $299,999; nine percent at $300,000 to $499,999; and 21% had an annual budget of more than $500,000. For 60% of these programs, the major funding source was the Federal Government; for 24%, State government; for 5%, local government; and for 11%, private sources.

The site visits conducted during this study found that many programs face great difficulty in obtaining continuity of funding. The types of problems which may be encountered at individual programs include:

- Existing funding sources may decide to cut back the extent of their support.
- Receipt of appropriated funds may be delayed.
- Personnel changes within a funding agency, (e.g., the State Department of Corrections) may affect future funding possibilities in ways the program cannot predict.
- An anticipated funding source may fail to provide support for the program, and the program may be notified when it is too late to obtain alternate funding.

As a result of such problems, program directors often spend much of their time soliciting funding for their programs. Such efforts,

though essential for programs' continued existence, can detract from program efficiency.

Additionally, for programs which have adequate funding, such funding is often associated with requirements which themselves may hinder program operations. For example, many employment services programs are funded at least partially by local prime sponsors' Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs (CETPs). With this funding usually comes much mandatory data collection, which must be performed when clients are enrolled in the program; every time clients begin, change, or complete a defined activity; when clients obtain a job or training slot; and when clients are terminated. The time required to collect such extensive data reduces the staff time available to provide services to clients.

In addition, staff assert that clients are often "turned off" by the amount of time which must be spent completing various data forms. Staff also frequently state that they have no evidence that the data are ever analyzed by the funding source.

A variety of analyses could be implemented to assess a program's use of funds. For example, an allocation of expenditures by function, often difficult to accomplish because of overlapping staff responsibilities, can reflect a program's relative emphasis on different activities, such as job placement or job readiness training. Also, a comparison of amounts budgeted and expended, both overall and by function, can indicate the relationship between planned activities and actual program operations. Such an analysis could contribute to improved planning in the future.

A comparison of spending rates with budgeted rates, both overall

and by program function, may identify differences in actual versus planned changes in activity levels. An analysis of the unit costs of program services, such as conducting an intake interview or performing job development activities for a given period of time, may indicate areas where program changes are needed. For example, if intake interviews are too costly, a briefer assessment instrument could be devised or a lower paid staff member could be assigned to conduct the interviews.

Another possible analysis of a program's utilization of funds is a comparison of actual expenditures with the "ideal" expenditures required to deliver the program's level of services. Such analysis could be used to identify programs with unusually high or low costs for their level of service delivery or to identify specific functions within a program's operations which are experiencing unusual cost levels. Although these analyses would be useful, the estimation of ideal expenditure levels may be difficult. Moreover, such estimates should probably consider the age and size of programs, since newer programs are likely to incur higher costs than older ones, due to start-up expenses, and smaller programs may experience higher costs than larger ones, due to economies of scale in service delivery.

These and similar analyses of programs' use of funds would permit a more accurate assessment of the efficiency of program operations. Such information would also provide the basis for conducting cost-benefit analyses of employment services programs, once appropriate outcome data had been derived.

C. Facilities

An important resource affecting a program's operations is its

physical facility. Two key issues are the adequacy of space and the appropriateness of the program's location.

A space problem can hinder program operations, and force a program to do a less effective job in serving clients. For example, a lack of space in a waiting area may deter applicants from remaining until they can be served. A lack of adequate space for staff may adversely affect program morale. Additionally, a lack of adequate space for files and records may seriously affect program efforts to monitor client progress and provide necessary follow-up support.

Program effectiveness may also be reduced if it is located in an area relatively inaccessible to clients or to important agencies with which it interacts. For example, a program far away from local mass transit lines may have difficulty attracting clients, since many prison releasees do not have automobiles. If the program is far from the local parole office, clients referred by that office may be less likely to appear after being referred than if the two sites were in close proximity.

Some programs may encounter difficulty if they attempt to locate in residential neighborhoods. In these cases, the director and staff may need to spend time, even after approval is received, responding to the concerns of neighborhood residents. This will in turn reduce the time available for service delivery to clients.

IV. EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING PROGRAMS

A number of external factors may affect employment services programs for prison releasees. Two major types of external factors must be considered: the universe of possible clients and "environmental" factors. Although an employment services program can, to some extent, select from the universe of potential clients those which it will serve, a program has relatively little influence on the overall size of that universe or the characteristics of persons within it.

Similarly, although programs may take actions designed to influence environmental factors, they still must operate under some conditions over which they have little control. Such environmental factors include the type and quality of referral agencies in the community, the nature of the corrections systems with which the programs interact, the attitudes of local parole officials and the nature of the local labor market and economy, including employer attitudes toward hiring prison releasees.

A. Universe of Possible Clients

The universe of possible clients consists of the prison releasees returning to the area the program serves. If there are a large number of releasees, the program may have to decide which of the potential client groups will be served and which will not. This consideration may be an important factor in a program's determination of appropriate

eligibility criteria (discussed in Chapter II).

The characteristics of potential clients must be considered, both because certain types of clients will need certain kinds of employment services and because some clients are more likely to be successfully rehabilitated than others. Characteristics of interest include background variables, employment history and criminal history. Such background differences as age, race, sex, education, marital status and living arrangement may be associated with different levels of client success. In addition, employment history is important, because a stable employment history has often been associated with post-incarceration employment success. Moreover, criminal history is of concern, because individuals with longer criminal histories may need more extensive employment services in order to make a successful transition to legitimate community life.

One major issue concerned with characteristics of the universe of potential clients is "creaming." Debate over this topic often results in polarizations of opinion:

> Projects which "cream" (serve the "best off") are viewed as wanting to "look good" and their directors as "bad guys." Project directors who serve "high-risk" persons are viewed as "good guys." This polarization completely ignores the facts that: (1) all project directors want a successful project and (2) not all projects are appropriate for all offenders.105/

Although prison-based and community-based programs traditionally have favored serving "low-risk" offenders,[106] many programs may be unable to "cream," because they cannot "select" their participants. For example, programs funded under Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs (CETPs) must serve all persons who meet certain guidelines relating to income, employment status, and residency.

A significant problem related to the universe of possible clients is those portions of the universe whose needs are not being met. The largest such group is women ex-offenders.

Available evidence indicates that female ex-offenders are at least as disadvantaged as male ex-offenders and encounter as many problems, if not more, in attempting to secure employment. The U. S. Burea of Prisons reported in 1975 that the majority of female offenders in the Federal prisons are black (52%), not married (91%), with dependent children and have either minimal or no employment history.[107] An analysis conducted by the Female Offender Resource Center of the American Bar Association shows women releasees face a variety of problems in making the transition from prison to the community. These were summarized as follows:

- Because she is poorly educated, she finds it difficult to be accepted into higher paying jobs or into training or apprenticeship positions where she could earn enough money to support herself.
- Because she is a mother and the sole supporter of her children, she frequently cannot secure employment until she is able to make day care arrangements.
- Because she is a minority member, she has to cope with racial and cultural prejudice.
- Because she is poor, fewer community or family resources are available to help her train for a better job or attend school.
- Because she is without job skills, her employment options are limited.[108]

Moreover, according to recent research conducted on female offenders, because a woman's role has traditionally been different from a man's role, many people, including program directors, unconsciously may accept the assumption that a woman is usually supported by a man, is suited only for certain jobs, and, if given the choice, would rather

stay home with her children than work.[109]

Although most employment services programs accept women releasees, the programs often make few efforts to meet women's special needs. For example, different types of jobs may have to be solicited from employers to correspond with women's skills. Additionally, women may need different supportive services, such as assistance in making child care arrangements. Moreover, women are often incarcerated in different institutions from men, so many programs' outreach efforts would have to be expanded if women were to be included.

Given these special problems, many programs make little effort to serve women releasees adequately. Program directors sometimes explain this by observing that program resources are limited and men comprise the great majority of prison releasees. However, in many jurisdictions crime by women is increasing. Thus, the lack of adequate services for women trying to make a successful transition from prison to employment may become increasingly serious.

B. Environmental Factors

A number of "environmental factors" affect both the way programs deliver services to clients and eventual client outcomes. These factors are:

- the nature of the corrections systems and parole departments with which the programs interact;
- the type and quality of other service agencies in the community; and
- the nature of the local labor market.

Although programs may have little control over these factors, the manner in which they adjust to them will influence the extent of services available to clients and the degree to which clients achieve

successful outcomes.

1. Corrections and Parole Systems

The nature of, and attitudes held by representatives of, the corrections sytem and parole department are important because these two groups affect both the operating climate of programs and their effectiveness in penetrating the universe of potential clients. Relationships with corrections and parole officials will be affected by:

- past corrections and parole experience with similar organizations;
- their assessment of program competence in dealing with ex-offender clients; and
- their attitudes regarding the importance of employment assistance programs for prison releasees.

Because correctional and parole staff interact at different processing points with employment services programs and affect program operations in different ways, they are discussed separately below.

Employment services programs can be hindered by negative attitudes of prison officials or staff. These may include:

- "Outsiders" do not belong in the prisons.
- The purpose of prisons is custody, not rehabilitation.
- The inmates' post-release situation is of no concern to prison staff.

Many employment services programs have been seriously hampered in their efforts to interview or assist inmates by officials who hold these opinions or who are unwilling to cooperate with program activities. For example, a Boston program once had counselors stationed at six State prisons, but personal and interagency communications problems made the jobs of these staff members difficult. When efforts to persuade

prison officials to modify procedures proved unsuccessful, the program withdrew its staff from the prisons.[110]

Conversely, positive attitudes of prison officials and staff can help insure that all releasees will at least be aware of the existence of employment services programs in communities to which they will be returning. These positive attitudes include:

- An important part of prison's purpose is rehabilitation of inmates.
- A major aspect of rehabilitation is to provide releasees with the ability to obtain employment, and employment services programs assist with this.
- Permitting employment services programs to have access to inmates will increase the likelihood that inmates will receive the employment assistance they need, before and after release.

Attitudes of parole officials may be as important as those of corrections staff, since parole officers are in a position both to refer potential clients to programs and to monitor their employment progress. Positive attitudes include:

- Releasees' employment status affects their readjustment to the community.
- Employment services programs may help the releasee obtain suitable employment.
- Maintaining contact with the program will insure proper supervision and support for the releasee.

An example of the effect that positive parole system attitudes can have is provided by a Connecticut program. The program director and staff persuaded officials to modify existing parole regulations, so that its work with a prison releasee could be considered the equivalent of a job commitment for parole purposes. Although inmates technically need a job to be granted parole, this requirement could be fulfilled

by a commitment of support from the program.[111]

Negative attitudes on the part of parole officials may limit a program's clientele and its ability to serve participants. If parole officers do not possess positive attitudes about a program, they will not refer parolees to it for employment services. Moreover, if parole officers are not cooperative, programs may find it difficult to work with parolees who are referred for service. Negative attitudes include:

- Employment is not critical for parole success.
- Releasees should obtain employment on their own and should not require specialized help to do so.
- Once a releasee has been referred to an employment services program, the parole officer does not need to have any further contact with the program.

A variety of analyses may be used to assess the effects that the corrections or parole systems have on program operations. These include:

- the degree of prison and/or parole officials' cooperation with the program (e.g., letting staff visit prisons, forwarding information on releasees to the program, referring appropriate parolees, responding to program inquiries about clients);
- the extent to which the program has attempted to influence each group to become more cooperative;
- the degree of program success in influencing each group to become more cooperative;
- the accuracy of prison and parole officials' information about the program; and
- the extent to which parole officials interact with program staff concerning the "progress" of parolee clients.

2. Local Service Agencies

Because employment services programs usually cannot provide all the types of assistance that clients need, they must interact with

other local agencies. These agencies, often depending upon the individual staff member involved, may be either helpful or uncooperative. The quality of assistance they provide may be good or bad; unfortunately, staff at employment services programs often have little choice in the selection of agencies to which to refer clients for a needed service.

Areas of interest in examining employment services programs' relationships with other local agencies include:

- whether adequate services (e.g., skills training, emergency financial aid) are available in the community;
- the extent to which the employment services program makes use of the other community services available;
- the extent of cooperation between other programs and the employment services program (as shown, for example, by the percentage of referred clients who are accepted and served);
- the extent to which staff of the employment services program have attempted to influence other community programs to be more cooperative;
- the degree of success in influencing other programs to be more cooperative and to serve more releasee clients; and
- the extent to which releasee clients are successfully served by the various community programs.

In some cases employment services programs provide a particular type of assistance both directly and through referral to another agency. In such cases programs could analyze the relative success of clients who were served by the program versus those aided by another organization. Such analysis could provide insight concerning the relative merits of direct service delivery as compared with reliance on referral to other agencies.

3. Local Labor Market

Another important environmental factor influencing program operations is the nature of the local labor market and the economy. It will be more difficult for program staff to find jobs for clients, regardless of their skill levels, when the local economy is depressed than when it is prosperous. A further aspect of the local labor market is the attitude of local employers toward hiring prison releasees and working with programs representing ex-offenders. Statutory restrictions on ex-offender employment may also affect releasees' job opportunities within the local labor market.

The status of the local economy may sometimes force programs to change the types of services they offer. For example, the Parolee Rehabilitation and Employment Program in Columbus, Ohio, began as a job readiness training program, but added a job placement component when graduates found it difficult to obtain jobs.[112]

The state of the economy may also cause programs to modify their objectives concerning the types of jobs sought for clients or the percentage of clients they expect to place in jobs. This is illustrated by the experience of the Model Ex-Offender Programs (MEPs) funded by the Department of Labor:

> Because of unfavorable labor market conditions in each of the States and general cutbacks in hiring by major firms, job developers were sore pressed even to locate vacancies. Sluggish economic conditions in local areas forced most job developers to abandon efforts at expanding employment opportunities and creating new jobs in favor of placing ex-offenders in any jobs that were available. . . The employment market blight (and competition from other manpower programs) diluted the effectiveness of MEP job developers and forced many of them to settle for putting ex-offenders in minimum wage jobs. Such nuances of employability planning as relationship of job to previous training, work experience or individual aptitude were conceptually sound but unrealistic when considering the paucity of job vacancies in many of the MEP States.[113]

Regardless of the local labor market and state of the economy, programs will be affected by the attitudes of employers or hiring personnel. Positive attitudes may help a program place more clients with the same firms or may lead to employers' recommending the program as a source of employees to other companies. Examples of positive attitudes which may be held by company representatives include:

- The company has an affirmative action plan, committing it to hiring disadvantaged individuals, and releasees are often disadvantaged.
- An employment services program provides a useful service by screening its clients and referring only releasees who are qualified for the job.
- The program can assist the releasee or the employer in resolving any problems which may arise on the job.

Just as positive employer attitudes can contribute to effective program operations, negative attitudes can hinder program efforts. Negative attitudes include:

- Releasees are one of many disadvantaged groups; giving special attention to one group would lead to demands from them all.
- Prison releasees are untrustworthy.
- It is unwise to hire a prison releasee for a job when an equally qualified non-offender is available.

There are a number of possible analyses appropriate for gauging the effect of employer and personnel department attitudes on employment services programs. One important analysis would consider the extent to which programs attempt to change employer attitudes. Some programs react to negative attitudes of employers by looking elsewhere for employment opportunities, while others actively attempt to change the opinions of company hiring personnel through repeated meetings or the dissemination of data documenting program success.

Other useful analyses would assess the extent to which a program has been successful in changing employer or hiring personnel attitudes and the extent of cooperation received from employers. Such cooperation can help program staff monitor client activities. For example, many programs ask employers to return a "results card" after scheduled job interviews with program clients; these cards note whether the client appeared, the results of the interview, and sometimes the reasons why clients were not hired. Other programs may ask employers to call them if clients, once hired, are experiencing problems. Whether employers do this promptly may make the difference between an employee's keeping the job or losing it.

An additional measure of a program's relationship with area employers is the percentage of companies which accept repeated applicant referrals from the program for job interviews. This is likely to reflect companies' experiences with the particular individuals the program has referred to date, as well as the confidence which the employers place in the program.

Another aspect of the local labor market which may affect programs' abilities to serve clients is the extent to which statutes restrict employment opportunities for prison releasees. A statutory search conducted in 1973 disclosed 1,948 separate statutory provisions that affect the licensing of persons with an arrest or conviction record.[114] Overall, the search found a total of approximately 350 different licensed occupations affected by restrictive statutory provisions. Sparse data led researchers to conclude that millions of persons, both males and females, are at least potentially affected by these laws.

There are a variety of methods to remove these legal barriers, and many program officials have been lobbying at the State and local levels for such removal. As a result, some progress has been made in recent years. For example, Florida enacted a general law in 1971 which provides that a crime shall not be a bar to a license unless it directly relates to the occupation sought. Illinois adopted a discretionary standard in 1971 by removing outright statutory prohibitions on the licensing of ex-felons. In 1972, California enacted legislation establishing standards for licensing boards to follow in determining the "good moral character" of license applicants.

Altogether, legislative measures affecting the occupational licensing or public employment of ex-offenders have been passed in fifteen States since 1971, with at least twelve more States currently considering such action. The most significant action has been the enactment of an amendment to Hawaii's Fair Employment and Practice Law prohibiting discrimination against ex-offenders in private employment.

An opinion by the State Attorney General can also have an impact on the removal of formal ex-offender employment restrictions. This approach was started in 1972 by the Attorney General of Maryland. Recognizing the discretion of some licensing agencies to refuse a license to an ex-offender, the Attorney General issued an opinion presenting certain considerations that must be taken into account before denial of a license. These include "the amount of time which may have elapsed since the conviction; the nature of the crime and whether it bears a significant relation to the type of license being issued and whether it has a rational connection with the applicant's fitness to perform the occupation".[115]

The Governor of any State can also officially advocate policies to improve the employment opportunities for ex-offenders. For example, in 1972 the Governor of Maine issued an Executive Order which makes it official State policy that ex-offenders (and ex-patients of State institutions) be given the chance to compete for State jobs on an equal basis with all other candidates.

Thus, the statutory restrictions limiting employment of ex-offenders will vary among communities and affect programs' abilities to place prison releasees in certain types of jobs. The extent to which program staff work to remove such statutory restrictions may have an important impact on the program's future ability to serve releasee clients adequately.

As this chapter has shown, external factors may exert a variety of influences on community-based employment services programs. In order for such programs to be successful, certain conditions must exist in the community:

- Since programs need sufficient client loads, the universe of possible clients must be a certain size (and eligibility criteria broad enough) to permit the intake and participation of an adequate number of clients.
- Corrections and parole officials must at least not actively oppose the program.
- There must be adequate supportive services available in the community to serve program clients.
- The economic environment must present the opportunity for job referrals and placements of program clients.
- A sufficient number of employers must be willing to consider hiring ex-offenders.

Environmental and other external factors, as described in this chapter, interact with programs to produce a variety of impacts on

ex-offender clients and on the community. Analysis of these impacts is the subject of the following chapter.

V. OUTCOMES

Employment services programs may have a variety of impacts on their clients and the surrounding community. To increase clients' employability and to decrease their recidivism are two of the major goals of most programs. This chapter reviews the available evidence concerning the extent to which programs meet these and other goals.

Most of the existing information on program outcomes appears in analyses of individual employment services programs; there has been little comparative analysis of cross-program results. Relevant data on the probable impact of programs is also provided by analysis of closely related activities, such as prison-based employment programs or community-based programs serving various disadvantaged groups. Therefore, findings from such analyses are included, where appropriate. As discussed below, the analyses reviewed vary widely in quality and scope.

A. Employment Impact

Three major aspects of programs' impacts on releasees' employment must be considered:

- job placement outcomes;
- the extent of job stability; and
- job quality.

These are discussed below.

1. Job Placement

Many programs assess the extent to which clients obtain jobs, and most report that the majority of clients are successfully placed. Examples of reported placement rates include:

- During a 17-month period, 71% of all persons accepted into a job development and placement program obtained employment while participating in the program.116/
- Within thirty days after completing a program specializing in job readiness training, 68% of the clients had become employed at starting salaries well above the minimum wage.117/
- The average placement rate over one year for five Model Ex-Offender Programs was 51% of all ex-offenders receiving services.118/
- One employment services program reported that 59% of the 145 clients served between December 1975 and May 1976 were placed in jobs.119/
- Of the 418 persons needing employment when they were referred to a program over a one-year period, 297 (or 71%) were placed in jobs.120/
- A State Model Ex-Offender Program reported that of 3,432 persons enrolled since the program began, 854 (or 25%) were placed in jobs and 92 (or 3%) were enrolled in training.121/

Thus, although there are exceptions, most existing analyses indicate that the majority of program clients are placed in jobs. This finding is of limited value, however, because programs rarely compare the placement outcomes of their clients with those of similar individuals who did not receive program services. Therefore, the extent to which successful job placement should be attributed to the programs' interventions or to other causes cannot be determined. It is possible that many program clients would have achieved successful job placement even if they had not participated in the program. Including such clients in overall program placement rates overstates the program's actual impact.

At present the precise extent of unemployment among ex-offenders is unknown, although this level is generally assumed to be a high one. Additional information on this subject may be available in the future, however. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act requires the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) to "annually compile and maintain information on the incidence of unemployment among offenders."[122] Although the agency has not complied with this requirement as yet, due to the difficulties of obtaining such data, BLS is continuing to study possible ways of solving these problems. Thus, unemployment data on ex-offenders as a whole may be available in the future and could provide useful comparative information for assessing unemployment among clients of employment services programs.

Besides the lack of comparative analysis of programs' placement outcomes, there are other limitations to past studies. Programs often make little effort to analyze placement data so as to assess the utility of the various services provided to clients or to evaluate program effectiveness in serving different types of clients. Analyses of overall placement rates alone may mask important differences in outcomes for various client groups or for individuals who received different sets of program services.

In addition, placement data are assessed in a wide variety of ways, making cross-program comparisons difficult. Some programs analyze placements for all clients who entered the program, while others consider only those clients who "graduated" from the program. Additionally, some programs assess placement at the time of program completion, while others (particularly programs specializing in job readiness training) analyze whether a job was obtained within a certain

number of days or months after leaving the program. Besides these differences, the definition of "placement" varies across programs. Existing definitions include:

- placement on any job;
- placement on any full-time job;
- placement on a full-time job which pays at least a certain wage; and
- employment on a full-time job for a given time period (often 30 or 60 days).123/

A more serious problem with job placement analyses stems from the intrinsically limited assessment they provide of employment outcomes. Important considerations besides job placement include the extent to which employment is maintained (i.e., job stability) and the type of jobs obtained (i.e., job quality). These are discussed below.

2. Job Stability

It is important to consider the job stability of clients placed by employment services programs. If many clients leave their jobs soon after placement and become unemployed, the placements probably had little impact on the clients' lives. In this case placement rates alone would be a poor measure of program performance.

On the other hand, clients may change jobs as part of an employment upgrading process. As one study concluded: "Successful employment frequently takes place in a series of jobs rather than in one; the ex-offender. . .with little employment history may try a number of jobs before he stabilizes. What appears to be a lost employee may, in fact, be a successful rehabilitation experience."[124]

A number of studies have documented that releasees' first jobs may be held only a short time and that ex-offenders placed in jobs through program assistance may leave them soon after:

- A 1969 study found that the median length of releasees' first jobs was four months; and of their longest jobs, eight months.125/

- Project Crossroads, a Manpower Development and Training program for first offenders, found that almost all the former participants were working in non-Crossroads jobs four months after project termination.126/

- Data from the Federal Bonding Assistance Demonstration Program showed that young ex-offenders left bonded jobs within three months.127/

- The Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections found a mean of approximately five weeks for prison releasees' first jobs, with a range of 0 to 12 weeks.128/

In order to assess job stability, programs must conduct follow-up activities to determine clients' employment histories over time. Since this is more difficult than analyzing placement rates alone, fewer programs engage in such studies. Programs which do so typically analyze job stability in one of two ways. One method is to assess the percentage of clients who are employed at a certain time after program completion. For example, one job placement program found that 90 days after positive termination from the program, 70% of the former clients were employed or attending school, 44% were employed at the same job they had obtained at the time of termination and generally clients' salaries had increased during the period.[129]

The second type of job stability analysis considers the percentage of a follow-up period during which releasees are employed. Such analysis may also address whether clients were available for employment during the follow-up period, or were unable to work because of poor health or other reasons. One study of this type found that former clients were employed on 71% of the days that they were available for employment over a 17-month follow-up period. The time available for employment ranged from 30 to 360 days for various former

clients.[130] Such analyses which consider the percentage of time employed may better reflect releasees' employment experiences than the analyses which consider only whether releasees were employed or unemployed on a certain date. However, these "continuous" measures are somewhat more difficult to derive than the dichotomous ones more commonly used by programs.

Again, as in the case of placement rates, even programs which analyze job stability rarely compare the outcomes of their clients with those of similar groups of non-clients. Thus, little is known about the programs' probable influence on clients' job stability.

3. Job Quality

A comprehensive assessment of releasees' employment adjustment must consider job quality as well as job placement and stability outcomes. As one author explains:

> Research has indicated that the "quality of employment" may be as important to parolees as the employment per se. . . . The mere fact that the parolee is steadily employed and thus has less time to engage in criminal activities is not enough to counter the effects of low pay, low prestige, and lack of future on the man himself. Steady employment at a series of marginal jobs merely confirms the parolee's self-image and probably contributes to recidivism.[131]

Outcome analyses have also demonstrated the importance of job quality in achieving employment success. For example, one study concluded:

> The occupational area is far more than a matter of vocational skills. The degree to which the individual is involved in his work and derives positive feedback ("satisfaction") from it is a crucial matter in the role of occupation adjustment. . . .[J]ob participation and job status are highly discriminating items differentiating postadjudicated successes from failures. . . [H]aving a job. . . as such is not the fundamental predictor. What does predict is what the person does on the job.[132]

Despite its apparent importance, job quality is often difficult to assess accurately. Many programs use salary data as rough indicators of job quality, but wages alone may not reflect important differences in working conditions, prestige, opportunities for advancement or similar factors. The PREP program in Comumbus, Ohio, is trying to improve job quality analyses by developing quality ratings for various job categories and analyzing placements in those terms as well as by salary level.[133] Such information will provide the basis for assessing the relationship of job quality variables to client outcomes.

At present it appears that many releasees are placed in low-paying, entry-level jobs of poor quality. This may reflect the reality of the job market, as compared with releasees' skills and work experiences. However, it may also reflect biases on the part of placement counselors concerning the types of jobs which releasees can handle. Such biases may be unwarranted. For example, a study conducted for the Department of Labor suggested that releasees who had been trained for professional, technical and managerial work performed better in their jobs than those trained in blue-collar occupations.[134]

Aside from the analyses described above, there have been few assessments of job quality. Moreover, as with job placement and stability, even programs which consider job quality rarely compare their clients' outcomes with those of similar groups of non-clients.

4. The Need for Comparative Analyses

Unless the outcomes of program clients are compared with the outcomes of individuals who did not receive program services but are otherwise similar to participants, program impact cannot be accurately determined. Without comparative analyses it is not possible

to assess the probable outcomes of clients, had they not participated in the program. Such information is crucial for evaluating program performance.

There are several comparison groups which could be used to assess program impact on client outcomes. These comparison groups include:

- releasees who were eligible for an employment services program but could not participate because of waiting lists or other neutral factors;
- releasees who are served by other community-based programs (e.g., Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs, Vocational Rehabilitation programs or the State Employment Service); and
- releasees returning to the community who are not served by any program but rather seek employment on their own.

Differences in the backgrounds of the comparison group and program client group must be assessed, since such differences might affect outcomes. For example, past studies of prison-based employment programs have found that the more successful clients tended to be older, white, males, better educated, with more stable employment histories and living patterns and with a less serious criminal career. Although fewer studies have been conducted of community-based employment services programs, it is reasonable to expect similar findings. Thus, the comparison and client groups should be similar in terms of such characteristics as age, race, sex, employment history, criminal record and criminal justice status (e.g., under supervision or not). This will permit the most appropriate assessment of outcomes possible without random assignment of persons to control and client groups. Such random assignment is usually resisted by programs, for a variety of reasons.

Once appropriate comparison groups have been determined, a number

of analyses of job placement, stability and quality outcomes can be conducted. Such analyses include:

- the percentage of each group which obtained full-time employment;
- the percentage of time that members of each group were employed during a given time period;
- the extent to which members of each group secured jobs in areas or occupations of interest to them;
- the extent to which members of each group obtained jobs in areas for which they had been trained;
- the time required for members of the two groups to obtain employment;
- starting salaries received by members of each group; and
- the extent of job upgrading for each group over a specified time period.

If similar analyses were conducted for several employment services programs, the types of program services which seem most effective could be determined. In addition, the existence of systematic relationships between program characteristics (e.g., counselor-client ratios) and client outcomes could be assessed. Finally, the types of clients who seem most likely to benefit from various program services could be identified. These and similar issues concerning program impact cannot be conclusively addressed until such cross-program analyses, based on comparison groups, have been conducted.

B. Recidivism Outcomes

Most programs assume that improving releasees' employment statuses will reduce their recidivism rates. Indeed, much of the public funding of such programs is based on this assumption. Consequently, the available evidence concerning recidivism outcomes is summarized below.

Two major aspects are considered: recidivism rates and recidivism patterns.

1. Recidivism Rates

Most of the available information concerning programs' impacts on recidivism rates appears in analyses of individual programs. Although conducted in different ways, these analyses usually indicate that program clients experience lower rates of recidivism than are commonly thought to occur for ex-offenders as a whole. Examples of findings from these analyses include:

- Over a nine-month period one program's clients experienced lower recidivism rates (25.5%) than a group of non-participant releasees (36.3%).135/
- A comprehensive employment services program for young male parolees found that participants had a parole delinquency rate of 15%, while a control group of parolees had a rate of 23%. The recidivism rate for parolees in the program was 6%, as compared with 12% for the control group.136/
- A program for ex-offenders reported that the rearrest rate over one year for persons who entered the program between January and June, 1975, was 12.8%.137/
- Another employment services program found that clients experienced an 11% recidivism rate over a one-year period.138/
- A program in operation for six months reported that the rearrest rate for all persons served (145 individuals) was 3.4%; for placed clients, the rearrest rate was 2.3%.139/
- Over a period of 15 to 18 months, an average of 23% of the enrollees in five Model Ex-Offender Programs were estimated to have returned to prison. This was compared with a projected recidivism rate of 51% for all releasees in the five participating States.140/

As these examples illustrate, some programs assess clients' recidivism rates without comparing them to those of non-clients, while

other programs have developed a variety of comparative analyses. In some cases these comparisons rely on recidivism estimates developed on a Statewide, or even national, basis. However, preliminary results from a study now in progress suggest that past estimates of such recidivism rates may have been inflated. The study's findings, based on a comprehensive literature review, indicate that the recidivism rate in the 1970's was about 23%; and in the 1960's, 33%.[141]

In addition to developing appropriate comparisons of clients' recidivism outcomes, programs must assess those outcomes over an adequate time period. Not only do the opportunities for committing crimes increase over longer time periods but a program's influence over client behavior may also diminish as time passes. Whatever the reason, most longitudinal studies have found that recidivism rates increase over time. For example, the study cited above, which is assessing national recidivism rates in the 1960's and 1970's, found that these rates in after-only studies tended to rise from 15% for follow-up studies of six months or less to 37% for analyses of more than 60 months.[142]

The importance of the time factor in analyzing recidivism is also shown by the results of a three-year follow-up study conducted by the Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections. In this case outcomes of parolees who had participated in a prison-based program were compared with those of regular parolees. While the recidivism rates of program participants were initially lower than those of non-participants, there was little difference in the recidivism rates of the two groups by the end of the three-year period.[143] Thus, analyses of recidivism outcomes may provide a quite different perspective on program impact if conducted over a period of several

years, rather than a shorter time period.

Another important consideration in analyzing recidivism outcomes is to assess the types of individuals who achieve the greatest improvement. Of particular concern is whether persons with better employment outcomes usually experience lower recidivism. However, programs often fail to correlate the employment and recidivism outcomes of their clients or of comparison group members.

One employment services program which conducted such analysis found that its clients had lower recidivism rates than a comparison group of non-clients, but that there was little difference in the rearrest rates of those clients who obtained employment through the program and those who obtained jobs on their own.[144] In this case, while the relationship between increased employment and lessened recidivism seems clear, the importance of the program's intervention is more questionable. The key factor appears to have been employment, however it was acquired, rather than employment which was obtained through program auspices. Presumably, however, fewer program clients would have been able to obtain jobs without the program's services (as evidenced by the higher unemployment and recidivism rates in the comparison group).

The considerations discussed above have been handled in many different ways by individual employment services programs. Although these differences alone make cross-program comparisons difficult, the problem is compounded by the many differences in definitions and data collection techniques used at the various programs. For example, programs may measure recidivism through rates of rearrest, conviction

on new charges or return to prison. In some cases parole violations are excluded from these rate calculations, and in other cases they are included.

Moreover, programs often must rely on recidivism data collected by other sources, such as police or parole officials, and these data may be inaccurate. Programs may also analyze prison entrance records, but these may be incomplete and certainly will not reflect incarcerations in other States. Such data collection problems are illustrated by a 1972 evaluation of Model Ex-Offender Programs' recidivism outcomes. Commenting upon programs' efforts to collect recidivism data, evaluators said that the duration of follow-up (90 days) and limited staff time forced most programs to develop "shortcuts" for identifying possible recidivists. Many programs compensated for weak follow-up systems by periodically checking enrollee lists against prison admission records, by using the local "grapevine" to obtain information on clients and by maintaining frequent contact with parole officers.[145]

Recidivism data collected through such methods may be inaccurate, as shown by the experience of the Georgia Model Ex-Offender Program (MEP). Program records indicated that 8.5% of enrollees were back in prison after 18 months. When the General Accounting Office (GAO) conducted a thorough follow-up study, using FBI and other records, it found a 26% recidivism rate.[146]

A number of studies have discussed data collection problems which arise during analyses of recidivism. One study concluded that the method of data collection was a critical factor in analyzing an ex-offender's recidivism. If individuals themselves were contacted,

it was often difficult to verify volunteered information, even by checking with State and Federal arrest records. On the other hand, if researchers used only official records and did not rely on participant follow-up, they found that:

> Information from sheriff's departments, city police, FBI records, parole officers and state identification departments is often incomplete. . . . Many communities, especially the smaller towns and counties, do not send their arrest information to the FBI or even to their state department of investigation and identification. . . . Those who do send in arrest information often submit incomplete reports, listing only the subject's charge at the time of his arrest. This charge may have been changed when he went to court, especially if more evidence had been found or if he agreed to plead guilty to a lesser charge.147/

Thus, obtaining highly accurate recidivism data may be a hard task. Since programs must balance the usefulness of such information with the difficulty of collecting it, many programs will probably continue to conduct recidivism analyses based on incomplete data.

2. Recidivism Patterns

In addition to recidivism rates, recidivism patterns must be considered. There may be important differences in the frequency and severity of crimes committed by groups having identical rates of overall recidivism. Analysis of such differences is essential for assessing the impact of employment services programs.

Consideration of the types of crimes committed should differentiate misdemeanors from felonies and crimes against persons from crimes against property. One systematic way of conducting such analysis relies on scales which categorize crimes according to their severity. In order to construct such scales, a number of factors must be considered. For example, there must not be too many categories or too broad definitions of criminal behavior. One study stated the following

requirements for a criminality index reflecting severity:

- It should present criminal behavior and recidivism as a continuum rather than a dichotomy.
- It should generalize to all situations involving offenders, whether adults, juveniles, parolees or others.
- It should cover all offenses which can be verified by official records.
- It should group only those offenses which are comparable in terms of cost to the criminal justice system, as determined by length of sentence.
- The terminology used to distinguish offenses and groupings should be as objective as possible.148/

Although more difficult to develop and implement than analyses of recidivism rates alone, assessments of criminal severity provide much greater insight about client outcomes. Criminal activity may become less serious as a result of program participation, even if the total number of arrests or convictions does not decline significantly. As in the case of other analyses, outcomes of clients must be compared with those of non-clients, in order to assess the impact of the program on changing client behavior.

3. The Need for More Comprehensive Analyses

Although many employment services programs are supported because of their presumed impact on client recidivism, there has been relatively little analysis of such outcomes. Many existing studies fail to consider the outcomes of comparison groups as well as program clients, and therefore cannot adequately assess program impact. Additionally, studies often include only very limited outcome measures (e.g., overall recidivism rates over a short follow-up period), rather than comprehensive analysis of criminality patterns, as related to employment history over time. Thus, additional analysis of recidivism outcomes

is needed.

The use of comparison groups is essential for assessment of program impact, as was discussed earlier in connection with employment outcomes. The comparison groups suggested for analysis of employment outcomes are equally appropriate for consideration of recidivism outcomes. Such groups consist of individuals who are similar to program clients in all important respects except program participation. For example, prison releasees who do not seek program services but rather find jobs on their own could be matched with program clients on such variables as age, race, sex, employment history and criminal record.

More limited matching of characteristics may also be appropriate. For example, one study matched clients and non-clients only in terms of the type of releasing institution and later found that the two groups were also similar in terms of many other variables. These included socio-demographic backgrounds, educational achievement, skill level and employment status at time of admission to the institution, work within the institution, vocational progress ratings, institutional behavior, type of release and time served.[149]

Analysis of the recidivism outcomes of program clients and comparison group members should consider patterns of criminality (i.e., the severity and frequency of criminal activity) as well as the overall recidivism rates of the two groups. In addition, it is important to analyze recidivism outcomes over a sufficiently long time period (probably a minimum of three years) to assess whether any changes in recidivism appear to be permanent or temporary in nature. Finally, such analyses should consider whether programs have greater

impact with certain types of individuals and whether certain program services are consistently associated with better outcomes.

Analyzing outcomes for individuals with different characteristics would help programs identify clients who are likely to need high levels of service as well as those for whom the transition to a legitimate lifestyle within the community may be relatively easy to accomplish. In addition, it is important to consider the relationship between the employment status of individuals and their recidivism outcomes. Although many programs assume that employment is a key factor in reducing recidivism, they often do not compare the employment and recidivism outcomes of individual clients. Besides overall analyses of employment and recidivism rates, such studies should consider whether certain job characteristics (e.g., occupational fields, wage levels, opportunities for advancement) are systematically associated with lower recidivism.

Analyses of recidivism outcomes should also consider program characteristics. Differences in such program variables as the type of services offered, the extent of client contact or the length and type of follow-up activities may be consistently related to outcome differences. An issue of interest is whether a broad range of services should be provided, including various supportive services, or only more limited assistance, focused primarily on job placement.

One study concluded that it was the process of overall "human upgrading," rather than assistance with job placement, which resulted in reduced recidivism for program clients. Although the program served probationers, not prison releasees, the findings of the study are of interest. Before-and-after analyses were conducted of persons

accepted into the program, individuals referred to the program but not accepted and a group of probationers who were already adequately employed.

The adequately employed probationers had a much lower unemployment rate over the analysis period, but their recidivism was not significantly lower than that of other groups. On the other hand, the unemployment rates were similar for persons who completed the program and for individuals who were not accepted by it, but the recidivism rates of program completers were much lower. Thus, the study concluded that the program's success in reducing recidivism may not have been due to its ability to place clients in jobs but rather to the various program services designed to achieve "human upgrading" (e.g., educational assistance, guidance counseling and various supportive services).[150]

Analyses of this type are needed for programs serving prison releasees, so that the relative importance of such human upgrading activities can be determined. Other necessary analyses, as discussed earlier, include:

- comparison of recidivism outcomes with such individual characteristics as socio-economic background, employment history, criminal record, and criminal justice status (e.g., under supervision or not);
- assessment of persons' recidivism outcomes and employment characteristics (e.g., whether employed, type of job, wage level, length of time employed, extent of job satisfaction); and
- analysis of client outcomes as compared with program characteristics (e.g., types of services, extent of client contact, length of follow-up assistance).

The various analyses suggested of recidivism outcomes should consider the severity of criminal activities as well as overall recidivism rates.

In addition, the analyses should be conducted over a period of several years following program participation, so that the "durability" of any improvements in client behavior can be determined. Such analyses, using comparison groups, are essential for adequate assessment of the impact of employment services programs on recidivism.

C. Other Program Impacts

Besides their possible effects on the employment and recidivism outcomes of clients, programs may have a number of other important impacts. For example, program services may assist clients in readjusting to community life or in achieving "human upgrading," even if these services appear to have little direct impact on employment or recidivism rates.

An employment services program may have a number of effects on the community in addition to its impact on clients. For example, if a program successfully reduces client recidivism, less harm will be inflicted on citizens, and the community will be correspondingly "safer." There will also be a lessened burden on the criminal justice system as a result of lower recidivism levels. In addition, if programs increase client employment, the financial burden on public support systems (e.g., welfare, Aid for Dependent Children) will be decreased.

Programs may also have a positive impact on the attitudes of certain groups with which they interact in the community. For example, job development activities may change employers' attitudes toward hiring ex-offenders; such a change could help many individuals who are not program clients as well as persons who are. Also, program

activities within prisons may influence corrections officials to become more concerned about ways to help inmates prepare for their eventual return to the community.

Other attitudinal changes induced by employment services programs could occur at the many community-based programs which provide various human services. These programs include Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs, vocational schools, Vocational Rehabilitation agencies, adult education programs and similar activities. Through their contacts with these programs, employment services staffs may influence them to provide better assistance to prison releasees and other ex-offenders.

Although employment services programs may have a variety of impacts on the community, these effects have not been carefully documented. Indeed, it would be difficult to analyze many of these impacts in a systematic manner, since they involve attitudinal changes which may occur at a slow rate over a long time period. Consequently, much of the information available concerning such possible program effects as changed employer or prison official attitudes will probably continue to be largely impressionistic in nature. This is not a serious limitation, however, because these types of program impacts are usually considered secondary ones; it is programs' anticipated effects on clients' employability and recidivism which usually account for their continued support.

A complete assessment of program outcomes must consider the cost of achieving them. At present, programs have conducted only limited analysis of the costs of providing their various services. In addition, the lack of appropriate outcome analyses precludes consideration

of the cost-effectiveness of most employment services programs.

One program which has tried to compare the costs and benefits of its activities is Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, serving Kane County, Illinois. Program costs consisted of:

- direct costs of program operation—$133,431;
- indirect costs incurred through the provision of office space, utilities and telephone expenses by other county departments, such as CETA—$9,150; and
- external costs incurred through the referral of program participants to other area social service agencies and programs—$27,300.

Thus, total costs amounted to $169,881.

Estimation of benefits requires consideration of likely client outcomes in the absence of program intervention. Such outcome projections were based on analysis of the most recent two years of clients' criminal and employment histories. The study notes that this estimation technique assumes that trends based on linear projections of offenses and employment accurately reflect what would have happened without program assistance and that this assumption may be invalid, because clients entered the program voluntarily and thus wanted to change their behavior.

However, the study further notes that the program's successfully terminated participants had been in the midst of a continuing and relatively stable criminal career, despite opportunities for positive change that were available to them from other agencies, parole officers and alternative employment services. Thus, the study concludes that these factors argue against the proposition that program clients would have changed their lives for the better at this point in time, whether

the program was or was not available to them.

Benefits included only those real dollar savings or contributions (e.g., taxes) which were returned to the community in the first year following successful program participation. Benefits received by program participants themselves were excluded, as were savings which would presumably continue to accrue to the community during subsequent years of successful employment by participants. Moreover, benefits for clients on active caseloads were not estimated, although the costs of providing services to them were included in the cost data. Thus, the study concluded its cost-benefit estimate was a conservative one.

Program benefits were estimated as follows:

- arrests saved after the first year of program operation, based on the number of clients successfully terminated times the expected arrests per year per client (1.4) times the cost to a local police force of an average arrest ($210)—$56,070;

- convictions saved after the first year of program operation, based on the number of participants successfully terminated times the expected number of trials per year per client (0.94) times the national average for a non-jury trial ($222)—$39,960;

- jail time saved, based on savings associated with the expected jail stays that would have been connected with the arrests and convictions described above, where jail costs were estimated at $9.00 per day—$223,290;

- direct crime costs, based on the expected number of property crimes (121) that would have been committed times the national average for the value of goods in a property crime ($200)—$24,200;

- tax dollars generated by increased client wages and lengthened job retention, based on expected yearly income post-program minus yearly income without the program times (a) a tax rate of 15% for Federal withholding, plus (b) a tax rate of 3% for State withholding, plus (c) a sales tax rate of 5% times one quarter of the increase—$104,368; and

- unemployment benefits and other saved welfare consumption, based on clients' previous unemployment and public assistance histories— $37,920.

As shown above, the major benefits stem from jail time saved and taxes generated by increased client earnings in the year after program termination. The increase in wages was estimated based on an increase in the average wage per hour of 49¢ times a forty-hour work week times an increase in the number of weeks worked in a year from a pre-program average of 24 to a post-program average of 40 times 191 positively placed participants.

Total estimated benefits amount to $485,808, or 2.86 times the program's costs of $169,881. Thus, the anlysis indicates that benefits from the program's operations more than offset program costs.[151]

A key aspect of any cost-benefit analysis is to assess likely client outcomes had the program not intervened. The study described above based such an assessment on clients' pre-program experiences. However, such an estimating technique has the limitation that client behavior might have changed over time even without the program's intervention. A better estimating method would analyze the outcomes of a comparison group of non-clients. Since such analyses are more difficult to conduct, programs rarely perform them.

Thus, outcome studies based on comparison groups are needed, so that program benefits can be determined and systematically compared with program costs. Such analyses of programs providing different sets of services (e.g., job readiness training versus job placement assistance) would permit assessment of the types of services which result in the greatest "pay-off." Without such studies, conclusions regarding program impact will continue to be based largely on

impressionistic and anecdotal information, rather than substantiated analytical evidence.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper has assessed the present state of knowledge concerning programs which provide employment services to prison releasees. As a Phase I study under LEAA's National Evaluation Program, its goal was to review existing information about the operations and impacts of such programs, rather than to develop new data on these topics. The study included identification of major gaps in the state of knowledge as well as documentation of the findings of past analyses. Among the topics considered were:

- the types of employment services provided (e.g., counseling, job readiness training, job development, placement assistance and other services) and the various ways these services are delivered;
- the processes by which persons are referred to programs, enrolled and assisted in becoming employed;
- the assumptions underlying program operations;
- the manner in which programs use such resources as staff, funds and facilities;
- such external factors affecting programs as the nature of the local corrections and parole systems and the condition of the community's economy; and
- program impact on clients' employment and recidivism outcomes.

This chapter presents major findings of the study and suggests several areas where further work is needed.

A. Major Findings

An important finding of the present study is the existence of a large number of employment services programs assisting many prison releasees. A total of 257 programs responded to a survey conducted during this study to identify the relevant program universe. These programs offer a wide variety of services to prison releasees and usually to other groups as well.

Since most programs do not serve releasees exclusively, it is difficult to determine the exact amount of money which is being spent on services for releasees alone. That this amount is probably a large one is illustrated by the funding data shown in Table 4. Besides indicating the programs' responses to the survey in terms of budget size categories, Table 4 presents an estimate of the total spending by all responding programs; this amounts to approximately $47 million.

It should be emphasized that these programs commonly serve clients who are not prison releasees as well as individuals who are. Although the total spending estimate is inflated because of this, it is understated for other reasons: some programs did not provide funding information, and many other programs undoubtedly serve prison releasees but either were not identified during this study or did not respond to the survey questionnaire. Thus, while the precise extent of funding for employment services to prison releasees is unknown, available evidence indicates that the total amount may be quite large.

Much of the financial support for employment services programs is provided by LEAA, through its block grants to the States. The Labor Department is also a major funding source for these programs,

TABLE 4.—Annual Budgets of Employment Services Programs

Survey Data		Estimates	
Budget Size Category	No. of Programs	Budget for One Program	Total Budgets
Less than $50,000	56	$25,000	$1,400,000
$50,000 to $99,999	37	$75,000	2,775,000
$100,000 to $299,999	61	$200,000	12,200,000
$300,000 to $499,999	19	$400,000	7,600,000
More than $500,000	46	$500,000	23,000,000
TOTAL	219	XXX	$46,975,000

primarily through its block grants to prime sponsors operating under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Many programs have received funding from both LEAA and CETA at various times. In some cases this has created administrative problems, due to the different accountability demands of the funding sources.

Despite the large amounts of money provided to employment services programs by Federal, State and other sources, there has been relatively little systematic analysis of program impact. Most of the existing studies are descriptive rather than evaluative and focus on one program rather than cross-program comparisons. Consequently, there is considerably more documentation of various service delivery techniques than of the outcomes resulting from use of those techniques. In addition, studies which assess outcomes often use quite limited impact measures, such as placement or rearrest rates, and do not consider such factors as job stability, job quality or the severity of crimes committed. Moreover, the relative impact of various services on clients having different characteristics has rarely been assessed.

The most serious limitation of existing studies, however, is the lack of data on the outcomes of individuals who do not receive employment services but are similar to program clients in other major respects. Without such analyses, the effectiveness of employment services programs cannot be adequately assessed.

Although existing analyses have a number of limitations for making conclusive determinations of program impact, the studies do permit identification of the assumptions underlying program operations and assessment of the validity of these assumptions. Such activities

are an important part of a Phase I study, and major findings are summarized below.

The assumptions underlying program operations include:

- The time immediately following release from prison is a critical readjustment period.
- Employment is a key factor in making a successful readjustment to community life; releasees without legitimate jobs are likely to return to criminal activities.
- Employment services programs are essential for helping releasees find jobs, because releasees face many employment barriers and need assistance to overcome these obstacles.

Most studies agree that the immediate postrelease period presents the former inmate with a number of problems which must be resolved quickly. These problems include finding a place to live, establishing relationships with family and friends, and adjusting to a lifestyle which lacks the structure and constraints that prison had imposed. An additional problem is to develop a legitimate means of support. Since releasees often have quite limited financial resources, the need for income may be particularly pressing.

Many past analyses have documented that there is a close relationship between employment status and recidivism. This has led some studies to conclude that employment is critical for releasees' successful readjustment. Although certain researchers have proposed that there is a causal relationship between unemployment and crime, others have argued that unemployment and recidivism are highly correlated only because each is associated with another factor (e.g., the influence of family members) which induced widespread behavioral change.

Some analysts have suggested that providing income to releasees

is more important than offering them employment services. Such a hypothesis is supported by the preliminary results of the "Project Living Insurance for Ex-Prisoners (LIFE)" study. For this analysis male releasees returning to Baltimore, Maryland, were randomly assigned to four groups, which received:

- both financial aid and job services;
- financial aid only;
- job services only; and
- neither financial aid nor job services.

The project found that releasees who were given financial aid experienced lower rates of recidivism during the first year after release but that releasees who received job services did not. However, the study noted that:

> We were never able to raise the employment rate among the men who received our job service, even though our service was an intensive, individualized effort. . . . The men who were hired through our efforts quit or were fired soon after. [B]ecause our job service was not able to raise the employment rate,. . .we were not truly able to test whether employment reduces rearrest.152/

Thus, the Project LIFE study may have demonstrated only that the project provided inadequate employment services, not that appropriate employment services are less effective than financial aid or that employment has little impact in decreasing recidivism. To provide additional insight on this subject, the Department of Labor is currently conducting a demonstration program in Georgia and Texas to test the efficacy of providing releasees with financial aid and/or job services.[153] Results of this analysis should help assess the relative impact of these types of assistance.

Thus, while past studies have shown that unemployment and

and recidivism are closely associated, there is considerable debate over whether employment causes a reduction in criminality or whether other factors explain the observed relationship. Moreover, the role of employment services programs in either increasing releasee employment or decreasing recidivism has not been conclusively determined.

The need for such programs is partly based on the observation that prison releasees face a variety of employment barriers and the assumption that many releasees will be unable to surmount these barriers unaided. Such employment barriers include both hiring practices that discriminate against ex-offenders and barriers caused by releasees' lack of skills, unrealistic job aspirations or similar deficiencies. Moreover, prisons often provide little assistance to prepare inmates for handling the employment problems they are likely to face.

Indeed, not only do prison staffs often provide little employment-related assistance to inmates, but they also sometimes hinder efforts by community-based programs to provide such aid before release. A number of individuals interviewed during this study commented that more effective employment assistance could be provided if the aid were begun before the inmate's release but that corrections officials often placed little value on such activities and failed to support them. Thus, releasees often return to the community poorly prepared to seek employment.

Although the fact that releasees face many employment barriers has been widely documented, there has been little analysis of the impact of employment services programs in helping releasees overcome these barriers. Most of the existing studies of programs' impacts consider only the outcomes of program clients and make no comparisons

with other groups which did not receive program services. Thus, the extent to which the programs' interventions may have been responsible for any behavioral changes by clients cannot be assessed.

Moreover, although most programs which analyze client outcomes consider both employment and recidivism changes, many programs do not compare these data for individual clients. Thus, the relationship between employment and recidivism cannot be analyzed, and many programs do not know if the clients who experience the best employment outcomes also have the best recidivism outcomes.

Additionally, little is known about the relative impact of the various services provided or about the most effective way to deliver any given service (e.g., is job readiness training best provided in a two-week seminar or a one-day workshop, in conjunction with other services such as skills training or as a separate activity, as an initial service or as the last assistance before job placement?). Moreover, little is known about the characteristics of clients who seem to benefit most from the different services. In addition, programs have little insight concerning the best ways to operate in different external environments (e.g., with cooperative versus uncooperative corrections and parole officials or in prosperous versus depressed local economies).

Since there is much variation across programs in terms of types of services provided, manner of service delivery and client characteristics, the relationships of these variables to client outcomes could be assessed relatively easily; there is no need to create a set of programs having special service characteristics in order to conduct such analyses. Adequate assessment of these relationships would,

however, require special efforts to analyze the outcomes of comparison group members as well as those of program clients.

Although most programs lack adequate outcome analyses, a common complaint is that funding sources place too much emphasis on data collection activities. Indeed, many programs collect large amounts of data, which are apparently never analyzed, either by the programs or by their funding sources. In some cases these data, although voluminous, are of little use for evaluative purposes.

In many cases, better evaluation could be conducted without increasing the data collection workloads of program staffs. Some programs need only to analyze data which are already being acquired. Such analysis would probably indicate that certain data were of limited value. Collection of such information could be discontinued, and the saved resources could be applied to analytical needs. Thus, in many cases, more useful evaluative findings could be obtained through reallocation of current efforts.

Although many evaluation improvements could be made through such reallocations of staff effort, both to collect different data and to conduct more analysis than at present, these changes will leave many important questions unaddressed. Few programs have adequate follow-up components for obtaining information on the long-term outcomes of clients. Moreover, few programs analyze the outcomes of their clients in comparison with similar groups of non-clients. In many cases, programs recognize the need for such activities but lack the resources to engage in them. Thus, provision of additional resources for evaluation will be required for adequate assessment of program impact.

B. Recommendations

This study has identified several areas in which additional information or program changes seem needed. Recommendations concerning ways to meet these needs follow.

First: The most urgent evaluative need is for an analysis of client outcomes, as compared with outcomes of appropriate groups of non-clients. The study shoud assess outcomes over a period of several years for programs emphasizing different types of services and aiding clients with varied characteristics. Such analysis would permit assessment of the types of services which seem most effective with different types of clients; the durability of changed behavior over time; and, most importantly, the extent to which the programs' interventions appear responsible for any changes in the employment or recidivism outcomes of their clients.

The substantial sums currently being spent on employment services programs make such evaluation particularly critical. Without adequate data on program impact, funding sources will be unable to determine the utility of their investments, and programs will be unable to identify the most effective manner of operation.

Although outcome data are essential, they will be expensive to collect. Moreover, the need for similar data from a number of programs suggests that a Federally funded study is required to fill this knowledge gap. LEAA's Phase II National Evaluation Program would appear to be a prime candidate for such funding. The outcome analysis should be conducted in conjunction with analysis of program and client characteristics, so that differential impact can be assessed and cost-benefit effects identified.

Second: As noted earlier, many employment services programs could improve their present evaluation activities by reallocating the time currently spent on data collection efforts, so that more appropriate evaluative data were acquired and analyzed. However, many programs lack the technical expertise to revise their data collection and analysis efforts in these ways. A "handbook" providing step-by-step instructions on ways to conduct evaluations at different levels of complexity could assist programs in making these revisions. Since there are a large number of employment services programs (more than 250), the potential impact of such a handbook is quite large. This "technology transfer" activity could be implemented by LEAA through preparation of a "Prescriptive Package."

Third: In order to revise their data collection activities, many programs will need the approval of funding sources, particularly State Planning Agencies (supported through block grants from LEAA) and local prime sponsors (supported under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, administered by the Labor Department). Employment services programs are in the somewhat unusual position of serving a client population which is of interest to two major Federal agencies, one of which allocates its funds mainly at the State level and the other, the local level. This presents a number of problems of intergovernmental and interagency coordination. Obtaining approval for reallocation of data collection efforts is one aspect of this problem; insuring continuity of funding when dealing with two major sources of possible support is another.

An assessment of these coordination problems, and of ways to improve Labor-LEAA linkages at the Federal, State and local levels is

an important topic for further analysis. This could be conducted under LEAA's research program, perhaps in cooperation with the Department of Laobr. Such analyses, and the improved coordination mechanisms resulting from it, would have an impact beyond individual employment services programs. Labor and LEAA currently fund many similar research and technical assistance projects at the Federal level. More formal methods for planning and coordinating these efforts could increase their usefulness to each agency.

Fourth: Many programs have developed materials which would be of use to other programs. For example, programs specializing in certain services have sometimes developed manuals synthesizing their experiences in providing these services and discussing various ways of delivering them. Such manuals would be of interest to many other programs, which either provide these services currently or are considering adding them in the future.

Since many appropriate materials already exist at employment services programs, it would be relatively easy to collect and distribute them. During this study, useful materials were acquired from the various programs visited. This information was provided to LEAA in a report entitled "Selected Program Materials." That report could be disseminated to existing employment services programs. If the response warranted further efforts, additional materials could be collected at a later date. This could be accomplished as an adjunct to LEAA's National Evaluation Program or under the "Technology Transfer" program.

Fifth: A major problem identified during this study is the frequent existence of poor linkages between staffs of corrections facilities and of community-based employment services programs. Since

the time immediately following release from prison is a critical adjustment period, prerelease efforts are needed to help prepare inmates for handling the problems posed by community reintegration. An important aspect of such prerelease activities should consist of efforts to assess the inmate's employability and to develop job possibilities. Many employment services programs have tried to conduct such prerelease activities but abandoned them because of lack of support by corrections officials.

Although many programs have experienced difficulties, others have reported good relationships with corrections staffs. In some cases the corrections system includes prerelease centers, designed to prepare inmates for life in the community. Also, some corrections officials help inmates obtain furloughs, so that selected community reintegration problems can be resolved before release. Analysis of such prerelease efforts, and widespread distribution of information about them, could be of use to States which now lack adequate prerelease activities to prepare inmates for community life. Such analysis could be conducted as a Phase I National Evaluation Program study or as part of the development of a "Prescriptive Package."

Additionally, corrections officials may need pressure from funding sources in order to become more attentive to the prerelease needs of inmates. At present many corrections officials act as if their primary responsibility is to maintain order within the institution, not to prepare the inmate for establishing a law-abiding lifestyle after release. The incentive structure perceived by corrections officials often reflects such priorities: officials receive much adverse publicity if order is not maintained in the prisons but none

if few efforts are made to rehabilitate inmates or equip them to return to the community. Besides pressure from funding sources or other possible changes in the incentive structure facing corrections officials, there may be a need for such activities as staff training, technical assistance or demonstration programs to test ways of improving linkages between prisons and community-based programs serving releasees.

Sixth: A major service gap identified during this study is the lack of adequate employment services for women releasees. Although many programs will accept women releasees, few attempt to meet the special needs of women offenders. For example, women often have different job skills than men and may require different job development services. They may also need special supportive services, particularly assistance in making child care arrangements.

Since crime by women is rising in many jurisdictions, the lack of appropriate employment services for women releasees may become an increasingly serious problem. A "Prescriptive Package" or other research study could assess ways of best meeting the needs of women releasees. Widespread distribution of such analysis to existing programs could help improve the assistance now provided to women releasees. Additionally, pressure from funding sources may be required to encourage programs to increase the number of women releasees served.

Finally: It may be difficult for programs to help releasees find jobs when there are high unemployment rates in the community. Therefore, it may be desirable to explore ways of establishing special job creation programs for releasees, since the social cost

of their unemployment is likely to be quite high. A demonstration program, perhaps conducted in cooperation with the Labor Department or the Economic Development Administration in the Commerce Department (which administers several major job creation programs), might provide a useful test of whether such efforts would have a high pay-off.

These various recommendations have covered a wide spectrum of evaluation and program needs. If implemented, the proposed activities would provide essential information concerning program impact, improve the present delivery of services to prison releasees and test the efficacy of new approaches for assisting individuals in making the transition from prison to employment.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, A Review of Manpower R and D Projects in the Correctional Field (1963-1973), Manpower Research Monograph No. 28 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973), p. 69.

[2]Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), p. 217.

[3]Robert Evans, Jr., "The Labor Market and Parole Success," Journal of Human Resources (Spring, 1968), p. 203.

[4]Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System (New York, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964), p. 9.

[5]George A. Pownall, Employment Problems of Released Prisoners (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1969), p. 2.

[6] See, for example, Daniel Glaser and Kent Rice, "Crime, Age and Unemployment," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (October 1959), pp. 679-686.

[7]Glaser, op. cit.

[8]Charles Welford, "Manpower and Recidivism," Proceedings: The National Workshop on Corrections and Parole Administration (New Orleans, La.: American Correctional Association, 1972), pp. 113-120, quoted in John M. McCreary and Phyllis Groom McCreary, Job Training and Placement for Offenders and Ex-Offenders (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1975), p. 6.

[9]For more information, see James E. Bowers, James W. Hunt and Neal Miller, Laws, Licenses and the Offender's Right to Work (Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1974).

[10]Girard W. Levy, et al., Vocational Preparation in U.S. Correctional Institutions: A 1974 Survey (Columbus, Ohio: Battelle Columbus Laboratories, 1975), p. 98.

[11]U.S. Department of Justice, Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974: Advance Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1976), Table 1, p. 25.

[12]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 24.

[13]Ibid., p. 29.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[14]Robert Horowitz, Back on the Street—From Prison to Poverty: Transitional Aid Research Project for Ex-Offenders (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, American Bar Association, 1976), p. ii.

[15]Pownall, op. cit., p. 8.

[16]Ibid.

[17]U.S. Department of Justice, Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions on December 31, 1974(Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Justice, 1976), Table 8, p. 28.

[18]Pownall, op. cit.

[19]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 74.

[20]McCreary and McCreary, op. cit., p. 15.

[21]Ibid., p. 54.

[22]American Bar Association, Directory: Organizations Providing Job Assistance to Ex-Offenders (Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1976).

[23]Mary A. Toborg, et. al., The Transition from Prison to Employment: An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs, "Case Study Analyses and Flow Diagrams," unpublished report provided to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, October 1976.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Palmer-Paulson Associates, Inc., EXCEL in Indiana: Final Report, August 1, 1971 - August 1, 1972 (Chicago, Ill.: Palmer-Paulson Associates, Inc., 1972).

[26]Bobby J. Wilkerson, "Vocational Alternatives Program Management Audit" (Decatur, Ill.: Macon County Community Mental Health Board, 1975), p. 3.

[27]Toborg, et. el., op. cit.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[28]"A Survey of Parole Board Policy: Employment Requirements Before Parole Release," contained in William C. Parker, Parole (Origins, Development, Current Practices and Statutes), (College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1975), 216.

[29]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[30]Additional guidelines for determining "unemployable persons include: successive referrals and hires—no less than three opportunities for appropriate jobs and fails to report or remain on job after three or more referrals; and, after counseling, any two of the following characteristics remaining—persistent unrealistic goals and/or demands, persistent unrealistic attitudes (cannot accept supervision; cannot get along with fellow employees; fails to report to work or call in; or fails to meet minimum production standards) or unwillingness to take responsibility for own behavior or initiative for own growth." Memorandum, Law Offender Services Division to Staff, Mass. Dept. of Employment Security, Boston, Mass., 1975.

[31]Public Law No. 93-112, Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 93rd Congress, H.R. 8070, September 26, 1973, and Public Law No. 93-516, Title I, Amendments to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 93rd Congress, H.R. 17503, December 7, 1974.

[32]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Gerald M. Gunderson, Special Evaluations Group, Division of Program Evaluation, "DSE Report No. 15—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase I: Developmental Stages" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971), p. 36.

[35]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[43]W. O. Jenkins and W. Lee Sanford, A Manual for the Use of the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) in Corrections: The Prediction of Criminal Behavior (Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1972), p. v.

[44]Ibid, p. x.

[45]Stephen D. Benson and Marna C. Whittington, Transition to Work: Contribution of the Job Readiness Posture (JRP), (Philadelphia, Pa.: Associates for Research in Behavior, Inc., 1973), p. viii.

[46]Boston Court Resource Project, "Selection and Training of Advocates and Screeners for a Pre-Trial Diversion Program" (Boston, Mass.: Boston Court Resource Project), p. 41, quoted in McCreary and McCreary, op. cit., p. 50.

[47]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[48]Boston Court Resource Project, op. cit., p. 47.

[49]Gerald M. Gunderson, Special Evaluations Group, Division of Program Evaluation, "DSE Report No. 19—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase II: Operational Stages" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971), p. iii.

[50]Project H.I.R.E., "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Counseling Staff" (Minneapolis, Minn.: Project H.I.R.E., 1976).

[51]Benson and Whittington, op. cit., p. 5.

[52]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Abt Associates, Inc., Exemplary Project Screening and Validation Report: Parole Rehabilitation Employment Program (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., 1975), p. 16.

[55]Deborah A. Jones, Program Evaluation Unit, State of Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, "The Vocational Alternatives Program: A Preliminary Program Review" (Springfield, Ill.: State of Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, 1975), p. 21

[56]George Kaitsa, "A Proposal—The Franklin County PREP Program Evaluation Project" (Columbus, Ohio: State of Ohio Adult Parole Authority, 1976).

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[57]Pownall, op. cit.

[58]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 36.

[59]Levy, et. al., op. cit., pp. 96-101.

[60]These comments were repeatedly made by employment services programs' staff members interviewed during the course of this study.

[61]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[62]M. Baum, et. al., Evaluation Research on the Public Offender Program at Goodwill Industries, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—Final Report (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Department of Justice, 1974).

[63]Vera Institute of Justice, Another Approach to Welfare: Putting the Recipients and the Money to Work (New York, N.Y.: Vera Institute of Justice, 1975).

[64]Information provided by Mr. Frederick Kramer, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor.

[65]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Vera Institute of Justice, op. cit., p. 8.

[68]President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, Background Papers (Washington, D.C.: President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, 1975), p. 159.

[69]U.S. Department of Justice, Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974: Advance Report, op. cit., p. 2.

[70]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[71]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 43.

[72]John M. McKee, et. al., The Draper Project: Final Report, Vol. III. How To With P.T.I. (Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1968) and An Introduction to Programmed Instruction (Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1969).

[73]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 69.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[74]Indiana Department of Corrections, "Community Resource Development, Modification of a Request for Proposal," 1975, p. 1.

[75]Urban and Rural Systems Associates, Exemplary Project Validation Report—Clearinghouse for Ex-Offenders of Louisville, Kentucky (San Francisco, Cal.: Urban and Rural Systems Associates, 1974), pp. 23-24.

[76]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., p. 60.

[84]Employ - Ex, Inc., "Job Development Manual" (Denver, Colorado: Employ - Ex, Inc., 1975), pp. 3-7.

[85]Project H.I.R.E., "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Job Development Staff" (Minneapolis, Minn.: Project H.I.R.E., 1976).

[86]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[87]Gunderson, "DSE Report No. 19," op. cit. p. 6.

[88]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[89]Gunderson, "DSE Report No. 19," op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[90]Abt Associates, Inc., op. cit., p. 3.

[91]Jones, op. cit., p. 14.

[92]Urban and Rural Systems Associates, op. cit., p. 21.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[93]Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, "Six Month Evaluation: December, 1975 - May, 1976" (Geneva, Ill.: Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judcial Circuit, 1976), p. 5.

[94]Urban and Rural Systems Associates, op. cit., p. 29.

[95]Ibid., p. 16.

[96]A recent study confirmed the continuing existence of this problem. Less than half of the prison inmates interviewed in a national survey who had participated in prison training stated that their job after release was related to the training they had received in the institution. Levy, et. al., op. cit., p. iv.

[97]Kaitsa, op. cit.

[98]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[99]Letter from Ms. Lois A. Stryker, Director, Law Offender Services Division, Massachusetts Department of Employment Security, Boston, Massachusetts, to The Lazar Institute, dated September 8, 1976.

[100]Correctional Service of Minnesota, H.I.R.E., Inc., Ex-Offender Employability Project, Summary Research Report No. 2, A Three Month Follow-up of Clients Placed During the Period April 1, 1975 through February 29, 1976 (Minneapolis, Minn.:Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1976), p. 18.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Gunderson, "DSE Report No. 15," op. cit., p. 10.

[103]McCreary and McCreary, op. cit., pp. 47-50.

[104]Rovner-Pieczenik, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[105]Ibid., p. 26.

[106]"Experiences with community- and prison-based projects reveal that they are implemented. . . under the auspices of personnel who favor the participation of the 'low-risk' offender (i.e., the offender with the shorter arrest, conviction and prison record, more stable employment history, higher educational background, and devoid of psycho-mental problems such as addiction or mental retardation)." Ibid., p. 27.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[107]U.S. Department of Justice, Female Offenders in the Federal Correctional System (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1973), p. 9.

[108]Female Offender Resource Center, Female Offenders: Problems and Programs (Washington, D.C.: Female Offender Resource Center, National Offender Services Coordination Program, American Bar Association, 1976), pp. 35-36.

[109]J. R. Simon, Women and Crime (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1975), cited in ibid.

[110]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Gunderson, "DSE Report No. 19," op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[114]Bowers, et. al., op. cit. All information cited on statutory restrictions and licensing limitations is from this publication or from James E. Bowers and James W. Hunt, Removing Offender Employment Restrictions (Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1973).

[115]Opinion of Francis B. Burch, Maryland Attorney General, July 20, 1972, quoted in Bowers and Hunt, ibid., p. 11.

[116]Employ-Ex, Inc., "Employ-Ex Annual Report" (Denver, Colorado: Employ-Ex, Inc., 1976), p. 2.

[117]Abt Associates, Inc., op. cit., p. 20.

[118]U.S. General Accounting Office, Department of Labor's Past and Future Role in Offender Rehabilitation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1975), p. 17.

[119]Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, op. cit., p. 6.

[120]Project MORE, "1976 Annual Report" (New Haven, Conn.: Project MORE, 1976), p. 1.

[121]Illinois Model Ex-Offender Program, "Third Quarterly Report, January 1 through March 31" (Chicago, Ill.: Illinois Model Ex-Offender Program, 1976), Figure 1, p. 2.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[122]Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, Public Law No. 93-203, Section 7051 (d).

[123]Toborg, et. al., op. cit.

[124]McCreary and McCreary, op. cit., p. 34.

[125]Pownall, op. cit.

[126]Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, Project Crossroads as Pre-Trial Intervention: A Program Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Children and Youth, 1970), p. 13.

[127]U.S. Department of Labor, Bonding Assistance Demonstration Project: Summary Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1968).

[128]W.O. Jenkins, et. al., A Longitudinal Follow-Up Investigation of the Postrelease Behavior of Paroled or Released Offenders (Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1973).

[129]Correctional Service of Minnesota, H.I.R.E., Inc., Ex-Offender Employability Project, Summary Research Report No. 1, A Three-Month Follow-up of Clients Placed During the Period January 1 through March 31, 1975 (Minneapolis, Minn.: Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1975), p. 1.

[130]Employ - Ex, Inc., "Employ - Ex Annual Report," op. cit., p. 2.

[131]Gilbert J. McKee, Jr., A Cost - Benefit Analysis of Vocational Training in the California Prison System (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1972), p. 93.

[132]W. O. Jenkins, e. al., The Behavioral Demography of the Young Adult Male Offender (Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1975), pp. 120, 127.

[133]Kaitsa, op. cit.

[134]Pownall, op. cit.

[135]Correctional Service of Minnesota, Second Interim Report on the Effectiveness of H.I.R.E., Inc. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1973), p. 16.

[136]Leonard R. Witt, Project Develop—Developing Educational-Vocational Experiences for Long-Term Occupational Adjustment of Parolees: Summary Report (Albany, N.Y.: New York Division of Parole, 1968).

[137]Employ - Ex, Inc., "Employ - Ex Annual Report," op. cit., p. 5.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[138]Abt Associates, Inc., op. cit.

[139]Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, op. cit., p. 4.

[140]Gerald M. Gunderson, Special Evaluations Group, Division of Program Evaluation, "DSE Report No. 27—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase III: Final Report" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1972), p. 12.

[141]Robert Martinson and Judith Wilks, "Knowledge in Criminal Justice Planning: A Preliminary Report" (New York, N.Y.: The Center for Knowledge in Criminal Justice Planning, 1976), p. 40.

[142]Ibid., p. 34.

[143]W. O. Jenkins, et. al., A Longitudinal Follow-Up Investigation of the Postrelease Behavior of Paroled or Released Offenders, op. cit.

[144]Employ-Ex, Inc., "Employ-Ex Annual Report," op. cit., p. 2.

[145]Gunderson, "DSE Report No. 27," op. cit. p. 10.

[146]U. S. General Accounting Office, op. cit., p. 18.

[147]A. D. Witherspoon, et. al., The Law Encounter Severity Scale (LESS): A Criterion for Criminal Behavior and Recidivism (Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1973), p. 2.

[148]Ibid., p. 3.

[149]Correctional Service of Minnesota, Second Interim Report on the Effectiveness of H.I.R.E., Inc., op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[150]William A. McConnell and Peter S. Venezia, Effect of Vocational Upgrading Upon Probationer Recidivism—A One Year Evaluation of the Singer/Graflex Monroe County Pilot Probationer Project (Davis, Cal.: Research Center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972).

[151]Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, "Annual Report: December 1, 1975 - November 30, 1976" (Geneva, Ill.: Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, 1976), pp. 20-25.

FOOTNOTES
(continued)

[152]Kenneth J. Lenihan, "Theft Among Ex-Prisoners: Is It Economically Motivated?—An Experimental Study of Financial Aid and Job Placement for Ex-Prisoners," paper prepared for the Eastern Sociological Society Meeting, Washington, D.C., April 1974, pp. 7-8.

[153]U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Research and Development Projects, 1975 Edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 34.

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES FOR OFFENDERS

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES FOR OFFENDERS1/

Initially, the prison system in the United States was viewed as a means of punishing those convicted of crimes and deterring them from future criminality. However, in the nineteenth century the rehabilitation concept was introduced as a third goal of the prisons. With this philosophical change came changes in correctional institutions, one of which was the introduction of vocational training. Over the years the extent of vocational training programs in prisons has greatly increased, as have the problems associated with them.

Criticism of institutional vocational training has been continual. One study concluded, "In isolated settings, divorced from labor markets, working with second-rate materials and a highly disadvantaged clientele, vocational training alone seems to have minimal impact."[2] Other studies of vocational training projects have reached varied conclusions concerning the impact of training on inmate rehabilitation. However, several studies have stated that these programs often use outdated equipment, offer courses geared to the institutions' needs rather than the participants' needs, provide inadequate aid in preparing inmates for the social-occupational environment of the "world of work," and offer training only for low-status, entry-level jobs.

The decade of the 1960's brought many changes to correctional

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

manpower. More comprehensive employment-directed training and services were introduced through the Manpower Development and Training Act. In 1964-65, the first experimental and demonstration Manpower Development and Training (MDT) projects were undertaken at three sites to test the feasibility of MDT employment services in prisons and measure their effect on the lives of ex-offenders. Once these studies demonstrated the feasibility of broad-scale inmate training programs, projects expanded and diversified to provide remedial and basic education, vocational and personal-adjustment counseling, job development, job placement and follow-up services.

The Pretrial Intervention Program began in 1967 and provided manpower services to accused offenders, so that many could be released to employment or training without adjudication. The Employment Service Model Program was developed in five States in 1970 to offer job development and placement services specifically to fit the needs of ex-offenders. This program provided each State's Employment Service with staff to link inmates and ex-inmates to existing manpower resources. This additional staff was located in several places and provided continuity in services to ex-offenders during the transition from prison to the community. The efforts were coordinated by a corrections unit in the central State Employment Service office in each State.

Employment Service staff were stationed in correctional institutions to work with inmates in counseling, job development and placement prior to release. This staff was linked to local Employment Service offices, where full-time staff were specially assigned to assist ex-offenders when they returned to their communities. Additionally, a manpower service center was created in the largest metropolitan area

of each participating State to provide a concentration of manpower staff specializing in the servicing of ex-offenders.

The State Comprehensive Correctional Models, the next step in manpower development and training for offenders, provided States with funds to develop proposals to meet the manpower needs of offenders in all stages of the criminal justice system. Thus, a variety of programs have been initiated over the past fifteen years to assist ex-offenders in resolving employment problems.

Corresponding to the growth of correctional manpower services has been a trend toward prerelease employment services. Prerelease centers in large urban areas have been established to provide intermediate support between imprisonment and complete parole or discharge. They are also being used as an alternative to prison or probation. Additionally, an increasing number of States are allowing inmates furlough time prior to release to obtain satisfactory employment.

At present the emphasis has shifted to community-based programs for prison releasees. This corresponds to the increasing use of probation, parole and pretrial intervention. The majority of all adult offenders in the correctional system are now under community supervision. Since many additional persons are outright releasees and not under parole supervision, the appropriateness and importance of postrelease rehabilitative services becomes clear.

One survey of community-based programs conducted in 1975 concluded that in spite of the urgent need for such programs, there are relatively few to serve the specific needs of prison releasees that do not also serve as alternatives to incarceration.[3] However, another survey concluded that "post-incarceration programs such as halfway houses,

volunteer assistance by ex-offender and other groups, and intensive job counseling and education programs directed toward increasing hiring of former offenders exhibit great diversity at the moment."[4]

The universe identification effort conducted as part of this study seems to support the latter finding. A great number of community-based programs providing employment services to prison releasees were identified. These programs are funded or administered by a variety of organizations: private foundations such as the Seventh Step Foundation, adjuncts of local probation and parole departments, prime sponsors operating under the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and individual programs receiving grants from Federal agencies such as the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration or the Employment and Training Administration (formerly the Manpower Administration).

As the number of programs providing employment services to ex-offenders and prison releasees has increased, the development of innovative approaches in the provision of such services has continued. One example is a Department of Labor-funded experimental project called Mutual Agreement Programming (MAP), a project directed by the American Correctional Association. This program began in response to problems encountered by releasees in their transition to the community. Planners felt that, ideally, the completion of training should be coordinated with release and job placement so that newly acquired skills could be put to best use. "In practice, prisoners often had to wait an indefinite period before release, and could not plan effectively for outside employment as long as their release date was unknown."[5] The basis for MAP is a contract among inmate, institution, and parole board that includes a definite parole date

contingent upon the completion of mutually agreed upon rehabilitation goals, usually including vocational training or other employment-directed services.

Another trend in employment services for ex-offenders is the increasing attention being paid to specific client groups within the total ex-offender population. For example, the Department of Labor has funded several recent projects specifically to serve ex-offenders who are also ex-drug addicts. One project, entitled Manpower Assistance for Rehabilitated Drug Abusers (MARDA), established community-based manpower programs for drug-involved ex-offenders in Des Moines, Iowa, and Baltimore, Maryland. Another provided funds to establish a manpower component within a large treatment program in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Several community programs have been established to serve the special problems of female ex-offenders. For example, the Female Offenders Program of Western Pennsylvania provides female releasees with comprehensive employment services, both directly and by referral to other agencies. One America, Inc. operates a women's program in Houston, serving female probationers and parolees. The Maryland Department of Corrections is implementing Mutual Agreement Programming for women, and Massachusetts is establishing a similar voucher program for 50 to 79 female releasees.

Certain projects primarily serve ex-offenders with specific minority backgrounds. For example, Development Assistance for Rehabilitation, Inc. (D.A.R.) of Austin, Texas, serves mainly Chicano ex-offenders, while Operation DARE in Chicago provides services mostly to black ex-offenders.

One important change in service delivery which affects the employment-related needs of all types of releasees is the return to decentralized manpower programs by the Department of Labor. Under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973, local categorical manpower programs have been subsumed and/or replaced by comprehensive programs administered by prime sponsors, often cities or other local communities. In areas where no special programs for ex-offenders exist, the releasee will often rely on these Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs for employment-related services. Their major purpose is to provide the economically disadvantaged, the unemployed, and the underemployed with the assistance they need to compete for, secure, and hold satisfying jobs.

Generally, CETA programs provide all types of employment-directed services. Title I of CETA allows prime sponsors to establish programs offering comprehensive manpower services. Title II provides for transitional public employment programs. Title III specifically provides for Federally supervised manpower programs for special target groups in particular need of services, including offenders, and also authorizes Federally supervised research, experimental, demonstration, and pilot programs.

The Department of Labor is currently using Title III money to implement special programs for ex-offenders. These Model Ex-Offender Programs (MEP's), an outgrowth of the earlier Employment Service Model Program, are being implemented in ten States. They are being funded with Title III monies and States' discretionary CETA funds under Title I. The MEP's in each State are to be composed of:

- a central staff at the State level to provide overall direction and to monitor and evaluate project operations;
- an institution-based counseling unit or units to provide employment services to inmates prior to their release back to their communities; and
- community-based ex-offender employability development teams to provide employment and training services to releasees. These teams will be located within CETA prime sponsor program structures.

One goal of the program is to establish the coordination necessary to link institution- and community-based programs, so that a continuity of services can be provided to all inmate-releasees on a Statewide basis.

Another possible resource for releasees in communities without special ex-offender programs is the State Department of Vocational Rehabilitation. However, recent changes in the Vocational Rehabilitation approach have made it more difficult for releasees to be served. Vocational rehabilitation programs were originally instituted to serve physically disabled clients, but in the last decade there had been a shift toward including mentally or emotionally disturbed clients as target populations. One indication of this approach was the inclusion of "behavior disorder" as a qualifying disability category.[6]

Currently, the emphasis is shifting back toward the physically handicapped. The 1973 Vocational Rehabilitation Act specifies that "the severely handicapped" must be served first. Although the American Bar Association, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and the American Correctional Association argued for the inclusion of the offender population among vocational rehabilitation eligibles, a heavy lobbying effort by the physically handicapped led Congress to remove "behavior disorder" as a qualifying disability.

Because of this shift in emphasis, most State Vocational Rehabilitation agencies have discontinued working with prison releasees unless they are physically handicapped. This avenue of employment services, once very valuable to releasees, is thus being gradually eliminated. One exception is the District of Columbia Bureau of Rehabilitation Services, which still maintains a special offenders unit. Most States, however, have virtually stopped serving offenders.

Thus, most prison releasees returning to communities and needing employment-related services will likely take advantage of special programs for ex-offenders or Comprehensive Employment and Training Programs (CETP's). The CETP's vary greatly in terms of administrative structure and service delivery. This diversity also appears in community-based programs specifically designed for ex-offenders.

Great variation exists in terms of eligibility criteria, interactions with the criminal justice system, the emphasis placed on different employment services, and so on. These are relatively new programs, and the concept of organized community-based employment services for releasees is to some extent still evolving. However, all programs have one primary goal: to provide the releasees with effective employment services and necessary supportive assistance in order to prepare them for the world of work, place them in jobs, and help them achieve employment stability and satisfaction, so that they can readjust successfully to life in the communities to which they have returned.

FOOTNOTES FOR
APPENDIX A

[1]Information on the history of employment services was derived from many sources. Particularly helpful publications were Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, A Review of Manpower R and D Projects in the Correctional Field, 1963-73, Manpower Research Monograph No. 28, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973) and U.S. General Accounting Office, Department of Labor's Past and Future Role in Offender Rehabilitation, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1975).

[2]Robert Taggart III, The Prison of Unemployment—Manpower Programs for Offenders, (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 49.

[3]Abt Associates, Inc., Exemplary Project Validation Report: Parole Rehabilitation and Employment Program (PREP), (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., 1975), p. 22.

[4]John M. McCreary and Phyllis Groom McCreary, Job Training and Placement for Offenders and Ex-Offenders, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975), p. 15.

[5]Anne M. Rosenfeld, An Evaluative Summary of Research: MAP Program Outcomes in the Initial Demonstration States, (College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1975), p. 3.

[6]Under this disability category, vocational rehabilitation services could be provided if it was determined that "an individual's behavior significantly deviates from what is considered normal, or that his ability to carry on normal relationships with family and community is significantly impaired. . . Eligible for vocational rehabilitation services under such a definition. . . [are] the public offender. . . and the socially and culturally deprived, provided these people are truly 'handicapped' in finding and holding suitable employment." Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Manual, Chapter 16-I, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Rehabilitation Services Administration, July 26, 1967).

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO

EMPLOYMENT SERVICES PROGRAMS

ADULT EX-OFFENDER EMPLOYMENT SERVICES PROGRAM INFORMATION

Program Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Director _____ Telephone ( ) _____

1. How long has your program been in operation?
   - ☐ a. Less than one year
   - ☐ b. One to three years
   - ☐ c. Four to six years
   - ☐ d. More than six years

2. How many clients has your program served over the past year? ____clients.

3. Does your program have any of the following limitations on clients who can be served? (Please check as many as apply)
   - ☐ Only serve ex-offenders
   - ☐ Only serve persons recently released from prison
   - ☐ Only serve clients older than _____years
   - ☐ Only serve clients younger than _____years
   - ☐ Only serve males
   - ☐ Only serve females
   - ☐ Only serve people on probation or parole
   - ☐ Only serve residents of this county
   - ☐ Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in this county
   - ☐ Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in this state
   - ☐ Do not serve persons convicted of:
     - ☐ homicide
     - ☐ rape or other sex crimes
     - ☐ serious assault
     - ☐ armed robbery
   - ☐ Only serve persons who have served less than _____years in previous incarceration
   - ☐ Other (Please specify) _____

4. Please estimate the age distribution of your clients:

18-24 years	%
25-30 years	%
31-40 years	%
Older than 40 years	%
Total	100%

5. Please estimate the distribution of male and female clients:

Male	%
Female	%
Total	100%

6. Please estimate the racial distribution of your clients:

White	%
Black	%
Chicano	%
Other (Specify) _____	%
Total	100%

7. Please estimate the distribution of the length of clients' last incarceration:

Less than six months	%
Six months to two years	%
Longer than two years	%
Total	100%

8. Please indicate whether your program provides the following services: (Check applicable boxes)

SERVICE	Provided Directly	Provided by Referral	Not Provided
a. Vocational Testing			
b. Vocational Counseling			
c. Work Orientation/Work Adjustment Training			
d. Education			
e. Skills Training			
f. On-the-Job Training			
g. Transitional Employment/Supported Work			
h. Job Development			
i. Job Placement			
j. Follow-up Counseling After Employment			
k. Other Follow-up Assistance After Employment			
l. Other (e.g., residential services, stipends--please specify) _____			

9. Does your program charge clients any fees for these services? ☐ Yes ☐ No

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

10. What is the average frequency of contact between program staff and clients?

- ☐ a. Daily
- ☐ b. Several times a week
- ☐ c. Once a week
- ☐ d. Less often than once a week

11. What is the average length of time that clients maintain contact with the program?

- ☐ a. Less than one month
- ☐ b. One to six months
- ☐ c. Seven to twelve months
- ☐ d. More than twelve months

12. Does your program have any criteria for success? (Please check as many boxes as apply.)

- ☐ a. Successful job placement
- ☐ b. Successfully employed for fixed time period
- ☐ c. Completion of individualized employability plan (e.g., education, training, etc.)
- ☐ d. Successful re-integration into community (based on subjective staff judgement)
- ☐ e. Other (Please describe)_____

13. What percentage of clients are considered successful?

- ☐ a. 0-10%
- ☐ b. 11-25%
- ☐ c. 26-50%
- ☐ d. 51-75%
- ☐ e. 76-90%
- ☐ f. 91-100%

14. What is the size of your staff?

- ☐ a. 0-10 persons
- ☐ b. 11-20 persons
- ☐ c. 21-40 persons
- ☐ d. More than 40 persons

15. Please check the one box which best describes your staff:

- ☐ a. Primarily full-time paid professionals
- ☐ b. Primarily volunteers
- ☐ c. Other (Describe)_____

16. How many of your staff are ex-offenders?

- ☐ a. Most (50% or more)
- ☐ b. Some (20-49%)
- ☐ c. Few (Less than 20%)
- ☐ d. None

17. What is your program's annual budget?

$_____

18. What is the major source of funds for your program? (Check one box only.)

- ☐ a. Federal Government
- ☐ b. State Government
- ☐ c. Local Government
- ☐ d. Private

**********THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS APPLY ONLY TO PRISON RELEASEES**********

19. How many prison releasees has your program served over the past year? _____releasees.

20. Which one of the following is the most common way that recent prison releasees come to your program? (Check one box only)

- ☐ a. Referred by prison officials
- ☐ b. Referred by probation or parole officer
- ☐ c. Referred by family or friends
- ☐ d. Referred by other community agencies
- ☐ e. Through program outreach efforts (e.g., recruitment, advertising, etc.)
- ☐ f. Other (Please specify)_____

21. Does your program usually have any contact with clients before their release?

☐ Yes ☐ No

22. Before clients are released, does your program have any contact with:

a. the prison staff? ☐ Yes ☐ No
b. parole officials? ☐ Yes ☐ No

23. After clients are released, does your program usually have any contact with:

a. the prison staff? ☐ Yes ☐ No
b. parole officials? ☐ Yes ☐ No

24. Please describe any other significant features of your program.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

Information provided by:

Name_____

Position_____

Date_____

THE TRANSITION FROM PRISON TO EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

Mary A. Toborg, Principal Investigator
The Lazar Institute

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF UNIVERSE IDENTIFICATION SURVEY

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF UNIVERSE IDENTIFICATION SURVEY

I. Introduction

As part of its National Evaluation Program, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration commissioned a study of community-based programs which provide employment services to prison releasees. An important aspect of this study was to identify the universe of such programs, so that the range of their activities could be assessed. This appendix describes the procedures used to identify the universe of relevant programs and the characteristics of these programs.

II. Universe Identification Procedures

A variety of organizations were surveyed to obtain information on the identity of programs which might provide employment services to prison releasees. These organizations included:

- LEAA's regional offices;
- State Planning Agencies funded by LEAA;
- the corrections departments of States; and
- national and State organizations concerned with ex-offender problems.

Each organization was sent a letter which described the study and asked for assistance in identifying relevant employment services programs. A form was enclosed for recording information on each program's name, street address, city and State, contact person and telephone number.

One hundred twenty-four organizations were surveyed in this manner. After approximately one month, the list of non-respondents was reviewed, and selected telphone follow-up calls were made to obtain a widespread geographic distribution of programs. The response rate for the combined mail/telephone survey was 67%.

In addition to programs identified through this survey, a number of employment services programs were identified through review of relevant literature, from interviews with Labor Department officials, through an earlier ex-offender program survey conducted by the American Bar Association and from other sources.

All programs identified were asked to complete and return a two-page questionnaire. This questionnaire requested such information as:

- program age;
- number of clients served;
- eligibility requirements;
- socio-demographic characteristics of clients;
- services provided;
- staff-client contact;
- program success criteria;
- staff size and type;
- funding source and level;
- numbers of prison releasees served; and
- nature of contact with prison officials and/or parole officials.

The cover letter sent with the questionnaire also requested copies of any readily available program descriptions.

More than five hundred programs were surveyed, and approximately

50% responded to the mail inquiry. In addition, selected telephone follow-up calls were made. A total of 257 programs returned completed questionnaires; other programs provided descriptive information but did not complete the questionnaires.

III. Analysis of Program Universe

The programs identified reflect a wide variation in structure, service delivery, and relationship with the community. Some programs are associated with parole departments, others are adjuncts of the State Employment Service, while still others are part of a prime sponsor's Comprehensive Employment and Training Program. Some programs attempt to provide as many employment services as possible in-house, others rely almost totally on referrals to other community employment services programs, and many provide some services in-house while referring clients to existing community agencies for other needed services.

This variation in program operations is reflected in Tables 1-20, which summarize the data obtained from the 257 programs which returned completed questionnaires. It should be emphasized that the data presented in Tables 1-20 are based on self-reported information provided by the programs. No efforts were made during this stage of the study to verify any of these data.

Highlights of the survey findings, as reported in Tables 1-20, include:

- Employment services programs are located in all regions of the country. The fewest questionnaire responses (16 each) were received from the Kansas City and Denver regions, while the Philadelphia region provided the most (42 responses).

- Approximately half the programs had been in operation four years or more.

- Forty-four percent of the programs served fewer than 300 clients during the past year.

- The most common limitations on client eligibility for programs are that only ex-offenders are served (reported by 46% of the programs) and clients must be older than a certain age, usually 18 years (reported by 39% of the programs).

- The most common services provided directly by the programs are job placement, job development, follow-up counseling after employment and vocational counseling. The most common services provided by referral are skills training, on-the-job training and education. The services least likely to be provided (either directly or by referral) are transitional employment/supported work, vocational testing and on-the-job training.

- Only six percent of the programs reported charging any fees for their services.

- Almost 80% of the programs reported that staff-client contact occurred at least once a week, with 29% of the programs reporting daily client contact.

- Fifty-five percent of the programs reported that the average length of client contact with the program was one to six months, and an additional 26 percent of the programs reported an average length of client contact of seven to twelve months.

- The most common success criteria used by programs are successful job placement (reported by 79% of the programs) and successful reintegration into the community (reported by 58% of the programs).

- Programs reported a wide range of variation in the estimated percentage of successful clients; most programs reported that between 26% and 75% of their clients were successful.

- Sixty percent of the programs have fewer than ten persons on their staff.

- Seventy-five percent of the programs are staffed primarily by full-time paid professionals.

- Most programs have some ex-offenders on their staff.

- Thirty-six percent of the programs have annual budgets of less than $100,000, and an additional 23% of the programs have budgets between $100,000 and $300,000.

- The major funding source for most programs (51%) is the Federal Government, followed by the State government (21%).

- The number of prison releasees served over the past year varied considerably across programs: 21% served less than 50 releasees, 25% served 50-199 releasees, 16% served 200-499 releasees, 16% served more than 500 releasees and 22% did not answer the question.

- The most common way that prison releasees come to the programs is through referral by probation and parole officers; the next most common way is through referral by prison officials.

- Approximately two-thirds of the programs reported having contacts with clients before their release from prison. A similar percentage reported having contacts with prison staff and parole officials before a client's release.

- Twenty-nine percent of the programs reported having contact with prison staff after a client's release from prison, and 76% reported having contact with parole officials during that time.

Table 1. Regional Distribution of Programs

LEAA Regional Office	Programs in Region	
	Number	Percent
I. Boston, Mass.	28	11%
II. New York, N.Y.	26	10
III. Philadelphia, Pa.	42	16
IV. Atlanta, Ga.	32	12
V. Chicago, Ill.	28	11
VI. Dallas Tex.	22	9
VII. Kansas City, Kans.	16	6
VIII. Denver, Colo.	16	6
IX. San Francisco, Calif.	30	12
X. Seattle, Wash.	17	7
Total	257	100%

Table 2. Length of Program Operation

Length of Operation	Programs	
	Number	Percent
Less than one year	32	12%
One to three years	94	37
Four to six years	69	27
More than six years	61	24
No response	1	0
Total	257	100%

Table 3. Client Size of Programs

No. of Clients Served Over Past Year	Programs	
	Number	Percent
Less than 100	43	17%
100 to 299	69	27
300 to 499	33	13
500 to 999	34	13
More than 999	43	17
No response	35	14
Total	257	100%

Table 4. Client Limitations Reported by Programs

NOTE: A program may have more than one limitation on clients who can be served.

Limitation	No. of Programs	% of Programs Reporting Limitation
Only serve ex-offenders	117	46%
Only serve persons recently released from prison	30	12
Only serve clients older than a certain age	101	39
Only serve clients younger than a certain age	14	5
Only serve males	25	10
Only serve females	8	3
Only serve people on probation or parole	30	12
Only serve residents of the same county where the program is located	50	20
Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in same county where program is located	17	7
Only serve persons released from correctional facilities in same state where program is located	31	12
Do not serve persons convicted of:		
Homicide	8	3
Rape or other sex crimes	13	5
Serious assault	19	7
Armed robbery	7	3
Only serve persons whose previous incarceration was less than a certain number of years	6	2
Other	123	48

Table 5. Selected Characteristics of Programs' Clients

Characteristics	Programs	
	No.	% of Total
At least 25% of clients are:		
18-24 years old	184	72%
25-30 years old	160	63
31-40 years old	60	23
Over 40 years	10	4
At least 10% of clients are female	124	48%
At least 50% of clients are:		
White	92	36%
Black	105	41
Chicano	5	2
Other	3	1
At least 50% of clients were last incarcerated for:		
Less than six months	38	15%
Six months to two years	89	35
More than two years	53	21

Table 6. Services Provided

Service	Service Provided Directly		Service Provided By Referral		Service Not Provided	
	No. of Programs	% of Total	No. of Programs	% of Total	No. of Programs	% of Total
Vocational testing	91	35%	143	56%	28	11%
Vocational counseling	206	80	80	31	7	3
Work orientation/work adjustment training	145	56	106	41	21	8
Education	71	27	171	67	18	7
Skills training	65	25	181	71	21	8
On-the-job training	64	25	179	70	25	10
Transitional employment/supported work	76	30	110	43	54	21
Job development	210	82	72	28	10	4
Job placement	228	89	76	30	4	2
Follow-up counseling after employment	212	82	44	17	11	4
Other follow-up assistance after employment	179	70	43	17	18	7
Other	128	50	52	20	0	0

Table 7. Existence of Client Fees for Program Services

Existence of Fees	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Fees charged	15	6%
Fees not charged	219	85
No response	23	9
Total	257	100%

Table 8. Frequency of Contact Between Program Staff and Clients

Frequency of Contact	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Daily	74	29%
Several times a week	66	26
Once a week	59	23
Less often than once a week	49	19
No response	9	4
Total	257	100%

Table 9. Average Length of Client Contact with Program

Average Length of Client Contact	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Less than one month	5	2%
One to six months	140	55
Seven to twelve months	68	26
More than twelve months	34	13
No response	10	4
Total	257	100%

Table 10. Success Criteria Used By Programs

NOTE: A program may have more than one success criterion.

Criterion	No. of Programs	% of Programs Reporting Use of Criterion
Successful job placement	202	79%
Successfully employed for fixed time period	124	48
Completion of individualized employability plan	112	44
Successful reintegration into community (based on subjective staff judgment)	149	58
No recidivism	29	11
Free of drug or alcohol use	5	2
Entrance to or completion of vocational or academic training program	10	4
Other	26	10
No response	8	3

Table 11. Percentage of Successful Clients Reported By Programs

Percentage of Successful Clients	Programs	
	No.	Percent
0-10%	5	2%
11-25%	18	7
26-50%	58	23
51-75%	79	31
76-90%	47	18
91-100%	17	7
No response	33	13
Total	257	100%

Table 12. Staff Size

Staff Size	Programs	
	No.	Percent
0-10 persons	153	60%
11-20 persons	50	19
21-40 persons	23	9
More than 40 persons	28	11
No response	3	1
Total	257	100%

Table 13. Staff Composition

Staff Composition	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Primarily full-time paid professionals	194	75%
Primarily volunteers	29	11
Primarily full-time paid paraprofessionals	11	4
Other	17	7
No response	6	2
Total	257	100%

Table 14. Percentage of Ex-Offenders on Staff

Percentage of Ex-Offenders on Staff	Programs	
	No.	Percent
50% or more	32	12%
20-49%	45	18
1-19%	75	29
None	98	38
No response	7	3
Total	257	100%

Table 15. Size of Annual Budget

Budget Size	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Less than $50,000	56	22%
$50,000 to $99,999	37	14
$100,000 to $299,999	61	24
$300,000 to $499,999	19	7
More than $500,000	46	18
No response	38	15
Total	257	100%

Table 16. Major Funding Source

Major Funding Source	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Federal government	132	51%
State government	53	21
Local government	12	5
Private	24	9
No response	36	14
Total	257	100%

Table 17. Number of Prison Releasees Served Over Past Year

No. of Releasees	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Less than 50	53	21%
50 to 99	30	12
100 to 199	36	14
200 to 299	20	8
300 to 499	20	8
More than 500	42	16
No response	56	22
Total	257	100%

Table 18. Most Common Way That Recent Prison Releasees Come to Program

Client's Major Program Identification Method	Programs	
	No.	Percent
Referred by prison officials	46	18%
Referred by probation or parole officer	73	28
Referred by family or friends	6	2
Referred by other community agencies	10	4
Through program outreach efforts (e.g., recruitment, advertising)	31	12
Other	37	14
Multiple responses	32	13
No response	22	9
Total	257	100%

Table 19. Programs' Contacts Before Clients' Release from Prison

Type of Contact	Programs	
	Number	Percent
With client:		
Yes	168	65%
No	58	23
No response	31	12
Total	257	100%
With prison staff:		
Yes	168	65%
No	48	19
No response	41	16
Total	257	100%
With parole officials:		
Yes	164	64%
No	54	21
No response	39	15
Total	257	100%

Table 20. Programs' Contacts After Clients' Release from Prison

Type of Contact	Programs	
	Number	Percent
With prison staff:		
Yes	75	29%
No	114	45
No response	68	27
Total	257	100%
With parole officials:		
Yes	196	76%
No	26	10
No response	35	14
Total	257	100%

APPENDIX D

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAMS INCLUDED IN THE SITE VISIT SAMPLE

Summary of Program Characteristics

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation DARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alternatives Prog. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen. Mech. & Elec Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
1) Length of Operation															
a. Less than one year															
b. One to three years			X	X					X		X	X			X
c. Four to six years	X	X						X		X			X	X	
d. More than six years					X	X	X								
2) Number of Clients (Past Year)	708	4948	208	N.A.	1200	250	846	900	520	4045	311	3000	900	661	358
3) Limitations on Clients															
a. Only ex-offenders		X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X
b. Only Males															
c. Only Female															
d. Age limitations		X			X	X	X		X		X			X	X
e. Only serve people on pro./parole															
f. Only serve residents of county		X		X				X			X	X			X
g. Only serve residents of State									X						
h. Only serve releasees of correctional facility in county															
i. Only serve releasees of correctional facility in State															

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation OARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alternatives Prog. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen. Mech. & Elec.Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
4) Age Distribution															
a. 18-24 years	45%	30%	61%	85%	75%	N.A.	45%	50%	72%	N.A.	N.A.	40%	N.A.	70%	88%
b. 25-30 years	22	40	23	10	20	N.A.	36	25	20	N.A.	N.A.	40	N.A.	25	10
c. 31-40 years	23	20	9	4	5	N.A.	13	15	7	N.A.	N.A.	19	N.A.	3	2
d. Older than 40 years	10	10	7	1	-	N.A.	6	10	1	N.A.	N.A.	1	N.A.	2	-
5) Sex Distribution															
a. Males	97%	94%	91%	98%	95%	N.A.	88%	90%	98%	91%	93%	90%	98%	94%	98%
b. Females	3	6	9	2	5	N.A.	12	10	2	9	7	10	2	6	2
6) Racial Distribution															
a. White	37%	6%	68%	55%	60%	N.A.	34%	55%	2%	79%	24%	24%	N.A.	53%	10%
b. Black	25	88	23	45	30	N.A.	64	45	97	20	73	74	N.A.	47	90
c. Chicano	36	6	7	-	-	N.A.	2	-	1	-	3	2	N.A.	-	-
d. Other	2	-	2	-	10	N.A.	-	-	-	1	-	-	N.A.	-	-
7) Distribution of clients' last incarceration															
a. Less than six months	50%	10%	50%	10%	-	N.A.	6%	-	15%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	10%
b. Six months to two years	25	40	35	50	60	N.A.	67	50	75	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	50
c. Longer than two years	25	50	15	40	40	N.A.	27	50	10	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	40

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation DARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alt-ernatives Prog. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen., Mech. & Elec Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
8) Services (D-Direct; R-Referral):															
a. Vocational Testing	R	R	D	D	R	D	D,R	R	-	D	R	-	D	D	R
b. Vocational Counseling	D	D	D	D	D	D	D,R	D	D	D	D,R	-	D	D	D
c. Work Orientation	D	D	D	D	R	D	D,R	D	D	R	D	-	D	D	D
d. Education	R	R	D	-	R	D,R	R	R	D	R	R	-	-	D,R	R
e. Skills Training	D	R	D	-	R	R	D,R	R	D	R	R	-	-	R	R
f. On-the-Job Training	R	R	D	-	R	R	D,R	R	-	R	R	R	R	R	R
g. Transitional Employment	-	R	D	D	D,R	R	D,R	R	-	R	D	-	D	D	-
h. Job Development	D	D	D	D	D	D	D,R	D	D	D	D,R	D	D	D	D
i. Job Placement	D	D	D	D	D	D	D,R	D	D	D	R	D	D	D	D
j. Follow-up Counseling after Employment	D	D	D	D	D	D	D,R	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
k. Other Follow-Up Assistance	D	D	D	D	D	-	D,R	D,R	D	D	D	-	N.A.	D	D
l. Emergency Assistance (housing, transportation, loans, etc.)	D	D	-	-	-	-	D,R	D	D	D	D,R	-	D	D	D
9) Fees Charged? (Y-Yes; N-No)	N	N	N	N.A.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10) Frequency of Client Contact:															
a. Daily				X		X	X								X
b. Several times/week					X			X	X	X	X			X	
c. Once a week	X		X										X		
d. Less often than once/week		X										X			

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation DARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alternatives Prog. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E. Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen. Mech. & Elec Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
11) Average Length of Time that Client Contact is Maintained															
a. Less than one month															
b. One to six months	X	X			X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X
c. Seven to twelve months			X	X					X	X	X				
d. More than twelve months															
12) Success Criteria:															
a. Job Placement	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
b. Employed for Fixed Time Period	X	X		X	X		X	X		X				X	X
c. Completion of individualized employability plan			X				X			X	X			X	X
d. Successful re-integration into community		X			X		X			X	X			X	
13) Percentage of Successful Clients															
a. 0-10%									N.A.						
b. 11-25%		X							N.A.			X	X		
c. 26-50%									N.A.	X	X				
d. 51-75%	X		X	X		X	X	X	N.A.						
e. 76-90%					X				N.A.					X	X
f. 91-100%									N.A.						

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation UARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alternatives Prog. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen. Mech. & Elec.Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
14) Staff Size															
a. 0-10 persons				X				X			X			X	X
b. 11-20 persons			X						X				X		
c. 21-40 persons	X	X			X		X			X		X			
d. More than 40 persons						X									
15) Staff Type:															
a. Full-Time Paid Professionals		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X		X
b. Volunteers														X	
c. Other	X					X					X				
16) Number of Ex-Offenders on Staff															
a. Most (50% or more)						X									
b. Some (20-49%)	X	X	X		X						X	X	X	X	X
c. Few (Less than 20%)				X			X	X	X	X					
d. None															
17) Annual Budget (In thousands)	$300	$532	$178	$198	$350	$1,100	$261	$81	$180	$400	$52	$250	$194	$42	$500
18) Major Funding Source:															
a. Federal Government	X	X	X		X									X	X
b. State Government				X		X	X	X	X	X	X				
c. Local Government												X			
d. Private													X		
19) Number Releasees (Past Year)	102	3317	88	60	200	N.A.	582	250	501	N.A.	246	N.A.	855	66[illegible]	N.A.

CHARACTERISTICS	Employ-Ex, Inc. Denver, CO	Operation BARE Chicago, IL	C.C.S.P. for the 16th Jud. Circ. Geneva, IL	Vocational Alternatives Proq. Decatur, IL	Project H.I.R.E Minneapolis, MN	Project Newgate Minneapolis, MN	PREP Columbus, OH	Louisville Clearinghouse Louisville, KY	Inst. of Gen. Mech. & Elec.Sci. Philadelphia, PA	L.O.S.D. Boston, MA	Project MORE New Haven, CT	Alameda County Skills Bank Oakland, CA	A.T.O., Inc. Atlanta, GA	O.A.R. Fairfax, VA	Impact Manpower Services Project Baltimore, MD
20) Most Common Entry Method:															
a. Prison Referral								X					X		
b. Probation/Parole Referral			X	X			X			X		X			X
c. Family/Friends Referral															
d. Community Agency Referral										X					
e. Program Outreach	X	X							X						
f. Other					X	X					X		X	X	
21) Pre-release Client Contact?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22) Pre-release Contact with:															
a. Prison Staff	Y	Y	Y	N.A.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N.A.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
b. Parole Officials	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23) Post-release Contact with:															
a. Prison Staff	N	N	Y	N.A.	N.A.	Y	Y	N	N	N.A.	Y	N	N	Y	Y
b. Parole Officials	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

APPENDIX E

SITE VISIT MATERIALS

- Introduction
- Director's Interview
- Staffing Data
- Client Data
- Funding Data
- Staff Interview
- Director or Staff of Other Community Manpower Program
- Local Parole Officials

INTRODUCTION

Fifteen employment services programs were selected for field investigation. Information gathered from the program director concerned the objectives and overall operations of the program, its relationship with other community organizations, the data collected and/or analyzed by the program for reporting or evaluation purposes, and potential methods of evaluating employment service programs serving prison releasees.

Other staff members supplied explanations of the functions of program components and client flow procedures. Representatives of the criminal justice system, officials of employment services systems with which programs interface, and representatives of the business community discussed their perspectives of the employment services program and appropriate evaluation measures for employment service programs assisting prison releasees.

In the following pages the interview guides used on site are presented. In all cases, the questions and spaces to record responses have been condensed; the result is a listing of questions useful as a guide for understanding program operations.

DIRECTOR'S INTERVIEW

The Lazar Institute is conducting a study of programs which provide employment services for prison releasees. The major goal of our study is to assess the present state of knowledge regarding the transition from prison to employment. As part of our state of knowledge review, we are visiting several employment services programs, so that we can better understand their operations, the types of problems they experience and the evaluation needs of all programs.

There are three major areas we are interested in understanding: first, the way your program is organized and the specific services it provides; second, the flow of clients through the program from time of initial entry through program intervention and follow-up activity; and third, your ideas about ways to evaluate programs such as yours.

Background

1. It would be helpful to us in becoming oriented to your program if you would describe briefly how your program was set up and why this was done.

2. When did the program become fully operational?

3. Has the program undergone any significant structural changes or changes in focus since it began? If so, please describe these changes and why they were made.

4. What administrative hierarchy, if any, do you operate within(e.g., parole department, CETA, etc.)? Do you have an organization chart which shows this? If so, may we have a copy?

5. What are the present objectives of your program?

Structure

6. How is your program organized?

7. Do you have an organization chart showing staff allocation? If so, may may we have a copy?

Client Flow

Entry

8. Please describe the process by which the following kinds of clients are referred to your program.

   - State parole
   - Federal parole
   - Serve outs from federal prisons

- Serve-outs from State prisons
- Probationers
- Persons from other community social service agencies
- Releasees from local jails
- "Walk-ins"
- Others

9. Do you have any contact with prison staff before a prisoner is released? If so, what is the nature of that contact?

10. Do you have any contact with prisoners before they are released? If so, what is the nature of that contact?

11. Do you have any contact with parole officers before a prisoner is released on parole? If so, what is the nature of that contact?

12. What is the average time between the granting of a parole and actual release? Do any activities occur during that time to assist the prisoner in become job-ready?

13. Do you have any specific intake procedures for new program clients?

14. At what point is someone considered to be a client?

15. Are there ever waiting lists of people desiring entrance in your program?

16. If so, how often do waiting lists exist?

17. What is the usual time for someone on such a list?

18. What are the eligibility requirements for participation in your program?

19. What percentage of people who apply to the program are accepted?

20. What percentage of prison releasees who apply to the program are accepted?

21. What are the major reasons prison releasees are not accepted?

22. What forms are used or data is collected during the intake or entry phase of the program?

Intervention

23. We would like to understand in detail the services provided to clients by your program. Considering all services, including those provided directly and by referral, please describe the various paths a client might take after entering the program? (e.g., order of services, client-counselor contacts, decision points, administrative records or forms utilized, etc.)

Checklist of Potential Services

a. Vocational testing
b. Vocational counseling
c. Work adjustment training or work orientation
d. Education
e. Skills training
f. On-the-job training
g. Transitional employment or supported work
h. Job development
i. Job placement
j. Follow-up counseling after employment
k. Other follow-up assistance
l. Other (e.g., housing, stipends, transportation, tools, clothes, etc.)

24. Are any fees charged for these services?

25. Are there any differences in the services provided to prison releasees and those provided to other people you serve? If so, what are these differences?

26. Do you have any contact with prison staff after a prison releasee enters your program? If so, what is the nature of that contact?

27. Do you have any contact with probation or parole officers while their clients are participating in your program? If so, what is the nature of that contact?

28. On the average, how long does a client remain in the program?

Program Completion and Follow-Up

29. What are the "graduation" or "completion" requirements of your program?

30. What percentage of clients "complete" the program?

31. What percentage of clients drop out?

32. When do most drop-outs occur? What are the reasons for most of the drop-outs?

33. What percentage of prison releasees drop out? At what processing stage do most of these drop-outs occur?

34. Is there a difference in the drop-out patterns for those prison releasees under some form of supervision and those no longer under supervision?

35. What procedures do staff use in following up on clients who have been placed in jobs?

36. Are there required or suggested time periods when such follow-ups are done?

37. Are there any forms or data sheets utilized to record follow-up information?

38. At what point are clients, either "successes" or "failures," closed out?

39. Does the program have any contact with clients after they have been closed out?

40. Can former clients re-enter your program? Under what conditions? About what percent of clients re-enter the program?

Information

41. What forms are used by the program to track a client from entry through close-out? May we have copies of these forms?

42. What information do you have available on clients' criminal histories before their last incarceration (e.g., number of arrests)?

43. What information do you have avialable on clients' employment histories before their last incarceration (e.g., longest time on same job)?

44. What information is available to your program from the probation and parole departments concerning your clients who are under supervision?

45. Do you use any other sources of information to analyze client needs, progress or outcomes? If so, please describe this information.

Relationships with Other Organizations

46. Please characterize the nature and quality of your program's relationships with the following organizations:

- Federal Parole
- State Parole
- Probation
- Local Halfway Houses
- Prisons from which Clients are Referred (note differences, if any)
- CETA
- State Employment Service
- State Vocational Rehabilitation
- Local Employers (NAB, Chamber of Commerce, Individual Employers)

47. What other organizations do you have continuing contact with and how would you characterize your relationships with them?

Evaluation

48. How do you believe program effectiveness can best be measured?

- process activities?
- client outcomes?
- comparison group?
- impact on problem?

49. Do certain factors which are beyond the program's control hamper your effectiveness? If so, what are these factors (e.g., local economy)? How could an evaluation study take these factors into consideration?

50. How does your program define a "successful" client?

51. If there is no standard definition, what do you consider the most important aspects of "success" for a client (e.g., job placement, job retention for one month, no recidivist behavior for one year, etc.)?

52. What percentage of all clients are "successful?"

53. What percentage of prison releasee clients are successful?

54. Have any evaluations of your program been performed? If so, what were the findings? May we have copies of these studies?

55. Are any evaluations planned? If so, who will be performing the evaluations?

56. How would you define "recidivism?" Is data available to measure the recidivism rates of program clients? If so, please describe this data. If not, could such data be obtained?

57. How would you define "successful employment"? Is data available to measure the employment of program clients? If so, please describe this data. If not, could such data be obtained?

58. Do certain types of prison releasees appear to be most successful in your program? If so, what are these types?

59. Do certain types of employment services appear to be most effective for prison releasees? If so, what are these services?

60. Do you feel there are major gaps in the services available to prison releasees seeking employment assistance? If so, what are these gaps?

61. Do releasee clients receive any training or other employment-related services while they are in prison which affect your program's ability or inability to help them become employed in the community? Please explain.

62. What prison-based activities would assist your program in serving releasee clients more effectively?

Staff Issues

A major issue raised in the literature on employment services programs involves program staff.

63. What do you consider the advantages and disadvantages of using ex-offenders on the staff of a program like yours?

64. What problems, if any, have you experienced in finding and training adequate staff?

Other

65. Is there anything else we should know about your program or about the general problem of assisting prison releasees in making a transition to employment?

66. What problems, if any, have you experienced in obtaining adequate funds?

67. Are there other types of problems which affect your program? Please explain.

We would like to obtain selected information on your program's funding, staffing and clients before we leave. We have prepared three short forms for recording this information and would like your advice on how they could most easily be completed. (Explain forms and determine a way to get them completed.)

Check on items to obtain:

- Organization Chart(s)
- Copies of Forms
- Funding Chart
- Staffing Chart
- Client Chart
- Evaluation Reports
- Other Helpful Information on Program?

Program Name _____ Director _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

_____

Interviewer(s) _____ Date of Interview _____

STAFFING

Program Name: _____

Please provide the following information concerning all program staff, including those who provide services to clients but whose salaries are paid by other agencies.

Name	Job Title	Salary Source	Status		Type		
			Full-Time	Part Time	Profes-sional	Para-Profes-sional	Volun-teer

CLIENTS

Program Name: _____

Referral Source	No. Referred Last Month*
Federal parole	
State parole	
Probation	
Serve-outs, Federal prisons	
Serve-outs, State prisons	
Jails	
Other community agencies	
Walk-ins	
Other (Describe)	

*Information for month of _____.

Was this a typical month? _____Yes _____No. Please explain _____

_____

_____

What is the active client caseload? _____clients.

About what percentage of the active client caseload are ex-offenders? _____%

FUNDING

Program Name: _____

Please provide the following funding information for the past 2 fiscal years.

Source of Funds	Amount	Time Period	
		Start Date	End Date

STAFF INTERVIEW

Client Flow

1. Please describe your responsibilities at the program.
2. Could you describe your activities from the time you first have contact with a client until that contact terminates?
3. What forms do you utilize during your work with a client? May we have copies of these forms?
4. How many clients are on your active caseload? How many prison releasee clients?
5. How long do you usually maintain contact with clients?
6. Do you stay in touch with clients after they have completed the program?
7. What follow-up procedures do you use, if any, to check on clients after they have secured employment? What use is made of existing follow-up information?
8. How would you define "successful" completion of this program?
9. What percentage of your clients "successfully" complete the program?
10. What percent of your clients drop-out of the program?
11. When do most of these drop-outs occur? What are the major reasons?

Relationships

12. Please describe the extent and nature of your relationships with the following organizations:
    - Federal parole
    - State parole
    - Probation
    - Jails
    - Prisons
    - Halfway houses
    - State Employment Service
    - CETA

- Vocational Rehabilitation
- Local Employer Groups (e.g., National Alliance of Businessmen)

13. Are there any other local organizations with which you have continuing contact? Please explain.

14. What information on clients is available to you from these various organizations? Could we have copies of any available forms?

15. What relationships do you have with area employers?

16. Do clients receive any employment-related services while in prison that affect or improve their chances for employment?

17. What services could the prisons provide inmates prior to their release that would improve their chances of finding successful employment?

Evaluation

18. What do you believe are the best measures of a client's successful reintegration into the community?

19. What are the best ways to measure this program's effectiveness in serving clients?

Other

20. What gaps exist in the provision of employment-related services to prison releasees?

21. Is there anything else about your activities at the program we should know in order to better understand its operations?

Person Interviewed: _____ Interviewer(s): _____

Title: _____ Date: _____

Program: _____

INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR OR STAFF OF OTHER COMMUNITY MANPOWER PROGRAM

1. Please describe the nature of your program's contact with the ex-offender program (i.e., frequency and method).

2. What information is exchanged between this program's staff and staff of the ex-offender program?

3. Have any problems arisen concerning this flow of information?

4. How do clients from the ex-offender program enter your program and/or how do you refer clients to the ex-offender program?

5. How many clients are currently being served in your program (as of most recent date)? How many have been referred from the ex-offender program?

6. Do you serve other ex-offenders who are not referred from the ex-offender program? How many? How do they compare with the ex-offender program's clients? How do the ex-offender program's clients compare with regular clients?

7. What services are usually provided to the ex-offender program's clients by your program?

8. Does your program have any special staff to serve ex-offenders?

9. Is there any other difference in services provided to ex-offenders clients of your program?

10. Do ex-offender program clients seem to experience any special problems (e.g., transportation)?

11. How were ex-offenders served before the ex-offender program was established?

12. How do you think the ex-offender program's effectiveness should be measured? What do you consider important measures of success, both for the ex-offender program and for individual clients? How could data be collected for any proposed success measures?

13. Is there anything else we should know in order to understand your relationship with the ex-offender program?

Person Interviewed:_____ Title:_____

Organization:_____ City:_____

Interviewer(s):_____ Date:_____

LOCAL PAROLE OFFICIALS INTERVIEW

1. Did you or your department play any role in the establishment of the ex-offender program?

2. What do you believe the program is trying to accomplish?

3. Has the program been successful? How do you think success can best be measured (e.g., recidivism rates, employment rates, others)?

4. Please describe the nature of your contact with the program (frequency and method).

5. What employment services were available to parolees before the establishment of the program?

6. What data flows between this department and the program and at which stages of a client's participation in the program?

7. What criteria do you use in referring parolees to the program?

8. What percentage of parolees are at one time or another referred to the program?

9. Of those referred, what percentage are referred as soon as they are released? What percentage are referred after one or more unsuccessful job experiences?

10. How do the employment experiences of those referred to the program compare with those of parolees who are never referred to the program?

11. What data are available through the parole department which might be used in assessing the program's impact?

12. Is there anything else we should know in order to understand your relationship with the ex-offender program?

Person Interviewed:_____ Title:_____

Organization:_____ City:_____

Interviewer(s):_____ Date:_____

APPENDIX F

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX F

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abt Associates, Inc. Exemplary Project Screening and Validation Report: Parole Rehabilitation and Employment Program. Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., 1975.

_____. Pre-Trial Intervention: A Program Evaluation of Nine Pre-Trial Intervention Projects. Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates, Inc., 1974.

American Bar Association. Directory: Organizations Providing Job Assistance to Ex-Offenders. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, National Offender Services Coordination Program, American Bar Association, 1976.

Baum, M., et. al. Evaluation Research on the Public Offender Program at Goodwill Industries, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—Final Report. Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Department of Justice, 1974.

Benson, Stephen D., and Whittington, Marna C. Transition to Work: Contribution of the Job Readiness Posture (JRP). Philadelphia, Pa.: Associates for Research in Behavior, Inc., 1973.

Bowers, James E., and Hunt, James W. Removing Offender Employment Restrictions. Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Offender Employer Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1973.

Bowers, James E.; Hunt, James W.; and Miller, Neal. Laws, Licenses and the Offender's Right to Work. Washington, D.C.: National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, 1974.

Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit. "Annual Report: December 1, 1975-November 30, 1976." Geneva, Ill.: Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, 1976.

_____. "Six Month Evaluation: December 1975-May 1976." Geneva, Ill.: Community Correctional Services for the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, 1976.

Correctional Service of Minnesota. H.I.R.E., Inc., Ex-Offender Employability Project, Summary Research Report No. 1, A Three-Month Follow-Up of Clients Placed During the Period January 1 through March 31, 1975. Minneapolis, Minn.: Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1975.

_____. M.I.R.E., Inc., Ex-Offender Employability Project, Summary Research Report No. 2, A Three-Month Follow-Up of Clients Placed During the Period April 1, 1975 through February 29, 1976. Minneapolis, Minn.: Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1976.

_____. Second Interim Report on the Effectiveness of M.I.R.E., Inc. Minneapolis, Minn.: Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1973.

De Vine, M.D., et. al. The Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS): The Role of Environmental Factors in the Analysis and Prediction of Criminal Behavior and Recidivism. Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1974.

Employ-Ex, Inc. "Employ-Ex Annual Report." Denver, Colo.: Employ-Ex, Inc., 1976.

_____. "Job Development Manual." Denver, Colo.: Employ-Ex, Inc., 1975.

Evans, Jr., Robert. "The Labor Market and Parole Success." Journal of Human Resources (Spring 1968), 203-211.

Female Offender Resource Center. Female Offenders: Problems and Programs. Washington, D.C.: Female Offender Resource Center, National Offender Services Coordination Program, American Bar Association, 1976.

Fleisher, Belton M. "The Effect of Unemployment on Delinquent Behavior." Journal of Political Economy LXXI (1963) 543-555.

Glaser, Daniel. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System. New York, N.Y.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1964.

_____, and Rice, Kent. "Crime, Age, and Unemployment." American Sociological Review XXIV (October 1959), 679-686.

Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor. 500 Criminal Careers. New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.

Gunderson, Gerald M., Special Evaluations Group, Division of Program Evaluation. "DSE Report No. 15—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase I: Developmental Stages." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971.

_____. "DSE Report No. 19—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase II: Operational Stages." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971.

_____. "DSE Report No. 27—Evaluation Study of the Model Ex-Offender Program. Phase III: Final Report." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1972.

Horowitz, Robert. Back on the Street—From Prison to Poverty: Transitional Aid Research Project for Ex-Offenders. Washington, D.C.: Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, American Bar Association, 1976.

Hudson, J. B. Evaluation of MDTA Training in Correctional Institutions, Vol. 1—Perspectives on Offender Rehabilitation. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971.

Hunt, James M. "The Bottom Line: Jobs: A Guide for Program Planners on Developing Community-Based Offender Job Development Systems." Unpublished paper prepared by the National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions, American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., 1976.

Illinois Model Ex-Offender Program. "Third Quarterly Report, January 1 through March 31." Chicago, Ill.: Illinois Model Ex-Offender Program, 1976.

Indiana Department of Corrections. "Community Resource Development, Modification of a Request for Proposal." Unpublished paper dated 1975.

Jenkins, W.O., et. al. The Behavioral Demography of the Young Adult Male Offender. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1975.

_____. A Longitudinal Follow-Up Investigation of the Post-release Behavior of Paroled or Released Offenders. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1973.

_____. The Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR): The Role of Maladaptive Reaction Patterns in the Analysis and Prediction of Criminal Behavior and Recidivism. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1974.

_____. The Measurement and Prediction of Criminal Behavior and Recidivism: The Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) and the Maladaptive Behavior Record (MBR). Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1972.

_____. The Weekly Activity Record (WAR): A Measure of Time Allocation in the Analysis and Prediction of Criminal Behavior and Recidivism. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1974.

Jenkins, W. O., and Sanford, W. Lee. A Manual for the Use of the Environmental Deprivation Scale (EDS) in Corrections: The Prediction of Criminal Behavior. Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1972.

Jones, Deborah A. "The Vocational Alternatives Program: A Preliminary Program Review." Springfield, Ill.: State of Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, 1975.

Kaitsa, George. "A Proposal—The Franklin County PREP Program Evaluation Project." Columbus, Ohio: State of Ohio Adult Parole Authority, 1976.

Law Offender Services Division. "Memorandum to Staff." Boston, Mass.: Massachusetts Department of Employment Security, 1975.

Lenihan, Kenneth J. "Theft Among Ex-Prisoners: Is It Economically Motivated?—An Experimental Study of Financial Aid and Job Placement for Ex-Prisoners." Paper prepared for the Eastern Sociological Society Meeting, Washington, D.C.; April 1974.

Levy, Girard W., et. al. Vocational Preparation in U.S. Correctional Institutions: A 1974 Survey. Columbus, Ohio: Battelle Columbus Laboratories, 1975.

Mallar, Charles D., and Thornton, Craig V.D. "A Comparative Evaluation of the Benefits and Costs from the Baltimore L.I.F.E. Program." Report prepared for the American Bar Association's Transitional Aid Research Project for Ex-Offenders, n.d.

Martinson, Robert, and Wilks, Judith. "Knowledge in Criminal Justice Planning: A Preliminary Report." New York, N.Y.: The Center for Knowledge in Criminal Justice Planning, 1976.

McConnell, William A., and Venezia, Peter S. Effect of Vocational Upgrading Upon Probationer Recidivism—A One Year Evaluation of the Singer/Graflex Monroe County Pilot Probationer Project. Davis, Calif.: Research Center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1972.

McCreary, John M., and McCreary, Phyllis Groom. Job Training and Placement for Offenders and Ex-Offenders. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975.

McKee, Jr., Gilbert J. A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Vocational Training in the California Prison System. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1972.

McKee, John M., et. al. The Draper Project: Final Report, Vol. III. How to with P.T.I. Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1968.

_____. An Introduction to Programmed Instruction. Elmore, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1969.

Palmer-Paulson Associates, Inc. EXCEL in Indiana: Final Report, August 1, 1971-August 1, 1972. Chicago, Ill.: Palmer-Paulson Associates, Inc., 1972.

Parker, William C. Parole (Origins, Development, Current Practices and Statutes). College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1975.

Pownall, George A. Employment Problems of Released Prisoners. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1969.

President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. Background Papers. Washington, D.C.: President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, 1975.

Project H.I.R.E. "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Counseling Staff." Minneapolis, Minn.: Project H.I.R.E., 1976.

_____. "The H.I.R.E. Salary Compensation Plan and Personnel Evaluation Program: Prepared for Job Development Staff." Minneapolis, Minn.: Project H.I.R.E., 1976.

Project MORE. "1976 Annual Report." New Haven, Conn.: Project MORE, 1976.

Rosenfeld, Anne M. An Evaluative Summary of Research: MAP Program Outcomes in the Initial Demonstration States. College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, 1975.

Rovner-Pieczenik, Roberta. Project Crossroads as Pre-Trial Intervention: A Program Evaluation. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Children and Youth, 1970.

_____. A Review of Manpower R & D Projects in the Correctional Field, 1963-73. Manpower Research Monograph No. 28. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973.

Singer, Neil M., and Wright, Virginia B. Cost Analysis of Correctional Standards: Institutional-Based Programs and Parole—Volume II. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976.

Taggart, III, Robert. The Prison of Unemployment—Manpower Programs for Offenders. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Toborg, Mary A., et. al. The Transition from Prison to Employment: An Assessment of Community-Based Programs. National Evaluation Program Phase I Study conducted for the U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. "Case Study Analyses and Flow Diagrams." October 1976.

_____. "Issues Review." June 1976.

_____. "Selected Program Materials." October 1976.

_____. "Universe Identification and Sample Selection." October 1976.

U.S. Department of Justice. Female Offenders in the Federal Correctional System. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, 1973.

_____. Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions on December 31, 1974. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976.

_____. Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974: Advance Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976.

U.S. Department of Labor. Bonding Assistance Demonstration Project: Summary Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1968.

_____. Manpower Research and Development Projects, 1975 Edition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.

U.S. General Accounting Office. Department of Labor's Past and Future Role in Offender Rehabilitation. Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1975.

Urban and Rural Systems Associates. Exemplary Project Validation Report—Clearinghouse for Ex-Offenders of Louisville, Kentucky. San Francisco, Calif.: Urban and Rural Systems Associates, 1974.

Vera Institute of Justice. Another Approach to Welfare: Putting the Recipients and the Money to Work. New York, N.Y.: Vera Institute of Justice, 1975.

Welford, Charles. "Manpower and Recidivism." Proceedings: The National Workshop on Corrections and Parole Administration. New Orleans, La.: American Correctional Association, 1972.

Wilkerson, Bobby J. "Vocational Alternatives Program Management Audit." Decatur, Ill.: Macon County Community Mental Health Board, 1975.

Witherspoon, A.D., et. al. Behavioral Interview Guide. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1973.

_____. The Law Encounter Severity Scale (LESS): A Criterion for Criminal Behavior and Recidivism. Montgomery, Ala.: Experimental Manpower Laboratory for Corrections, 1973.

Witt, Leonard R. Project Develop—Developing Educational-Vocational Experiences for Long-Term Occupational Adjustment of Parolees: Summary Report. Albany, N.Y.: New York Division of Parole, 1968.

END