PAROLE-RELATED COMMUNITY PROGRAMS:
A REVIEW OF SIX PROGRAMS

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INTRODUCTION

This report supplements Parole-Related Community Programs: A Preliminary National Survey which was published by Uniform Parole Reports (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Research Center West) in December 1979. The survey allowed a preliminary examination of general services and five types of specialized services for parolees: residential support, therapeutic counselling, economic support, career development, and legal advocacy. The last three forms of specialized services were not frequently reported by parole agencies and are not as widely discussed in the literature on parole. To fill this gap we placed special emphasis on these in our December 1979 survey report as well as in this supplement.

The reviews that follow are descriptive profiles of six projects: Transitional Employment Opportunity Program, Peralta Service Corporation, Women's Education, Preparation and Training Program, Human Services Aides, Project Start, and Project Advocate. They are based on reports and publications prepared by the agencies sponsoring the programs or on interviews with the administrators of the programs, not on independent evaluations by UPR.

However, a series of theoretical assumptions guided the selection of these programs. For all parole supervision agencies, surveillance of the parolee in the community is a major responsibility, and in many agencies it is given primary emphasis. In addition, most services sponsored by parole agencies focus on the solution of the problems of individual parolees rather than on eliminating social barriers to parolee success. This is particularly true of general services such as traditional field supervision activities, and also generally true of the specialized services we identified in our survey. It is true less often of programs not directly sponsored by the parole agency (for example, Project Start, discussed later.)
In selecting the programs highlighted here we attempted to emphasize those service areas in which there appeared to be potential for a systematic approach to improving the situation of the parolee rather than on attempts to change the parolee to better fit the situation (see Figure 1). This focus on changing the situation is perhaps clearest in the area of career development. The creation of a network of entry level jobs linked to career ladders specifically available for ex-offenders improves the job opportunity situation for parolees. The significance of this improvement is measured by the number of job openings, the nature of the jobs, and the degree to which the jobs lead to meaningful careers.

Changing the situation or increasing opportunities for the parolee can also be seen in the two other service areas: economic support and legal advocacy. For example, short-term economic support programs linked to training for and placement in meaningful jobs represent more than simply temporary problem-solving for individual parolees as they leave prison. Properly constructed, such economic support can represent a systematic way in which parolees can effectively secure meaningful employment. Similarly, legal advocacy projects attending to the legal needs of parolees as a group (for example, employment barriers, credit barriers, or other such hurdles to effective participation in civilian life) constitute an effort to reintegrate parolees into society.

It is possible that our focus on situational change and concentration upon the three selected service areas noted might raise some concerns on the part of our readers. First, this survey was intended to focus on programs formally sponsored by parole agencies, but such agencies are often legally constrained from attempting to change the situation of the parolee. They have the legal mandate to enforce conditions that may be barriers to the parolee's reintegration into society. This was pointed out by one parole board member during a review of the initial survey. He noted that parole agencies are not likely to sponsor legal advocacy programs which could bring class action suits against the parole agency itself. However, because of the obvious vulnerability of parolees to legal problems, it is an important service area. We therefore included it in the survey framework.

**FIGURE 1**

SERVICE-GOAL FRAMEWORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF GOAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL SERVICES</td>
<td>o Traditional Supervision</td>
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<td></td>
<td>o Community Resource Management Teams (CRMT)</td>
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<td>o Resource bank</td>
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<td>SPECIALIZED SERVICES</td>
<td>o Residential Support</td>
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<td>o Therapeutic Counselling</td>
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<td>o Economic Support</td>
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<td>o Career Development</td>
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<td>o Legal Advocacy</td>
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</table>

The significance of this improvement is measured by the number of job openings, the nature of the jobs, and the degree to which the jobs lead to meaningful careers.
Second, we intentionally excluded the general services identified in the 1979 survey report. One example is the Community Resource Management Team (CRMT). We felt that since CRMT was essentially a more effective matching of direct services to individual needs of parolees, it was outside our emphasis on programs seeking to change the long-term situation of ex-offenders in the community. Information clearing-houses were also excluded because operationally they direct their services more to the individual needs of parolees rather than on changing the opportunity structure or situation of the parolee. On the other hand, we included one of the career development programs for parolees and other ex-offenders (Project Start) and the single legal advocacy program (Project Advocate) reported in the survey as examples of program structures that could be used for situational change for parolees although neither is sponsored by a parole agency.

The programs described reported a mixture of situation-related and individual problem-related objectives. Analysis of the program objectives and operation showed them to be equally, if not more, concerned with individual change in the parolees they served as in more general change in the parolee's situation. These programs are generally quite limited in scope and are usually subject to uncertain funding (Since our survey, one did not secure refunding, and is no longer in operation.). In addition, fiscal constraints have inhibited evaluation of these programs. There is consequently little or no hard data on their effectiveness. But they do represent genuine efforts to provide services to parolees with at least one component intended to affect the parolee's situation. They are therefore presented here as examples, not necessarily as exemplary programs.

1Women's Education Preparation & Training Program (WEPT), Oakland, California.
Intervention

a. Program Services

TEOP's main service for parolees and non-parolees alike is paid on-the-job training in areas of their interest and ability. The Department of Corrections contracts with local craftspeople, business establishments, and vocational training schools for the training, and participants receive instruction for a maximum of 640 hours (approximately sixteen weeks). Adult participants receive a stipend of $3.25 per hour, while employers and vocational schools can receive up to $150 per month for the instruction they provide to TEOP participants. Job areas in which TEOP participants have received training include auto-mechanics, plumbing, construction, carpentry, clerical work, furniture-making, printing, television repairs, accounting, food services, and counselling.

b. Screening Procedures

Parolees considered eligible for TEOP participation are referred by agency field personnel. The preliminary screening of applicants is conducted by the supervising parole officer according to the following criteria: 1) age (16 to 26 years old); 2) low job skill level; and 3) desire to learn a trade. The parole officer then submits a recommendation to the TEOP Coordinator, who makes the final decision on admission after reviewing the applicant’s eligibility and interviewing the applicant.

Program admission is followed by job placement. The TEOP Coordinator submits a request to field officers for a list of names of prospective employers, and the coordinator selects an employer based upon the particular parolee's needs. A contract is then signed by the Coordinator (on behalf of the Department of Corrections) and the employer. The Coordinator finalizes the work agreement with the parolee, and the parolee begins training.

FIGURE 2

Organization

a. Staff Composition

TEOP is headed by a Coordinator who is a regular employee of the Department of Corrections working part-time on TEOP (see Figure 3).

The TEOP Coordinator has overall responsibility for both internal and external aspects of the program. Externally, this responsibility consists of establishing and maintaining local community contacts statewide with Department of Corrections personnel, prospective employers, and public and private service agencies whose cooperation is considered necessary for the successful operation of the program. In addition, the Coordinator is required to screen and approve employers who participate in TEOP. Internal responsibility covers planning and implementation, and includes selection of participants, recruitment of employers, coordination of placements, evaluation of the performance of participants, and supervision of contract compliance.
The parole officer supervising the TEOP participant is responsible for closely monitoring the participant's progress through weekly visits to the training site. In addition, the officer must verify each participant's work hours.

**FIGURE 3**
**ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**

- Department of Corrections Field Services Division
- TEOP Coordinator
- Supervising Parole Officer
- Vocational Training Employer/Instructor
- TEOP Parolee

**b. Budget**

The program's total budget for the 1978-79 fiscal year was $55,000. It was appropriated by the New Mexico legislature as part of the budget of the Corrections and Criminal Rehabilitation Department, and was used exclusively for the payment of stipends and fringe benefits (such as FICA) to TEOP participants.

**Evaluation**

In its initial program statement the Department of Corrections noted plans to demonstrate, with statistical evidence, that participation in the program could result in a lower incidence of recidivism and other adjustment problems associated with parole. To test its hypothesis the Department planned to analyze longitudinal data on participants collected through its Management Information System, and evaluative reports submitted by employers, supervising parole officers, and the TEOP Coordinator. One such evaluation was completed by the Department in May 1979.

In a formally designed study, the performance of all 100 individuals who participated in the program between October 1975 and December 31, 1978 was evaluated. The findings reported include a low recidivism rate (13% during the first year of participation) among program participants as well as a lower recidivism rate for TEOP participants compared with the recidivism rates for the participants of six other reintegration programs in the U.S.2 The evaluators noted that because of the unavailability of data on post-release success in obtaining employment they could not assess the program's impact on client employability (Final Report: TEOP Evaluation Study: Final Report, May 1979: vi-vii, 39). In addition, evaluation of TEOP participants' performance and TEOP training is conducted routinely. Employers are required to submit to the TEOP Coordinator bi-weekly reports on the performance of participants under their supervision. Supervising parole officers are required to conduct monthly evaluations of the parolee's training and to submit to the TEOP Coordinator a memorandum that represents a critique of the training experience. Finally, during the parolee's ninth week of training the TEOP Coordinator conducts a thorough evaluation of the parolee's "program" by interviewing the parolee, employer, and supervising parole officer.

**Implementation Difficulties**

The lack of a sufficient number of work/training slots in some of the local com-
proximity to the NCCD, San Francisco office, afforded us a site visit for personal observations of its operations, PSC is used to illustrate implementation of the Supported Work idea.

With grants from a consortium of five federal agencies in 1975, MDRC funded the establishment of PSC and most of the other Supported Work programs. PSC itself, however, as a community-based corporation, was organized by the Spanish-speaking Unity Council of Alameda County, California, and Unity Council officials continue to participate in the program in an advisory capacity. The program is open to parolees, other ex-offenders, and ex-drug addicts, as well as women who have been AFDC recipients. It can accommodate 100 participants at any one time over the course of a year.

Theoretical Assumptions

Neither PSC nor MDRC makes a direct theoretical connection between the concept of Supported Work and ex-offender rehabilitation or reintegration into the mainstream of society. This assumption, however, is implicit in the stated goal of the project. In this context MDRC explains:

...some people, because of the workings of the economy and the labor market, because of inadequate motivation and training, or because of the reluctance or discrimination of employers, have never been able to make a successful connection with the world of work. They haven't the habit of work, the discipline, however rudimentary, to get to work on time and remain there all day, or the education or skills or confidence to claim employment in a competitive society (MDRC, 1976).

For these reasons, PSC, like the other Supported Work programs, offers to participants a job, the opportunity to perform effectively in the job, and the capability to secure permanent employment in the unsubsidized labor market upon departure from the program. By doing this the program expects to facilitate adjustment to mainstream society.

D9:Programs
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Intervention

a. Program Services

PSC offers two main services: 1) temporary employment for up to twelve months, complemented by constant guidance to ensure progress in job performance; and 2) somewhat more intangibly, the training and discipline that program staff think are indispensable to participants in obtaining and maintaining unsubsidized employment (see Figure 4). Participants work in either revenue-generating businesses established and operated by PSC or in service operations supported by local grants. PSC's businesses include a gas station, a child care center, and a warehouse where pallets are repaired for the Crown Zellerbach Company with whom PSC has a contract. For its service operations the program has a contract (CETA grant) with the Oakland Housing Authority for tasks such as ground maintenance in Oakland, a contract with Southern Alameda County to paint the homes of senior citizens and handicapped people in this area, and its own contract painting service.

Program implementation with respect to these services is guided by two concepts: "peer support" and "graduated stress". MDRC contends that people starting something new feel better in the company of peers who share their backgrounds and anxieties, and that they also seem to learn to a large extent from their peers. In "graduated stress", on the other hand, MDRC notes its recognition of pressures that accompany a new job by having the Supported Work programs "consciously adapt the work to fit the worker, taking care not to overwhelm at the outset, and eventually increasing the demands of the job until they are comparable to those in the regular labor force" (MDRC, 1976:2).

b. Screening Procedures

Admission into the program begins with an applicant visiting PSC's administrative office and being interviewed by a PSC staff member. The applicant is formally informed about the operation of the program and eligibility criteria for admission. Ex-offenders must meet two conditions to be eligible for admission: 1) release from jail or release on probation or parole within 18 months of their application; and 2) unemployment for 6 months prior to their application. When an applicant verifies these criteria he/she is placed on a waiting list until an opening arises, but is also required to call PSC weekly to indicate continuing interest in the program. Participants are admitted on a first-come, first-served basis.

The program does not have a formal referral network at the present time because initial publicity efforts through local community-based organizations including the parole agency, together with "word-of-mouth" publicity by individuals who have participated in the program, have resulted in a constant flow of applications. Most applicants now are self-referrals.

FIGURE 4

INTERVENTION

- 13 -
Organization

a. Staff Composition

PSC is administered by a Board of Directors and forty staff members. There are five major levels of administrative responsibility (see Figure 5).

Overseeing the entire program is an Executive Director whose specific responsibilities include long-range program planning, development of new work sites, and maintaining or establishing new linkages between the program and other community agencies. At the second level, a Deputy Director oversees internal, day-to-day operations of the program ensuring that contractual obligations for goods and services to local agencies or firms are being met.

At the third level of staff organization, six persons share administrative responsibility. A Comptroller, under the direction of the Executive and Deputy Directors, supervises an accountant and two bookkeepers in the management of the program's budget. A Director of Contract Development coordinates the preparation of new proposals, solicitation of new contracts, and maintenance of old contracts. Finally, three Directors of Operations directly oversee program operations at the respective worksites.

Supervisors and Assistant Supervisors staff the fourth and fifth levels of administration. They oversee daily operations at the worksites to which they are assigned.

b. Budget

PSC's projected 1979 budget was $2,000,000. Of this sum $785,000 was an MDRC grant, $552,000 was projected as revenue from PFC's businesses, and $672,000 consisted of local grants. In addition to the various operational expenses, the budget covered employee wages which begin at $2.19 per hour and increase with improvements in job performance. The program currently employs about 100 persons as supported workers.
Hayward is a city in Alameda County, California.
Evaluation

MDRC included in the structure of the national demonstration project a comprehensive evaluation design to test the effectiveness of Supported Work as it is being operationalized. Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. and the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin have contracted with MDRC to conduct a quantitative analysis of interview data from about 5,000 program participants and their counterparts in a control group to ascertain whether Supported Work produces measurable improvements in the lives of program participants. Specific attention is being devoted to stability and duration of employment, income level, reductions in drug use and reductions in criminal activity among individuals who have participated in the program (MDRC, 1976:3).

In addition, local program administrators submit bi-monthly reports to MDRC, and MDRC collects data through its Management Information System. With the data from these sources MDRC is attempting a process evaluation of the demonstration project. The evaluation plan is national in scope. Consequently, PSC, like the other Supported Work programs, is being evaluated not as a separate program but as part of the national demonstration project.

Implementation Difficulties

The growth of the Supported Work programs as a whole was affected by operational and fiscal difficulties. In a few instances recruitment problems were encountered. In most of the programs, however, eligibility requirements, attendance, the implementation of "graduated stress" and the creation of jobs during the project's second year were reported as the main areas of difficulty.

Eligibility requirements posed a small obstacle to recruitment during PSC's first year because of MDRC's evaluation needs on one hand and the admission criteria for ex-offenders on the other. The evaluation design required candidates for a control group, and some eligible persons referred to PSC were asked to participate in the evaluation without being given Supported Work positions. To some extent this discouraged interest among referral agencies such as parole and probation. After the control group had been selected at the end of the first year, however, this was no longer a problem. Admission criteria presented an implementation problem because they contained a stipulation for ex-offender applicants to show evidence of incarceration within six months of their application for admission. This resulted in the exclusion of other ex-offenders and affected recruitment efforts. MDRC subsequently added "alternative" criteria, not for screening purposes, but for a more adequate assessment of the eligibility of applicants. These are that the ex-offender applicant has either been convicted or spent 60 days incarcerated during the 12 months prior to application.

Results

Evaluation results have been published by MDRC but they cover the demonstration project as a whole, not each program individually, except for purposes of illustration. MDRC's chairman considers the progress of the project so far as encouraging. In published reports (MDRC, 1978a and 1978b) MDRC states that PSC, like the other Supported Work programs, is fulfilling its expectations with respect to implementation of the Supported Work concept. Because of space constraints it is not possible to present MDRC's findings here, but MDRC reports that it measured the effectiveness of the national project in terms of each program's performance on several variables: creation of jobs for participants, nature of departures from the program, types of jobs and wage levels secured by program "graduates," and the extent of self-sufficiency achieved by the programs.
3. Women's Education, Preparation and Training Program (WEPT)

Introduction

This was a small CETA-funded "classroom training" program for female ex-offenders in Oakland, California in existence when the survey was being conducted. It was sponsored by Volunteers of America. Its aims were modest, but staff members followed a carefully structured program and reported satisfaction with the results of the program. Participation was open to female ex-offenders who were residents of the City of Oakland at the time they applied for admission. The program accommodated a maximum of 59 participants for the year.

Theoretical Assumptions

Implicit in WEPT's goal of job placement and ultimately, permanent employment for its participants, was the assumption that female ex-offenders (parolees and non-parolees alike), in order to "make it" and successfully reintegrate into their communities, must have basic employment preparation that would ensure that they obtain jobs and keep them. The theoretical assumption, then, was that reintegration of female ex-offenders, like the reintegration of male ex-offenders, depends largely upon at least temporary economic support followed by regular employment.

Intervention

a. Program Services

The program's main service was classroom training for obtaining and maintaining employment. This was provided by means of the following:

1. Educational classes in which participants were given a "brush-up" in basic skills in mathematics, reading, vocabulary, communication, and other similar subjects necessary for one's preparation for employment;
2. Training in procedures for locating jobs and instruction in keeping jobs;
3. Job referrals and employment counseling;
4. Stipends from the City of Oakland averaging $160.00 weekly for 16 weeks, with an additional $120.00 for AFDC (Aid to Families to Dependent Children) and SSI (Social Security Income) recipients.

b. Screening Procedures

Economically disadvantaged ex-offender women, 18 years or older, who were residents of the City of Oakland were eligible for participation in the program. Probation, parole, court, work furlough and local CETA staff members all referred prospective applicants to WEPT, but most of the program's referrals originated at the local CETA office.

The screening of applicants began with a referral (see Figure 6). This was followed by an interview with project staff who assessed the applicant's general eligibility. An eligible candidate then submitted an application to CETA's central office in Oakland for certification. The applicant later received a notice of eligibility from CETA and was interviewed for about 45 minutes by two WEPT staff members who screened applicants on the basis of the following criteria: that applicants who were mothers had made arrangements for child care, that they had also decided on transportation arrangements, that they had no addiction to drugs or alcohol, that they had no current court involvement, that they had a "positive" attitude towards classroom training, and that they were willing to accept an entry-level position upon "graduation" from the program.

The screening process continued during the participant's first week of attendance—the orientation week—when she was informed about the goals, rules, operational procedures, and schedule of the program, CETA guidelines governing the program, and affirmative action rights.

Program staff members met individually with the participant to assess her educational needs, to design her job search schedule, and to determine her "service" needs.

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4 WEPT did not secure funding for 1980.
problems, e.g., need for a new social security card or number or driver's license, and court obligations. In general WEPT staff used their interaction with participants during the orientation week to determine the applicant's need for, and readiness to benefit from, WEPT's services. On the fifth day of the week program staff met with the applicant and made a final decision on admission. Successful applicants were enrolled the next day. Unsuccesful applicants were sent back to the local CETA office for referral elsewhere, but they did have the right of appeal. The program was budgeted to accommodate three groups (cohorts) of 18 women each for the year. However, it had the annual capacity for five extra participants.

**FIGURE 6**

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<tr>
<th>Wept Intervention</th>
<th>City of Oakland's CETA Office</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Parolee Ex-Offenders</td>
<td>WEPT Classroom Training</td>
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<td>Female Ex-offenders</td>
<td>Employment Counselling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Female Ex-Offenders</td>
<td>Job Referrals</td>
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<td>Unsubsidized Employment</td>
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Organization

Staff Composition

WEPT's staff comprised ten persons and was headed by a Project Supervisor. Several members of the staff only worked part time on the project (see Figure 7).

The Project Supervisor had overall responsibility for writing grant proposals and for the administration of the project. Paid work time was 28%. A Curriculum Coordinator was responsible for planning and implementation of the classroom curriculum, and supplements the teaching of education classes when necessary. In addition, this staff member assessed the performance of participants and prepared a monthly report on the program for the Project Supervisor and CETA's central administrative office in Oakland. Paid work time was 100%.

A public school teacher, with the assistance of a teacher's aide and four tutors from a local community college district (Vista College), conducted the program's educational classes. The Curriculum Coordinator supervised the teacher, and the teacher and the tutors were paid by their school districts, while the teacher's aide was paid by WEPT. Paid work time for the teacher's aide was 100%.

Finally, an Outreach Worker, whose paid work time was approximately 60% and a Job Developer, whose paid work time was 100%, worked under the supervision of the Project Supervisor. The Outreach Worker located job openings and served as a general counselor to program participants in their search for jobs. The Job Developer, on the other hand, provided instruction on the process of locating jobs.
The program's 1979 grant was $63,900. It covered most of WEPT's operating expenses in 1979. Stipends for participants were paid by the City of Oakland, and the salaries of the public school teacher and the four tutors on the staff were paid by the Oakland school district. To continue operating WEPT had to compete each year for CETA grants. Consequently, continuation of the program was not guaranteed.

Evaluation
The local CETA office conducted a routine informal evaluation of the program. The evaluation was based on monthly reports prepared by WEPT, WEPT's participation in monthly meetings convened by CETA for local contractors of CETA grants, and project summaries prepared by WEPT's Project Supervisor. In addition, a project monitor attached to the local CETA office, visited the project each month, made personal observations of the program's operations, spoke directly with staff members, and examined project files. She later prepared a "feedback" report which was shared with the program. WEPT's Project Supervisor noted that she found these reports useful in making improvements in the program.

Implementation Difficulties
Recruitment, the absence of an orientation program for the recipients of CETA grants, and delays in obtaining budget modifications from the City of Oakland were cited as implementation difficulties by WEPT's Project Supervisor. In addition, during the early stages of the program ex-offender women were found to be reticent about their criminal records. This affected recruitment efforts, but WEPT responded by expanding its outreach work in the local community.

WEPT's Project Supervisor attributed a few of the difficulties she encountered when the program started were due to her unfamiliarity with CETA's laws and procedures governing grants. She felt orientation about budget modification requests, monitoring arrangements, and progress reports would have facilitated program implementation.

Finally, project staff noted that implementation of classroom instruction was delayed when the program started because they experienced delays in obtaining approval from the City of Oakland for necessary budget modifications. However, this was a problem only in the early stages of the program. Later, requests for budget changes were submitted well in advance to avoid interruptions in the operation of the program itself.

Results
The program was required by the local CETA office to place in jobs a minimum of 60% of its participants who completed the program. As of July 1979, out of a total of 52 participants 22 (42.3%) job placements were reported. And additional 5 (9.6%) were placed with employers for further training. Of the women who secured jobs, 11 went to
positions in industry, 8 to clerical and sales, and 2 in service jobs. One job was classified by WEPT as "other".

CAREER DEVELOPMENT
1. Human Services Aides

Introduction
The states of Pennsylvania and California are two states which, several years ago, incorporated the idea of employing parolees as paraprofessionals in the state civil service as Human Services Aides (HSAs). Pennsylvania's hiring, however, has been on a wider scale than California's, but budget cuts in both states recently brought hiring to a standstill. During our survey California reported two parolee HSAs currently on staff. Pennsylvania reported fifteen. Three parolee HSAs in Pennsylvania are now classified as parole investigator (1) and parole agent (2).

Theoretical Assumptions
Implicit in the goal of the HSA program is the assumption that the employment of parolees in career positions may enhance their success on parole. This suggests a theoretical connection between career development and parole success.

Intervention
a. Program Services
Parolees are offered the opportunity to pursue a career in the state civil service (See Figure 8). This affords them a means of earning income while on parole and the possibility of permanent employment in the field of human services.

b. Screening Procedures
HSA jobs in Pennsylvania are available in the following state departments: in the Department of Labor and Industry, the Local Offices of the Bureau of Employment Security, and District Offices of the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation; in the Board of

Probation and Parole, the Community-Based Centers; and in the Department of Public Welfare, the County Mental Health/Mental Retardation Centers and County Board of Assistance Offices. HSA applicants are therefore required to take the State Civil Service Commission's entrance and promotion examinations for Human Services Aides.

Candidates for HSA positions in the parole unit are expected to have at minimum direct experience in living among persons incarcerated in penal institutions, and in group leadership. This is because if hired, they are to provide a link between the parole office (as the public agency in this case) and parolees as the community of clients. On the examinations they must pass both the written test which measures simple reading, arithmetic and clerical abilities, and a rating of life and work experience, which is based on the degree of their exposure to the problems of the disadvantaged and their group leadership experience.

Candidates who take the examinations are given scores based on their performance, and employment lists are compiled by ranking passing candidates according to their final scores. They are hired in the order in which they are ranked.

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FIGURE 8
INTERVENTION

Parolees
Parole Division
Career Placement
Non-Offenders
Other State Department
Organizational Staff Composition

Since this effort in career development is not a program as such, HSAs are not administered by means of a separate organizational structure. Staffing arrangements involve guidance and supervision by technical and/or professional superiors and regular evaluations of performance and potential by supervisors within the units to which HSAs are assigned.

Budget

Again, since this career development effort does not involve separate staff, the budget is limited to HSA salaries. Current HSA salaries in Pennsylvania are $8,724 - $10,660 for HSA 1, $9,330 - $11,423 for HSA 2, and $9,956 - $12,284 for HSA 3. As of August 31, 1979, Pennsylvania reported 9 parolees at the HSA 2 level, 6 at the HSA 3 level, and one not yet classified.

Evaluation

Neither Pennsylvania nor California reported a formal evaluation plan as that of the Supported Work project described earlier. But the parole agencies in both states have arrangements by which supervisors regularly monitor and evaluate the performance of the HSAs. Pennsylvania has also had special evaluations conducted by the parole agency's research unit. The most recent were completed in 1974 and 1975, respectively.

Implementation Difficulties

Fiscal constraints appear to be the main implementation difficulty in both states at the present time. As a result of budget cuts, the promotion of career development through the HSA effort is now limited to the parolees currently on staff. Leniency in the screening of applicants was cited as a problem in Pennsylvania in their 1975 evaluation because it appeared to have resulted in a high percentage of involuntary terminations at that time.

Programs

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Results

Data on program results were only available from Pennsylvania. According to their 1974 study, the first HSA there was hired in October 1970. Two more were hired by January 1972, and 62 were hired between 1972 and 1974. Fifty-eight of the 65 HSAs hired by 1974 were parolees, and as of August 1979, a total of 66 ex-offenders had been hired as HSAs.

In the evaluations of 1974 and 1975, employment success among HSAs was defined as either continued employment (as an HSA or in an advanced non-HSA classification) or voluntary termination. The evaluators found a high correlation between performance and employment success although they noted a few exceptions of HSAs who had good performance ratings but who were involuntarily terminated because of new convictions. Factors such as race and age were found to have had no significant bearing on success, but turnover among the HSAs (19% in the 1974 evaluation) was found to be considerably greater than that of parole agents (8%). But when compared with state employees as a whole in Pennsylvania (14.5%), although the turnover rate was still higher among HSAs, the difference was smaller (4.5%).

Pennsylvania also reported current employment of 19 parolees: 15 hold HSA positions while 3 other parolees have been promoted into the classifications of Parole Investigator, Parole Agent 1, and Parole Agent 2, respectively. One parolee works as a clerk-typist.

2. Project Start

Introduction

Project Start is a career development program for ex-felons begun by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) in 1977. The first regional program was established in DHEW's Region V in Illinois in January 1977. The project later expanded to Region VI (August 1978), Region II (September 1978), Region III (January 1979), Region IX (February 1979) and Region IV (July 1979). Future plans are to...
expand the program into all organizational components of the Department. Current enrollment is 12, but the project as a whole reported a capacity for 23 participants for the 1979-80 fiscal year.

Theoretical Assumptions

DHEW describes Project Start as a social action program whose objective is to "break the recurring cycle of crime and recidivism by offering eligible ex-offenders a means of self-support, tangible career goals and a stake in building a better community" (DHEW, November 2, 1978). The Department suggests further that there is a direct theoretical link between its objective in Project Start and its larger (departmental) mission of "resolving or alleviating some of the conditions which negatively impact on the lower economic stratum of our society from which most of the public offenders come" (Ibid.). The program is therefore conceived as "a viable approach to the social and work-world reintegration of ex-offenders." Project Start's theoretical assumption, then, is that career development which offers financial security and the other gratifications of a career results in a reduction of criminal activity by ex-offenders.

Intervention

a. Program Services

In an immediate sense Project Start's services are academic training and paid work experience with DHEW. In the long-term sense the project offers full-time professional positions with DHEW.

The Project Start Coordinator in each region negotiates a cooperative education agreement with local universities offering the baccalaureate. The agreement requires 1) that the university/college provide academic instruction to ex-offenders selected for participation in the program, and 2) that DHEW provide salaried employment for participants, and pay the necessary tuition and other educational expenses. Participants alternate between six months of full-time study and six months of on-the-job training. They are trained for professional careers in administrative, technical, and managerial positions, and DHEW attempts during the training period to match work assignments with major areas of study.

b. Screening Procedures

Participation in Project Start is open to ex-felons, state or federal (see Figure 9). Applicants must be admitted to a four-year college and meet four additional criteria: 1) previous incarceration for a felony, 2) current enrollment as full-time students pursuing a baccalaureate degree, 3) completion of the freshman year, and 4) a minimum grade point average of 2.0 on a 4.0 scale.

Ex-felons who fulfill the criteria listed above submit applications to an academic institution in the particular federal region. Admissions officials review the applications and forward their recommendations to the Project Start Coordinator who makes the final decision on rejection. After each selection is made DHEW enters into a Cooperative Education Agreement with the college for the applicant selected. At this point the applicant becomes an intern. The Cooperative Education Agreement is a contract which specifies in considerable detail the guidelines and responsibilities governing the arrangements for the intern's career development. Included are DHEW's responsibilities, the college's responsibilities, and the conditions of the intern's employment such as eligibility, appointment, work schedules, salary and benefits, screening period and performance appraisal for continued participation in the program, and promotion and employment upon graduation. A DHEW liaison and a college liaison are designated and the agreement is signed by both. This completes screening for initial admission into Project Start.

DHEW continues its screening of interns during their first period of work with the Department. They are closely supervised and their strengths and weaknesses are assessed. Assistance is provided to interns to help them improve their performance but DHEW supervisors try at this stage to identify interns they do not consider promising.
candidates for careers in the Department.

Before the end of this initial work period the intern's supervisor and career counsellor in the Department meet and evaluate the intern's work performance. They later discuss their evaluation with the intern. On the basis of this evaluation the intern is either retained on the program or released. Interns who are retained can later become eligible for promotion, and within 120 days after graduation from the college are appointed to full-time positions in DHEW.5

FIGURE 9
INTERVENTION

Parolee
Ex-Felons

Project START
• Job Placement
• Education
• Career Counselling

Other
Ex-Felons

Career Placement

5Sources: Project Start Cooperative Education Agreement, Sample, Region III.

Organization

a. Staff Composition

A Program Manager attached to DHEW headquarters in Washington, D.C. has overall administrative responsibility for the project. At the regional level, a Project Start Coordinator is responsible for coordinating the program with local universities/colleges in six federal regions (see Appendix A), and two persons, one from DHEW (usually the Project Start Coordinator), the other from the academic institution, are designated to serve as liaison between DHEW and the schools at which Project Start participants are enrolled. Finally, DHEW supervisors provide guidance to participants during their training in the Department and monitor their performance for purposes of evaluation and promotion.

b. Budget

Budgets differ by region and depend upon the educational costs of the school at which interns are enrolled and the salary level at which they are hired by DHEW. Region III, for example, reported a budget of $25,982 (1979-1980 fiscal year) for its two current participants:6

1. Tuition, Books, etc.
   Salary (8 months) $ 3,296
   $10,356

2. Tuition, Books, etc.
   Salary (8 months) $ 8,486
   $16,369

6Project Start, Quarterly Report, Region III, 6/26/79.
The project's budget (1979-1980 fiscal year) for the two current participants in Region II is $13,270:

1. Tuition, books, etc. $1,000
   Salary (6 months) 5,635
   Total 6,635

2. Tuition, books, etc. $1,000
   Salary (6 months) 5,635
   Total 6,635

Evaluation

Evaluation in Project Start does not seem to follow a formal design of any kind, but participants are monitored closely both with respect to their academic progress and their work performance. Project Start Coordinators also pay close attention to the academic deficiencies of participants. They submit quarterly reports to DHEW's Office of Personnel Administration outlining program developments and implementation difficulties in their respective regions.

Implementation Difficulties

The recruitment of eligible candidates for program participation seems to have been the main difficulty in the implementation of the project. Project Start Coordinators found skepticism about the program among academic administrators because the program requires that applicants be ex-felons. These officials felt that verification of a student's criminal history would involve an invasion of the student's privacy since criminal background is not usually disclosed to registrars. As a result, when approached initially by Project Start Coordinators, school officials were reluctant to cooperate. However, after a few referrals had been made and the program appeared to them to be working smoothly more schools indicated interest and extended their cooperation. So far, the project reports, almost all the successful referrals have come from schools. Applicants referred by prisoner societies or ex-offender groups in the past were not eligible because they were not students enrolled in a college and therefore did not fulfill the academic requirements of the program.

In the project as a whole two measures were adopted to resolve the recruitment problem: 1) program staff contacted parole officers, correctional institutions and additional school officials; and 2) program staff persuaded the schools which had agreed to participate to publicize the program in their newsletters.

Progress in recruitment, however, seems to have resulted in another problem in some regions—more eligible candidates than the programs could accommodate. The number of slots per region is set by the Program Manager's office on the basis of several variables: 1) the level of support for the program expressed by the organizational components of the Department, 2) the availability of full-time permanent positions, and 3) the pilot status of the program. Four of the six regions have two slots each, and the remaining two have three slots each. The limit in the number of slots for eligible applicants was experienced as a constraint in a few of the regions with two slots. Project Coordinators affected have therefore recommended either an increase in the number of slots or the use of two participants in one slot alternating between school and working with the Department.

Results

The Program Manager's office considers the program so far a success, and notes that more than 75% of the ex-offenders who entered Project Start after 1975 are making "satisfactory progress". In a 1978 statement the office also reported that most of the graduates were holding permanent professional positions in the Department as Employee

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7The Project Start Coordinator for Region II provided this information on August 16, 1979.
Development Specialist, Educational Program Specialist, Price and Statistical Analyst, Mathematician, Statistician, Writer/Editor, and Accountant. Others who left the Department, the office pointed out, were working with other government agencies as teachers or counselors, or had established independent businesses.

Since enrollment in the program is limited by the number of slots allocated to each region, the number of ex-offenders participating is not necessarily indicative of program success. It is of interest for particular parole agencies to note, however, that only 12 of the 14 available slots are now filled. Regions V and VI have one opening.9

LEGAL ADVOCACY

Introduction

Project Advocate started as an LEAA pilot program in September 1978. After receiving a two-year grant in 1978, the Connecticut Department of Correction contracted with the Connecticut Prison Association to implement the project.

Theoretical Assumptions

Project Advocate's coordinator explained that the major assumption of the program is that "anyone caught in the maelstrom of criminal justice is subject to adjustment pressures that compound the negative emotions associated with daily living."10 She also observed that many ex-offenders not only do not have money for the basic needs of food and shelter upon release, but are frequently confronted with any of a series of legal problems. These may include divorce or separation from mates, custody or support of children, bankruptcy, and other matters which require civil legal assistance. In addition, the program's coordinator noted that ex-offenders experience considerable indifference, if not outright hostility, in their interaction with the law. This, she believed, eroded their sense of personal dignity. It is clear, then, that Project Advocate makes a theoretical connection between adjustment pressures in general, and more specifically, certain kinds of legal problems, and recidivism. Project staff therefore seek to relieve some of these pressures by providing legal assistance as a crisis intervention mechanism with both practical legal results and the potential for social psychological change among ex-offenders. This implies a theoretical connection between legal assistance and successful re-entry among ex-offenders.

Intervention

a. Program Services

Project Advocate's principal service is free legal assistance provided by private attorneys who volunteer their time to the program. A secondary, but also important, service is an effort to improve self-esteem among ex-offender clients by offering a "compassionate ear" to them while helping them with their legal problems.

b. Screening Procedures

Project staff embarked on a major campaign to publicize the program when it began in 1978. The Director, Coordinator, and primary law clerk made presentations to the staffs of the community's multi-service centers where ex-offenders generally seek help upon release from prison, to representatives of the member agencies of these centers, and to appropriate staff members in the Department of Correction. Presentations were also made to the Young Lawyers group of the Connecticut Bar Association, and articles describing the program were published in the Connecticut Bar Journal. Further, the project ran a paid advertisement for four consecutive weeks in the Community Services Guide of a weekly newspaper which is circulated free of charge in the community. Distributed bi-lingual (English/Spanish) posters to all community agencies, ex-offender, indigent and minority populations, as well as to commercial establishments in key locations in the inner city. The project also has regular public service announcements in English and Spanish on local radio stations. Finally, the Project Coordinator

9This was the case on 10/12/79.
10Personal correspondence dated 8/28/79.
continues to make monthly presentations on the program at individual correction centers to offenders who expect to be discharged through the state's pre-release preparation program, and an announcement is run regularly in several in-house publications of the criminal justice agencies in the state including the parole office.

Screening of ex-offenders for access to the program's services begins with intake by a law clerk (see Figure 10). The applicant's eligibility is assessed at this point, and sometimes the law clerk extends immediate assistance with quasi-legal difficulties. If the problem of an eligible applicant requires the attention of an attorney, the law clerk prepares an intake brief and forwards it to the Project Coordinator, who matches client and attorney and monitors the case to ensure satisfactory resolution.

Organization

a. Staff Composition

Overall responsibility for the project's operations is held by a Director (see Figure 11). A Project Coordinator/Recruiter handles statewide recruitment of volunteer attorneys, establishes intake and referral procedures, matches clients and attorneys, orients and supervises law clerks (who handle intake of clients), coordinates community outreach, and in general, coordinates the project's operations statewide to ensure effectiveness and compliance with program objectives. The law clerks interview prospective clients, screen referrals, and forward intake briefs for eligible clients to the Project Coordinator. Salaried staff members are the Project Coordinator (full-time) and one law clerk (part-time).11

11Two law students from the legal clinic at the University of Bridgeport School of Law assist on intake.
FIGURE 11
ORGANIZATION

- Director

- Project Coordinator/Recruiter

- Volunteer Attorneys

- Law Clerks

b. Budget

Estimated cost of the program's operations for the 1979-80 fiscal year was $34,000. It included the salaries of the Project Coordinator and the law clerk, and miscellaneous operational expenses. The project hopes to convert to state funding after three years of LEAA funding. The Coordinator expressed optimism about the possibility of state funding in Connecticut because of this state's particular funding approach. First, the program must be listed in the budget of the agency responsible for disbursement of Title XX funds, which is the Department of Social Services in Connecticut. Second, the necessary appropriation must be placed in the Department of Correction's budget to be presented to the state legislature. The combination of these two steps allows for a 75% reimbursement for state grants, which means that while the state must appropriate 100% of the funds requested, the Title XX agency will reimburse the state for 75% of the total sum from federal monies. This, the project notes, makes the funding more appealing to the state legislature.

Evaluation

The program does not have a formal evaluation design. However, its progress is closely monitored by the Director and Project Coordinator who issue monthly reports describing the status of the project. Developments in implementation, operational difficulties, and breakdowns of the number of clients served (number interviewed, number rejected, number of cases resolved at the intake level, and number referred to attorneys) are presented. Projected program changes designed to address difficulties encountered are also outlined in these reports.

Implementation Difficulties

During its initial period of operation, the project identified two areas of difficulty: 1) recruitment of volunteer attorneys into a pool for matching with ex-offender clients, and 2) formulation of a systematic procedures for identifying, screening, and
matching clients. Limited staff resources affected progress in these areas, but after about four months they were resolved. Volunteer attorneys were recruited in an intensive one-to-one campaign. Establishing good referral linkages for clients proved more difficult than project planners had expected, however. They had assumed that existing linkages between the multi-service centers and ex-offender agencies in the community would refer ex-offenders to the program, but this did not materialize. Consequently, staff members initiated a major publicity campaign, and this resulted in a steady flow of referrals.

Results

In its concept paper Project Advocate promised to handle a total of 200 cases during the 1978-1979 fiscal year. The project's May 15, 1979-June 15, 1979 report covering the grant period until that date states that 253 ex-offenders were interviewed. Of these, 63 were rejected, 123 had their problems resolved by the law clerk, and 68 were matched with attorneys. The volunteer attorney pool at this date stood at 75.

The project's February 15, 1979-March 15, 1979 report notes that 90% of the cases handled could be categorized as follows: 1) personal/psychological, 2) financial, and 3) transportation.

Based on its results through August 1979, Project Advocate reports that there is a market for its services—attorney representation and improved self-esteem among clients. Staff observe that the project's impact upon the client population has far-reaching effects, and although they acknowledge that they are not equipped to address all the variables that impinge upon re-integration, they conclude: "...We DO provide a very real and positive alternative to frustration, anxiety and depression for many individuals" (April 15, 1979-May 15, 1979 Report).

*Reasons for rejection may be: 1) the applicant is not an ex-offender, 2) the problem is not a civil one, or 3) the applicant is not indigent (personal correspondence dated 8/28/79).*

CONCLUSION

Uniform Parole Reports has traditionally focused on the effectiveness of parole by measuring the status of parolees after one, two, and three years under supervision. Unfortunately, due to the limitations of record keeping systems and of the funds available for this effort on a national scale, parole status has had to be measured primarily in terms of failure rates for parolees while on parole (the various forms of technical violation and formal recommitment to prison while on parole). The focus on services to the parolees in the community represented by this research effort is to explore parole status when parole status is defined by various forms of success. Too often UPR statistics have been used in efforts to predict failure. This effort illustrates UPR's potential to produce data on the prediction of success among parolees.
REFERENCES
Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation


1978b Second Annual Report on the National Supported Work Demonstration, New Mexico Criminal Justice Department.

New Mexico Criminal Justice Department

APPENDIX A
PROJECT START CONTACTS BY FEDERAL REGIONS

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Project Start
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Maryland of Columbia
Pennsylvania
Virginia
West Virginia

3. Region IV:
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Georgia
Florida
Kentucky
Mississippi
North Carolina
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