

THE INTEGRATED REENTRY AND EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES PILOT PROJECT:

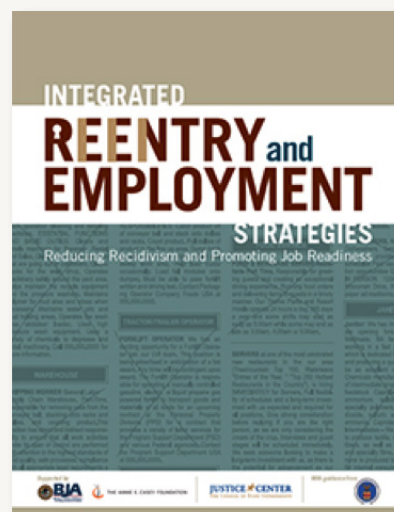
Four Questions Communities Should Consider When Implementing a Collaborative Approach

Introduction

Employment can play a critical role in reducing recidivism, but some communities simply do not have enough resources for corrections, reentry, and workforce development practitioners to provide every adult leaving prison or jail with the services they need to reduce their likelihood of reoffending and increase their level of job readiness.

Some jurisdictions have made significant progress in implementing both recidivism-reduction and employment strategies, but these efforts are often made with limited coordination. An integrated approach is needed to ensure that criminal justice and workforce development systems utilize their available resources in ways that reduce recidivism and improve the employability of their shared population. *[The Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategies \(IRES\)](#)* white paper helps policymakers, administrators, and practitioners collaboratively determine if resources are focused on the right people, using the right interventions, at the right time.

The IRES pilot project was designed to test innovative approaches to reducing recidivism and increasing job readiness for people returning from incarceration and to identify successful strategies for integrating reentry and employment programming. The pilot project focuses on operationalizing a level of cross-systems coordination among corrections, reentry, and workforce development agencies on a scale rarely seen in the field. The theory being tested is that by applying resources based on an assessment-driven referral process, recidivism and employment outcomes will improve. Thus, the pilot project has the potential to influence both correctional and workforce development programming across the country by providing a replicable framework for organizing cross-systems coordination in a cost-effective way.



To help corrections, reentry, and workforce development administrators and practitioners navigate the complex issues related to coordinated planning and service delivery, The Council of State Governments Justice Center, in collaboration with expert practitioners and researchers, developed a white paper on integrating reentry and employment strategies using a resource-allocation and service-matching tool. The work was conducted with the leadership and support of a public-private partnership involving the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, with guidance from the U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration.

Four Questions Communities Should Consider

The three-year IRES pilot project began in 2015 in two sites—Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, and Palm Beach County, Florida¹. Despite the challenges associated with integrating the efforts of corrections, reentry, and workforce development agencies, the sites have made significant strides toward establishing processes for referring people to appropriate employment services and ensuring that the services meet the needs of the reentry population. These efforts are not limited to the two IRES pilot sites; other communities across the country have begun exploring some of the strategies outlined in the white paper to establish an integrated approach.

To assess a community's ability to integrate the efforts of criminal justice and workforce development systems, policymakers and practitioners should consider the following questions:

- 1. Is our leadership committed to a collaborative approach?**
- 2. Do we conduct timely risk and needs assessments and job-readiness screenings?**
- 3. Have we conducted a comprehensive process analysis and inventory of employment services that are provided pre- and post-release?**
- 4. Do we have a coordinated process for making service referrals and tracking data?**

Many communities are successful in one or more of these areas, but few have been able to address all four at a systems level. Integrating reentry and employment services is challenging and requires intensive collaboration and commitment from policymakers and practitioners.

It is not assumed that recidivism will automatically drop and the employability of people returning from incarceration will increase once communities address these four questions; communities have unique challenges and opportunities. Rather, these questions can help guide communities toward establishing policy and programmatic frameworks that ensure existing resources for reentry and employment services are leveraged in the most impactful way.

1. Is our leadership committed to a collaborative approach?

Are state and local policymakers and key leaders from the criminal justice and workforce development systems fully invested in reducing recidivism and increasing the job readiness of people returning to the community after incarceration?

Why it matters

Reducing recidivism and increasing the job readiness of people returning to the community after incarceration requires a collaborative cross-systems approach involving a jurisdiction-wide committee or planning team. Strong leadership that includes people responsible for the state and local funding of this work is essential to provide guidance to all agencies involved and to make policy changes. Additionally, practitioners from corrections, reentry, and workforce development agencies must be at the table to brainstorm solutions to challenges identified throughout the planning process.

What it looks like

- ✓ **Executive leadership involvement:** Identifying and assembling a team of committed executive leaders is critical to successful planning and implementation. The role of an executive leadership team is to champion an integrated approach and hold agencies accountable for establishing policies and procedures that will accomplish shared objectives. Executive leaders are also able to influence policies or identify different funding streams, if necessary.

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- ✓ **Representative planning team:** A planning team—which may be part of an existing criminal justice coordinating council or task force—is assembled to guide the planning and implementation processes. The planning team includes key leaders from the criminal justice system, such as community supervision officers, facility administrators, program and agency administrators, and community-based reentry service providers; as well as leaders from the workforce development system, such as members of the local workforce board, employment and training service coordinators, community college administrators, and community-based employment service providers. It is important that the planning team represents diverse perspectives from across the corrections, reentry, and workforce development fields.

In Practice: Planning Teams in Milwaukee County, WI

The Milwaukee County Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategies (IRES) Pilot Project is guided by a planning team that includes stakeholders from the corrections, reentry, and workforce development fields and is led by an executive committee, which includes Lieutenant Governor Rebecca Kleefisch (R), Senator Lena Taylor (D), Representative Rob Hutton (R), WI Department of Corrections Secretary Jon Litscher, WI Department of Workforce Development Secretary Ray Allen, Milwaukee County Executive Chris Abele (D), and Mayor Tom Barrett (D). Members of the planning team and the executive committee are also members of other task forces, such as the Milwaukee Reentry Network and the Governor's Task Force on Minority Unemployment, which helps to promote collaboration and consistency across other initiatives.

- ✓ **Designated project coordinator:** A project coordinator manages the planning process by scheduling meetings across stakeholder groups, gathering baseline data for the target population (i.e., the number of people being released from incarceration and their demographic information and assessment results), identifying protocols for administering reentry and employment services, and organizing subcommittee work to brainstorm solutions to problems as they arise. The project coordinator ensures that activities associated with systems integration stay on track and that the work gets done.
- ✓ **Commitment to vision, mission, and guiding principles:** The planning team is clear that the goal of systems integration is to reduce recidivism and improve the job readiness of people returning to the community after incarceration and is committed to making the necessary agency- and systems-level changes to achieve those goals. Formal agreements, such as signed letters of support, are in place to document the initiative's goals and guiding principles, as well as to set the expectation that top decision makers will be in attendance for planning meetings. Employment service providers are already serving large numbers of people who have been released from prison or jail or who are required to find jobs as conditions of their probation or parole. To improve outcomes for this population, best practices from the workforce development, corrections, and reentry fields are leveraged. In order for each field's investments to be maximized, correctional supervision, treatment, reentry supports, and other services are coordinated.

Challenges to Prioritizing Employment Services for the Reentry Population

American Job Centers—commonly known as one-stop centers—are designed to provide employment and training services throughout the country. These centers are overseen by state or local workforce investment boards (WIBs), which are chaired by local businesses. It is the responsibility of the WIBs to ensure that one-stop centers are connected to key partners, including employment service providers, public assistance programs, community colleges, and other education or training providers. The services provided at each one-stop center may vary, but all one-stop centers offer a core set of services, such as providing information on job openings and student financial aid, and assisting with job searches, resume writing, and interviewing. Although these services are usually sufficient for people who require less intensive support for finding and keeping a job, they are not sufficient for serving a less job-ready population. For less job-ready people, some centers provide more advanced services focused on education and training or refer them to other community-based service providers for more intensive services.

Some experts frame the employment issue for people returning to their communities after incarceration in an economic supply-and-demand context. As unemployment rates decline, there are more open jobs than there are qualified workers to fill them. Although people returning from incarceration are often seeking work, many have characteristics that make it difficult for them to connect to sustainable employment, such as behavioral health needs and housing instability. This population may also lack the skills and professional attributes that employers seek. Additionally, employers may be reluctant to hire people returning to the community after incarceration due to liability concerns or a perceived or real lack of skills.

Given these challenges and the pressure that one-stop centers face to meet job placement goals, the reentry population is not always prioritized for services. One-stop centers and WIB leaders must be engaged in the initiative's goals and committed to considering new ways to build capacity and better target resources to maximize outcomes for people returning from incarceration who are less job ready.

2. Do we conduct timely risk and needs assessments and job-readiness screenings?

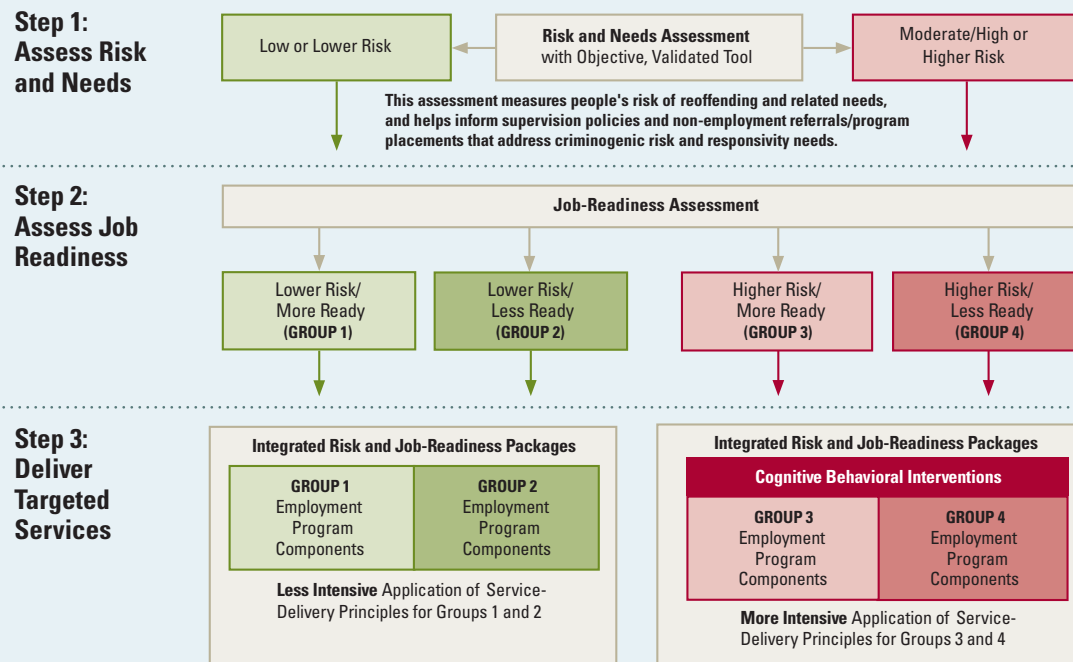
Is a risk and needs assessment conducted for everyone admitted to prison or jail? Does the risk and needs assessment identify a person's likelihood of reoffending and associated needs so correctional programming can be targeted accordingly? Are job-readiness screenings conducted prior to release to inform referrals to community-based employment programming?

Why it matters

Matching people to the most effective combination of correctional interventions, community supervision, and employment services is dependent on the use of reliable, validated screening and assessment tools. These tools can help identify each person's risk and needs associated with potential future criminal activity. Employment programs are well positioned to address risk factors because they already have large numbers of people with criminal histories coming through their doors, and they can provide a prosocial environment that may help counter negative peer influences and reduce the amount of time people spend engaged in antisocial activities. Successfully addressing risk-related attitudes and behaviors not only helps reduce recidivism but also makes program participants more employable.² Finally, assessing a person's readiness for work informs which types of services he or she will receive.

The IRES white paper introduces the **Resource-Allocation and Service-Matching Tool**, which is based on two key dimensions—a person’s criminogenic risk and needs and his or her job readiness. There are four groupings that result from assessing people under correctional supervision along these dimensions—lower risk/more job ready, lower risk/less job ready, higher risk/more job ready, and higher risk/less job ready. Each group can be assigned to a combination of employment program components and service-delivery strategies that are tailored to their risk for criminal activity and complemented by correctional treatment interventions.

Figure 1: The Resource-Allocation and Service-Matching Tool



Some people returning to the community after incarceration require intensive services and programming to reduce their risk of reoffending, while others perform better with less intensive interventions and supervision. Because the tool groups people first by risk and then by job readiness, resources are focused where they can be most effective. For example, a higher-risk person returning from prison who has limited work experience and negative attitudes about legitimate employment will receive intensive, structured services that complement close supervision. In contrast, a lower-risk person with a history of successful employment will benefit from minimal supervision and may need assistance with little beyond writing a resume or reinstating a driver’s license.

What it looks like

- ✓ **Validated risk and needs assessments:** In addition to assessing a person’s risk of reoffending, validated, objective risk and needs assessments also identify what must be addressed through treatment interventions in order to lower a person’s risk of reoffending, as well as inform how treatment interventions should be delivered to support the way a person learns. Reducing recidivism requires that resources for community supervision and treatment interventions and programming be prioritized for people assessed at a higher risk of reoffending. Assessment information also guides decisions on reentry plans and referrals to employment services that draw on the resources of multiple systems.
- ✓ **System-wide definition of job readiness:** The way employment programming and services are delivered varies greatly across the field, and there is little standardization in how agencies assess whether or not a person is ready for work. Job readiness is often determined by a person’s work experience and various skill sets that make him or her more or less

competitive in the labor market. People with criminal histories commonly experience barriers to employment,³ but it is also possible for people returning home from incarceration to join—or rejoin—the workforce immediately upon release, especially if they have extensive work experience, high levels of education, and/or professional and technical skills. A common definition of job readiness is used across agencies that provide employment services to ensure consistent case plan development and measures of success.

- ✓ **Job-readiness assessments and screenings:** Risk and needs assessments help inform the intensity with which employment services are delivered; however, these decisions require a second assessment that focuses on a person’s level of job readiness. Job readiness assessments typically consist of a structured series of questions about a person’s history of employment; education and certification accomplishments; and attitude toward work, such as his or her general motivation and resilience when disappointment occurs. Job-readiness assessments are used to focus intensive employment services on people who are likely to experience difficulties finding or maintaining a job.
- ✓ **Mechanisms for information sharing:** When information from the risk and needs assessments is appropriately shared by corrections with workforce development professionals and reentry service providers, the results enhance service matching and the need to conduct multiple screenings is eliminated. Community-based reentry service providers often establish memorandums of understanding (MOUs) with corrections agencies or parole and probation to access assessment information.

In Practice: Assessment Processes and Information Sharing in Palm Beach County, FL

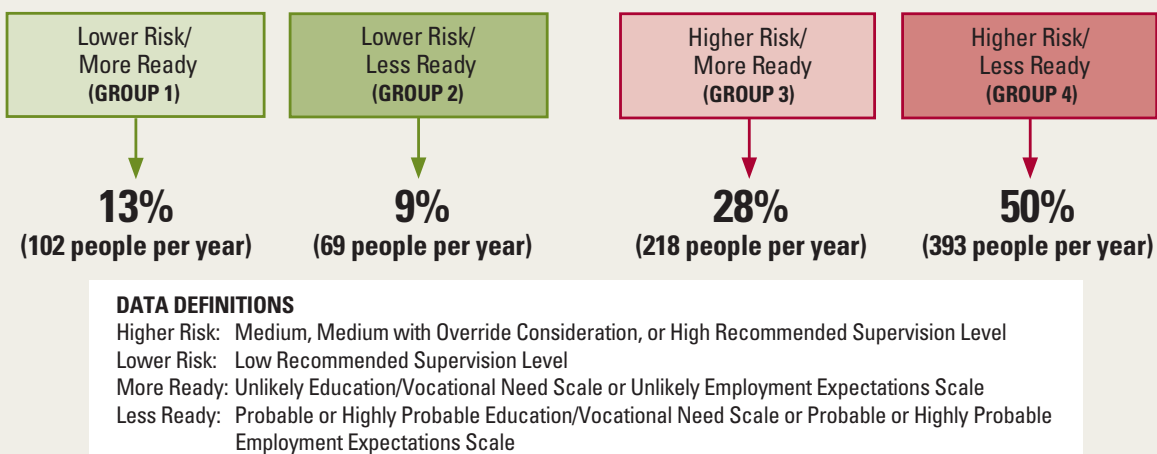
At the Sago Palm Reentry Center—a state correctional facility located in Palm Beach County—reentry service providers conduct risk and needs assessments at least nine months prior to a person’s release date. Pre-release services are then prescribed to begin addressing the person’s criminogenic needs and a reentry plan is developed to prepare the person for release. For people returning to the county from other state and local facilities, reentry service providers conduct risk and needs assessments upon that person’s release into the community. All assessment information is accessible to the Criminal Justice Commission, contracted community-based providers, and the local one-stop center in a shared database to ensure coordinated delivery of services.

- ✓ **Baseline data:** Baseline data helps corrections, reentry, and workforce development agencies understand the number of people returning to the community after incarceration and their associated needs so services can be aligned accordingly. This data also allows progress to be tracked over time. The planning team gathers data on the number of people returning from incarceration, including their demographic information, criminal history, and assessment results. Reports containing this information are generated at least annually so services can be targeted to the population projected to return to the community.

In Practice: Collecting Baseline Data in Milwaukee County, WI

Collecting risk and job-readiness data can help the planning team strategize ways to tailor reentry and employment services to meet the needs of those returning from incarceration and ensure funding is allocated to support the services that have proven over time to be effective. Fifty percent of the people who returned to Milwaukee County in 2015 from the four correctional facilities included in the pilot project were assessed as less job ready and at a higher risk of reoffending. Therefore, a significant number of community-based service providers must be equipped to provide employment services that increase a person's job-readiness level while addressing the underlying characteristics that make that person more likely to reoffend.

Figure 2: Risk and Job Readiness of People Returning to the Community After Incarceration



3. Have we conducted a comprehensive process analysis and inventory of employment services provided pre- and post-release?

Do we have a clear understanding of how a person moves through the correctional system—from admission to the facility through enrollment in community-based programming upon release—and what assessment information is considered when making program referrals? Are our community-based service providers equipped to meet the employment and reentry needs of people returning from incarceration?

Why it matters

An analysis of correctional, reentry, and workforce development agency processes—from the point of admission to the facility through enrollment in programming in the community—gives stakeholders a more comprehensive understanding of the points of intervention. This analysis includes a review of processes related to the timing of screenings and assessments, data collection, correctional program referral and enrollment, release planning, community supervision, and community-based program referral and enrollment. Additionally, interviews with key stakeholders and practitioners shed light on the adherence to these processes and areas for improvement. Assessing the type and intensity of the available employment and reentry services is essential to understanding the assets and gaps that exist in each community.

What it looks like

- ✓ **Detailed process analysis:** The planning team traces the steps of a person's involvement in the justice system—from the moment the person enters the correctional facility to enrollment in post-release community-based programming. At each point in the program referral process, the following questions are asked:

- What is the process associated with the program referral?
- Is the process timely and efficient?
- What information is collected at that point in the process?
- How is that information shared and with whom?
- How does that information inform what happens at the next point in the process?

A process flow chart is often created to illustrate the various referral and enrollment points throughout a system and is used to facilitate a conversation with the planning team about how the process works in practice.

- ✓ **Service capacity:** The planning team reviews service contracts to identify what employment services are available in the community, attends task force meetings, and interviews people who were formerly incarcerated. In resource-rich communities, multiple agencies may be providing similar services, while in other communities there may be only one or two agencies offering a particular employment service. In either case, the types of services offered and the way they are delivered align with the needs of people returning from incarceration to that particular community. By assessing the services provided within each agency, corrections, reentry, and workforce development administrators better understand their community’s capacity to meet the needs of people returning home from incarceration and how to better match people to services based on their assessed needs. Armed with this knowledge, policymakers and practitioners are able to identify gaps in services to determine where resources and training should be allocated.
- ✓ **Evidence-based services:** Although employment is an important part of reentry, simply placing someone in a job will not prevent reoffending. To help people returning from incarceration succeed in the workplace, community-based employment programs need to address people’s underlying attitudes about crime and work that make them both more likely to reoffend and to have problems finding and keeping a job. Effective strategies for reducing recidivism include tailoring services to a person’s distinct needs (such as cognitive behavioral interventions to address antisocial thinking and behaviors) as identified by an evidence-based risk and needs assessment.


To engage people who face barriers to employment—including those returning from incarceration—services must be matched to a person’s level of job readiness. Employment programs for this population generally aim to achieve two broad goals—promoting job readiness and finding and retaining employment—that dictate *what type of services* to provide. See Figure 3.

Figure 3: Core Components of Effective Employment Services

Goal 1: Promote Job Readiness	Goal 2: Find and Retain Employment
• Education and Training	• Non-Transitional Subsidized Employment
• Soft/Cognitive-Skill Development	• Job Development and Coaching
• Transitional Job Placements	• Retention and Advancement Services
• Non-Skill-Related Interventions	• Financial Work Incentives

The factors that put a person at a higher risk of reoffending can have a significant impact on employability. Therefore, beyond what types of services are provided, agencies must also consider **how services are delivered** to reduce recidivism, including efforts to engage people in programming, timing of services, incentives, coordination with other supports, and the use of structured prosocial activities. Employment service providers collaborate with corrections agencies that conduct risk and needs assessments to develop integrated responses. See Figure 4.

Figure 4: Principles of Service Delivery



Service Delivery Principles	Less Intensive Application for Lower-Risk People	More Intensive Application for Higher-Risk People
Engagement	Avoid intensive engagement and case management	Intensive case management and use of cognitive-behavioral approaches
Timing	Timing is still important, but less of a priority for lower-risk people	Connect with people shortly after release from jail/prison
Incentives	Incentives are less of a priority and need for lower-risk people	Enhance motivation through communication and incentives
Coordination	Community supervision should not be intensive, and supervision officers do not have to play an active role	Work closely with community supervision officers, who can assist with intensive engagement
Structured Time	Avoid disrupting existing prosocial ties	Structure time in a prosocial environment

In Practice: Providing Evidence-Based Services in New York City

The New York City-based Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO) operates a transitional job program that offers employment programming. All participants enroll in a five-day life skills class that teaches the basic expectations for behavior and performance on the job. During the life skills class, other barriers to employment, such as the need for proper identification, are addressed. Participants are then placed in a transitional job for an average of nine weeks. During that time, participants continue to receive soft-skill development services from their supervisor and job coach. CEO staff regularly assess the job readiness of participants through the use of “Passports to Success,” which are booklets with checklists that reflect job-readiness factors—such as the ability to cooperate with a supervisor, demonstrated effort at work, and punctuality—that the site supervisor completes each day. When participants are deemed “job ready,” they begin working with a job developer to find full-time, unsubsidized employment. CEO then provides one year of financial incentives and job-retention services.

- ✓ **Identifying existing services in the community:** To assess the landscape of services available in the community—including identifying what level of risk and needs each agency is best equipped to serve—the planning team conducts interviews with existing service agencies and participants. These interviews are designed to understand **what** employment services are offered and **how** they are delivered. Questions to help the interviewer understand how services are offered may include:
 - Are there staff dedicated to providing case management?
 - Does the agency offer cognitive-behavioral interventions?
 - Are cognitive treatments and interventions that address criminal thinking offered?

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- Does the treatment environment motivate participants to support one another?
 - Are participants engaged in services prior to release from incarceration?
 - Does the agency offer incentives for participation?
 - Do staff regularly communicate with supervision officers and other community or family supports?
 - Does the agency offer a structured programming schedule?

✓ **Alignment of funding requirements:** The planning team facilitates discussions with agency administrators and policymakers about how resources can be used most efficiently to improve reentry and employment outcomes. Concentrating intensive resources on fewer participants and sequencing services properly can have a far greater impact on reducing recidivism and increasing job readiness than trying to provide the most basic assistance to everyone. Service contracts with providers incorporate evidence-based service delivery principles and core components of effective programming, as well as capacity-building opportunities and quality assurance measures.

4. Do we have a coordinated process for making service referrals and tracking data?

Who is responsible for making referrals to service providers in the community? Does that agency track the referrals and coordinate provider efforts?

Why it matters

It is often unclear which agency is responsible for making referrals to community-based reentry and employment services. Supervision officers are often overwhelmed with heavy caseloads and need support to provide reentry services to their most difficult-to-serve populations. Reentry agencies may change the scope of available programming as a result of funding limitations or changes in leadership. New reentry agencies may also be established in the community. Given this ever-changing landscape, practitioners from the criminal justice system often refer people to agencies that are successful at placing participants in jobs quickly; however, these agencies are not necessarily equipped to address a person's risk and needs that lead to reoffending. To assist practitioners in identifying agencies that have services designed to address a person's assessed risk and associated needs, while also promoting job-readiness skills, communities should establish a coordinated process for making service referrals and tracking data.

What it looks like

- ✓ **Lead coordinating agency:** A lead coordinating agency is established to promote collaboration between agencies. In some communities the lead coordinating agency operates within the criminal justice system, while in other communities it is a centralized agency that operates within the workforce development system. Regardless of which agency is designated as the lead coordinator, the roles and responsibilities are consistent and include evaluating community-based reentry programs and their fidelity to evidence-based programming, coordinating transition planning, and tracking referrals and services to promote collaboration among reentry service providers.
- ✓ **Ongoing evaluation of community-based reentry services:** The planning team first identifies what employment services are available in the community and how they are delivered. Next, the lead coordinating agency keeps track of available services and ensures that agencies incorporate evidence-based principles into their programs. The lead coordinating agency identifies capacity-building needs and makes training opportunities available to contracted agencies. The lead coordinating agency may also oversee employment service contracts.
- ✓ **Coordinated transition planning:** Information such as assessment results and program participation data is shared with the lead coordinating agency, which then identifies which employment agencies offer the evidence-based programming that best matches a person's risk and needs. The employment service provider engages people that are incarcerated prior to release to inform them of the services available in the community, and, when possible, begins service delivery in the

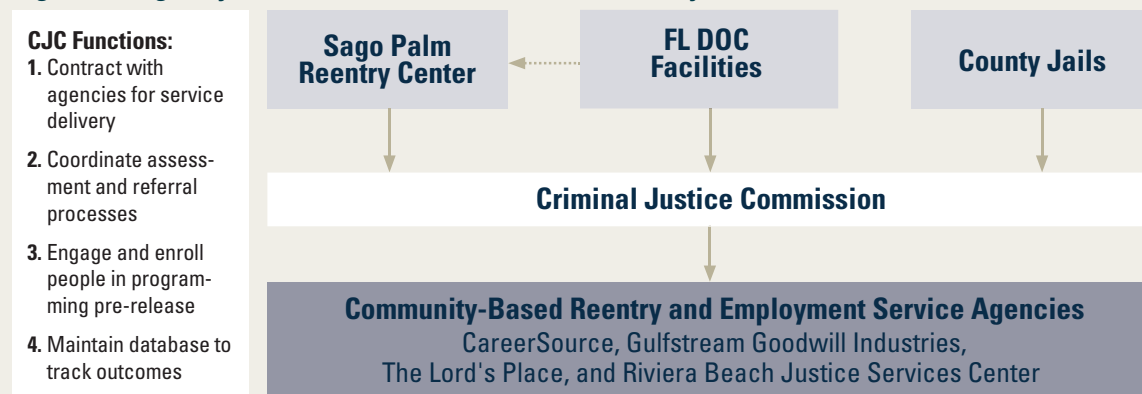
institution. Additional engagement opportunities may include partnerships between correctional staff and community supervision officers to prepare for release and collaborating with family members or other social supports to establish a reentry plan.

- ✓ **Tracking referrals and services:** A shared database assists workforce development, reentry, and corrections agencies in tracking referrals and the services that have been delivered. A shared database is also used to track program participants' progress. Information collected includes program participants' demographic information, as well as their criminal history, assessment results, reentry and employment services they have received and those they are currently enrolled in, and any supervision conditions. The lead coordinating agency maintains the shared database, ensures data is regularly entered by agencies and service providers, and uses the data to assess program impact and report on outcomes.
- ✓ **Promoting coordination, collaboration, and sustainability:** As the oversight body, the lead coordinating agency understands how the reentry and employment service providers in the community differ in the services and programs they provide. Therefore, the lead agency develops partnerships and mechanisms for coordinating cross-program referrals to better match people to services and make the best use of resources. Because of the collaboration among reentry and employment service providers that the lead coordinating agency helps facilitate, the community is well-positioned to collectively seek new or ongoing funding for reentry and employment services. Once funding is awarded, the lead coordinating agency establishes contracts with reentry and employment agencies that are best equipped to serve people returning from incarceration.

In Practice: The Role of a Lead Coordinating Agency

The Palm Beach County Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) has 21 public sector members representing local, state, and federal criminal justice and governmental agencies and 12 business members representing private companies and the Economic Council of Palm Beach County. The CJC functions as a liaison between corrections and community-based reentry agencies to ensure that people returning from incarceration are connected to programming that meets their assessed needs. For example, the CJC funds positions within community-based reentry agencies that conduct risk and needs assessments pre-release in the Sago Palm Reentry Center. Staff in these positions begin programming in the facility based on assessed risk and needs and establish a reentry plan to ensure a seamless continuation of services when the person is released from incarceration. The reentry plan consists of wraparound services including coordination with family members and other community supports, identification of housing resources, and enrollment in public assistance and benefits programs. In addition to contracting with community-based providers for service delivery, the CJC manages assessment and referral processes, engages and enrolls people in programming pre-release, and maintains a shared database to track participant outcomes. The CJC has an established history of building strong partnerships to improve the criminal justice system and serves as a catalyst to coordinate agencies across the county through the Reentry Task Force.

Figure 5: Agency Coordination in Palm Beach County, FL



Conclusion

Coordinating systems and services is challenging, but collaboration is critical for communities working to reduce recidivism and increase the employability of people returning from incarceration. The four questions highlighted above were derived from the first year of the IRES pilot project and can be used to facilitate conversations with key stakeholders about a community's ability to integrate the efforts of the corrections, workforce development, and reentry fields and to determine what reentry and employment services are available to meet the needs of people returning from incarceration. For additional information regarding the IRES pilot project, visit csgjusticecenter.org/reentry/the-reentry-and-employment-project.

Endnotes

- ¹ The National Reentry Resource Center is working with a team of expert partners to provide technical assistance to both pilot sites for up to three years. These partners and consultants, such as the Heartland Alliance National Transitional Jobs Network and the National Institute of Corrections, have extensive experience in policy analysis, program development and implementation, and research.
- ² Edward J. Latessa, "Why Work is Important and How to Improve the Effectiveness of Correctional Reentry Programs That Target Employment," *Criminology and Public Policy* 11, no. 1 (2012): 87–91.
- ³ Harry J. Holzer, Steven Raphael, and Michael A. Stoll, "Employment Barriers Facing Ex-Offenders," presented at Reentry Roundtable on The Employment Dimensions of Prisoner Reentry: Understanding the Nexus between Prisoner Reentry and Work, New York University, May 19-20, 2003, available at urban.org/UploadedPDF/410855_holzer.pdf.