

# STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES FOR PEOPLE WITH CRIMINAL HISTORIES

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**T**he successful employment of people with criminal records—including 22 percent of adults in Wisconsin—strengthens their families, reduces recidivism, and helps meet the state’s workforce needs. To better address the barriers these individuals face, new programs have integrated proven recidivism-reduction approaches from the corrections field with best practices for improving job readiness from the workforce development field. A growing body of research provides guidance on ways to ensure programs are cost-effective and connect the right resources with the people who need them most. To lessen the negative effects of “collateral consequences” on an individual’s employability, 31 states have passed legislation that provides some level of criminal record “clearance.” In addition, an increasing number of states have established certificates of recovery to help job seekers demonstrate progress in rehabilitation and training to employers.

## WHAT IS THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PEOPLE WITH CRIMINAL HISTORIES AND WISCONSIN’S WORKFORCE?

As Wisconsin policymakers and employers look for ways to strengthen and expand the state’s workforce, it is important to identify ways to help people with criminal histories find and keep employment, and to support the employers who hire them. The number of potential workers in this group is large, as the vast majority of people who are in jails and prisons nationwide will eventually return to the community.<sup>1</sup> In Wisconsin, nearly 8,900 people were released from state prisons in 2016—an average of 740 people per month,<sup>2</sup> and according to recent estimates, 22 percent of Wisconsin adults have a criminal record.<sup>3</sup>

Further, policymakers as well as corrections, reentry, and workforce development administrators and practitioners across the country have made it a priority to ensure that people returning to the community from incarceration do not commit new crimes.<sup>4, 5, 6</sup> Federal, state, and local government officials view employment as critical to successful reentry and have emphasized the need for people released from prison and jail to receive services that help them pursue employment. Indeed, when asked about their post-release plans, incarcerated people typically say that getting a job is crucial to their ability to stay crime-free.<sup>7</sup>

## WHAT ROLE DOES EMPLOYMENT PLAY IN SUCCESSFUL REENTRY?

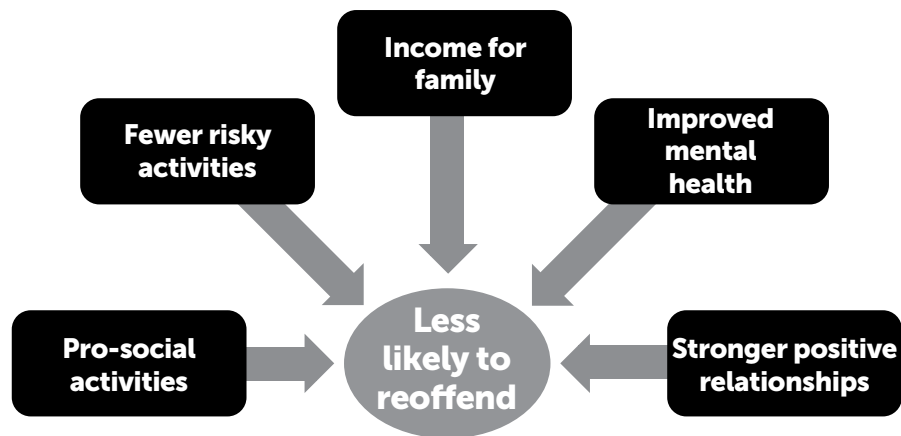
Employment can make a strong contribution to recidivism-reduction efforts because it refocuses people’s time and efforts on prosocial activities, making them less likely to engage in risky behaviors and associate with people who do.

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Having a job also enables people to contribute income to their families, which can generate more personal support, stronger positive relationships, enhanced self-esteem, and improved mental health, especially when someone has stable employment with earnings above minimum wage (see Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> For these reasons, employment often is seen as a gateway to becoming and remaining a law-abiding and contributing community member. Employment also has important societal benefits, including reduced strain on social service resources, contributions to the tax base, and safer, more stable communities.

**FIGURE 1**  
**Five Benefits of Employment That Play an Important Role in Successful Reentry**



When people returning to the community from incarceration seek work, many face barriers, such as unmet behavioral health needs and housing instability, that make it difficult to obtain and keep employment. This population also may have work-related characteristics (e.g., a low level of performance and satisfaction on the job) that correlate with characteristics associated with criminal behavior (e.g., antisocial behavior and attitudes), placing them at higher risk of committing a crime. Various studies suggest that to reduce criminal behavior and recidivism, employment service providers and corrections professionals must address people's antisocial attitudes and beliefs associated with crime, many of which also affect someone's ability to succeed in the workplace.<sup>9</sup> For employment service providers to help lower people's risk of recidivism, people must be motivated to change their behavior.<sup>10</sup> In other words, a more prosocial lifestyle is integral to a person's success in employment and other programs.

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*Studies suggest that antisocial attitudes and beliefs associated with crime—many of which also affect a person's ability to succeed in the workplace—must be addressed.*

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## HOW CAN POLICYMAKERS AND PRACTITIONERS EFFECTIVELY TARGET SERVICES TO IMPROVE EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES AND LOWER RECIDIVISM?

Given limited financial and staffing resources, policymakers and criminal justice practitioners are looking for effective ways to deliver the right services to the right people at various points in the reentry planning process. One strategy involves integrating proven recidivism-reduction approaches from the corrections field with best practices for improving job readiness from the workforce development field.

A body of rigorous research that includes randomized controlled trials, quasi-experimental design studies, and meta-analyses, decisively shows that proper implementation of risk-need-responsivity (RNR) principles can reduce the risk of recidivism.<sup>11</sup> These principles provide evidence-based guidance on who should be prioritized to receive interventions and help determine what needs should be addressed to reduce reoffending and increase public safety.<sup>12</sup> For employment providers serving people with criminal histories, the use of RNR principles provides a cost-effective way to ensure that resources are focused on people who need services most and are not misspent on people who are likely to succeed with little or no interventions.

Validated, objective risk and needs assessments are essential for effective implementation of the RNR principles (see Figure 2). The extent to which information from these assessments can be appropriately shared by corrections officials with workforce development professionals and other reentry or community-based service providers, will improve the process of matching people to appropriate services and reduce the burden of conducting multiple screenings.

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### FIGURE 2

#### Assessments Conducted by Corrections and Workforce Development Professionals

**Risk/Needs Assessment:** A comprehensive examination and evaluation of both dynamic (changeable) and static (historical and/or demographic) criminogenic factors that predict risk of recidivism.

**Job-Readiness Assessments and Screenings:** Typically, a structured series of questions that collects consistent, useful information from potential program participants. Job-readiness assessments commonly ask questions about a person's history of employment, education and certification accomplishments, attitude toward work, general motivation, and resilience when disappointment occurs.

Key considerations for each RNR principle are discussed below.

- *Risk Principle. Match the intensity of a person's interventions to their level of risk for criminal activity.* Research shows that prioritizing supervision and services for people assessed as being at a moderate or high risk of committing a future crime can lead to a significant reduction in recidivism among this group. Conversely, intensive interventions for people who are at a low risk of recidivism may actually

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be harmful and may contribute to increasing the person's likelihood of engaging in criminal behavior.

- *Need Principle. Target criminogenic needs—the factors that contribute to the likelihood of new criminal activity.* Understanding risk of future criminal behavior allows service providers to tailor employment services and recidivism-reduction interventions to individual needs. For people with antisocial thinking, behaviors, personality patterns, and peers—the criminogenic risk factors that have the greatest effect on reoffending—cognitive behavioral interventions may be needed to reduce their likelihood of reoffending and prepare them for the workplace.
- *Responsivity Principle. Account for a person's individual abilities, learning style, and motivation, as well as their cultural, ethnic, racial, and gender characteristics when designing interventions.* Learning disabilities and mental, physical, or substance use disorders may also need to be addressed before corrections or employment interventions can be successful.

## **WHAT ARE EFFECTIVE COMPONENTS OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES?**

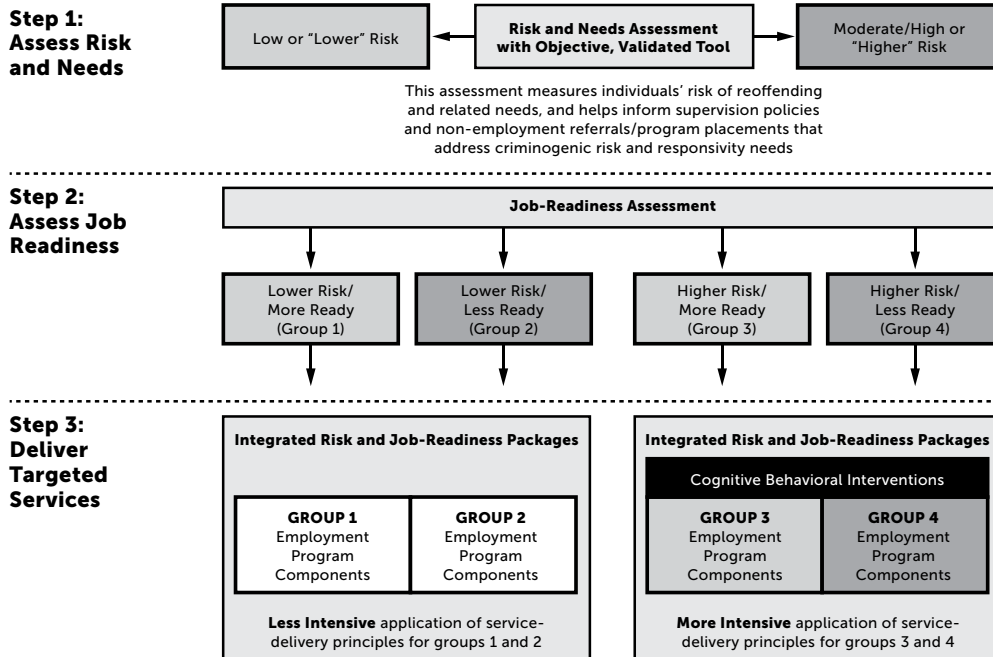
Although people with criminal records share many of the same challenges as the “hard-to-employ” population—people who are chronically unemployed, have low educational attainment, or little work experience—they have additional barriers to employment that must be addressed. Employment programs for this population generally aim to achieve two broad goals: promote job readiness, and help people find and retain employment. Many workforce development services for improving the employment outcomes of people with criminal histories are available. For people who are less job ready, services include education and training, soft/cognitive-skill development, transitional job placements, and non-skill-related interventions (e.g., mental health and substance-use treatment, and assistance with logistical challenges such as housing and transportation). For people who are more job ready, services include unsubsidized employment, job development and coaching, retention and advancement services (such as continuing education and training), and financial work incentives. In most circumstances, multiple program components must be used to meet people's complex needs as they change over time.

## **HOW CAN BEST PRACTICES FROM THE CORRECTIONS, REENTRY, AND WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT FIELDS BE INTEGRATED TO REDUCE RECIDIVISM AND IMPROVE JOB READINESS?**

The Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategies (IRES) framework is based on RNR principles and incorporates best practices from the corrections, reentry, and workforce development fields. The framework introduces a resource-allocation and service-matching tool (see Figure 3), with the aim of improving outcomes for people with criminal histories. Policymakers, as well as corrections, reentry, and workforce development administrators, can use the tool to better determine whether resources are being used effectively. Practitioners can use it to help ensure that people who have criminal histories are connected to the most appropriate interventions based on their assessed risk to reoffend and associated needs, including readiness for work, thus reducing their chances of reincarceration.

**FIGURE 3**

**Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategy (IRES) Framework**



People released from prison or jail, or who are starting probation or parole, complete the criminogenic risk/needs assessment and job-readiness assessment/screening and are placed into one of four groups: lower reoffending risk/less job ready, lower reoffending risk/more job ready, higher reoffending risk/less job ready, and higher reoffending risk/more job ready. By grouping people this way, they can be connected to the most appropriate combination and intensity of interventions, supervision, and employment services. Line-level staff can individualize plans to meet the diverse needs of people within each group.

In sum, this tool is meant to help jurisdictions better define the needs of their population, target services accordingly, and leverage their collective resources through multisystem collaboration, cross-training, and planning. Service providers can make better use of existing employment resources in the community to reduce recidivism and risk factors that affect employability.

**HOW IS RESEARCH ABOUT PROMOTING JOB READINESS AND REDUCING RECIDIVISM BEING PUT INTO PRACTICE ACROSS THE COUNTRY?**

***Applying the Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategy (IRES) Framework in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin***

In early 2015, The Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center and the U.S. Department of Justice’s (DOJ) Bureau of Justice Assistance selected Milwaukee County as one of two sites (the other is Palm Beach County, Florida) to apply the IRES Framework on a systems level. Supported by DOJ and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, and with guidance

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from the U.S. Department of Labor, the CSG Justice Center began working with the pilot sites to operationalize cross-systems coordination among corrections, reentry, and workforce agencies, including community-based agencies at a level rarely seen in the field.<sup>14</sup>

The Wisconsin Department of Corrections (DOC) and Milwaukee County's local workforce investment board, Employ Milwaukee, collaborate on the project. Milwaukee County, to which the highest proportion of people released from prison return, was chosen due to the partners' committed leadership and the agencies' mature infrastructure, as well as the strong presence of community-based agencies providing workforce services. The project is guided by a steering committee that includes stakeholders from the corrections, reentry, and workforce development fields and is led by an executive committee, which includes Lieutenant Governor Rebecca Kleefisch, Senator Lena Taylor, Representative Rob Hutton, Mayor Tom Barrett, Wisconsin Department of Corrections Secretary Jon Litscher, and Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development Secretary Ray Allen.<sup>15</sup>

CSG Justice Center staff worked with stakeholders to map what programming and services were available pre- and post-release and how people in the DOC system were connected to them. Next, CSG Justice Center staff began discussing with state and local leaders the capacity to provide reentry and employment services to people while incarcerated in four prisons as well as after release, and how these services could be better coordinated. In-prison programming included Thinking for a Change and Cognitive Behavioral Interventions for Offenders Seeking Employment. These evidence-based interventions address needs related to a person's likelihood of reoffending and the ability to manage high-risk situations involved in obtaining and maintaining employment. The capacity for providing this programming across the four prisons varied.

More than 25 community-based agencies were providing workforce services in Milwaukee County, and DOC lacked a systematic process for using assessment information to refer people to the most appropriate post-release services. Although DOC staff administered risk and needs assessments, and made referrals to evidence-based cognitive programming (pre-release) based on assessment results, community-based workforce agencies lacked access to information related to the assessment results or about program completion.<sup>16</sup>

In the project's second year, CSG Justice Center staff began assisting the partners with system-wide improvements to address these findings. An innovative aspect of the partnership is the level of access and information sharing. Employ Milwaukee now conducts job-readiness assessments inside four DOC prisons and has access to risk- and needs-assessment results along with the types of programming a person receives pre-release. This information guides the development of an employment plan with recommendations for post-release services. Moreover, DOC is developing a policy to establish consistency in how the results of standardized assessments are used to make referrals to employment services and programs across institutions. It also is expanding staff training and managing workload so there is more capacity to deliver these programs.

Later this year, CSG Justice Center staff will conduct a process evaluation of the pilot site to examine the extent to which the pilot's efforts have brought about improvements in their systems.

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***Delivering life skills education and providing transitional employment—Center for Employment Opportunities***

The Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO), headquartered in New York City with offices around the country, operates a transitional job program that offers employment services to people returning to the community after incarceration.<sup>17</sup> All participants enroll in a five-day life skills class, which emphasizes interactive and role-playing exercises that teach the basic expectations for behavior and performance on the job.<sup>18</sup> During the life skills class, other barriers to employment, such as obtaining proper identification, are addressed.

Participants are then placed in a transitional job—CEO-run work crews that “provide maintenance, janitorial and grounds-keeping services to both public institutions and private companies”—for an average of nine weeks.<sup>19</sup> During that time, CEO subsidizes paychecks and serves as the employer of record, and the participant continues to receive soft-skill development services from their supervisor and job coach.<sup>20</sup> CEO staff regularly assess participants’ job readiness by using “Passports to Success”—checklists that reflect job-readiness factors, such as the ability to cooperate with a supervisor, demonstrated effort at work, and punctuality. The site supervisor completes these checklists each day. When participants are deemed job ready, they begin working with one of CEO’s job developers to find full-time, unsubsidized employment. CEO then provides the participant with one year of financial incentives for meeting “work retention milestones” and job-retention services.<sup>21</sup>

In the year following enrollment, CEO’s New York City-based transitional job program reduced participants’ recidivism by 16 percent to 22 percent compared to similar people who received limited services. Impacts were greater for people who were at a higher risk of recidivism. A cost-benefit analysis of CEO also showed that the financial benefits of the program outweighed the costs for taxpayers, victims, and participants.<sup>22</sup> CEO’s approach provides a structured environment, allowing participants to learn and practice prosocial attitudes and behaviors that affect recidivism and employment outcomes.

***Engaging job developers and employing coaching strategies to place people with criminal histories in jobs—Safer Foundation’s Pivotal Staffing***

In 2005, the Safer Foundation (Safer) in Chicago began running Pivotal Staffing, LLC—an alternative staffing agency that provides placement services for adults and youth with criminal histories using job skills development and coaching strategies.<sup>23</sup> Safer also provides job-readiness programs, support services, and employment and retention services.<sup>24</sup>

Employers using Safer receive pre-screened candidates who are ready to work on an ongoing or single project basis. Candidates tend to specialize in “light industrial and entry-level positions” and include laborers, forklift operators, shipping and receiving clerks, janitors, cleaning staff, and more. Safer, like CEO, serves as the employer of record, and handles tax and unemployment insurance responsibilities rather than the organization for which the program participant is working.<sup>25</sup>

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***Developing hard skills through hands-on education while preparing for reentry  
– Michigan Department of Corrections’ Vocational Village***

Launched in late 2016 by the Michigan Department of Corrections (DOC), Vocational Village offers hands-on education that leads to industry-recognized certifications in carpentry, manufacturing, plumbing, electrical construction, welding, and automotive repair for people who are assessed as having vocational or educational needs and a higher risk of reoffending.

People who are incarcerated are given an opportunity to participate in employment training during the day and attend programming at night to address needs related to substance use, domestic violence, and violence prevention, as well as cognitive behavioral therapy to address antisocial behavior and attitudes. Vocational Village also includes key elements of a prosocial environment that can affect recidivism and employment outcomes: participants are housed together, their days are filled with structured activities, they are separated from antisocial peers, and they are given peer mentorship opportunities.

According to Michigan DOC staff, Vocational Village participants have had far fewer reported misconduct violations than the general prison population. Michigan DOC staff also report that as of September 2017, 16 of the 51 program participants who were discharged to parole supervision had secured employment prior to release, and 38 of the 51 were employed.

**HOW DOES HAVING A CRIMINAL RECORD AFFECT JOB SEEKERS, AND WHAT POLICIES ARE STATES ENACTING TO MITIGATE “COLLATERAL CONSEQUENCES”?**

***Collateral Consequences***

Roughly 70 million adults in the United States—or one in three adults—have a criminal record. Additionally, more than 1 million youth are adjudicated and acquire juvenile court records each year. For both adults and juveniles, criminal records can have long-lasting “collateral consequences” that may hinder attempts to gain occupational licenses, the right to vote, custody, housing, public benefits, eligibility for school loans, scholarships, and employment.<sup>27</sup> Collateral consequences are legal and regulatory sanctions and restrictions that result from not only felony convictions, but also from less serious sentences such as a misdemeanor conviction, a sentence that involves community supervision, or an arrest.<sup>28</sup>

Criminal records serve a variety of purposes, many of which are safety-related, such as notifying law enforcement if a person in custody has outstanding warrants or a history of violence. However, because criminal records tend to remain “on the books” long after discharge from prison, jail, or supervision, they also can create barriers for people seeking employment.<sup>29</sup> In a 2012 survey of private, nonprofit, and public sectors employers, 87 percent reported that they conduct criminal background checks on job candidates.<sup>30</sup> Advancements in information technology and an increase in the number of criminal records databases at the federal, state, and local levels make it easier than ever to access a person’s criminal record.<sup>31</sup> Because a criminal record may lower a person’s likelihood of

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obtaining employment regardless of their competency (i.e., education, skills, and training), employers may be screening out potentially qualified employees and exacerbating the labor shortage.

Recognizing the negative effects of collateral consequences on a person's chances of successful reentry, states are enacting "criminal record clearance" policies.<sup>32</sup> Such policies limit access to a person's criminal record, often with the goal of improving employability and other outcomes for the affected person. Between 2009 and 2014, at least 31 states (Wisconsin was not one) and the District of Columbia enacted policies to expand the clearance of criminal records.<sup>33</sup> Steps states have taken include: extending clearance to additional classes of offenses, reducing the waiting period before a person with a record is eligible for clearance, and making record clearance automatic or presumptive following completion of a sentence or other requirements.<sup>34</sup>

State policymakers interested in reviewing collateral consequences and record clearance policies in their states can access two online resources: the **National Inventory of Collateral Consequences of Conviction** (NICCC) and the **Clean Slate Clearinghouse**.

The **NICCC** was established to provide a list of collateral consequences at the federal and state levels, as well as for the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. For people interested in identifying penalties and disabilities triggered by a criminal record for a certain offense, the NICCC is a valuable resource.<sup>35</sup> The CSG Justice Center administers the website.

In 2017, the CSG Justice Center launched the **Clean Slate Clearinghouse**. The website provides summaries of record clearance policies and statutes in all 50 states and territories, contact information for free or low-cost legal service providers that assist with record clearance, and a variety of resources for policymakers looking to learn about and expand record clearance in their jurisdiction. The intended audience includes people with criminal records, legal professionals, and policymakers.<sup>36</sup>

### **Certificates of Recovery**

An alternative to clearing a criminal record is enabling people with records to demonstrate progress in rehabilitation and job training since their conviction. This progress is affirmed when a state or local agency issues a certificate of recovery—also called certificates of reentry, relief, achievement, or employability—to people who have met certain rehabilitation and training standards. The objective of the certificates is to provide third parties—such as potential employers, landlords, and occupational licensing boards—a broader context and understanding about the person that extends beyond the existence of a criminal record.<sup>37</sup>

Between 2009 and 2014, at least nine states (Wisconsin was not one) and the District of Columbia began issuing certificates of recovery.<sup>38</sup> In Ohio, state leaders used a two-step process to establish certificates. First, in 2011, legislation (HB 86) was enacted to permit people in prison to apply to the corrections department for a Certificate of Achievement and Employability up to one year prior to release. Requirements include completing at least one vocational program and at least one cognitive behavioral program while incarcerated. The certificate entitles a person applying for occupational licensing to receive individualized consideration from a state licensing agency, provided the occupation relates to the vocational training the person received while incarcerated.

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The following year, Ohio state leaders enacted legislation (SB 337) establishing a Certificate of Qualification for Employment (CQE), which is accessible to a larger population with criminal records, not only those who apply for a Certificate of Achievement and Employability while in prison. CQEs are court-issued and shield the person from blanket restrictions on working or being licensed in particular fields. This enables certificate holders to receive individualized consideration by the employer or the occupational licensing board.<sup>39</sup>

After states authorize certificates of employment, their use and impact depend on several factors, such as the extent to which outreach efforts target people who are eligible for certificates and whether guidance is provided about the application process (which often involves processing paperwork from various state and local agencies, obtaining letters of support, and providing proof of sobriety). In three states that issue certificates—Illinois, New York, and North Carolina—local lawyers, largely from legal aid, have provided intensive outreach and guidance to people eligible for certificates. For certificates to be successful, outreach to employers is also necessary to increase their understanding of the certificates' purpose and what they represent concerning a person's progress in rehabilitation.<sup>40</sup>

## **KEY TAKEAWAYS AND NEXT STEPS**

There are several options for state policymakers to help promote job readiness and reduce recidivism among people with criminal records.

### ***Encourage partnerships between corrections/reentry and workforce development fields***

- Apply evidence-based tools like the Integrated Reentry and Employment Strategies framework to match people with the most appropriate combination of services based on their assessed risk of reoffending and readiness to work.
- Facilitate dialogue between corrections and workforce development professionals to share expertise and strategies for reducing the risk of reoffending and connect people who have historically struggled to find employment with the workforce.
- Promote data sharing across corrections, reentry, and workforce development agencies to reduce the burden of conducting multiple screenings and reduce the duplication of services.

### ***Leverage funding to increase access to services***

- Develop guidance for leveraging Workforce Innovation Opportunity Act (WIOA) funding to build programming capacity—including promoting the use of American Job Centers for the reentry population, partnering corrections agencies with workforce investment boards to leverage correctional education funds, and allocating funds for special initiatives or services focused on serving people with criminal records. The CSG Justice Center's brief, "[The Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act: What Corrections and Reentry Agencies Need to Know](#)," outlines ways that states can use WIOA funding to serve people with criminal histories.<sup>41</sup>
- Support state and local agencies applying for discretionary reentry grant program funding from the U.S. Departments of Justice, Education, and Labor.

**Reduce policy barriers to employment**

- Consider enacting “fair chance” hiring policies to promote the removal or delay, when appropriate, of criminal records from consideration in hiring decisions and occupational licensing. Policymakers seeking to minimize the consideration of criminal records in hiring decisions have done so through a variety of legislative solutions, such as fair hiring initiatives or “ban the box” policies,<sup>42</sup> record sealing and expungement, hiring incentives, and others. To date, 30 states and more than 150 cities and counties have passed “ban the box” policies, and 9 of those states’ statutes apply to both public and private employers.
- Access the [Clean Slate Clearinghouse](#) to receive up-to-date information on record clearance and mitigation, compare Wisconsin’s record clearance policies to those of other states, and learn about best practices.

**Develop public/private partnerships**

- Help businesses improve their practices for hiring people with criminal records and access resources and incentives, such as providing practical guidance on how to implement fair hiring policies, bonding programs that protect businesses from financial liability, and tax incentives for hiring people with criminal records.
- Increase eligibility for people with criminal records to obtain certificates of recovery to help reduce the stigma associated with having a criminal record.
- Develop partnerships with particular business sectors to align employment training offered in prisons, jails, and the community with employers’ needs.
- Help employers identify qualified candidates by establishing partnerships between workforce and correction systems and local providers with strong job training programs.
- Convene business leaders as well as government and private sector representatives to discuss increasing job opportunities for people with criminal records.

In sum, employment can make a strong contribution to recidivism-reduction efforts. Stable employment enables people to generate income for their families and themselves while engaging in more prosocial and less risky behavior, building and strengthening personal relationships, and improving mental health—all of which, especially when earnings exceed the minimum wage, correlate with a reduction in recidivism.<sup>43</sup> When people with criminal histories are working, society benefits, too, as a result of reductions in the use of social services and an increased tax base. Evidence-based strategies—such as those presented in this chapter that focus the right resources on the right people at the right time—can improve employment outcomes for people with criminal histories and help strengthen the state’s labor force.

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*\*Significant portions of this chapter are drawn from the following brief:*

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<sup>23</sup> *Job developers*, who also are referred to as business specialists in the employment field, identify job opportunities for people seeking employment and work with employers to fill job vacancies. *Job coaches* prepare people for employment by providing career advice and assistance with job acquisition strategies such as resume development, interviewing skills practice, and job application completion.

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<sup>27</sup> Clean Slate Clearinghouse. (n.d.). *About the Clean Slate Clearinghouse* (Web page). Retrieved from <https://cleanslateclearinghouse.org/about/>

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<sup>32</sup> There is no single definition for the clearance of criminal records, and many terms are used interchangeably. *Sealing* and *expungement* are common terms used in states; *vacate*, *dismiss*, *set aside*, *shield*, and *annul* also are used.

<sup>33</sup> The jurisdictions that enacted policy providing record clearance between 2009 and 2014 are Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

<sup>34</sup> Subramanian, R., Moreno, R. & Gebreselassie, S. (2014). *Relief in sight? States rethink the collateral consequences of criminal conviction, 2009–2014*. New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Clean Slate Clearinghouse. (n.d.). *About the Clean Slate Clearinghouse* (Web page). Retrieved from <https://cleanslateclearinghouse.org/about/>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> The jurisdictions that enacted policy authorizing certificates of recovery between 2009 and 2014 are Arkansas, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Vermont.

<sup>39</sup> Ohio Justice and Policy Center. (n.d.) *Certificates of Qualification for Employment: Smart relief from criminal-record-based job barriers* (brief). Cincinnati: OH, author. Retrieved from <http://ohiojpc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/CQE1pg.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup> Hager, E. (2017, March 17). Forgiving vs. forgetting: for offenders seeking a new life, a new redemption tool. *The Marshall Project*. Retrieved from <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2015/03/17/forgiving-vs-forgetting>

<sup>41</sup> National Reentry Resource Center. (2017, May). *The Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act: What corrections and reentry agencies need to know*. New York, NY: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

<sup>42</sup> *Ban the box* policies refer to the point during the applicant review process when an employer can ask about a criminal record. Enacted to remove the question from the initial job application, the policies vary depending on the employer (public versus private employers or contractors) and when an employer can ask about a person's criminal record (during the interview or after a conditional offer is made). Ban the box policies are not used to determine whether a criminal record should be considered in hiring decisions.

<sup>43</sup> Graffam, J., Shinkfield, A., Lavelle, B. & McPherson, W. (2004). Variables affecting successful reintegration as perceived by offenders and professionals. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 40(1/2), 147–171.