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Double Jeopardy: Employment Discrimination Experienced by Returning Citizens

Honors Thesis

Presented to The Honors College of Salisbury University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Graduation with University Honors

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures	4
Table of Tables	5
Abstract	6
Introduction to the Problem.....	8
Introduction	8
Significance and Relevance of the Problem	9
Statement of Research Purpose	10
Research Questions	10
Contributions to the Field.....	11
Terminology	12
Literature	13
Poverty among Returning Citizens.....	13
Impact on the Individual	13
Employment opportunities.	14
Social supports.	17
Impact on the Family.....	20
Parole.....	21
Probation.	22
Stability of the Family Structure.	23
Rehabilitation	25
Probation.	26
Parole.....	27
Drug treatment and alternatives.	29
Education.....	32
Correctional education.	32
Employment Discrimination	38
Ban the Box.....	39
Status of Returning Citizens in Wicomico County, Maryland.....	42
Conclusion.....	44
Methodology	44
Research Design.....	44
Data Collection Method	45
Sampling Strategy	47

Reliability of Instruments.....	48
Data Analysis	48
Special Considerations for the Protection of Study Participants.....	48
Risks and benefits.....	48
Confidentiality.....	49
Results	50
Demographic and Descriptive Data	50
Research Findings	52
Discussion and Recommendations.....	59
Demographics and Descriptive Data.....	59
Impact of Education and Job Training on Employment.....	62
Supports for Reentry	63
Employment Success.....	65
Employment Discrimination	68
Conclusion.....	70
Limitations	70
Opportunities for Future Research	71
Conclusion.....	71
Appendix A: IRB Submitted Document	72
Appendix B: IRB Approval Letter	82
Appendix C: Survey	83
Appendix D: Survey Results	94
Appendix E: Script for Survey	108
Appendix F: Focus Group Questions	109
Appendix G: Memorandum of Agreement - Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc.	110
References	111

Table of Figures

Figure 1 How Many People are Locked Up in the United States (Wagner & Rabuy, 2016)	8
Figure 2 Maryland's Incarceration Rates (Maryland Profile, 2019).....	10
Figure 3 The "Prison Penalty" in Unemployment (Couloute & Kopf, 2018).....	14
Figure 4 Percentage of Released Prisoners Returning (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48)	43
Figure 5 Years in Prison vs. Currently Employed	54
Figure 6 Years in Jail vs. Currently Employed.....	54

Table of Tables

Table 1 Federal Housing Assistance Restrictions for Returning Citizens (McCarty, Falk, Aussenberg, & Carpenter, 2016, p.22).	19
Table 2 Demographic and Descriptive Characteristics of Previously Incarcerated Individuals ..	52
Table 3 Independent Samples T-Test – Currently Employed vs. Years Incarcerated	55
Table 4 Job Industries – Secured Since Last Conviction.....	56
Table 5 Chi-Square – Checking the Box vs. Employment	58
Table 6 Reasons for Not Getting a Job	58
Table 7 Services Which Could Have Aided with Reentry	59

Abstract

Nearly one in three U.S. adults, approximately 70 million citizens, have a criminal record (Goggins & DeBacco, 2015). The United States continues to have the highest incarceration rate globally, even though according to the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics, the U.S. incarceration rate is currently on a decline, the lowest since 1996. Even with the decline, the United States imprisons twenty-five percent of the world's incarcerated individuals, yet is home to approximately four percent of the world's population. As incarcerated individuals transition into returning citizens upon release, they often face employment discrimination despite having served their time. These experiences are like a "double jeopardy." This discrimination often starts with the first employment application submission, as 76% of returning citizens experience job discrimination while submitting a job application and only 12.5% of employers report being open to hiring a returning citizen ("Research supports fair change policies", 2016).

With between 60 to 75% of returning citizens unsuccessfully securing employment within their first year of release, this contributes to higher rates of poverty which not only impacts the individual but also their families and communities (Von Berger & Bressler, 2016). Even when a returning citizen secures employment, within their first years of release they face hurdles in seeking stable, long-term, financially secure employment, such as a criminal background check, recent occupational experiences, and correct documentation.

With no previous research conducted on employment discrimination on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, information is needed to determine the employment experiences of returning citizens on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore when seeking and securing employment. The purpose of this study is to examine the employment experiences of returning citizens who have returned to

their communities on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore (Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties).

The study contained a usable sample of forty-four respondents (n=44), and results showed that receiving an education and completing a job training program while incarcerated significantly increased a returning citizen's ability to secure employment upon release. Additionally, the survey showed that the food/serving and construction/extraction industries were more likely to hire returning citizens based upon the reported successful employment of the survey participants. Based on findings and literature review, recommendations to help assuage the impact of incarceration include initiating a Ban the Box campaign in Wicomico County, Maryland, expanding federal bonding opportunities, bringing about greater community awareness of the Maryland Re-Entry Initiative, and increasing the programming capabilities and funding for community organizations working with returning citizens.

Introduction to the Problem

Introduction

Since the 1970s, the nation's incarcerated population has increased by 700%, which according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) "far outpaces population growth and crime" (ACLU, 2019). Mass incarceration disproportionately affects individuals of color. The ACLU reports "one out of every three Black boys born today can expect to go to prison in his lifetime, as can one of every six Latino boys—compared to one of every 17 white boys" (ACLU, 2019). Additionally, the percentage of incarcerated women is the fastest growing inmate population.

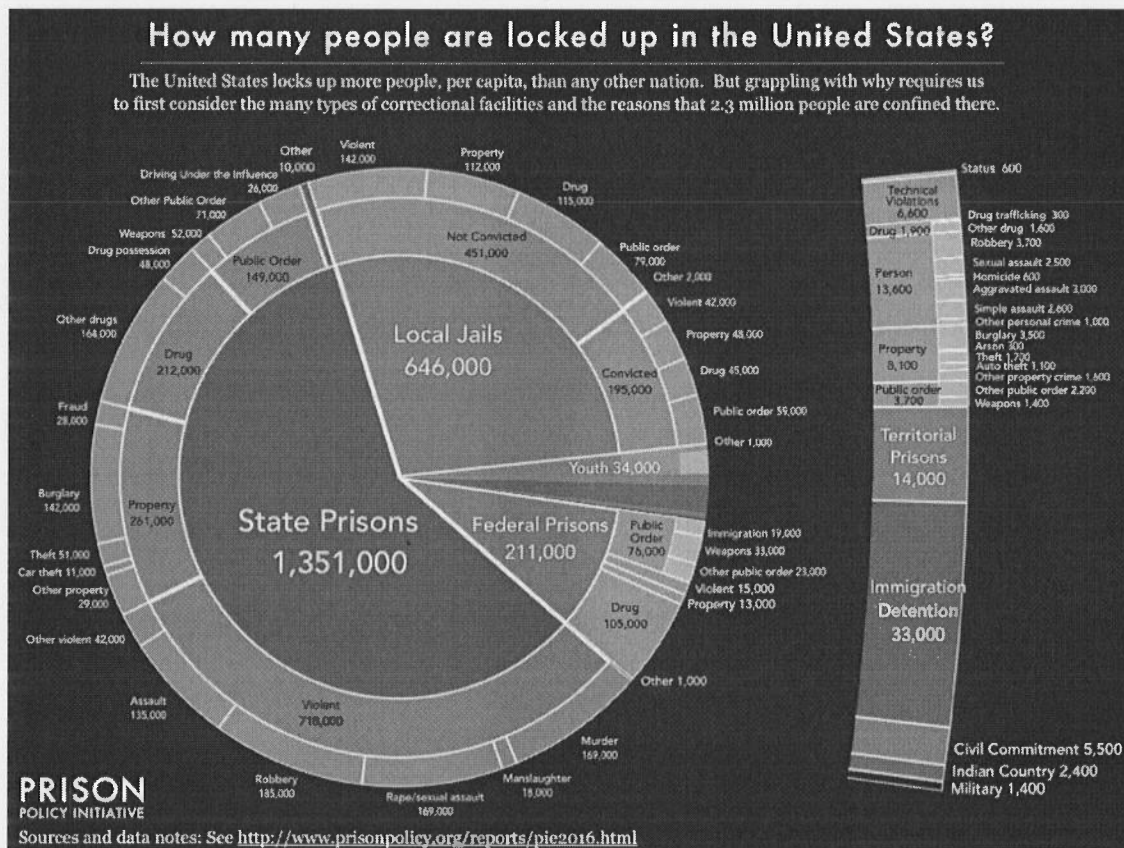


Figure 1 How Many People are Locked Up in the United States (Wagner & Rabuy, 2016).

While the U.S. incarcerates over a quarter of the world's incarcerated individuals, the nation does not adequately provide or fully fund rehabilitation programs for previously incarcerated individuals, which are accessible to the entire incarcerated population, regardless of release date.

This is most prevalent within state correctional facilities as more than a quarter do not provide prisoners with alcohol and drug dependency, counseling, and awareness programs (The Economic Impact of Prison Rehabilitation Programs, 2017). While overall there has been a competing purpose of incarceration, it is shifting from the focus of providing rehabilitation to inmates, to now serving as warehouses for those deemed a threat to society, which is especially evident through the rise in privatized prisons whose “business model depends on locking up more and more people” (Private Prisons, 2019). When rehabilitation programs are absent from within correctional systems or communities, previously incarcerated individuals face harsher hurdles when returning to society in seeking employment and can be caught greater within the cycle of poverty.

Significance and Relevance of the Problem

With Eastern Correctional Institution, a medium security male prison run by the State of Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services located in Westover, Somerset County, Maryland and the Wicomico County Detention Center having such a large presence within the region, a need exists to explore the employment experiences of previously incarcerated individuals to determine the presence of employment discrimination within the area. Through doing so employment barriers for previously incarcerated individuals could be addressed to improve the financial stability of the region as well as working to reduce the recidivism rate.

Today, Maryland's incarceration rates stand out internationally

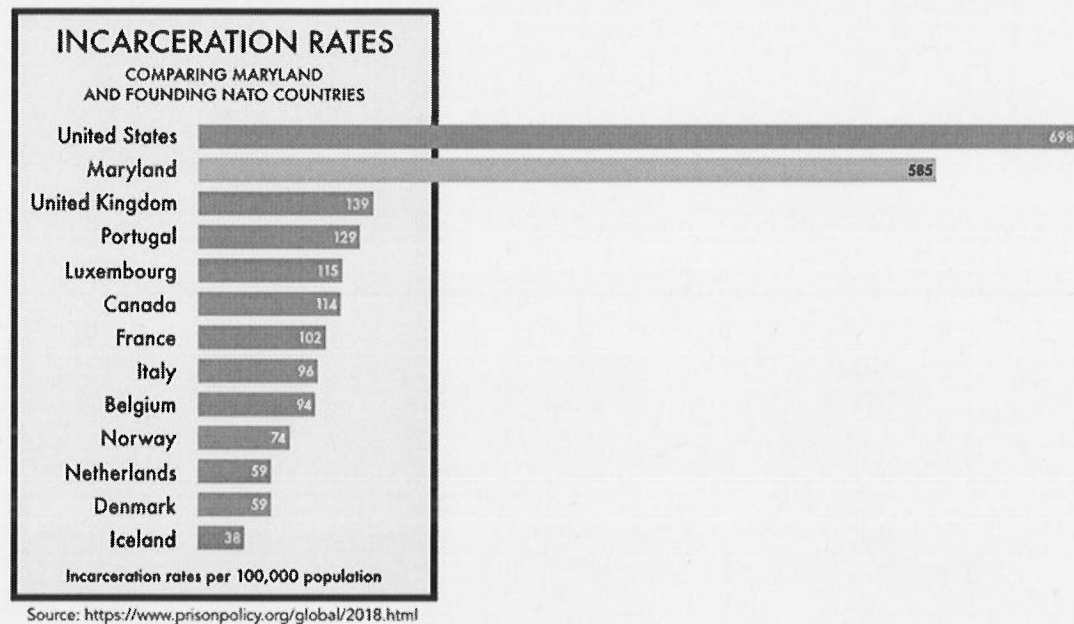


Figure 2 Maryland's Incarceration Rates (Maryland Profile, 2019).

Statement of Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the employment experiences of returning citizens, individuals with felony convictions, who have returned to their communities on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, specifically within Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties. By examining the experiences of previously incarcerated individuals, recommendations can be made to influence policy and possibly increase funding opportunities for regional community organizations providing services to this population.

Research Questions

With no previous research conducted on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore (Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties), this study is designed to examine how returning citizens who predominately reside on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore seek and secure employment, what barriers they face due to their felony conviction(s), and what factors influenced their employment experiences. By examining the experiences of returning citizens, the researchers can establish a

clearer understanding of the current presence of employment discrimination for this specific population and provide the data to community agencies and elected officials who are in the positions to implement change. The following questions informed the study.

1. On Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, specifically in Wicomico County, is employment discrimination present and to what level for previously incarcerated individuals?
 - a. For individuals who received an education while incarcerated did this lead to employment?
 - b. For individuals who received job training while incarcerated did this lead to employment outcomes?
 - c. Is there a relationship between the total number of years incarcerated and employment securing employment?
 - d. Which industries will hire previously incarcerated individuals?
 - e. Is there a relationship between the checking the box and securing a job since last conviction?
 - f. What are the reasons for previously incarcerated individuals for not getting a job?
 - g. What services could have aided previously incarcerated individuals with reentry?

Contributions to the Field

The results produced through this study will provide partner community agencies with data that can be utilized to possibly increase their grant funding pools and provide a greater understanding on the barriers that are present for previously incarcerated individuals residing and seeking employment on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore. Recommendations for increasing supports for returning citizens seeking and securing employment as well as opportunities for policy

change to increase community awareness and incentive employers to employ this population are detailed.

Terminology

In this study, the following terms are used:

Maryland's Lower Easter Shore - Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties.

Mass incarceration – “refers to the current American experiment in incarceration, which is defined by comparatively and historically extreme rates of imprisonment and by the concentration of imprisonment among young, African American men living in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage” (Wildeman, 2018).

Recidivism – “refers to a person's relapse into criminal behavior, often after the person receives sanctions or undergoes intervention for a previous crime. Recidivism is measured by criminal acts that resulted in re-arrest, reconviction or return to prison with or without a new sentence during a three-year period following the prisoner's release” (Recidivism, 2014).

Recidivism (Maryland) – According to the RISC Report is “a new Maryland conviction that results in a return to incarceration in the DOC or to DPP probation supervision within three years of an inmate's date of release or a probationer's entry into community supervision” (Maynard, 2012).

Previously incarcerated individuals are also returning citizens – “the language of, “returning citizen” provides hope and honors both their humanity and their capacity to contribute to a flourishing society. It gives space for hope by acknowledging their capacity to act as a citizen despite the barriers they may face and honors their humanity by reminding

them that they are not defined by past actions, rather we expect them to contribute as one citizen among many” (Thompson, 2017).

Literature

Poverty among Returning Citizens

As incarcerated individuals transition into returning citizens upon release, they often face employment discrimination despite having completed their sentence. These experiences are like a “double jeopardy,” prosecuting a person a second time. The returning citizens have served their time but then face many barriers in housing, employment, education, etc., which leads them into or increases their presence in poverty.

Impact on the Individual

The social problem of poverty affects returning citizens as they strive to become productive and actively involved within their families and communities upon release. For many returning citizens, they leave prison, a place that provides housing, food, and healthcare security, to their communities where they may struggle to qualify for employment opportunities and welfare assistance. Without the financial security to support their individual basic human needs, returning citizens can become a statistic within the cycle of poverty.

As returning citizens are released from the criminal justice system, they are let back into the ‘outside’ with little financial support or personally establishing connections with community resources. In an article from the Huffington Post, the author, Matt Ferner, reiterates this when he states that “some prisoners are released with only the clothes on their back, \$10 to \$200 and a bus ticket to the state line. Life on the outside can be a huge challenge — so hard that many prisoners fail at it and end up back behind bars before long” (Ferner, 2015). Returning citizens often must rely on their loved ones to reduce their likelihood of facing poverty alone. With a limited number

of welfare assistance programs in a set number of states available to returning citizens and employment barriers present, poverty can become a reality for this population, especially for minorities. African American women will experience the highest rates of employment discrimination with white males experiencing the lowest rates among the previously incarcerated employment seeking population, as evident below (Couloute & Kopf, 2018).

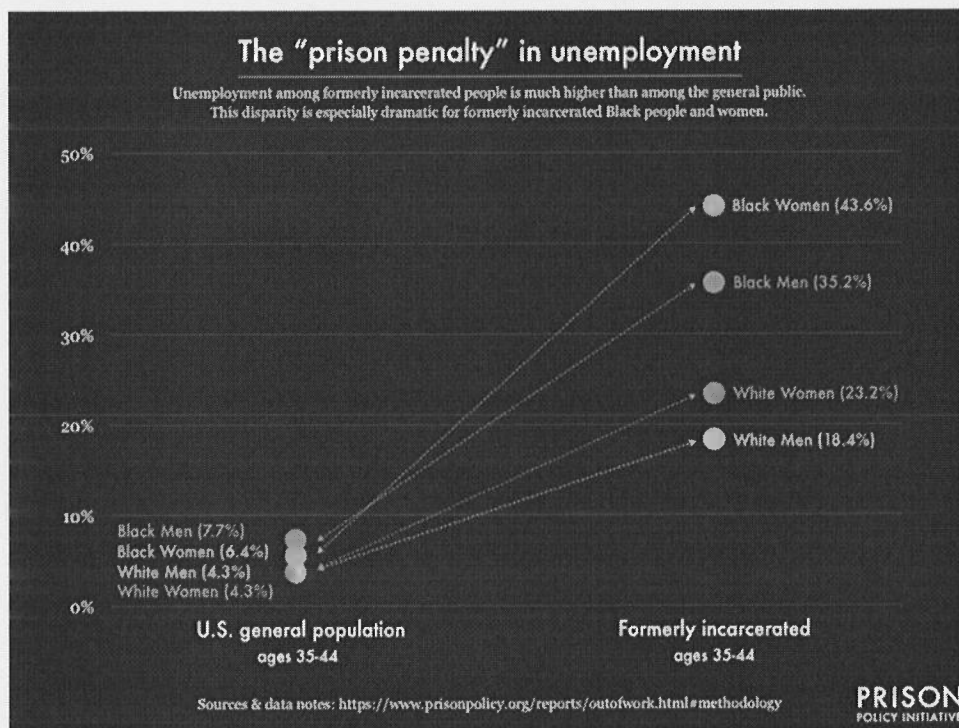


Figure 3 The "Prison Penalty" in Unemployment (Couloute & Kopf, 2018).

Employment opportunities.

For returning citizens, it is vital within their first year of release to secure employment whether short or long term to reduce their likelihood of struggling with the societal problem of poverty without any financial aid as well as it often being a requirement of release. More importantly, employment is the top influence on decreasing recidivism as "formerly incarcerated persons with one year of employment had a 16 percent recidivism rate over three years" ("Research Supports Fair-Chance Policies," 2016). While incarcerated a few gain work experience(s) but this

only provides a minimal stipend, which cannot support the individual for long, once they are released. While the priority for returning citizens is to seek a more permanent form of income security through the job market, according to research conducted by the Justice Department, “between 60 and 75 percent of former inmates cannot find work in their first year out of jail” (Von Berger & Bressler, 2016, p. 385). Additionally, in some states when applying for employment, returning citizens are banned from certain occupational and professional licenses including those required to be an architect, barber, car salesperson, foster care parent, insurance broker, psychologist, and public health and service employee.

In Maryland, according to a Governor appointed official within the State of Maryland’s Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation, there are no blanket bans for those with criminal records within the Division of Occupational and Professional Licensing. The official stated that within the past five fiscal years approximately 613,000 applications for licensure were submitted and that they would be surprised if more than twenty-five applications were denied on the grounds of a criminal record. Additionally, a license application is only denied if an individual is convicted of a felony or misdemeanor which is directly related to the occupational license in which they are applying for which is the decision made by the voluntary board of that specific occupational licensure. The official provided the example of an individual applying for a Certified Public Accountant license who was convicted of tax evasion could be denied the licensure. On the licensure applications, applicants are asked if they have been convicted of specific felonies and misdemeanors and could be asked to provide a True Copy Test, an official sealed document of one’s criminal record. The official did state that they are unsure of the occupational bans for the health, banking, and insurance industries in Maryland. While Maryland may not limit occupational licenses at high rates for returning citizens, other states have harsh penalties.

The Prison Policy Initiative's "Out of Prison & Out of Work" report found "that formerly incarcerated people are unemployed at a rate of over 27% — higher than the total U.S. unemployment rate during any historical period, including the Great Depression" (Couloute & Kopf, 2018). Additionally, the unemployment rate for previously incarcerated individuals is close to five times higher than the U.S. unemployment rate, the researchers believe "reflects public will, policy, and practice — not differences in aspirations," even though this population is more engaged in seeking employment (Couloute & Kopf, 2018). Additionally, for returning citizens between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, 93.3% are either employed or actively looking for work, compared to 83.8% for their age peers within the general population (Couloute & Kopf, 2018). The report found that applicants who apply for a job with a criminal background are fifty percent less likely to receive a callback (Couloute & Kopf, 2018).

Even when individuals achieve employment, opportunities to move out of poverty become extremely limited. Research collected by the National Employment Law Project (NELP), a national organization committed to advocating for marginalized workers, reports that "upward mobility for those with criminal records is significantly diminished; while one-third of men without a record in the lowest quintile of earners were still at that level 20 years later, more than two-thirds of men with records were stuck there" (National Employment Law Project, 2016). Therefore the majority of returning citizens fall within the lowest income bracket. In addition, upon release from prison, one's earnings can decrease by thirty percent (Wildeman & Western, 2010, p.165). In a more recent study, "in the first full calendar year after their release, only 55 percent of those previously incarcerated have any reported earnings and the median earnings of those that do are just above \$10,000" (Looney & Turner, 2018).

With the majority of returning citizens unable to secure employment within a year of their release, the buildup and re-establishment of their finances is delayed and the number of years in which their body can physically be fit to work is being limited. According to a 2016 NELP report, “by the time he has hit his peak earning years, a typical former [male] inmate will have earned \$192,000 less in 2014 dollars than if he had never been incarcerated, with a commensurate decline in income taxes and a diminished ability for consumer activity with accompanying sales tax.” With just under \$200,000 being the difference in potential lifetime earnings between those who were incarcerated in comparison to those without a record, the question becomes what resources can be provided to mitigate this income disparity?

Social supports.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Presidents Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton pushed the concept of the “War on Drugs” and punitive policies were also integrated into welfare programs. President Clinton “ended welfare as we know it” with the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) on August 22, 1996. One of the provisions of PRWORA included placing a limit on the amount of years that families could qualify for the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and also banned returning citizens with some drug crimes the opportunity to receive TANF and SNAP (Supplementary Nutritional Assistance Program) benefits. Additionally, PRWORA removed Pell Grant funding for incarcerated individuals and restricted their eligibility for public housing vouchers. The perceived goal of PRWORA was work first and increasing the labor workforce yet the legislation limited welfare assistance and restricted educational abilities.

The scale of the PRWORA legislation affects returning citizens as they could previously utilize the temporary financial support while seeking a more long-term source of income. A study

completed by The Sentencing Project found that within a “15-year period 1996 – 2011, an estimated 180,100 women may have been affected by the TANF ban at some point in their lives” (Mauer & McCalmont, 2013, p. 2). Statistics would have been higher if “women in the 25 states that partially implement the ban or who are only seeking SNAP benefits, as well as low-income men with felony drug convictions” (Mauer & McCalmont, 2013, p. 2) were included within the dataset as the statistics only took into account the women who reside in the then twelve states with the TANF ban: Arkansas, Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, Nebraska, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming.

Recently, U.S. states are wavering the restrictions implemented by the PRWORA legislation for returning citizens. During the 2017 Maryland General Assembly under the leadership of then Senator Madaleno, who unsuccessfully ran in the 2018 gubernatorial race, the legislature passed Senate Bill 853 which “eliminated testing or treatment requirements for individuals with felony drug convictions who applied for social supports” (State Advocacy Update, 2017). This bill repealed the Maryland 2000 legislation brought about by PRWORA, which had restricted individuals with felony drug convictions from receiving Temporary Cash Assistance or the TANF program in Maryland for one year after their conviction.

Currently, West Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi are the only U.S. states, which enforce a lifetime ban on SNAP benefits under the PRWORA regulations as Indiana recently lifted the lifetime ban, which will go into effect in 2020. This is progress as in 2013, nine states: Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Missouri, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, West Virginia, and Wyoming, denied SNAP benefits to previously incarcerated individuals. With the federal law allowing states to implement or fail to implement the PRWORA legislation, these three states have the opportunity to eliminate this punitive provision within PRWORA in order to provide returning

citizens with the opportunity to gain access to welfare supports if needed to assist them in sustaining themselves and their families.

Under PRWORA, returning citizens became ineligible for public housing, including Section 8 Vouchers, presenting further barriers when seeking affordable, safe housing, evident through the chart below. With little legislative oversight, Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) and landlords are able to screen out returning citizens, which limits the stability of family structures (McCarty, Falk, Aussenberg, & Carpenter, 2016, p.22). In Maryland, individuals convicted of violent crimes within the last three years can be barred from public housing.

(denial=denial of admission to applications; termination=termination of assistance and/or tenancy)

Activity	Public Housing	Section 8 Vouchers	Project-Based Section 8
Drug-related criminal activity	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination
Violent criminal activity	Grounds for denial	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial
Criminal activity that interferes with health, safety, peaceful enjoyment of other residents	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination
Determined to be currently using illegal drugs	Mandatory denial; grounds for termination	Mandatory denial; grounds for termination	Mandatory denial; grounds for termination
Abuse of drugs or alcohol that interferes with health, safety, peaceful enjoyment of other residents	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination	Grounds for denial; grounds for termination
Subject to lifetime registration on a state sex-offender registry	Mandatory denial	Mandatory denial	Mandatory denial
Convicted of producing methamphetamines on federally assisted property	Mandatory denial; mandatory termination	Mandatory denial; mandatory termination	No provision
Fugitive felon	Grounds for termination	Grounds for termination	Grounds for termination
Drug testing	No provision	No provision	No provision

Source: Table prepared by CRS.

Note: This table summarizes only federal policies. While there may be no federal policies in a given category, local administrators may have adopted a policy in that category using their discretionary authority.

Table 1 Federal Housing Assistance Restrictions for Returning Citizens (McCarty, Falk, Aussenberg, & Carpenter, 2016, p.22).

Impact on the Family

The social problem of poverty affects the families of previously incarcerated individuals as incarceration causes families to remain in and experience higher levels of poverty, specifically as incarceration is disproportionately present among low-income families. “Adults with household incomes of less than \$25,000 per year are 61 percent more likely than adults with household incomes of more than \$100,000 to have had a family member incarcerated, and three times more likely to have had a family member incarcerated for one year or longer” (Half of Americans Have Family Members Who Have Been Incarcerated, 2018).

During the incarceration, there is a greater impact on “poor women and children [who are] left to deal with the separation, visitation, and return of their progeny, partners, and parents” (Wildeman & Western, 2010, p. 157). Additionally, families face visitation travel fees, telephone call fees, and adding money to commissary accounts during incarceration. This leads families to face short and long-term financial strains due to decreases in family income and increases in family expenses (Wildeman & Western, 2010, p. 166).

In a 2015 study conducted by Forward Together, the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, and Research Action Design, which surveyed 712 formerly incarcerated people and 368 of their family members in 14 states, “maintaining contact with incarcerated family members led more than one in three families (34%) into debt to pay for phone calls and visits alone” (deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015, p. 9). Additionally, “the average amount of money spent on conviction-related costs, including restitution and attorney fees, was \$13,607” and “63% of respondents reported that family members were primarily responsible for covering conviction-related costs” but close to half could not afford to cover the costs (deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015, p. 13). These financial expenses become burdens on the loved ones at

home as they need to also cover their basic needs including clothing, food, electricity, and rent. With this need to prioritize different payments, this can lead to a breakage and rift within the family structure.

With a loss of income while a family member is incarcerated, families can struggle to balance expenses due to a reduction in financial input and an increase in output, due to visitation fees, telephone call fees, and providing funds to their loved one's commissary account. This effect is also present during the post-release stage. "In the year after an incarcerated father is released, the family income drops by approximately 15 percent from what it was before incarceration" (NELP, 2016). This is linked to the lack of employment opportunities available to returning citizens because of their criminal record. Before incarceration, returning citizens would have had the opportunity to earn a higher income and the opportunity for a greater pool of occupations. After incarceration, the job prospects for previously incarcerated individuals are drastically reduced for many reasons including the mandatory check box asking job applicants whether they have been convicted of a crime or not. With restricted and limited long-term income producing opportunities, previously incarcerated individuals are often unable to adequately financially provide for themselves and their families.

Parole.

Parole, defined by the State of Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, "is the discretionary and conditional release of an offender into the community to continue serving the sentence under supervision by an agent of the Division of Parole and Probation, until the offender's obligation to the State for the offense-the sentence-reaches maximum expiration" (2017). The purpose of parole is to provide an incarcerated individual with the opportunity to serve the remainder of their sentence on the outside with the goal being to

provide guidance, restrictions, and limits during the initial rehabilitation process. If the returning citizen parolee violates any of their conditions, then they could face a return to incarceration.

When their loved ones are on parole, families continue to experience the financial impact of incarceration. When on parole in Maryland, parolees must pay \$40 monthly, established in legislation passed by state legislators in 1991. The legislation did create exceptions “for individuals who were unemployed, disabled, obtaining job training, contending with family obligations and undue hardship, or enduring other extenuating circumstances,” which are accessed by the State of Maryland’s Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services’ Operations - Parole and Probation (Diller, Greene, & Jacobs, 2009, p. 8). While on parole, Maryland parolees on average “are ordered to pay \$743 in supervisor fees over the course of their parole terms” but that cost does not include drug and alcohol testing, community service, and unpaid child support fees (Diller, Greene, & Jacobs, 2009, p. 8). These costs must be met for a parolee to remain in the community, so often previously incarcerated individuals must rely on their family to meet the parole fees, otherwise they will be re-incarcerated. The 2015 Maryland Justice Reinvestment Act is assisting to address parole fees and eliminating delays in administrative parole for nonviolent offenders.

Probation.

Similar to parole, families can experience financial hardships during the probation term of their loved ones. Probation serves an alternate to incarceration by allowing the individual to serve a period of their sentence on the outside. In Maryland specific conditions of probation include obeying all the laws, paying fines/restitution, report to probation officer, no illicit drug or alcohol use/possession/distribution, attend school and/or work regularly, request permission to leave the state and change home address, attend all court hearings/appearances, and notify probation officer if additional charges are picked up as well as community service and counseling (Castro, 2018).

With these stipulations, families often continue to experience financial hardship as the ability for their loved one to bring in personal sources of income are restricted to the available time they have outside of meeting their probation requirements. Additionally, families are impacted by the costs associated with probation including paying fines/restitution as well as completing community service and attending treatment sessions which limits the individual's time to seek and then attend work.

Stability of the Family Structure.

With the financial burdens of incarceration at times leading the families' of returning citizens into poverty, the effect of incarceration can also impact the stability of the family structure which is another contributor to the cycle of poverty experienced by previously incarcerated individuals. Wildeman and Western (2010) state "incarceration elevates the risk of divorce and separation [and] diminishes the financial resources and well-being of wives and girlfriends left behind" (p. 157). This elevated risk for divorce or separation often leads to a lack of family support after the previously incarcerated individual returns home. "Strong positive social supports (including family) have been shown to increase the likelihood of successful societal reentry for prison releases" (Spjeldnes, Jung, Maguire, & Yamatani, 2012, p. 134). Therefore, it is extremely important for individuals to be able to maintain familiar relationships while incarcerated in order to increase their strengths and support system upon release.

Also, without a strong family support base, returning citizens struggle to support themselves as well as their children. Close to half of U.S. children have a parent with a criminal record (Governor's Office for Children, 2016). With a large portion of returning citizens being parents, the children of returning citizens are directly impacted by the cycle of poverty surrounding their parents.

In Maryland approximately 90,000 children have a parent on parole or probation or incarcerated within a detention center, jail, and prison (Governor's Office for Children, 2016). For returning citizens who have children, they often want to reestablish a relationship with their children or gain a level of visitation if possible, though some criminal charges can bar this from occurring, such as spousal abuse, child abuse, child neglect, crimes against children (child pornography), homicide, rape, and sexual assault, but is dependent upon jurisdiction.

To gain a relationship with their children, returning citizens often have to show that they have some level of financial stability and resources. With returning citizens facing employment barriers, they often struggle to gain a relationship with their children due to their lack of financial resources to afford to pay child support. The National Employment Law Project (2016) found that "68 percent of family members said those who were parents were having trouble paying child support [and] 43 percent were challenged in regaining custody of their children." Additionally, nationally child support payments average \$427 per month (deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015). Without employment opportunities, returning citizens can face incarceration, due to their inability to pay child support.

For the children of incarcerated parents, they struggle to maintain a relationship due to the financial stipulations of child support as "noncustodial parents, mostly men, enter prison owing an average of more than \$10,000 in child support" which continues to accumulate while incarcerated (Anthony & Mellgren, 2009). This makes it very difficult for returning citizens to regain custody or visitation with their children. Additionally, federal regulations allow jurisdictions to pull up to 65% of a child support debtor's income to pay for backlogged payments. This then leads to the possibility of re-incarceration and greater time spent away from direct contact with their children as well as the threat of parental rights termination (Anthony & Mellgren, 2009).

When a parent is incarcerated, and a family placement is not found, the child can be placed into foster care. Under the 1997 Adoption and Safe Families Act, a parent whose child has been in foster care for 15 months out of the last 24 months can have their parental rights terminated. This law was led heavily through the vocal support of then, First Lady Hilary Clinton. The legislation also established bonuses for states that facilitate adoptions which since 1998 has been over \$639 million from the federal government (Hager & Flagg, 2018). With “the average sentence served by incarcerated parents being 6.5 years,” the parental rights of incarcerated parents can be jeopardized through this Act (deVuono-powell, Schweidler, Walters, & Zohrabi, 2015, p. 34).

Additionally, given the increase in the number of women being incarcerated and women disproportionately being the caregivers of children as well as being single mothers, the Marshall Project has investigated the impact of incarceration on the termination of parental rights. The Marshall Project “is a nonpartisan, nonprofit news organization that seeks to create and sustain a sense of national urgency about the U.S. criminal justice system” (About - The Marshall Project, 2019). In a 2016 report published by the Marshall Project, Hager and Flagg (2018) found “female prisoners, whose children are five times more likely than those of male inmates to end up in foster care, have their rights taken away most often.” With the upsurge in female incarceration, the impact of this legislation will continue to impact the stability of the family structure through the termination of parental rights, unless a family member or caregiver can provide kinship care, which is care provided by relatives or close family friends of a child whose parent(s) is unable to provide at the current time.

Rehabilitation

After leaving the criminal justice system, rehabilitation resources are often limited for returning citizens. This is due in part to the limited financial funds present within communities

with large incarceration rates. With limited funding for educational and vocational programs for returning citizens, many face the hardships of poverty as they fail to find meaningful employment. With communities needing to meet the needs of previously incarcerated individuals as they return and become re-integrated members within the community, rehabilitation for returning citizens often fails to occur, leading to the possibility of increases in recidivism. With limited funding for re-entry programs, over 60% of previously incarcerated individuals become a statistic within the recidivism rate (Shelden, 2004).

Probation.

Probation can be considered rehabilitative as it provides the individual with the opportunity to serve their time on the outside, therefore allowing them to stay in their community to maintain familiarly bonds, continue to seek or remain employed, and engage in treatment programs. In Massachusetts close to three out of four people involved in the criminal justice system are on probation due to the state's heavy focus on rehabilitation, yet in Maryland probation is often prescribed by judges to first-time offenders and minor offenses (Sawyer, 2016).

In Maryland specific conditions of probation include obeying all the laws, paying fines/restitution, report to probation officer, no illicit drug or alcohol use/possession/distribution, attend school and/or work regularly, request permission to leave the state and change home address, attend all court hearings/appearances, and notify probation officer if additional charges are picked up (Castro, 2018). Additionally, costs can be accumulated often by families when an individual is on probation through having to complete community service and attend counseling services. These activities can limit the availability of the individual to seek and then secure a personal form of income.

Parole.

Currently, the most prevalent rehabilitation resource for returning citizens is parole, yet in Maryland “less than a third of people (28% in 2007) who receive parole grant hearings are released on parole” (The Release Valve - Parole in Maryland, 2009). Similarly, to probation, parole allows the individual to finish the rest of their sentence on the outside, therefore providing the opportunity to rekindle or continue familiarly bonds, work on securing employment, and engage in treatment programs earlier than their initial sentenced had mandated.

In 2015, Maryland established the Justice Reinvestment Coordinating Council which thirty-three U.S. states have been participating in through the Justice Reinvestment Initiative. Through the passage of Maryland’s 2016 Senate Bill 1005, on October 1, 2017, the Justice Reinvestment Act took effect, which brought reforms to sentencing, community supervision, and treatment. Focusing on parole, the Justice Reinvestment Act “expanded eligibility for geriatric parole and medical parole ... [as] currently more than 3,000 people over the age of 50 held in Maryland prisons. Over 800 are over 60 years of age and that number will grow due to the use of life sentences” (Maryland Justice Reinvestment Act: One Year Later, 2018). Additionally, the Justice Reinvestment Act eliminated delays in administrative parole for nonviolent offenders, “reduction of parole & probation supervision level for ex-offenders with good record of compliance, presumption that debilitated & incapacitated inmates may be paroled, and presumption that technical violations of parole and probation will get prompt attention and specified brief limits to incarceration, unless more is required to protect public or a victim” (Justice Reinvestment, 2016). With the Justice Reinvestment Act being recently implemented, there is not data currently available to measure the impact of the Act and its components.

Parole may sound like a great beginning for a returning citizen as they begin their rehabilitation process, but for many, parole often does not provide all of the rehabilitation supports needed. A reason why parole often fails is because there is a “lack of ties to significant others and to the communities where ex-prisoners reside. Communities plagued by high rates of poverty, unemployment, broken families, poor housing and schools, and other serious problems contribute to increased failure on parole” (Shelden, 2004, p. 9). For returning citizens, they need to receive support (financial, substance abuse/mental health treatment, housing, etc.) which is often absent from the communities in which they return. This is especially present in low-income communities where there are not enough financial resources to support agencies, non-profits, or community groups which could provide rehabilitation support to previously incarcerated individuals. Researchers and activists against mass incarceration, argue that the parole system promotes re-incarceration.

One reason parole may fail to provide sufficient rehabilitation support to previously incarcerated individuals is down to the implementation of parole. Stimulations for parole in Maryland include reporting to one’s parole officer, being employed, obeying all the laws, paying the monthly supervision fee, undergoing drug and alcohol testing, and gaining permission to change address, employment, or leave Maryland. Parole officers often catch their parolees on technical violations, which include “the violations of a multitude of parole rules (e.g., attending meetings with parole officers on a regular basis, maintaining gainful employment) plus flunking if the ubiquitous drug tests” (Shelden, 2004, p. 8). For many returning citizens, they are often unable to meet the regulations of parole due to the poverty in which they are facing, either prior to or because of their incarceration.

Through the U.S. Supreme Court case *Morrissey v. Brewer* (1972), the court ruled that incarcerating an individual for a parole violation requires certain minimum standards of due process. These minimum standards include “prompt informal inquiry conducted by an impartial hearing officer near the place of the alleged parole violation or arrest to determine if there is reasonable ground to believe that the arrested parolee has violated a parole condition” which the parolee would be knowledgeable of prior to its conduction (United States Supreme Court Case - *Morrissey v. Brewer*, 2019). Even with the protection of due process, nationally in 2016, “about 19 percent of the 600,000 people entering the nation’s prisons were there for violating their parole, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics” (Schwartzapfel, 2019). With the stipulations of parole limiting the opportunities for successful reentry for returning citizens, it is imperative for jurisdictions to abide by the decision established within the *Morrissey v. Brewer* case.

Drug treatment and alternatives.

In a report produced by the Justice Policy Institute, the yearly cost of a drug offender versus yearly cost of treatment in Maryland is \$20,000 versus \$4,000 (McVay, Schiraldi, & Ziedenberg, 2004, p. 6). With this financial difference, the Maryland State Commission on Criminal Justice Sentencing is offering alternatives to incarceration through providing the opportunity for “back-end” treatment which is “assigned after some prison time has been served” or “exit” which are community based which can include “regimented offender treatment centers, day reporting, intensive supervision, and home detention, and graduated sanctions for program failures” (McVay, Schiraldi, & Ziedenberg, 2004, p. 5). Additionally, exit programs can include enrollment within programs such as drug court and mental health court, which have been typically viewed as diversion programs. These programs can provide returning citizens with the treatment support they need to have a more successful re-entry into their communities.

Diversion programs are community-based programs which provide an alternative to prosecution most often for non-violent offenders. If an offender successfully completes a diversion program prescribed by the judge, they are eligible for criminal charge dismissal. Diversion programs include drug court and mental health court while also tying in components of job readiness, community service, urine tests, and treatment. In Maryland the goal of drug court is to “restore the defendant as a productive, non-criminal member of society” (Maryland Judiciary - Drug Treatment Courts, 2019). Mental health courts are a recent phenomenon and are not currently in practice in Maryland. According to the U.S. Department of Justice’s Bureau of Justice Assistance – Office of Justice Programs which leads the program, the goal of mental health courts nationally is to “decrease the frequency of clients’ contacts with the criminal justice system by providing courts with resources to improve clients’ social functioning and link them to employment, housing, treatment, and support services,” specifically for “nonviolent offenders who have been diagnosed with a mental illness or co-occurring mental health and substance abuse disorders” (Mental Health Courts Program, 2019). Currently there are 150 mental health courts in the U.S. with plans for further expansion.

Baltimore City has been leading the State of Maryland with its Drug Treatment Court model which is prescribed to certain offenses and often first-time offenders at the beginning of their sentence. In Wicomico County, Maryland, The Adult Drug Treatment Court “is a 4-phase, 15-18-month program for adults who have either: violated their Circuit Court probation due to problems with drugs or alcohol or have an original case for sentencing in the Circuit Court” (Tayman & Holbrook, 2019). Additionally, while incarcerated the State of Maryland’s Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services offers substance abuse programming to incarcerated individuals which includes SMART Recovery programming.

According to a substance abuse counselor at Eastern Correctional Institution, a medium-security male prison located in Somerset County on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, for the past five years there have been no Therapeutic Community (TC) programs provided within the State of Maryland's Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services facilities. TC is a six-month program run by an outside contractor employed by the state which is run on a specialized programming housing unit and consists of daily group sessions, weekly individual sessions, and a structured environment and daily schedule. TCs serve as a more long-term residential treatment for individuals in substance abuse recovery, but as mentioned are currently not available to individuals held within Maryland's correctional facilities.

This substance abuse counselor also stated that nationally between 63% and 83% of people who are arrested have drugs in their system when the crime was committed. Additionally, 64% of all incarcerated individuals have a mental health diagnosis and between 10% and 25% of all incarcerated individuals have a serious mental illness (SMI) diagnosis. For Addictions Treatment Programs within the State of Maryland's Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services facilities, to be eligible, individuals must be within thirty-six months of scheduled release, delayed release, or parole rehear date; be free of any rule violation for a minimum of ninety days; assessed with a score of 1-3 on the Treatment Assignment Protocol and have a risk assessment level of high, moderate, or low-moderate; and not have a highest, high, or moderate type detainer or open charge.

As of January 2019, there were seventeen clinical vacancies within the State of Maryland's Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services system, but this number does not include contract employee vacancies and contracts unfilled. At Eastern Correctional Institution where approximately 3,500 males are incarcerated, there are a total of three substance abuse counselors and one supervisor. This staffing shortage limits the number of individuals who can participate in

recovery programming. An example being within the State of Maryland's Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services facilities, a Level 1 – Out Patient Level of Care program can be run with fifteen to seventeen clients at one time by a state employee.

Education

With the parole system providing limited rehabilitation support to returning citizens, research is showing that education could present a more successful approach to rehabilitation. When returning citizens have a strong educational foundation, they are more likely to find employment, reduce their chances of being in poverty, and recidivating. In a 2013 study, Ferner (2015) found that “in-prison college education programs did effectively lower recidivism rates. It also found that inmates who completed a college-based education program while incarcerated stayed crime-free longer than those who did not participate in the program.” With a decrease in the access to correctional educational programming within the past two decades due to the 2008 recession, the revocation of Pell Grants, and overall state budget cuts, there have been lower participation and completion rates.

Correctional education.

The importance of correctional education is vital as the prison population are less prepared than the general population when it comes to reading and writing which can serve as a limitation for employment and a successful transition back into the community upon release. Prior to incarceration “60% report failure to complete high school or GED equivalence, more than one in three inmates (41%) report dropping out of school prior to the tenth grade” (Tewksbury & Stengel, 2006, p. 5). Though numerous studies have sought to measure the impact of correctional education, the RAND Corporation's 2013 Correctional Education Survey is one of the most comprehensive reports.

In July 2013 the RAND Corporation conducted the RAND Correctional Education Survey in order “to gather information about the organization and delivery of correctional education for incarcerated adults in the U.S. state prisons, about the use of computer technology and preparation for the 2014 GED exam, and about the impact of the 2008 recession on the field” (Davis et. al., 2013, p. 57). RAND Corporation research focuses on being multidisciplinary, broad, rigorous, objective, transparent, and open in order to assist policymakers in making the decisions with the best available information (Vision RAND, 2019). Survey participants were state correctional education directors within the fifty U.S. states who were questioned on the “key components of correctional education programs within each state, capacity of correctional educational programs and how it changed between 2009 and 2012, impact of budget cuts or other fiscal pressures, use of technology, preparations for the 2014 GED exam and computer-based testing, outcome and performance indicators tracked by state’s correctional education programs, and budget and financing” (Davis et. al., 2013, p. 58-59).

The survey results emphasized the importance of engaging incarcerated individuals in correctional education to reduce recidivism rates, specifically vocational training programs. Through a cost-analysis, the researchers found that “for every dollar spent on correctional education, five dollars are saved on three-year re-incarceration costs” (Davis et. al., 2013, p. 81). For twenty-eight of the forty-six responding states, the National Center for Construction Education and Research certificate was offered, including in Maryland, as well as Microsoft Office and plumbing and electrical apprenticeships were present across the board.

The survey also showed that the 2008 recession lead to a 6 percent decrease in state’s correctional educational funding between 2009 and 2012, which led to reductions in course offering, seats for incarcerated students and employment of staff, but this was far more present in

educational programming compared to vocational opportunities which only saw a one percent reduction in student enrollment on average (Davis et. al., 2013). The survey noted that with increasing role of information technology within the workplace, correctional facilities currently are not meeting that need through trainings as internet programs are restricted within the facilities for incarcerated individuals (Davis et. al., 2013). Lastly, the survey results found that with the move to complete the GED test online, this could lead to a drop in GED certificates, which could be addressed by providing technical assistance and trainings to the teachers and incarcerated students prior to taking the test (Davis et. al., 2013). Overall, the RAND Correctional Education Survey emphasized the importance of correctional education as those who engaged in educational programming while incarcerated “had forty-three percent lower odds of recidivism than inmates who did not” (Davis et. al., 2014, p. 57).

Maryland’s correctional education program.

In Maryland, the Correctional Education Program is run through a Memorandum of Agreement between the State of Maryland’s Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation and the State of Maryland’s Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services. The Correctional Education Council reports that “the average reading level of the 19,332 inmates currently in the Maryland prison system is between 5th and 8th grade. Less than half of these inmates have a high school diploma when they enter the correctional system” (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018, p. 11). On average through the Correctional Education in Maryland, 3,000 incarcerated adults are taught each day and approximately 10,600 over the year for 2018 (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018). Currently, all Maryland state detention centers, jails, and prisons offer General Education Development (GED) classes to those incarcerated without a high school diploma. Correctional Education also provides academic

programming through Adult Basic Education, Special Education, English for Speakers of Other Languages, and the Postsecondary Education Program, but a large focus is placed on incarcerated students under the age of twenty-one, in accordance with the State of Maryland's Department of Education (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018).

For incarcerated individuals with a high school diploma, there are few academic opportunities that they can pursue, due to the repeal of Pell Grants by President Clinton through the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, which in Maryland currently includes college readiness and college courses offered by Anne Arundel Community College, Hagerstown Community College, and Wor-Wic Community College. Though some progress has been made evident through President Obama's 2016 executive order which selected "sixty-seven colleges and universities across twenty-seven states to participate in the Second Chance Pell Pilot Program", there is still the need to focus on expanding educational opportunities to those in and recently released from the criminal justice system (Smith, 2016). Research from the 2016 executive order shows that Pell Grants "create a fairer, more effective criminal justice system, reduce recidivism, and combat the impact of mass incarceration on communities" (Smith, 2016). The issue for the advancement of future as well as the security of current educational programs within the criminal justice system is based of governmental funding both on the state and federal levels.

Outside of traditional educational programming, Maryland's Correctional Education provides incarcerated individuals with the opportunity to complete vocational training. Currently the occupational certifications offered are: Architectural CADD, Pre-Apprenticeship Electrical, Auto Body Repair, Pre-Apprenticeship Facilities Maintenance, Automotive Maintenance and Inspection, Pre-Apprenticeship HVAC/R, Building Maintenance, Pre-Apprenticeship Masonry,

Diesel Automotive Technology, Fabric and Upholstery Cleaning, Pre-Apprenticeship Plumbing, Pre-Apprenticeship Sheet Metal, Furniture Upholstery, Pre-Apprenticeship Welding, Graphic Arts and Design, Print Communication, Introduction to Word and Excel, Roofing, Office Practice and Management, Small Engine Repair, Office Technology, Warehouse/Distribution, Pre-Apprenticeship Carpentry, Woodworking/Finish Carpentry, which during the 2017-2018 academic year were completed by 792 incarcerated students (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018). Additionally, 860 national certificates were awarded during the 2017-2018 academic year in: Automotive Maintenance and Inspection - Automotive Services Excellence (Refrigerant Test), Automotive Maintenance and Inspection - Automotive Service Excellence, Diesel Technology Program - Medium & Heavy Trucks (Brakes), National Center for Construction Education and Research – Pre-Apprenticeship and CORE, Fabric Cleaning - Pro Clean College, HVAC – Environmental Protection Agency (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018).

Education and vocational programming opportunities within Maryland's detention centers, jails, and prisons differ upon jurisdiction, funding, and staffing. Though this information is outdated as no recent data is accessible, "between 1990 and 2000, Maryland's prison population grew by 54 percent while the number of correctional educators only increased by 4 percent" (Baltimore's Choice: Workers and Jobs for a Thriving Economy, 2003). This highlights the need for increased teaching positions within Maryland's incarceration system. Additionally, incarcerated students must meet eligibility criteria for the programming which often excludes recognized gang members, certain felony convictions, and those serving lengthy sentences, including life. This prevents those individuals who may have the most need from receiving services. Lastly, an incarcerated individual in Maryland may be allowed the opportunity to receive

a deduction from their sentence of five days for every one month of progress made within a vocational or educational program. (Why is this bad?)

Goucher College, a private liberal arts university based outside of Baltimore City in Towson, Maryland, houses the Goucher Prison Education Partnership which provides incarcerated Marylanders at the Maryland Correctional Institution for Women and the Maryland Correctional Institution – Jessup the opportunity to complete college courses to earn a Bachelor of Arts in American Studies, an interdisciplinary major. This program launched in 2012 and focuses on “stimulating awareness and meaningful dialogue in and beyond the Goucher community about justice, incarceration, and educational access” (Goucher Prison Education Partnership, 2019). This program is funded through private grants and individual donations, but in 2016 received funding from the U.S. Department of Education’s Second Chance Pell pilot program, which allows incarcerated Americans to utilize Pell Grants for post-secondary education. Currently the program has 130 students enrolled.

In terms of the impact that education can have on a returning citizen, the higher their educational qualifications, the more likely they are to reduce their chances of living in poverty, which is more prevalent among white previously incarcerated individuals. “White males were more likely to perceive college courses in prison as being beneficial and were not likely to perceive barriers to employment post-release while black males reported opposite experiences, and reported more value in vocational training that provided a work skill, and reported more barriers to finding and maintaining employment” (Case, 2004, p. 1) With the majority of jobs in which returning citizens often able for requiring at least a GED or High School Diploma, previously incarcerated individuals without these educational qualifications face a lack of employment opportunities. Surprisingly a study found that “having a college education or vocational training decreased

recidivism more than high school/GED training,” but “did not necessarily increase employability or decrease stigmatization post release” (Case, 2004, p. 2).

Employment Discrimination

“A conviction in one’s past shouldn’t be a life sentence to joblessness” (Avery, 2019). Unfortunately, this statement is a reality for many returning citizens. For returning citizens seeking work opportunities, they often face employment discrimination due to the felony on their record. Employment discrimination often stems from the initial job application which requires future employees to check a box stating whether or not the applicant has been convicted of a crime. This check box allows for employment discrimination to occur as employers can simply refuse an applicant based on the results of their background check. Currently, employment discrimination is legal against returning citizens so “until it is legally limited, this practice will continue to grow as personal information – including criminal history – becomes easier and cheaper to access online” (Weissert, 2016, p. 1531). By allowing for employment discrimination to occur within the job market, returning citizens are facing higher rates of poverty because they simply cannot secure employment.

Employment discrimination not only affects the returning citizen, but also the national economy. NELP reports that “the reduced output of goods and services of people with felonies and prison records is \$78 to \$87 billion in losses to the nation’s economy in one year” (NELP, 2016). If previously incarcerated individuals could gain employment, then they would be contributing to the economy. NELP reports that with a greater percentage of returning citizens employed there would be an increase in their tax contributions boosting sales taxes and reducing the financial costs of incarceration (NELP, 2016).

Ban the Box.

One way to address employment discrimination is to “Ban the Box.” The Ban the Box campaign advocates for the removal of the question asking job applicants to check the box to whether or not they have been convicted of a crime on the initial job application. By removing the question from the initial job application, the Ban the Box campaign believes that “employers [would] consider a job candidate’s qualifications first, without the stigma of a criminal record,” which “provide[s] applicants a fair chance by removing the conviction history question on the job application and delaying the background check inquiry until later in the hiring” (NELP, 2016). The campaign’s goal is addressing the entire growing need, as there are seventy million American adults with arrest and conviction records.

During the submission of the job application, NELP (2016) reports employment discrimination occurs 76% of the time for previously incarcerated individuals. With racial disparities present, returning citizens “34 percent of whites without a record were contacted, while only 17 percent of those with a record did; and among African Americans 14 percent without a record got a call back, but only 5 percent one of African Americans with a criminal record heard back from the potential employer.”

Ban the Box on the National Level.

Currently there is no federal Ban the Box campaign movement, but there have been successful state campaigns. In 1998, Hawaii became the first state to establish Ban the Box legislation by prohibiting private and public employers from inquiring into the job applicant’s criminal history before a conditional offer of employment has occurred. Since then, Ban the Box legislation has been established in twenty-four states and over one hundred and fifty cities, where three-fourths of the United States population resides (Avery, 2019). Additionally, twelve states

and eighteen cities/counties have fair-change policies in place for private employers and corporate leaders: Target, Starbucks, and Bed Bath & Beyond have banned the box.

In San Francisco, California, the All of Us or None campaign believed that the question on initial employment applications asking applicants to check yes or no to whether they had committed a crime not only promoted employment discrimination but also deterred “ex-offenders from even applying for city jobs” (Henry & Jacobs, 2016, p. 757). After a long period of lobbying, the campaign was able to have the San Francisco Board of Supervisors “pass a resolution calling on the city and county to eliminate the criminal record question from the job application form, except when state or local law expressly bars people with certain convictions from a particular job” (Henry & Jacobs, 2016, p. 757). The goal of employment became re-modeled to focus on the job applicants’ qualifications over their charge which would only become relevant if the job required interaction with populations including children, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups. This resolution has become a model for many Ban the Box campaigns including in Boston, Massachusetts, where the legislation now “requires background checks only to be run for positions involving youth, the elderly, and the disabled, as well as for positions within the police department” (Henry & Jacobs, 2016, p. 757).

Ban the Box in Maryland

Maryland was the ninth state to establish legislation on the state level which prohibits state employers from asking applicants to check “the box”. This was achieved in April 2013, when former Governor, Martin O’Malley, signed Senate Bill Four which called for “prohibiting certain appointing authorities in the Judicial, Executive, and Legislative branches of State government from inquiring into the criminal record or criminal history of an applicant for employment until the applicant has been provided an opportunity for an interview” (Pugh, 2012).

During the 2019 Maryland General Assembly, House Bill 994 passed which calls upon the Commissioner of Labor and Industry to consider a civil penalty of up to \$300 be paid by an employer to a job applicant who retaliates or discriminates against an applicant who claims a violation of the law. This law being Senate Bill Four which prevents state employers from running a background check on an applicant unless the employer provides programs, services, or direct care to minors or vulnerable adults. This bill was passed on April 4, 2019, and will take effect on January 1, 2020. This law does not affect the local ban-the-box-laws present in Baltimore City, Montgomery, and Prince Georges counties.

Baltimore City.

On August 3, 2014, Baltimore City passed Ban the Box legislation. According to the Baltimore City Office of Civil Rights and Wage Enforcement, “any employer with the equivalent of ten or more full time employees” must abide by the Ban the Box legislation (“Ban the Box”, 2017). Also, the legislation states that “any worker working for a form of pay, any worker participating in vocational or educational training, [and] any worker who works contractual, temporary, seasonal, and contingent work” is protected from employment discrimination in terms of having a criminal record (“Ban the Box”, 2017). Baltimore City followed San Francisco and Boston by stating that the Ban the Box legislation cannot be used to protect against employment discrimination when the job involves working with vulnerable populations.

Montgomery County.

On November 10, 2014, Montgomery County’s county executive signed into law the Fair Criminal Record Screening Standards Law (Bill 36-14) for Montgomery County employers with fifteen or more employees. The legislation prohibits county employers from “inquiring about any arrest or accusation of crime or criminal conviction on the employment application” and “before

the conclusion of a first employment interview” (“Ban the Box FAQ”, 2017). The legislation does not apply to “federal or state government as an employer in the County; County Police Department, the County Fire and Rescue Service; or the County Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation,” employers who require a federal security clearance and work with children and vulnerable adults (“Ban the Box FAQ”, 2017).

Prince Georges County.

On January 20, 2015, Prince Georges County enacted Ban the Box legislation which applies to employers with twenty-five or more employees. Employers are “prohibited from asking about or seeking out an applicant’s criminal history before the conclusion of the first interview” but certain occupations: “County Public Safety Agencies, positions that have access to confidential or proprietary business information, positions that deal with money, items of value, or emergency management, or positions that provide services to minors or vulnerable adults” are excluded (Employment Justice Center, 2016).

Status of Returning Citizens in Wicomico County, Maryland

Though there is no current and available research on the presence of returning citizens in poverty in Wicomico County, there is research on the current picture of poverty among the county’s residents in general. The Maryland Government Manual reports that Wicomico County’s median personal income for 2010 was \$33,935 and the poverty rate was 16.7% (“Maryland at a Glance,” 2017). In comparison, the average personal income per year for Maryland in 2015 was \$56,127, which was the eighth highest in the nation, and the median household income in 2015 was \$75,847, the highest in the nation (“Maryland at a Glance,” 2017). Then in their 2014 Annual Report, the Catholic Charities of Maryland report that Wicomico County has a population of 99,840 with 17,016 of the county’s residents living in poverty in 2012.

According to a 2003 report conducted by the Urban Institute Justice Policy Center, “A Portrait for Prison Reentry in Maryland,” “in 2001, 219 released prisoners returned to Wicomico County” which is 2.6 per 1,000 residents (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48). Additionally, “95 percent of the released prisoners who returned to Wicomico County were male” and “blacks accounted for 78 percent of the releases, and whites accounted for 21 percent” (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48). Also, “the vast majority of those returning to Wicomico County were released to some period of parole supervision (95 percent). A greater share of the released prisoners who returned to Wicomico were released by the parole board (38 percent) than across the state (22 percent). A little more than half (51 percent) were mandatory releases, 6 percent were released due to the expiration of their sentence, and 3 percent each were continued on parole or continued on mandatory supervision” (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48). Lastly, “seventy-one percent of the released prisoners who returned to Wicomico County had been in prison at least once before; by spring 2002, 12 percent had returned to prisoner after their release in 2001” (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48). Below is a table showing the most common offenses for Wicomico County residents who were incarcerated. The most recent available data is from 2003.

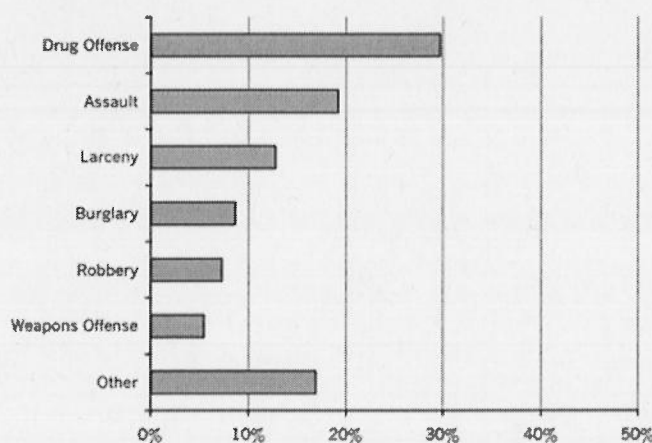


Figure 35. Percentage of released prisoners returning to Wicomico County, by conviction offense, 2001

Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2001 MD DPSCS, Division of Correction data.

Figure 4 Percentage of Released Prisoners Returning to (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48)

Conclusion

As evident within the literature review, the employment discrimination experienced by returning citizens not only impacts the individual but also their families. With research conducted nationally and within specific regions of Maryland which are predominately urban, little is known about the experiences of returning citizens residing on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Therefore, this study is extremely important in order to provide an overview of a rural region.

Methodology

Research Design

This section describes the methodology used to address the research questions of the study. The section is presented in the following sections: research design, data collection method, sampling strategy, reliability of instruments, data analysis, and special considerations for the protection of study participants. For clarity, the research questions are provided again.

1. On Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, specifically in Wicomico County, is employment discrimination present and to what level for previously incarcerated individuals?
 - a. For individuals who received an education while incarcerated did this lead to employment?
 - b. For individuals who received job training while incarcerated did this lead to employment outcomes?
 - c. Is there a relationship between the total number of years incarcerated and employment securing employment?
 - d. Which industries will hire previously incarcerated individuals?
 - e. Is there a relationship between the checking the box and securing a job since last conviction?

- f. What are the reasons for previously incarcerated individuals for not getting a job?
- g. What services could have aided previously incarcerated individuals with reentry?

Data Collection Method

The survey questions were drafted collaboratively by the Principal Investigator and the senior undergraduate Co-Investigator using the findings of the literature review, which was conducted by the senior undergraduate Co-Investigator. The survey questions were submitted for review by two experts on instrument creation in the social work field, who were not affiliated with Salisbury University. The survey questions and consent forms were additionally reviewed by a bachelor's level early childhood student and a master's level curriculum and development student at Salisbury University and run through the readability scorer on Microsoft Word. The survey questions read at a 5.3 grade level, survey consent form reads at 8.3, and focus consent form reads at 8.8. These scores were the lowest capable of being achieved.

The survey included three preliminary qualifying questions and forty-nine questions formatted as multiple choice, yes/no, and on a rating scale. The survey focused on demographics, periods of incarceration, convictions, motivators for employment, and experiences seeking employment.

Study participants were asked to complete a quantitative survey which focused on their experiences seeking and securing employment as a returning citizen with convictions on their criminal record, their demographic information, periods of incarceration, convictions, and motivators for employment. The questions utilized in the survey are provided in Appendix C. Skip logic, a feature, which determines whether a participant sees the next question based on how they answered the current question was utilized within the survey.

A paper survey was developed to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the participants' experience based on their status as returning citizens. An online survey was originally drafted, but due to the request of a community partner, a paper survey was utilized garnering better results. No surveys were completed online.

Survey participants were provided instructions on how to complete the survey, but investigators did not answer clarifying questions to avoid investigator bias. At the conclusion of the survey, participants were asked whether or not they would like to participate in a follow-up focus group and be entered into a gift card drawing. These were on two separate pages, which were dis-attached from the survey as personal information: first and last name, email, and phone number were collected.

For the employment-based community agency, the senior undergraduate Co-Investigator collected the surveys on a weekly basis in a sealed envelope from the agency's Executive Director. The survey participants were individuals who were enrolled in a job readiness training course which was either mandated by the county's drug court or the agency itself, in order to place the returning citizens with a partner employer of the agency. For the in-patient substance abuse facility, the senior undergraduate Co-Investigator and the Principal Investigator alternating visiting the facility to conduct the survey from a group of pre-screened eligible candidates by the facility.

This study collected a lot of information but only reporting on a small amount. Questions 15-16 and 35 correlates with research question 1) For individuals who received an education while incarcerated in either jail or prison, did this lead to employment? Questions 46 and 35 correlates with research question 2) For individuals who received job training while incarcerated in either jail or prison, did this lead to employment? Questions 25/28 and 35 correlates with research question 3) Is there a relationship between the total number of years incarcerated and employment

success)? Questions 39 and 33 correlates with research question 4) Which industries will hire previously incarcerated individuals? Questions 41 and 38 correlates with research question 5)

Is there a relationship between “checking the box” and securing a job since last conviction? Question 45 correlate with research question 6) What are the reasons for not getting a job? Question 51 correlates with research question 7) What services could have aided with reentry?

Sampling Strategy

The total sample for the survey contained 50 participants (n=50), however six had to be omitted as the participants did not meet criteria, specifically not having a felony conviction on their criminal record (n=44). The study was approved in spring 2018 by the Salisbury University Institutional Review Board (Study #39) prior to administering the survey (see Appendix A & B).

A convenience sampling method was utilized for this study. Participants were recruited through two community agencies who provide workforce development and substance abuse treatment to returning citizens. These community agencies were recruited by the primary investigator, an associate professor, as the community agencies are affiliated with the Salisbury University School of Social Work as their staff serve as adjunct professors. This is an effective approach for recruiting hard-to-reach populations, proven through the Facility-based Sampling Theory. This theory “refers to recruiting members of target populations from a variety of facilities” (Shaghaghi, Bhopal, & Sheikh, 2011, p. 4).

Eligibility criteria were a) returning citizens, b) eighteen years of age and older, c) had not previously taken the survey, d) reside and are seeking employment or working in the United States of America, and e) are English speaking.

Due to this population being hard-to-reach, the current sample does not necessarily represent a true representation of the returning citizen population, especially as these individuals

were actively engaged in receiving employment and/or substance abuse treatment. This study did not receive responses from individuals currently not receiving these types of services, which assist with addressing certain employment barriers for this population.

Reliability of Instruments

As the study was exploratory in nature, the researcher did not calculate the true reliability of instruments. Additionally, a pilot study was not conducted.

Data Analysis

With the paper surveys, the researcher manually entered the responses through the utilization of a key into Microsoft Excel to analyze the data. The researcher was connected to Dr. April Murphy, West Kentucky University, by the Principal Investigator, who ran the data analysis. Dr. Murphy provided a descriptive output, which assisted in organizing and understanding the results.

Special Considerations for the Protection of Study Participants

Risks and benefits.

There were minimal risks associated with this research project for participants. These risks are minimal but include risks associated with the disclosure of any unlawful activities and/or societal stigma associated with felony status. Survey participants were informed that through completing the survey, emotions related to incarceration and their frustration in seeking employment could arise. The data collected from participants remained confidential unless a report of self-harm or the endangerment of others, due to the mandatory reporter role of social workers, arose, but this did not occur. If this was to have occurred, it would have been the responsibility of the PI, who is a board licensed clinical social worker, to report the disclosure. The survey did take

time and there was the risk of unexpected risks that could not be expected, but none arose, as none were noted or brought to the attention of the PI or the co-investigators.

The benefits of the research project included providing participants with the opportunity to share their employment experiences. Though the information collected may not benefit an individual returning citizen directly, the information could assist in bringing about greater awareness on the employment challenges faced by this specific population, which could lead to policy changes and societal rethinking.

Confidentiality.

Confidentiality was discussed with the survey participants prior to completing the survey. At no time during the survey were respondents asked or allowed to provide their name, keeping all results confidential. After completing the survey, the survey participants were asked on a separate paper form, whether or not they wanted to participate in a future focus group and be entered into a gift card drawing, which was also on a different paper. These papers were removed from the completed surveys and placed in two different envelopes to ensure identifiable information was not linked to the survey.

For the employment-based community agency, the senior undergraduate Co-Investigator collected the surveys on a weekly basis in a sealed envelope from the agency's Executive Director. The envelopes were delivered to the PI's office weekly. For the substance abuse in-patient treatment facility, the PI collected the surveys and then placed them in a sealed envelope as the PI was on-site during the survey's completion. Paper surveys were stored in the PI's locked office in a locked cabinet, which was only accessible by the PI. The Co-Investigators entered the surveys into Microsoft excel making sure that neither one entered surveys into the platform if they were present during their completion at either of the community agencies.

Results

Demographic and Descriptive Data

This study reported demographic data obtained from a survey that included respondents' gender identity, race/ethnicity, state and county of residence, county seeking employment in, child dependents, living situation(s) within the month, and highest education attainment. There were a total of fifty survey participants, out of which six respondents had to be omitted due to failure to meet eligibility criteria (n=44).

In the survey sample, thirty-three of the forty-four respondents (76.7%) self-identified as male while ten of the forty-four respondents (23.3%) self-identified as female. Twenty-four of the forty-four respondents (54.7%) self-identified as white while ten of the respondents self-identified as African American/Black (24.2%), and seven of the respondents self-identified as other (17.1%). The other category was a write-in option with the seven responses of "American, German and West Indies, Italian, Latino/Jamaican, Mixed, and Romanian/Gypsy."

Forty-two (97.7%) of the respondents currently reside in Maryland while one (2.3%) respondent has residency in Delaware. The region of Maryland where the survey was conducted in borders the State of Delaware. Of the forty-three participants who responded but nine had to be omitted due to a misunderstanding or misreading as county as country (n=34), a majority (n = 26, 76%) indicated they reside in Wicomico County, which is where the two community partner agencies are located. For this study, Maryland's Lower Easter Shore is defined as Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties. Of the forty-two respondents, a majority (n=28, 63.6%) are seeking employment in Wicomico County followed by the other category (n=11, 25.3%), which consisted of "Accomack, Virginia; Anne Arundel; Baltimore; Caroline; Cecil; Delaware; Dorchester; Talbot; Talbot and Dorchester, Maryland; and Wilmington, Delaware." Additionally,

the region of Maryland where the survey was conducted in is in close proximity to the State of Virginia's border. The region is referred to Delmarva Peninsula. "Anne Arundel; Baltimore; Caroline; Cecil; Dorchester; Talbot; Talbot and Dorchester, Maryland" are all counties in Maryland.

Twenty (48.5%) of the respondents have biological children which are financially dependent upon the survey respondents. For a large percentage of the respondents, within the last month they have resided within their immediate family's residence (n=17, 38.6%) and a treatment/medical facility (n=12, 27.35). One of the community partner agencies where the surveys were conducted is an in-patient substance abuse treatment facility, which correlates to the higher prevalence of responses being associated with a treatment/medical facility. Lastly, for highest academic degree, sixteen (37.2%) of respondents earned a high school diploma, twelve (27.9) have a GED, and ten (23%) have some college academic experience.

Gender Identity		
	N	%
Male	33	76
Female	10	23
Race/Ethnicity		
	N	%
White	24	58.5
Black/African American	10	24.4
Other	7	17.1
State - Residency		
	N	%
Maryland	42	97.7
Delaware	1	2.3
County - Residency		
	N	%
Wicomico	26	76.5
Baltimore County	2	5.9
Caroline	1	2.9
Cecil	1	2.9
Dorchester	1	2.9
Talbot	1	2.9
Somerset	1	2.9
Worcester	1	2.9
Seeking Employment in What County		
	N	%

Wicomico	28	63.6
Other	11	25.3
Wicomico/Worcester	2	4.5
Somerset/Wicomico/Worcester	1	2.3
Financially Dependent Children		
	N	%
Yes	20	48.5
No	21	51.2
Residency – Within Last Month		
	N	%
Immediate Family's Residence	17	38.6
Treatment/Medical Facility	12	27.3
Other	6	13.8
Shelter	5	11.4
Another Relative's Residence	4	9.1
Friend's Residence	3	6.8
Hotel/Motel	3	6.8
Transitional Housing Program	3	6.8
Stranger's Residence	2	4.5
Outside	1	2.3
Highest Academic Degree		
	N	%
High School Diploma	16	37.2
GED	12	27.9
Some College	10	23
Some High School	7	16.3
Other	5	11.4
Associate's Degree	1	2.3
Bachelor's Degree	1	2.3

Table 2 Demographic and Descriptive Characteristics of Previously Incarcerated Individuals

Research Findings

The total results of the survey are included in Appendix D. However, most notable findings from respondents will be discussed as follows:

- 1. For individuals who received an education while incarcerated in either jail or prison, did this lead to employment?**

Of the forty-four participants who completed the survey, 27.5% (n = 11) indicated they received their degree (i.e., some high school; high school diploma; GED; etc.) while incarcerated. Of those who reported receiving their degree while incarcerated, 100% (n = 11) reported being currently employed.

2. For individuals who received job training while incarcerated in either jail or prison, did this lead to employment?

Of the forty-four participants who completed the survey, 36.4% ($n = 16$) indicated they received job training while incarcerated. Of those, a majority ($n = 10$, 62.5%) reported being able to get a job in that area after release.

3. Is there a relationship between the total number of years incarcerated and employment success (i.e., currently employed)?

Of the forty-three participants who responded, a majority ($n = 33$, 76.7%) indicated they had been in prison at some point in their life. Those who indicated they had been in prison reported that they served between 0.4 years and 21 years ($M = 5.8$, $SD = 5.0$) in prison over the course of their lifetime. Of the 44 participants who responded, a majority ($n = 43$, 97.7%) indicated they had been in jail at some point in their life. Those who indicated they had been in jail reported that they served between 0.2 years and 10 years ($M = 2.4$, $SD = 2.1$) in prison over the course of their lifetime.

Through running an independent-samples t-test there was not a statistically significant relationship between the total numbers of years incarcerated and employment success. This is probably because only a small number of respondents were employed.

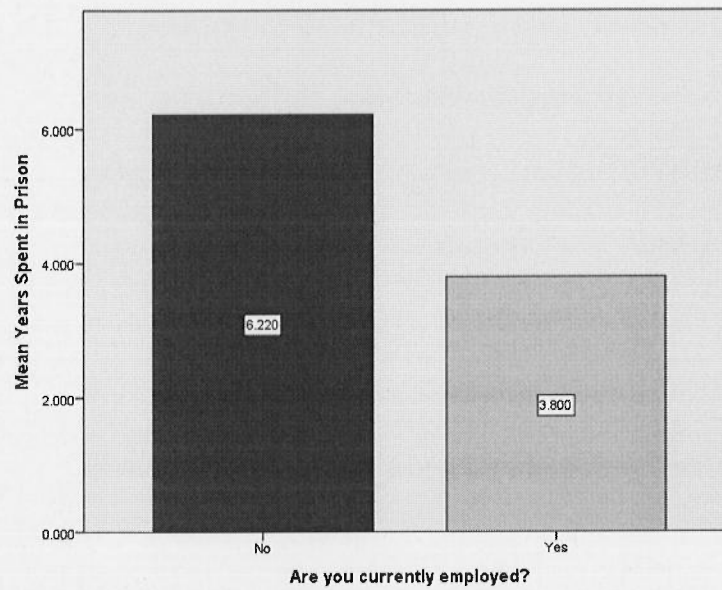


Figure 5 Years in Prison vs. Currently Employed

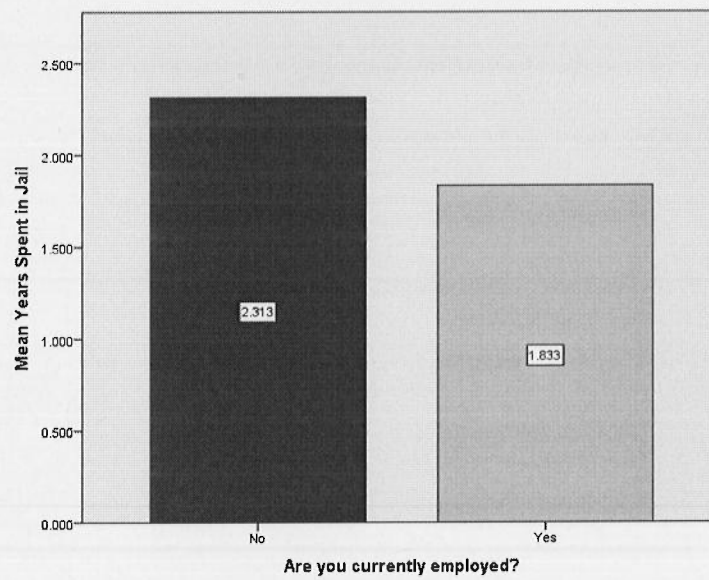


Figure 6 Years in Jail vs. Currently Employed

Group Statistics

	CURRENT_EMPLOYED Are you currently employed?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
PRISON_YEARS If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a prison? (Fill in the blank).	0 No 1 Yes	24 5	6.22042 3.80000	5.306273 3.114482	1.083139 1.392839
JAIL_YEARS If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a county detention center and jail? (Fill in the year).	0 No 1 Yes	32 6	2.31315 1.83333	1.721330 1.329160	.304291 .542627

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
PRISON_YEARS If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a prison? (Fill in the blank).	Equal variances assumed	.759	.391	.977	27	.337	2.420417	2.478650	-2.665354	7.506187
	Equal variances not assumed			1.372	9.685	.201	2.420417	1.764423	-1.528378	6.369212
JAIL_YEARS If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a county detention center and jail? (Fill in the year).	Equal variances assumed	.416	.523	.645	36	.523	.479814	.744001	-1.029091	1.988718
	Equal variances not assumed			.771	8.503	.461	.479814	.622123	-.940154	1.899781

Table 3 Independent Samples T-Test – Currently Employed vs. Years Incarcerated

4. Which industries will hire previously incarcerated individuals?

Of the forty-four participants who responded, the most common industries in which the respondents have secured jobs in since their last conviction were Food Preparation/Serving Related (n=13, 34.2%) and Construction/Extraction (n=9, 23.7%).

Industry	%
Food Preparation and Serving Related	34.2
Construction and Extraction	23.7
Production	13.6
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair	10.5
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance	7.9
Healthcare Supports	7.9
Personal Care and Service	7.9
Life, Physical, and Social Science	5.3
Sales and Related	5.3
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media	2.6
Business and Financial Operations	2.6
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry	2.6
Management	2.6
Office and Administrative Support	2.6
Protective Service	2.6

Table 4 Job Industries – Secured Since Last Conviction

5. Is there a relationship between “checking the box” and securing a job since last conviction?

A chi-square was conducted to determine whether there was a relationship between “checking the box” and securing employment since their last conviction. Results indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between checking the box and securing employment ($X^2 = 3.258, p = .196$).

JOBAPP_BOX On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check? *

SECURED_JOB Have you secured a job since your last conviction? Cross-tabulation

		SECURED_JOB Have you secured a job since your last conviction?		Total
		0 No	1 Yes	
	Count	0	5	5
	Expected Count	1.0	4.0	5.0
	% within JOBAPP_BOX	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check?			
	% of Total	0.0%	12.5%	12.5%
	Count	4	20	24
JOBAPP_BOX On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check?	Expected Count	4.8	19.2	24.0
	% within JOBAPP_BOX	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check?			
	% of Total	10.0%	50.0%	60.0%
	Count	4	7	11
	Expected Count	2.2	8.8	11.0
2 Leave Blank	% within JOBAPP_BOX	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
	On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check?			

Total	% of Total	10.0%	17.5%	27.5%
	Count	8	32	40
	Expected Count	8.0	32.0	40.0
	% within JOBAPP_BOX	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check?			
	% of Total	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%

Table 5 Chi-Square – Checking the Box vs. Employment

6. What are the reasons for not getting a job?

Of the forty-four participants who completed the survey, 61% (n=25) were notified for the reason(s) in which they did not secure the job after submitting an employment application while 39% (n=16) were provided an explanation. Of the sixteen respondents, 77.8% (n=14) failed a background check, 9.1% (n=4) personal availability did not work for the position in which they were applying for, and 5.6% (n=1) did not have the correct documentation.

Reason	N	%
Failed a Background Check	14	77.8
Your Availability Did Not Work	4	9.1
Did Not Have Correct Documentation	1	5.6

Table 6 Reasons for Not Getting a Job

7. What services could have aided with reentry?

Of the forty-three participants who responded, a majority indicated that job training/life skills/career placement (n=22, 51.2%) and food assistance (n=25, 58.1%) would have aided in their re-entry into society. The lowest service reported was local police officers (n=2, 4.8%).

Service	%
Food Assistance	58.1
Job Training, Life Skills, and/or Career Placement	51.2
Substance Abuse/Alcohol Treatment Programs	48.8
Counseling or Other Mental Health Care Services	39.5
Long-Term Housing	38.1
Family Support	32.6
Food Banks	30.2
Cash Assistance	30.2
Educational Support	30.2
Short-Term Housing	30.2
Child Care	16.3

Table 7 Services Which Could Have Aided with Reentry

Discussion and Recommendations

Demographics and Descriptive Data

Beginning with demographics of the survey respondents, a majority were male (n=33, 76.7%) while (n=10, 23.3%) were female with one respondent not self-identifying their gender. According to the Maryland Division of Correction Operations Fiscal Year 2018 Annual Report published by the State of Maryland's Department of Public Safety and Correctional Safety as of July 2018 there were 18,634 individuals incarcerated in Maryland. This number does not include the number of incarcerated individuals housed in local jails, pre-trial, and probation and parole home detention. Of the 18,634 incarcerated individuals, 17,803 are male (95.5%) and 831 are female (4.5%) (FY2018 Annual Report - Maryland Division of Correction Operations, 2018). The sample was not representative. A possible reason being the community partners engage with the Wicomico County Drug Court, a diversion program, which nationally, diversion programs enroll

a greater percentage of white individuals due to the “racialized stereotypes influencing the criminal legal decision making” (Schlesinger, 2013, p. 216). Therefore, African American and Hispanic/Latino individuals are less likely to receive pretrial diversions compared to White defendants with similar charges legal characteristics (Schlesinger, 2013, p. 216).

With race/ethnicity, a strong percentage self-identified as white (n=24, 58.5%) while less self-identified as Black/African American (n=10, 24.4%). There were seven respondents (17.1%) which checked other and six respondents wrote in the responses of “American, German and West Indies, Italian, Latino/Jamaican, Mixed, and Romanian/Gypsy.” Again, this is not an accurate representation of the incarcerated population held in correctional facilities within Maryland. Of the 18,634 incarcerated individuals held in Maryland 13,198 (70.8%) are Black and 5,174 (27.8%) are white (FY2018 Annual Report - Maryland Division of Correction Operations, 2018). With the data collected, the survey findings do not reflect the imprisoned population due to the disproportionate number of self-identified white individuals within the study’s sample.

The original intended survey participation region was for the entire Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland (Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties), so it is not surprising that of the forty-three respondents for question seven “what state do you reside in,” forty-two individuals (97.7%) wrote Maryland and only one wrote-in Delaware (2.3%). Additionally, most eligible respondents from this region (n=28) resided in Wicomico County (n=26, 76.5%). This is because the two community agencies which recruited survey participants are in Wicomico County. There was one response (n=1, 2.9%) for Somerset and Worcester counties. Additionally, most respondents (n=28, 63.6%) are seeking employment in Wicomico county, two respondents (4.5%) in Wicomico and Worcester counties, one respondent (2.3%) in Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties. There were twelve respondents who listed other, which is primarily due to one of the community agencies

being an in-patient substance abuse treatment facility with the residents not planning to reside within the region upon release.

Additionally, a component of the survey focused on family structure because as evident within the literature review, incarceration impacts the loved ones of returning citizens. With approximately 90,000 children in Maryland having a parent on parole or probation or incarcerated within a detention center, jail, or prison, the prevalence within the returning citizen population is strong with 43.2% (n=19) of the respondents having children under the age of eighteen who are financially dependent on them (Governor's Office on Children, 2016). Of this percentage of respondents, 100% of the children are biologically related. Also, most respondents had between one (n=9, 47.4%) to two (n=8, 42.1%) children with only one having three (5.3%) and another having four (5.3%) kids.

With the literature review focusing both on the impact of parental incarceration and the effects post-release as a returning citizen parent, these children can experience instability within their home and family structures. Additionally, these children can be directly impacted by the cycle of poverty surrounding their parents through a reduction in household income, lack of or limited child support funds, and changes in custody. Lastly, housing stipulations placed on returning citizens can impact these children.

As a returning citizen, housing can be extremely limited due to parole restrictions on where one can reside, limitations on housing vouchers, a poor credit score, unable to pay the security deposit and/or first month's rent, and the societal stigma of incarceration exemplified by landlords. This often leads returning citizens into situations of housing insecurity as they are "10 times more likely to become homeless than the general population" (Wiltz, 2019). When reviewing the survey data, none of the respondents stated that they reside in a house they own or rent. Most respondents

either reside in an immediate family member's residence (n=17, 38.6%) or in a treatment/medical facility (n=12, 27.3%) within the past month. This is not surprising as mentioned above one of the community partner agencies was an in-patient substance abuse treatment center.

One key component seen through the results is that only (n=12, 27.6%) of respondents had more than a high school diploma or GED. As evidenced within the literature review, the higher one's educational training, the greater the decrease in recidivism rates, specifically regarding post high school diploma and GED (Case, 2004). Many of the respondents participated in work programs while incarcerated (n=24, 57.1%). As mentioned within the literature review, within Maryland correctional facilities, incarcerated individuals can earn occupation licensures in a number of areas free of charge. It is extremely important to provide these opportunities and promote occupational licensure during incarceration to provide individuals with a greater skillset to utilize when seeking employment post-release.

Impact of Education and Job Training on Employment

As mentioned above, eleven respondents (27.5%) received an education while incarcerated with all receiving their GED (n=11, 100%). While incarcerated in Maryland and not holding a GED or high school diploma, the Maryland Correctional Education Program requires inmates to enroll in GED programming until they pass the exam. Additionally, one respondent (n=1, 8.3%) stated that they earned an associate's degree while incarcerated which is due to the partnerships between the State of Maryland Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation who coordinate correctional education and Anne Arundel Community College, Hagerstown Community College, and Wor-Wic Community College. These community courses as mentioned within the literary review offer college readiness and college courses inside of correctional facilities to inmates.

With the eleven respondents who received an education while incarcerated, they all (n=11, 100%) reported being currently employed, which supports the literature on the importance of correctional education programming which was re-enforced within the RAND Corporation's 2013 Correctional Education Survey. The RAND Study found that "for every dollar spent on correctional educational, five dollars are saved on three-year re-incarceration costs," therefore directly combating recidivism (Davis et. al., 2013, p. 81). Additionally, incarcerated individuals who engaged in correctional education had just under 50% lower odds of recidivating compared to peers who did not engage in the programming while incarcerated (Davis et. al., 2013, p. 57).

Sixteen (36.4%) of the forty-four participants indicated that they received job training while incarcerated, with ten (62.5%) reporting being able to get a job in that area after release. As mentioned above and within the literary review in Maryland correctional facilities, incarcerated individuals can earn occupation licensures free of charge and can receive up to ten days off their sentence per full month of employment (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018). Jobs for inmates in Maryland on the inside include kitchen, laundry, carpentry, and textile work (Correctional Education Council Activity Report 18, 2018). The job industries in which returning citizens have success in securing employment in are highlighted in question four.

Supports for Reentry

For a strong majority of the forty-three respondents, twenty-two (51.2%) indicated that job training/life skills/career placement and twenty-five (58.1%) stated that food assistance could have aided with their re-entry back into their communities upon release. Due to the negative relationships often experienced by returning citizens with law enforcement, unsurprisingly the lowest service reported was local police officers (n=2, 4.8%).

As mentioned within the literature review, previously incarcerated individuals can experience hurdles when seeking food assistance from local, state, and federal government entities specifically due to the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). This Act placed a limit on the amount of years that families could qualify for the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and banned returning citizens with some drug crimes the opportunity to receive TANF and SNAP (Supplementary Nutritional Assistance Program) benefits. In 2017, the Maryland General Assembly repealed their 2000 legislation brought about by PRWORA, which had restricted individuals with felony drug convictions from receiving Temporary Cash Assistance or food stamps for one year after their conviction.

Recommending greater community awareness of the broad services provided by the State-wide Maryland Re-entry Initiative run through the State of Maryland's Department of Labor, Licensing, & Regulation. This program is designed to assist returning citizens by increasing their employability and providing equal opportunity and access to employment resources. The Maryland Re-Entry Initiative provides employment assistance and referral services to job seekers, technical assistance and professional development to a wide range of government and community-based organizations, and information and incentives to businesses. The initiative partners with local employers, which specifically assists those returning citizens on probation and parole who are required to hold employment. Additionally, the initiative assists returning citizens through the Federal Bonding Program, which provides Fidelity Bonds to employers who hire returning citizens. The bonding protects the employer against money or property loss due to the deemed societal high risk of the returning citizen. For Maryland's Lower Eastern shore returning citizen population, the Maryland Re-entry Initiative is housed within the Lower Shore Job One-Stop Job Market building in Salisbury, Maryland.

Recommending an increase in funding opportunities for community organizations working with returning citizens and an improved focus on inter-agency collaborations focused on providing supports to this population. Currently Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc. is the only non-profit community organization publicly serving returning citizens on the Lower Eastern Shore, specifically with securing employment. Goodwill focuses on providing returning citizens with opportunities for job readiness training, life coaching, employment placement assistance, and career mentoring in securing employment. Project Reconnects assists returning citizens who are about to re-enter the workforce and return to the workforce and to their communities with career development services.

Ms. Patricia Hardy, Executive Director up to May 2018, shared that in 2017, Goodwill had 526 individuals entering their doors with 282 enrolling for services and 195 of the 282 being returning citizens (citation). This Goodwill is located Salisbury, Maryland. Ms. Kristie Marrier, current Executive Director, stated that within the last year, intakes have ranged from eighty to one hundred with a vast majority being returning citizens. Ms. Marrier believes the upsurge is due to increased word of mouth of the services in which Goodwill provides, their recent employment successes in job placements, specifically for returning citizens, and new transportation partnerships to provide affordable transportation to the workplaces from central Salisbury locations. Currently, this organization can only help with employment, yet the services of food assistance (58.1%), substance abuse/alcohol treatment programs (48.8%), counseling or other mental health care services (39.5%), and long-term housing (38.1%) are needed, according to the study's results.

Employment Success

Thirty-three (76.7%) of the forty-three respondents for questions twenty-five have been incarcerated within a prison for an average of 5.5 years (SD=5.0) and forty-three (97.7%) of the

forty-three respondents for questions twenty-eight have been incarcerated within a detention center/jail for an average of 2.4 years ($SD=2.1$). For question thirty-five, which asked if an individual is currently employed, only seven of the forty-two (16.7%) respondents are. When comparing these two statements on years incarcerated and whether they are employed, neither was statistically significant. This is probably due to the fact that only a small number ($n=7$) were currently employed.

The industries which will most commonly hire previously incarcerated individuals according to the respondents are the food preparation/serving related ($n=13$, 34.2%) and construction/extraction ($n=9$, 23.7%) industries. These industries for entry-level jobs often do not provide strong benefits for an individual let alone a family (health care, vacation, sick days, retirement, etc.) or offer opportunities for advancement. Therefore, returning citizens are held within the restrictions of poverty further as these industries often pay minimum wage or just above. Therefore, it is extremely important for returning citizens to secure a federal bond to increase their earning potential. Additionally, returning citizens are strictly prohibited from applying for most occupations providing direct practice to vulnerable populations which include children, the sick, and the elderly. This has been present within Ban the Box initiatives nationally.

In San Francisco and Boston, two of the inaugural cities which implemented Ban the Box legislation, the returning citizen's charge would only become relevant if the job required interaction with vulnerable individuals, therefore a background check would be required to be run. For Maryland, legislation at the state level was established with prohibits state employers from asking applicants to check "the box." In order to address the employment discrimination presented through the study's results, the implementation of Ban the Box legislation in Wicomico County

could assist in providing greater occupational opportunities for returning citizens locally, as presented below within the Employment Discrimination subsection.

With focusing back on employment success, a solution to assist in building employer confidence is the use of Federal Bonding. In 1966 the United States Department of Labor established the Federal Bonding Program which provides fidelity bonding to an employer who hires an at-risk, hard to place job applicant for the first six months of employment, with many federally bonded individuals being previously incarcerated individuals (Fidelity Bonds for Hard-to-Place Job Seekers, 2016). The bond is insured by the Union Insurance Group and is free to businesses for the initial six months of employment. The Federal Bonding Program protects businesses from theft, forgery, larceny, or money and property embezzlement.

In 2015, “774 bonds [were] issued to 606 individuals” within the Federal Bonded Program, which is the most accessible recent information (Fidelity Bonds for Hard-to-Place Job Seekers, 2016). With nearly one in three American adults, approximately 70 million citizens, have a criminal record, there is the need to bring about increased awareness of the program to provide greater opportunities for successful employment for previously incarcerated individuals (Goggins & DeBacco, 2015). Additionally, the Federal Bonded Program is not only accessible to previously incarcerated individuals but also individuals who have the risk factors of: “history of arrest, conviction, or incarceration; history of substance abuse; poor credit history; lack of employment history; and special situations requiring a fidelity bond” (Expand Your Potential Workforce Pool: The Federal Bonding Program, 2017).

The Maryland Federal Bonding Program is organized through the State of Maryland’s Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation and the United States Department of Labor. The Program “is an incentive program designed to encourage businesses to hire qualified jobseekers

who have certain risk factors in their personal background” including having convictions on their criminal record (Expand Your Potential Workforce Pool: The Federal Bonding Program, 2017). The program issues a fidelity bond to businesses which employ individuals for at least thirty hours a week and are paid wages with federal taxes automatically deducted from their earnings. The bond insures that the business is protected against specific actions of that individual including stealing: theft, forgery, larceny, and embezzlement. The bond does not provide “liability coverage due to poor workmanship, job injuries, work accidents, etc.” or serve as “a bail bond or court bond needed in adjudication, and a bond needed for self-employment” (Expand Your Potential Workforce Pool: The Federal Bonding Program, 2017).

Employment Discrimination

The number one reason the forty-four respondents had for not getting a job after submitting a job application was because they failed the background check run by the employer (n=14, 77.8%) according to the twenty-five (61%) who were notified why they did not get a job. Additionally, four (9.1%) respondent’s personal availability did not work for the position in which they were applying for and one (5.6%) did not have the correct documentation which can include a driver’s license, social security card, birth certificate, and a state issued ID. For question fifty-two “when you were released, did you have or were you provided with the following personal identification,” only twenty-three (59%) were provided with their social security card, eighteen (46.2%) with their birth certificate, eleven (28.2%) with their driver’s license, and twenty-two (56.4%) with their state issued ID.

As mentioned within the literary review, returning citizens “are much less likely to get a call-back: 34 percent of whites without a record were contacted, while only 17 percent of those with a record did; and among African Americans 14 percent without a record got a call back, but

only 5 percent one of African Americans with a criminal record heard back from the potential employer” (NELP, 2016). With racial disparities present within the employment discrimination rates experienced by returning citizen, this could be a focus of a future research study within this region.

Surprisingly, the survey results showed that there was not a relationship between checking the box on a job application which inquires if an applicant has a criminal record and securing employment. Previous research shows during the submission of the job application, employment discrimination occurs 76% of the time for previously incarcerated individuals (NELP, 2016). With one of the community partners being an employment center focused on working with vulnerable populations, including returning citizens, a reason for this result could be that the employment agency is steering the respondents towards employers who will hire previously incarcerated citizens. While at the employment center, there was a heavy focus on applying to Perdue Farms and Mountaire Farms for deboning chicken jobs within their factories.

Given Maryland along with four of the most populace counties implementing Ban the Box legislation, there is a window of opportunity and momentum building for a campaign to be established within Wicomico County. Wicomico County is home to a large resident population of previously incarcerated individuals as well as their family members who are directly impacted with their loved one’s experience of employment discrimination (La Vigne et. al., 2003, p. 48). This is due in part because Wicomico County borders the county in which Eastern Correctional Institution, a state-run medium security men’s prison and the only state prison on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which houses over 3,000 individuals, is located. Also, Salisbury, the largest city on the Maryland’s Eastern Shore, is situated in Wicomico County, where the majority of jobs are located. Wicomico County has a large county detention center within the City of Salisbury limits,

which can house 509 individuals. With the criminal justice system maintaining a large presence in Wicomico County, there is a need to address the post-release rehabilitation and employment opportunities for the county's returning citizens.

Conclusion.

The responses gathered emphasis the need to advocate for returning citizens seeking employment which can be long-term, stable, and financially providing for themselves and their families.

Limitations

This study was not without limitations. A pilot study for the survey was not conducted, therefore complicated wording was not flagged for specific questions such as "county vs. country." The survey originally began as an online survey through Survey Monkey, an online software tool, but was switched to a paper format per request of a community agency. Therefore, surveys could only be conducted on-site at the two community agencies which limited the possible participant pool. The participant sample was not representative of the reported incarcerated population within Maryland's correctional facilities. Instead, the study was over-representative of whites and females. Another limitation is that the survey was designed and conducted in English for individuals who are English speaking and reading, therefore excluding possible participants who did not have a sufficient command of the English language. Also, the original intended survey participation region was for the entire Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland (Somerset, Wicomico, and Worcester counties), but most eligible respondents from this region resided in Wicomico County.

Opportunities for Future Research

The sample is not necessarily representative of all returning citizens within the region of focus as the participants were engaged in services preparing them for a more successful re-entry into their home communities. With additional time, resources, and collaboration, the researcher could design a study with a larger, more representative sample size, and gather more specific data on what resources are needed to assist returning citizens experiencing employment discrimination. After debrief with a community partner agency, there is a commitment to continuing the study. Future research could also investigate what the greater corporate communities' views are on hiring returning citizens within the region. This could include conducting a study with the business community as the participants as well as examining their internal human resources structure concerning hiring, training, and promoting returning citizens as employees internally.

Conclusion

As returning citizens transition back into their communities upon release, they often face employment discrimination despite having completed their sentence within the correctional system. These experiences are like a "double jeopardy" as they face multiple barriers in housing, employment, education, etc., which leads them into or increases their presence and that of their loved ones in poverty. Though the findings in this research study are not representative to the returning citizen population of Maryland, the data presented emphasizes the importance of advocating for previously incarcerated citizens. Survey results brought to light the obstacles which limit the employment opportunities of returning citizens, the industries which restrict the hiring of this population, and the importance of correctional education in securing a job post-release. With the securement of employment being the main factor in combating recidivism, it is extremely important to support this population for success.

Appendix A: IRB Submitted Document

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the employment experiences of returning citizens, individuals with felony convictions, who have returned to their communities in Wicomico County on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore.

The current employment experiences of returning citizens nationally include 76% of returning citizens experience job discrimination "at the first interaction: the submission of a job application" and "only 12.5 percent of employers said they would accept an application from an ex-convict" ("Research supports fair change policies", 2016). Also, "between 60 to 75 percent of former inmates cannot find work in their first year out of jail" (Von Berger & Bressler, 2016, p.385). With high levels of unemployment nationally for returning citizens, the problem of poverty impacts returning citizens, their families, and their communities, as returning citizens face hurdles in seeking stable, financially secure employment.

With no previous research conducted on employment discrimination on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, information is needed to determine the employment experiences of returning citizens on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore when seeking and securing employment. This study will utilize a mixed methods approach through a survey and a focus group where returning citizens will be asked to anonymously respond to questions, in order to come to a conclusion on the current employment barriers faced by returning citizens within the region.

Procedures

Research Design

Multiple methods will be utilized to help deepen the understanding of the employment experience of returning citizens. A combination of an online survey and focus groups will assist in developing a more comprehensive understanding of their experience based on their status as returning citizens.

The eligibility criteria for the research project are a) a returning citizen (an individual who carries a criminal record and/or has committed a felony), b) over the age of eighteen, c) has not previously taken the survey, and d) resides and is seeking or works in the United States of America. The goal is to collect surveys which evenly represent the population of returning citizens. The survey and focus groups will be conducted in English for individuals who are English speaking.

Survey

The survey questions were drafted collaboratively by the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator using the findings of the literature review. The survey questions were first reviewed by the Co-Investigator who provided feedback. Then the survey questions were submitted for review by two experts on instrument creation in the

social work field, who are not affiliated with Salisbury University. (See Appendix A).

Focus Group

The focus group questions were drafted by the Principal Investigator using the findings of the literature review. The survey questions were reviewed by the Co-Investigator who provided feedback. (See Appendix B).

Sampling Strategy

Convenience sampling method will be utilized for this study.

Participants will be recruited through community agencies and organizations not affiliated with parole and probation offices which provide services or resources to returning citizens residing in Wicomico County. Attached is a letter of collaboration from Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc. who have agreed to offer the survey and/or focus group options to their clients as well as be a focus group host site. This is an effective approach for recruiting 'hard-to-reach' populations, proven through the Facility-based Sampling Theory. This theory "refers to recruiting members of target populations from a variety of facilities" (Shaghaghi, Bhopal, & Sheikh, 2011, p. 4). During outreach at community agencies and organizations, agency staff will be located in the vicinity in order to provide an extra level of safety for the student, Co-Investigator.

Survey participants will also be recruited through street outreach where the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will both be present, which helps to address student's, Co-Investigator's, safety. Street outreach will occur during daylight hours in public areas. These may include gas stations, bus stations, and grocery stores.

Before participating in street outreach, both the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will discuss a safe exit strategy for each public place. Prior to offering the survey at public places, the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will contact and speak with the manager/supervisor of the location for an informal agreement of collaboration.

Both the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator have been leading book discussions in Eastern Correctional Institution for over a year. In spring 2017, the Co-Investigator led book discussions by herself with ten male inmates. The Co-Investigator has also participated in numerous community outreach and volunteer efforts within the region with vulnerable populations.

Street outreach is an effective approach for recruiting 'hard-to-reach' populations proven through the Time-location (space) Sampling Theory. This theory is based on the idea that "some members of hidden populations tend to gather at certain types of locations within the community and therefore time-location sampling is used to recruit these groups of hard-to-reach populations at locations where they may be found" (Shaghaghi, Bhopal, & Sheikh, 2011, p. 4).

Individuals at public places who will be approached to participate in the study will be asked whether or not they would like to participate in a voluntary survey which is being conducted in order to determine the presence of employment discrimination on Maryland Lower Eastern Shore.

Focus Group

Participants who have completed the electronic survey, will be asked to participate in a follow-up focus group. Participation in the focus group is not a mandatory requirement for any survey participant. At the conclusion of the survey, survey participants will be asked if they would like to participate in a focus group. If they select yes, participants will be directed to a separate page, which will not be linked to the original survey, to provide their contact information. The researchers will contact (call and e-mail) individuals to invite them to participate in the focus group. The participants contact information can't be linked to the original survey and their answers in any way.

Data Collection Methods

Data will be collected through an online survey and semi-structured, recorded focus groups.

Survey

The survey questions will collect demographic information and explore the employment experiences on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore. The online survey is voluntary for eligible participants, based on the eligibility criteria. Participants will be asked to complete an informed consent form to participate in the online survey, based on voluntary participation.

To gain the participants' confidence, confidentiality was discussed with the survey participants prior to completing the survey. The survey does not ask for identifiable information which could trace a survey result back to a particular participant.

The survey data will be collected and managed utilizing an online questionnaire managed through Survey Monkey. The survey will be completed on an iPad with a secure, mobile hotspot.

The Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will stand several feet away from the survey participant while the participant is completing the survey. The Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will not provide direction or guidance to the survey participant once they begin the survey. The survey is estimated to take between fifteen to thirty minutes.

For survey street outreach, neither the Principal Investigator nor the Co-Investigator, will approach another potential survey participant until the last person has left, which helps to maintain confidentiality of the survey participants.

The survey results will be uploaded onto a private, password secure cloud within several minutes after the survey has been completed, in order to maintain the confidentiality of the survey participants and their results.

After a period of inactivity, the survey will be deleted due to its incompleteness, providing an extra level of confidentiality and security. The survey participants can choose to quit the survey at any time. The survey participants will be allowed to skip questions.

After completing the survey, the survey participants will be asked on a separate survey electronic form whether or not they would want to participate in a focus group. The contact information and availability of the survey participant to partake in the focus group session will not be linked to the primary survey data via a separate link, in order to maintain confidentiality, but to also be completed on the iPad with the secure, mobile hotspot.

Also, after completing the survey, the survey participants will be asked on a separate survey electronic form whether or not they would want to send the survey to others to complete, known as snowball strategy/respondent-driven sampling. The original survey participant will be asked to provide the email addresses of potential new participants(s). The contact information of the potential new survey participant(s) will not be linked to the primary survey data via a separate link, in order to maintain confidentiality of the original survey respondent, but to also be completed on the iPad with the secure, mobile hotspot.

Focus Group

Focus groups will be held to further explore the employment experiences of returning citizens. The focus group will take place in a common area with local community organizations and agencies. Attached is a letter of collaboration from an organization who has agreed to be a focus group host site. Second focus group host site collaboration is currently being worked on.

The focus groups will offer at least two locations in Wicomico County. The times of the focus groups will be determined based upon the availability listed by the survey participant in the future focus group survey which they responded to after the primary survey. The Primary Investigator and the Co-Investigator will both be present during focus group sessions. The focus sessions will last no more than an hour, in order to reduce the potential of participant fatigue.

Participation in the focus group is completely voluntary and focus group participants will be able to freely leave the focus group at any time. Permission of all focus group participants to record the focus group session will be sought through the consent form prior to the beginning of the focus group session. If participants consent to participate, then they are consenting to be recorded.

During the focus group session, the focus group participant will have the option to be referred to by their preferred pronoun or first name. The first names will not be recorded in the notes.

The data from the focus group will be recorded through notes taken by either the Principal Investigator or Co-Investigator during the focus group and a cell phone tape recorder belonging to either the Primary Investigator or the Co-Investigator. A cell phone is being used due to the immediate locked password protection, which provides an increased level of security, compared to hand-written notes or a typical recording device. The notes and recording from the focus group sessions will then be uploaded onto the private, password secure cloud within forty-eight hours of the focus group session ending. Also, there will be a large writing pad in the focus group session room where the themes of the session will be recorded in order to provide the participants with a visual.

After the completion of the focus group, the participants will no longer be contacted and their contact information will be removed and destroyed from the cloud. The notes from the focus group session will then be shredded by the Co-Investigator using the shredding machine in the Social Work Department Office with the supervision of the Principal Investigator.

Data Analysis

Survey

Excel will be utilized to analyze the data. All data will be reviewed by both the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator in order to ensure that respondents cannot be identified. If there is a question that can potentially identify a respondent, then those findings will be reported in aggregate.

Focus Group

The data collected from the focus group sessions will be analyzed to gain a greater perspective on the employment experiences of returning citizens on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore. Analysis of the focus group will be based on an inductive approach geared toward identifying general patterns in the data by means of thematic codes. Quotes used in any reports or presentations will also be reviewed to ensure that the participants can't be identified.

Risks / Benefits Analysis

There are minimal risks associated with this research project for the survey and focus group participants. These risks are minimal but may include risks associated with the disclosure of any unlawful activities and/or societal stigma associated with felony status. The survey may bring amount emotion related to incarceration and the frustration in seeking employment.

The justification for completing this study is to bring about awareness on the employment discrimination experienced by returning citizens and to advocate for their access to employment

equality. Survey respondents will be provided an information sheet on agencies and community resources within the region as well as websites which provide support for employment, which helps to educate and support the respondents.

The data collected from the survey and focus group participants will remain confidential unless there is a report of self-harm or the endangerment of others, due to the mandatory reporter role of social workers.

Confidentiality Statement

Participants' names will not be utilized with any data collection or published at conferences or within articles. Participants will not be asked their names in either the survey or focus group. Hard copies of any notes will be shredded following transcription. Electronic data will be stored in Dr. Jennifer Jewell's DropBox for five years after the study is completed. After five years, the electronic data will be permanently deleted.

Survey

To gain the participants' confidence, confidentiality was discussed with the survey participants prior to completing the survey. The survey does not ask for identifiable information which could trace a survey result back to a particular participant.

The survey data will be collected and managed utilizing an online questionnaire managed through Survey Monkey. The survey will be completed on an iPad with a secure, mobile hotspot. Survey participants will freely chose to complete the survey, meaning that the survey will not be a requirement for the population of returning citizens, only suggested and encouraged. Participants will complete an online consent form prior to the start of the survey.

The Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will stand several feet away from the survey participant while the survey is being completed. The Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator will not provide direction or guidance to the survey participant once they begin the survey.

The survey results will be uploaded onto a private, password secure cloud within several minutes after the survey has been completed, in order to maintain the confidentiality of the survey participants and their results.

After a period of inactivity, the survey will be deleted due to its incompleteness, providing an extra level of confidentiality and security. The survey participants can chose to quit the survey at any time. The survey participants will be allowed to skip questions.

After completing the survey, the survey participants will be asked on a separate online form, not connected to the survey, whether or not they would want to participate in a future focus group. The contact information and availability of the survey participant will be disconnected from the primary survey data via a separate link, in order to maintain confidentiality, but to also be completed on the iPad with the secure, mobile hotspot.

Focus Group

The focus group will take place in a common area with local community organizations and agencies. Attached are letters of collaboration from agencies and organizations who have agreed to be a focus group host site. The focus groups will offer at least two locations in Wicomico County. The times of the focus groups will be determined based upon the availability listed by the survey participant in the future focus group survey which they responded to after the primary survey.

In order to protect the participants when conducting the focus group, all members of the focus group will be aware that each is a returning citizen and that confidentiality is of extreme importance. The location of the focus group within the focus group host site will be discussed by the host agency and both investigators in order to minimize the risks involved for the participants.

Participation in the focus group is completely voluntary and focus group participants will be able to freely leave the focus group at any time. Permission of all focus group participants to record the focus group session will be sought through the consent form prior to the beginning of the focus group session. In the case that participants do not want to be recorded, then permission to take detailed notes will be sought.

During the focus group session, the focus group participant will have the option to be referred to by their preferred pronoun or first name. The first names will not be recorded in the notes.

There will only be two individuals who will have access to the data: the Principal Investigator and the Co-Investigator. The data that will be accessed is the information stored on the private, password secure cloud.

The data from the focus group will be recorded through notes taken by the Principal Investigator during the focus group and a cell phone tape recorder belonging to the Primary Investigator. The notes and recording from the focus group sessions will then be uploaded onto the private, password secure cloud within forty-eight hours of the focus group session ending. The handwritten notes will be shredded once the notes have been digitized.

After the completion of the focus group, the participants will no longer be contacted and their contact information will be removed and destroyed from the cloud. The notes from the focus group session will then be shredded using the shredding machine in the Social Work Department Office with the supervision of the Co-Investigator.

Consent Form: Survey

The Effect of Criminal Background Checks on Returning Citizens: Life in Poverty

Subject Consent Form

IRB assigned number:

Investigator(s) name & address: Eleanor Brown & Dr. Jennifer Jewell, Social Work Department, Salisbury University, Salisbury, MD, 21801

Introduction and Background Information: You can participate in a research study led by Eleanor Brown and Dr. Jennifer Jewell. The study will take place in public locations and/or community organizations. The participants within this study were once in prison/jail.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to see how people older than eighteen, that live Maryland who were once in prison/jail, work and find jobs.

Procedures: This study has two parts. First you will be asked to fill out a survey. This survey will ask questions about your background and what challenges you face finding jobs. This part of the study should take fifteen to thirty minutes. You do not have to answer a question if you do not want to. You will complete the survey on an iPad using a free, secure, online survey tool called Survey Monkey. The iPad will be connected to a private, secure Wi-Fi hotspot.

Second, you can participate in a focus group. You will give more details on the challenges you have finding jobs. This will take less than an hour. The focus group will be recorded. You do not have to answer questions. You can leave at any time. You must be able to travel to the focus group. You will get an email that will tell you when and how to participate in the focus group.

You can choose to only participate in the survey.

Potential Risks: There are some risks associated with completing the survey. These risks may include risks associated with the disclosure of any unlawful activities and/or the societal stigma associated with having a felony. The survey could bring back emotions from incarceration and the frustration felt while trying to find a job. Responses will be private unless there is a report of self-harm or the endangerment of others, due to the required reporter role of social workers. The survey will take time. There may be unexpected risks that cannot be expected.

Benefits: The possible benefits of the survey include the opportunity to share your employment experiences. The information collected may not benefit you directly. The information will make people aware of the employment challenges faced by people who were once in prison/jail.

You will be given an information sheet on community resources and websites which provide support for employment.

Confidentiality: Privacy is not certain. Your responses will stay private unless there is a report of self-harm or the harm of others, due to the mandatory reporter role of social workers.

Findings from this study may be used in publications and presentations, but all data will stay private with no identifying information. All data files will be kept on a private, password secure cloud which only the researchers can access.

Voluntary Participation: Taking part in this survey is voluntary. You may choose not to take part. You can stop the survey at any time. If you were recruited at a community organization, choosing to not participate will not impact your services.

Research Subject's Rights, Questions, Concerns, and Complaints: You acknowledge that all your present questions have been answered in a language you can understand and all future questions will be treated in the same manner. If you have any concerns or complaints about the survey you have two options:

You may contact the Co-Investigator, Eleanor Brown, at ebrown12@gulls.salisbury.edu or the Primary Investigator, Dr. Jennifer Jewell, at jrjewell@salisbury.edu

If you have any adverse effects or concerns about the research, please contact the Primary and Co-Investigators or the Office of Graduate Studies and Research at Salisbury University at 410-548-3549 or toll free 1-888-543-0148.

Consent Form: Focus Group

The Effect of Criminal Background Checks on Returning Citizens: Life in Poverty

Subject Consent Form

IRB assigned number:

Investigator(s) name & address: Eleanor Brown & Dr. Jennifer Jewell, Social Work Department, Salisbury University, Salisbury, MD, 21801

Introduction and Background Information: You can participate in a research study led by Eleanor Brown and Dr. Jennifer Jewell. The study will take place in public locations and/or community organizations. The participants within this study were once in prison/jail.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to see how people older than eighteen, that live in Maryland who were once in prison/jail, work and find jobs.

Procedures: In this study, you can participate in a focus group. You will give more details on the challenges you have finding jobs. This will take less than an hour. The focus group will be recorded. You do not have to answer questions. You can leave at any time.

Potential Risks: There are some risks associated with the focus group. These risks may include the disclosure of unlawful activities and/or the societal stigma associated with having a felony. The survey could bring back emotions from incarceration and the frustration felt while trying to find a job. Responses will be private unless there is a report of self-harm or the endangerment of others, due to the required reporter role of social workers. The focus group will take time. There may be unexpected risks that cannot be expected.

Benefits: The possible benefits of the focus group include the opportunity to share your employment experiences. The data may not benefit you directly. The information will make people aware of the employment challenges faced by people who were once in prison/jail.

Confidentiality: Privacy is not certain. Your responses will stay private unless there is a report of self-harm or the harm of others, due to the mandatory reporter role of social workers.

Findings from this study may be used in publications and presentations, but all data will stay private with no identifying information. All data files will be kept on a private, password secure cloud which only the researchers can access.

Voluntary Participation: Taking part in the focus group is voluntary. You may choose not to take part. You can leave the focus group. If you were recruited at a community organization, choosing not to participate will not impact your services.

Research Subject's Rights, Questions, Concerns, and Complaints: You acknowledge that all your present questions have been answered in a language you can understand and all future questions will be treated in the same manner. If you have any concerns or complaints about the survey you have two options:

You may contact the Co-Investigator, Eleanor Brown, at ebrown12@gulls.salisbury.edu or the Primary Investigator, Dr. Jennifer Jewell, at jrjewell@salisbury.edu

If you have any adverse effects or concerns about the research, please contact the Primary and Co-Investigators or the Office of Graduate Studies and Research at Salisbury University at 410-548-3549 or toll free 1-888-543-0148.

Appendix B: IRB Approval Letter

Salisbury*A Maryland University of National Distinction*

Salisbury University
Institutional Review Board
Committee on Human Research
Phone: (410) 548-3549
Fax: (410) 677-0052
Email: humanresearch@salisbury.edu

IRB Research Protocol Approval Notification

Date: 4/20/18

To: J. Jewell
RE: Protocol #39
Type of Submission: Full
Type of IRB Review: Full
Protocol is scheduled to begin 1/18 and 1/19

Approval for this protocol is valid from 4/20/18 to 1/31/19.

CONGRATULATIONS.

This letter serves to notify Dr. Jennifer Jewell that the Salisbury University (SU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved protocol #39, entitled Double Jeopardy: Employment Discrimination Experienced by Returning Citizens on April 20, 2018.

Pursuant to Federal regulations 21 CFR 56.109, the IRB has determined that this protocol qualifies for Full review.

Federal regulation 45 CFR 46.103 (b)(4)(iii) requires Primary Investigators (PI), except when a subject is in immediate danger, to assure any change to an approved protocol is not initiated prior to IRB review and approval. Additionally, the PI must also inform the IRB of unanticipated problems involving risks to participants.

These same federal regulations require continuing review of research be conducted by the IRB at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk. Your research is scheduled to begin 1/18 and end 1/19. When necessary, the PI will receive a continuing review reminder notice prior to the date protocol approval ends; however, it is the PI's responsibility to submit continuing review reports in a timely manner (at least 3 weeks prior to scheduled end date on the protocol approval).

The SU IRB is organized and operated according to guidelines of the United States Office for Human Research Protections and the United States Code of Federal Regulations and under Federal Wide Assurance No. FWA00020237.

If you have any questions about this review or questions, concerns, and/or suggestions regarding this process, please do not hesitate to contact the Office of Graduate Studies and Research at 410-548-3549 or humanresearch@salisbury.edu.


Chair, IRB Committee on Human Research

Appendix C: Survey

Criteria for participation in this survey includes

- 18 years or older and
- have a felony conviction on your record (even if not convicted).

Thank you for your participation. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability.

1. Are you eighteen or older?

☐ Yes

☐ No (if no, thank you. You do not meet the criteria for participation)

2. Have you taken this survey already?

☐ Yes (if yes, thank you for participating previously. You can only complete the survey once.)

☐ No

3. Do you have a felony conviction on your record?

☐ Yes

☐ No (if no, thank you. You do not meet the criteria for participation)

4. What year were you born? _____

5. What is your current gender identity?

☐ Female

☐ Male

☐ Trans male / Trans man

☐ Trans female / Trans woman

☐ Genderqueer/Gender non-conforming

☐ Prefer to self-describe: _____

☐ Prefer not to disclose

6. What is your race/ethnicity? Check all that apply.

☐ Black / African American

☐ Native America

☐ Asian / Pacific Islander

☐ Hispanic / Latino / Latina

☐ White

☐ Other (please specify) _____

7. Which state do you reside in? _____

8. Which county do you reside in? _____

9. What county(s) are you seeking employment? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ Somerset
- ☐ Wicomico
- ☐ Worcester
- ☐ Other county and state: _____

10. Do you have any kids under 18 that are financially dependent on you? (Including paying child support)

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (**Skip to Question 13**)

11. How many? _____

12. How are you related to the children who you are financially responsible for?

- ☐ Biological Children
- ☐ Stepchildren
- ☐ Grandchildren
- ☐ Other: _____

13. Where have you stayed in the last month? (Check all the apply)

- ☐ In a house or apartment with your immediate family that they own or rent
- ☐ Living by yourself in a house you own or rent
- ☐ In a house or apartment with another family member
- ☐ In a house or apartment of a friend
- ☐ In a house or apartment of a stranger
- ☐ At a hotel or motel
- ☐ At a shelter
- ☐ In a transitional housing program
- ☐ Outside in a park, on the street, in a tent, in a car, etc.
- ☐ Inside an abandoned building, squat, porch, basement, hallway, etc.
- ☐ In a treatment or medical facility (hospital, rehabilitation center, etc.)
- ☐ Other: _____

14. What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Some High School
- ☐ High School Diploma
- ☐ GED
- ☐ Associate's Degree
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree

☐ Other: _____

15. Did you obtain any of these degrees while incarcerated?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No (**Skip to Question 17**)

16. If so, which degrees / diplomas did you receive while incarcerated?(Check all that apply)

- ☐ GED
☐ Associate's Degree
☐ Bachelor's Degree
☐ Other: _____

17. Are you currently in school?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No (**Skip to Question 19**)

18. If so, what level of education are you pursuing?

- ☐ GED Program
☐ College
 ☐ Pursing an Associate's Degree
 ☐ Pursing a Bachelor's Degree
 ☐ Pursuing a Master's Degree
☐ Other: _____

19. Are you currently on parole? (serving the remaining portion of one's sentence in the community)

- ☐ Yes (**Skip to Question 21**)
☐ No
☐ Never been on parole (**Skip to Question 21**)

20. If on parole in the past, how long have you been off? _____

21. Are you currently on probation? (placed on supervision by the courts within one's community instead of being incarcerated)

- ☐ Yes (**Skip to Question 22**)
☐ No
☐ Never been on probation (**Skip to Question 22**)

22. If on probation in the past, how long have you been off? _____

23. Have you in the past or are you participating in a diversion program(s)? (Drug court, mental health court)

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

24. Have you ever been in a prison?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 27)**

25. If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a prison? _____ years

26. Thinking about the last time you were in a prison, what year were you released? _____

27. Have you ever been in a county detention center and jail?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 30)**

28. If yes, how many years of your life (in total) have you spent in a county detention center and jail? _____ years

29. Thinking about the last time you were in a county detention center and jail, what year were you released? _____

30. Was your first arrest prior to the age of 18?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 33)**

31. How many times have you been arrested since turning 18? (If you do not know exactly, please make a guess.) _____

32. How many times have you been sentenced prior to the age of 18? _____

33. Please check all convictions that you have had?

- ☐ Assault and Battery
- ☐ Arson
- ☐ Child Abuse
- ☐ Domestic Abuse
- ☐ Kidnapping
- ☐ Rape and Statutory Rape
- ☐ Burglary
- ☐ Homicide
- ☐ Larceny

- ☐ Robbery
- ☐ Auto Theft
- ☐ Shoplifting
- ☐ Attempt and Conspiracy
- ☐ DUI
- ☐ Underage Drinking
- ☐ Open Container Violations
- ☐ Public Intoxication
- ☐ Drug Possession
- ☐ Drug Manufacturing
- ☐ Drug Trafficking.
- ☐ Driving on a Suspended or Revoked License
- ☐ Driving without a License
- ☐ Hit-and-Run Accidents
- ☐ Reckless Driving
- ☐ Vehicular Assault
- ☐ Homicide
- ☐ Fraud and Blackmail
- ☐ Embezzlement and Money Laundering
- ☐ Tax Evasion
- ☐ Cybercrime
- ☐ Other: _____

34. Are you actively seeking employment?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
 - ☐ If no, please explain: _____

35. Are you currently employed?

- ☐ Yes
 - ☐ If yes, specify: _____
- ☐ No

36. When was the last time you submitted a job application?

- ☐ Less than a week ago
- ☐ Within the month
- ☐ Between 1 month and 3 months
- ☐ Between 4 and 6 months
- ☐ Between 7 and 11 months
- ☐ Between 1 to 2 years
- ☐ Between 3 to 5 years

- ☐ More than 6 years ago

37. Please check the job industries which best fit the ones in which you have filled out applications and/or submitted a resume?

- ☐ Management
- ☐ Business and Financial Operations
- ☐ Computer and Mathematical
- ☐ Architecture and Engineering
- ☐ Life, Physical, and Social Science
- ☐ Community and Social Services
- ☐ Legal
- ☐ Education, Training, and Library
- ☐ Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media
- ☐ Healthcare Practitioners and Technical
- ☐ Healthcare Support
- ☐ Protective Service
- ☐ Food Preparation and Serving Related
- ☐ Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance
- ☐ Personal Care and Service
- ☐ Sales and Related
- ☐ Office and Administrative Support
- ☐ Farming, Fishing, and Forestry
- ☐ Construction and Extraction
- ☐ Installation, Maintenance, and Repair
- ☐ Production
- ☐ Transportation and Material Moving
- ☐ Military Specific

38. Have you secured a job since your last conviction?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (**Skip to Question 40**)

39. In what industry(s)?

- ☐ Management
- ☐ Business and Financial Operations
- ☐ Computer and Mathematical
- ☐ Architecture and Engineering
- ☐ Life, Physical, and Social Science
- ☐ Community and Social Services
- ☐ Legal
- ☐ Education, Training, and Library

- ☐ Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media
- ☐ Healthcare Practitioners and Technical
- ☐ Healthcare Support
- ☐ Protective Service
- ☐ Food Preparation and Serving Related
- ☐ Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance
- ☐ Personal Care and Service
- ☐ Sales and Related
- ☐ Office and Administrative Support
- ☐ Farming, Fishing, and Forestry
- ☐ Construction and Extraction
- ☐ Installation, Maintenance, and Repair
- ☐ Production
- ☐ Transportation and Material Moving
- ☐ Military Specific

40. Please rate on a scale of 1-5 the following comments

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I know I have the skills for the areas in which I'm seeking employment					
I know I have the formal qualifications for the areas in which I'm seeking employment.					
I am satisfied with current job prospects					
My job prospects will pay enough to meet my financial needs					
I feel confident that I will find a job					
I do not feel like a productive member of my family or community					
I feel ashamed to rely on people in my life					
I feel like a burden on the people in my life					
I wish I had not served time or committed my crime					
I do not feel remorseful					

I feel like my conviction defines me					
I believe I am not given a fair chance at employment					

41. On a job application, when it asks about prior convictions, do you most often check

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Leave blank

42. Have you been asked to complete a background check by a potential employer?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

43. Have you been asked to go through fingerprinting services by a potential employer?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

44. After a job interview, when the employer failed to offer you a job, have you been notified?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 46)**

45. If yes, why did they state that you did not receive the job (check all that apply)

- ☐ Failed a background check
- ☐ Your availability did not work
- ☐ Did not have the correct documentation
- ☐ Other: _____

46. Did you receive job training while incarcerated?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 48)**

47. If yes, have you been able to get a job in that area since release?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

48. Did you hold a job while incarcerated?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No **(Skip to Question 50)**

49. Have you been able to a job in that area since release?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

50. What are your current sources of personal income?

- ☐ Full-time job
- ☐ Part-time job
- ☐ Money from 'under the table' work
- ☐ Self-employment
- ☐ Cash assistance from a government-funded program (federal/state/local)
- ☐ Social security/disability benefits
- ☐ Selling drugs
- ☐ Exchanging sex for money/rent/etc.
- ☐ Panhandling
- ☐ Child support
- ☐ Money from family members or friends
- ☐ I do not have a personal source of income right now
- ☐ Other: _____

51. What services /programs would have aided in your re-entry into society? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Short-term housing
- ☐ Long-term housing
- ☐ Educational support
- ☐ Job training, life skills training, and/or career placement
- ☐ Family support
- ☐ Child care
- ☐ Food assistance
- ☐ Cash assistance
- ☐ Counseling or other mental health care services
- ☐ Substance abuse / alcohol treatment programs
- ☐ Food banks
- ☐ Local police officers
- ☐ Other: _____

52. When you were released, did you have or were you provided with the following personal identification?

- ☐ Social Security Card
- ☐ Birth Certificate
- ☐ Driver's License
- ☐ State Issued ID

END OF THE SURVEY

The next questions pertain to the gift card drawing and participation in the focus group.

Do you want to be placed in a \$50 gift card drawing?

☐ No

☐ Yes

☐ Name: _____

☐ Phone Number: _____

☐ Email: _____

Please remove this sheet from the survey and place it in the envelope that says gift card drawing.

Are you interested in participating in a follow-up focus group in the future?

☐ No

☐ Yes

☐ Name: _____

☐ Phone Number: _____

☐ Email: _____

☐ Days of the week available: _____

☐ Times of the day available: _____

Please remove this sheet from the survey and place it in the envelope that says focus groups.

Appendix D: Survey Results**(n=44)****Gender Identity**

	N	%
Male	33	76
Female	10	23

Race/Ethnicity

	N	%
White	24	58.5
Black/African American	10	24.4
Other	7	17.1

State - Residency

	N	%
Maryland	42	97.7
Delaware	1	2.3

County - Residency

	N	%
Wicomico	26	76.5
Baltimore County	2	5.9
Caroline	1	2.9
Cecil	1	2.9
Dorchester	1	2.9
Talbot	1	2.9
Somerset	1	2.9
Worcester	1	2.9

Seeking Employment in What County

	N	%
Wicomico	28	63.6
Other	11	25.3
Wicomico/Worcester	2	4.5
Somerset/Wicomico/Worcester	1	2.3

Number of Dependent Children

	N	%
One	9	47.4
Two	8	42.1
Three	1	5.3
Four	1	5.3

Financially Dependent Children

		N	%
Yes		20	48.5
	<i>Biological Children</i>	20	100
No		21	51.2

Residency – Within Last Month

	N	%
Immediate Family's Residence	17	38.6
Treatment/Medical Facility	12	27.3
Other	6	13.8
Shelter	5	11.4
Another Relative's Residence	4	9.1
Friend's Residence	3	6.8
Hotel/Motel	3	6.8
Transitional Housing Program	3	6.8
Stranger's Residence	2	4.5
Outside	1	2.3

Highest Academic Degree

	N	%
High School Diploma	16	37.2
GED	12	27.9
Some College	10	23
Some High School	7	16.3
Other	5	11.4
Associate's Degree	1	2.3
Bachelor's Degree	1	2.3

Obtained Degrees Incarcerated

		N	%
Yes		11	27.5
	<i>GED</i>	11	91.7
	<i>Other</i>	2	6.4
	<i>Associate's Degree</i>	1	8.3
No		29	72.5

Currently in School

		N	%
Yes		2	4.8
	<i>GED Program</i>	1	12.5
	<i>College</i>	7	87.5
	<i>Pursuing a Bachelor's Degree</i>	2	4.5
	<i>Pursuing a Master's Degree</i>	2	4.5
	<i>Pursuing an Associate's Degree</i>	1	2.3
	<i>All Three Degrees</i>	1	2.3
No		40	95.2

Currently on Parole

	N	%
No	21	50
Yes	17	40.5
Never Been on Parole	4	9.5

Period Since Last Parole Sentence

	N	%
No	2	50
Yes	2	50

Currently on Probation

	N	%
Yes	24	57.1
No	18	42.9

Period Since Last Probation Sentence

	N	%
On Probation	3	6.8
5 Years	3	6.8
3 Months	1	2.3
2 Years	1	2.3
3 Years	1	2.3
4 Years	1	2.3
8 Years	1	2.3
10 Years	1	2.3
20 Years	1	2.3
Since 2014	1	2.3
Since 2015	1	2.3

Participated in a Diversion Program(s) (Drug Court, Mental Health Court, etc.)

	N	%
No	35	81.4
Yes	8	18.6

Incarcerated in Prison

	N	%
Yes	33	76.7
No	10	23.3

Year of Most Recent Prison Release

	N	%
2017	8	26.7
2018	7	23.3

2005	3	10
2019	2	6.7
2016	2	6.7
2000	2	6.7
2015	1	3.3
2014	1	3.3
2012	1	3.3
2010	1	3.3
2002	1	3.3
1998	1	3.3

Incarcerated in County Detention Center and Jail

	N	%
Yes	43	97.7
No	1	2.3

Year of Most Recent County Detention Center and Jail Release

	N	%
2019	9	23.7
2017	5	13.2
2018	4	10.5
2016	4	10.5
2015	3	7.9
2014	3	7.9
2012	3	7.9
2011	1	2.6
2010	1	2.6
2009	1	2.6
2007	1	2.6
2006	1	2.6
2005	1	2.6
1995	1	2.6

First Arrest Prior to Age of Eighteen

	N	%
Yes	23	52.3
No	21	47.7

Convictions

		N	%
Assault	Yes	14	31.8
	No	30	68.2
Arson	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Child Abuse	Yes	0	0
	No		

	No	44	100
Domestic Abuse			
	Yes	6	13.6
	No	38	86.4
Kidnapping			
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Rape			
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Burglary			
	Yes	14	31.8
	No	30	68.2
Homicide			
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Larceny			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Robbery			
	Yes	9	20.5
	No	35	79.5
Auto Theft			
	Yes	6	13.6
	No	38	86.4
Shoplifting			
	Yes	13	29.5
	No	31	70.5
Attempt and Conspiracy			
	Yes	5	11.4
	No	39	88.6
DUI			
	Yes	12	27.3
	No	32	72.7
Underage Drinking			
	Yes	5	11.4
	No	39	88.6
Open Container			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Public Intoxication			
	Yes	5	11.4
	No	39	88.6
Drug Possession			
	Yes	30	68.2
	No	14	31.8
Drug Manufacturing			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Drug Trafficking			
	Yes	3	6.8
	No	37	84.1
Driving with a Suspended License			

	Yes	13	29.5
	No	34	70.5
Driving with no License			
	Yes	10	22.7
	No	31	77.3
Hit and Run			
	Yes	2	4.5
	No	42	95.5
Reckless Driving			
	Yes	8	18.2
	No	36	81.8
Vehicular Assault			
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Homicide			
	Yes	1	2.3
	No	43	97.7
Fraud and Blackmail			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Embezzlement			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	39	88.6
Tax Evasion			
	Yes	0	0
	No	43	97.7
Cybercrime			
	Yes	0	0
	No	43	97.7

Currently Seeking Employment

	N	%
Yes	33	75
No	11	25

Currently Employed

	N	%
No	35	83.3
Yes	7	16.7

Last Time Job Application Was Submitted

	N	%
Less Than a Week Ago	12	28.6
Within the Month	7	16.7
Between 4 and 6 Months	6	14.3
Between 1 and 3 Months	5	11.9
Between 1 and 2 Years	4	9.5
More than 6 Years Ago	4	9.5
Between 7 and 11 Months	2	4.8

Between 3 to 5 Years	2	4.8
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Job Industries – Submitted Applications

		N	%
Management			
	Yes	7	16.7
	No	35	83.3
Business and Financial Operations			
	Yes	2	4.8
	No	40	95.2
Computer and Mathematical			
	Yes	3	7.3
	No	38	92.7
Architecture and Engineering			
	Yes	3	7.1
	No	39	92.9
Life, Physical, and Social Science			
	Yes	3	7.1
	No	39	92.9
Community and Social Services			
	Yes	1	2.4
	No	40	97.6
Legal			
	Yes	1	2.4
	No	41	97.6
Education, Training, and Library			
	Yes	1	2.4
	No	41	97.6
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media			
	Yes	3	7.1
	No	39	92.9
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical			
	Yes	1	2.4
	No	41	97.6
Healthcare Supports			
	Yes	2	4.8
	No	40	95.2
Protective Service			
	Yes	1	2.4
	No	41	97.6
Food Preparation and Serving Related			
	Yes	24	57.1
	No	18	42.9
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance			
	Yes	14	33.3
	No	28	66.7
Personal Care and Service			
	Yes	4	9.5
	No	38	90.5
Sales and Related			
	Yes	12	28.6
	No	30	71.4

Office and Administrative Support			
	Yes	7	16.7
	No	35	83.3
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry			
	Yes	2	4.8
	No	40	95.2
Construction and Extraction			
	Yes	20	47.6
	No	22	52.4
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair			
	Yes	14	33.3
	No	28	66.7
Production			
	Yes	13	31
	No	29	69
Transportation and Material Moving			
	Yes	6	14.3
	No	36	85.7
Military Specific			
	Yes	2	4.8
	No	40	95.2

Secured Job Since Last Conviction

	N	%
Yes	33	76.7
No	10	23.3

Job Industries – Secured Job Since Last Conviction

		N	%
Management			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Business and Financial Operations			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Computer and Mathematical			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Architecture and Engineering			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Life, Physical, and Social Science			
	Yes	2	5.3
	No	36	94.7
Community and Social Services			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Legal			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Education, Training, and Library			

	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Healthcare Supports			
	Yes	3	7.9
	No	35	92.1
Protective Service			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Food Preparation and Serving Related			
	Yes	13	34.2
	No	25	65.8
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance			
	Yes	3	7.9
	No	35	92.1
Personal Care and Service			
	Yes	3	7.9
	No	35	92.1
Sales and Related			
	Yes	2	5.3
	No	36	94.7
Office and Administrative Support			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry			
	Yes	1	2.6
	No	37	97.4
Construction and Extraction			
	Yes	9	23.7
	No	29	76.3
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair			
	Yes	4	10.5
	No	34	89.5
Production			
	Yes	6	84.2
	No	32	15.8
Transportation and Material Moving			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100
Military Specific			
	Yes	0	0
	No	38	100

Rating Scale

“I know I have the skills for the areas in which I’m seeking employment”

	N	%
--	---	---

Strongly Disagree	2	4.5
Disagree	0	0
Neither Agree or Disagree	1	2.3
Agree	14	31.8
Strongly Agree	27	61.4

“I know I have the formal qualifications for the areas in which I’m seeking employment”

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	2	4.5
Disagree	1	2.3
Neither Agree or Disagree	4	9.1
Agree	15	34.1
Strongly Agree	22	50

“I am satisfied with current job prospects”

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	5	11.6
Disagree	9	20.9
Neither Agree or Disagree	5	11.6
Agree	12	27.9
Strongly Agree	12	27.9

“My job prospects will pay enough to meet my financial needs”

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	6	14
Disagree	9	20.9
Neither Agree or Disagree	6	14
Agree	13	30.2
Strongly Agree	9	20.9

“I feel confident that I will find a job”

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	3	7.3
Disagree	4	9.8
Neither Agree or Disagree	7	17.1
Agree	11	26.8
Strongly Agree	16	39

“I do not feel like a productive member of my family or community”

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	10	22.7
Disagree	8	18.2
Neither Agree or Disagree	10	22.7
Agree	8	18.2
Strongly Agree	8	18.2

"I feel ashamed to rely on people in my life"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	5	11.4
Disagree	6	13.6
Neither Agree or Disagree	8	18.2
Agree	11	25
Strongly Agree	14	31.8

"I feel like a burden on the people in my life"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	6	13.6
Disagree	8	18.2
Neither Agree or Disagree	9	20.5
Agree	12	27.3
Strongly Agree	9	20.5

"I wish I had not served time or committed my crime"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	2	4.5
Disagree	1	2.3
Neither Agree or Disagree	8	18.2
Agree	8	18.2
Strongly Agree	25	56.8

"I do not feel remorseful"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	24	55.8
Disagree	9	20.9
Neither Agree or Disagree	6	14
Agree	2	4.7
Strongly Agree	2	4.7

"I feel like my conviction defines me"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	16	37.2
Disagree	7	16.3
Neither Agree or Disagree	9	20.9
Agree	8	18.6
Strongly Agree	3	7

"I believe I am not given a fair chance at employment"

	N	%
Strongly Disagree	9	20.5
Disagree	5	11.4
Neither Agree or Disagree	5	11.4
Agree	13	29.5

Strongly Agree	12	27.3
-----------------------	----	------

Job Application – When Asked About Prior Convictions Do You Check?

	N	%
Yes	24	58.5
No	5	12.2
Leave Blank	12	29.3

Been Asked to Complete Background Check by Potential Employer

	N	%
Yes	34	82.9
No	7	17.1

Been Asked to Go Through Fingerprinting Services by Potential Employer

	N	%
No	24	57.1
Yes	18	42.9

After a Job Interview- Been Notified of the Failure of Job Offer

		N	%
No		25	61
Yes		16	39
	<i>Failed a Background Check (Yes)</i>	14	77.8
	<i>Failed a Background Check (No)</i>	4	22.2
	<i>Your Availability Did Not Work (Yes)</i>	4	9.1
	<i>Your Availability Did Not Work (No)</i>	14	77.8
	<i>Did Not Have Correct Documentation (Yes)</i>	1	5.6
	<i>Did Not Have Correct Documentation (No)</i>	17	94.4

Received Job Training While Incarcerated

		N	%
No		28	65.1
Yes		15	34.9
	<i>Been Able to Get a Job in that Field Since Release (No)</i>	13	56.5
	<i>Been Able to Get a Job in that Field Since Release (Yes)</i>	10	43.5

Held a Job While Incarcerated

		N	%
Yes		24	57.1
	<i>Been Able to Get a Job in that Field Since Release (No)</i>	21	60
	<i>Been Able to Get a Job in that Field Since Release (Yes)</i>	14	40
No		18	42.9

Current Sources of Personal Income

		N	%
Full-Time Job			
	Yes	7	15.9
	No	37	84.1
Part-Time Job			
	Yes	5	11.4
	No	39	88.6
Money From "Under the Table" Work			
	Yes	9	20.5
	No	35	79.5
Self-Employment			
	Yes	2	4.5
	No	42	95.5
Cash Assistance From a Government-Funded Program			
	Yes	5	11.1
	No	40	88.9
Social Security/Disability Benefits			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Selling Drugs			
	Yes	5	88.6
	No	39	11.4
Exchanging Sex for Money/Rent/Etc.			
	Yes	2	4.5
	No	42	95.5
Panhandling			
	Yes	4	9.1
	No	40	90.9
Child Support			
	Yes	0	0
	No	44	100
Money From Family Members or Friends			
	Yes	14	31.1
	No	31	68.9
I Do Not Have a Personal Source of Income Right Now			
	Yes	14	31.8
	No	30	68.2

Services/Programs – Would Have Aided with Re-Entry into Society

		N	%
Short-Term Housing			
	Yes	13	30.2
	No	30	69.8
Long-Term Housing			
	Yes	16	38.1
	No	26	61.9
Educational Support			
	Yes	13	30.2
	No	30	69.8
Job Training, Life Skills, and/or Career Placement			

	Yes	22	51.2
	No	21	48.8
Family Support			
	Yes	14	32.6
	No	29	67.4
Child Care			
	Yes	7	16.3
	No	36	83.7
Food Assistance			
	Yes	25	58.1
	No	18	41.9
Cash Assistance			
	Yes	13	30.2
	No	30	69.8
Counseling or Other Mental Health Care Services			
	Yes	17	39.5
	No	26	60.5
Substance Abuse/Alcohol Treatment Programs			
	Yes	21	48.8
	No	22	51.2
Food Banks			
	Yes	13	30.2
	No	30	69.8
Local Police Officers			
	Yes	2	4.8
	No	40	95.2

When Released Provided with Personal Information

		N	%
Yes	Social Security Card	23	59
No	Social Security Card	16	41
Yes	Birth Certificate	18	46.2
No	Birth Certificate	21	53.8
Yes	Driver's License	11	28.2
No	Driver's License	28	71.8
Yes	State Issued ID	22	56.4
No	State Issued ID	17	43.6

Appendix E: Script for Survey

Hello, my name is _____. I am with Salisbury University. We are conducting a research study on employment challenges. I was wondering if you would be willing to participate in this survey that may take about 15 minutes.

Appendix F: Focus Group Questions

- ☐ Tell me about your goals within the next six months in terms of achieving greater financial security and independence?
- ☐ What are your motivational factors for seeking employment? (Family, financial security, self-worth, etc.).
- ☐ Describe your most recent employment search?
- ☐ What are the experiences of returning citizens when seeking employment?
- ☐ How has having a felony conviction affected your ability to secure employment?
- ☐ How have your identities (race, gender, sexuality, etc.) impacted your ability to gain employment?
- ☐ How have your physical characteristics (dress, hair, etc.) impacted your ability to gain employment?
- ☐ Are there employers or companies which have placed employment barriers against you due to carrying a conviction and/or felony.
- ☐ Which regions of Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore have you found to be less understanding and willing to provide returning citizens with employment opportunities?

Appendix G: Memorandum of Agreement - Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc.



February 18, 2018

Dear Salisbury University's Institutional Research Board;

This letter of collaboration is written in support of the research study, Double Jeopardy Employment Discrimination experienced by Returning Citizens (PI: Jennifer R. Jewell; Co-PI: Eleanor Brown).

We are excited to partner with Dr. Jewell and Ms. Brown on their study on "Double Jeopardy Employment Discrimination experienced by Returning Citizens." We have agreed to assist in the ways outlined below for the spring 2018 semester.

The agency has agreed to:

- Offer each new intake individual who is a returning citizen the opportunity to partake in this study by filling out the survey and/or participating in the focus group
- Provide computers for our returning citizens clients to complete the online survey
- Allow Miss. Brown and Dr. Jewell to briefly speak to our Job Readiness Program participants, who are returning citizens, in order to advertise the study
- Advertise the study around the Goodwill Industries center through flyers and business cards containing the survey link created and supplied by Miss. Brown
- Email individuals who previously participated in our Project Reconnect Program to offer them the opportunity to participate in the study
- Offer to host a focus group onsite for this study

As the main organization serving returning citizens within our region, Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc. focuses on providing returning citizens with opportunities for job readiness training & life coaching and placement assistance & career mentoring in securing employment. Our main program for returning citizens is Project Reconnects which "is designed to assist ex-offenders who are about to re-enter the workforce and return to their communities with career development services. This program works with area correctional facilities, courts, employers, and social service agencies to support ex-offenders and offenders with re-entry processes."

If there are any questions, I can be reached at 410-219-9118 We look forward to supporting this effort that will benefit our clients and community.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Phyllis Hardy".

Phyllis Hardy, Program Manager, Goodwill Industries of the Chesapeake Inc.

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