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WILDCAT: THE FIRST TWO YEARS

Second Annual Research Report on Supported Work

Vera Institute of Justice  
New York, New York  
November 1974



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This report was undertaken by the research department of the Vera Institute of Justice, under the supervision of Lucy N. Friedman.

The second year research on Supported Work was funded by the New York City Human Resources Administration Department of Employment and by the National Institute of Drug Abuse.

The Wildcat Service Corporation is supported by the New York City Human Resources Administration Department of Employment, the U.S. Department of Labor, the National Institute of Mental Health (The National Institute of Drug Abuse), and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration through the Division of Criminal Justice Services and the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, upon the application of the New York State Department of Social Services, with the cooperation of the Social and Rehabilitation Service and the Social Security Administration, has approved special waivers providing for the diversion of Supplemental Security Income grants to participants' salaries.

The furnishing of financial support does not indicate the concurrence of the above funding agencies with opinions expressed in this report. Reprinting from the material contained herein is prohibited without express permission of the Vera Institute of Justice.

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We wish to thank the following people for their help throughout the year: Emily Abrahams, Don Beaulieu, Doug Bitman, Mike Bortman, Dell Brosman, Joseph D'Amico, Joan Diaz, Carol Farina, Ilana Horowitz, Norman Jacknis, Dolores Jones, April Kuchuk, Neldra Major, Melanie Marcus, Joan Montbach, Martha Ritter, Lenny Schlossberg, Catherine Snowden, Patti Tallon, Denie Weil, Janis Williams, and John Woodson.

The research Department extends its appreciation to the Wildcat Service Corporation for its cooperation and assistance in the preparation of this report. Appreciation is also extended to Elizabeth Bogen, Harriet Dronska, Kenneth Marion, Herbert Sturz, and Hans Zeisel for their helpful comments on early drafts of this report.

Tables and figures prepared by John Feinblatt and Genifer Wright.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>i</i>
I. Introduction.....	1
II. Wildcat <u>Overview</u> .....	2
A. The Ideas behind Wildcat.....	3
B. How Wildcat is Organized.....	6
C. Wildcat's Employees.....	8
<u>Case Studies:</u> Julia.....	11
James.....	12
Shorty.....	13
D. Wildcat's Projects.....	14
1. How Projects are Chosen.....	14
2. Project Characteristics.....	16
3. Employee Performance by Project Characteristics.....	18
<u>Case Studies:</u> Bronx River Restoration.....	22
Brooklyn Board of Education Clerical.....	23
Broadway Malls.....	24
Engine Company #84 Rehabilitation.....	25
E. Wildcat's Operations.....	26
1. Performance Incentives.....	26
2. Work Problems of Wildcat Employees.....	27
Tardiness and Absenteeism.....	27
Alcoholism and Drug Use.....	28
Disruptive Behavior.....	29
Personal Problems.....	30
3. Dealing with Problems.....	31
Flexible Work Policies.....	31
Structure and Feedback.....	32
Loans.....	32
Special Services.....	33
4. Termination.....	35
5. Rehiring.....	38
6. Transitional Employment.....	39
7. Employment Flow.....	41
<u>Case Studies:</u> Charles.....	45
Felix.....	47
III. Measuring the Impact of Supported Work <u>Overview</u> .....	49
<u>Methods</u> .....	54
1. Selection and Distribution of Participants.....	54
2. Data Collection.....	55
3. Problems with Data Collection.....	56
4. No-Shows.....	62
5. Representativeness of the Research Sample.....	63
A Note on Statistical Significance.....	64

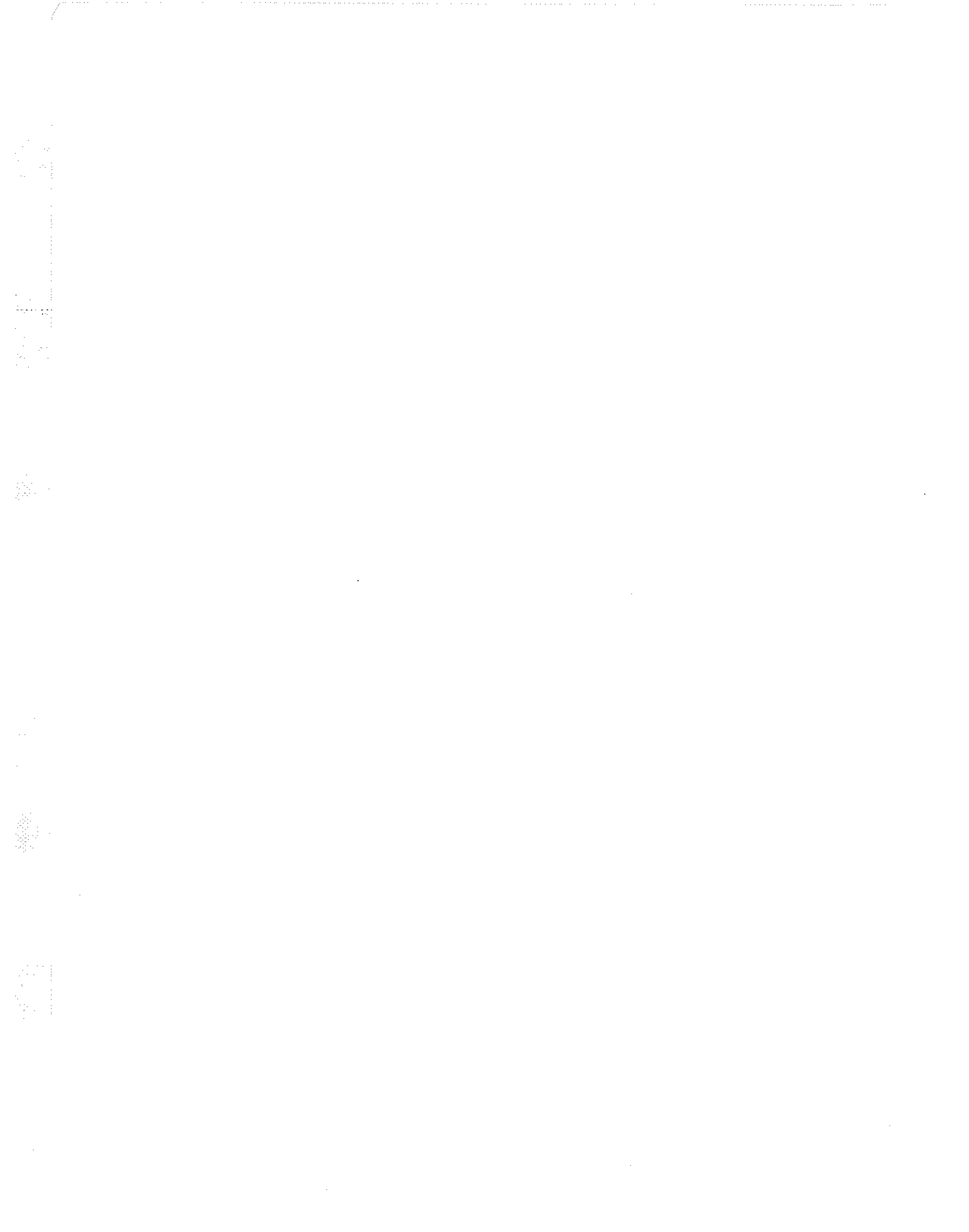


TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

	<u>Page</u>
A. Employment and Income.....	65
1. Experimentals and Controls.....	66
Employment.....	66
Public Assistance.....	68
Illegal Income.....	68
Total Income.....	69
2. Experimentals.....	69
3. Controls.....	71
4. Weekly Income-Fourth Quarter.....	71
B. Criminal Activity.....	73
1. Arrests Prior to Entry.....	75
2. Arrests after Entry.....	76
3. Types of Charges.....	80
4. Disposition Data.....	82
5. No-Show Arrests.....	84
6. Terminee Arrest Rates.....	85
7. Working and Non-Working Controls.....	87
C. Addiction and Drug Use.....	89
D. Education.....	94
E. Health.....	95
F. Life Patterns.....	98
G. Attitude Scales.....	104
H. Sub-Group Studies.....	107
1. Performance Measures among Experimentals.....	108
2. Rehabilitative Measures for Experimentals and Controls.....	109
I. Conclusions.....	111
 IV. Cost Benefit Analysis	
<u>Overview.....</u>	113
A. Types of Cost-Benefit Calculations.....	115
B. The Costs of Supported Work.....	117
1. Blue-Collar Projects.....	117
Police Barrier Shop.....	118
Public Messenger Service.....	118
Total Blue-Collar.....	119
2. White-Collar Projects.....	119
Average Residual Taxpayer Investment.....	121
3. Wildcat as a Whole.....	121
C. The Social Effects of Supported Work.....	122
1. Out-of-Program Experimental Earnings.....	122
2. Welfare Reductions.....	123
3. Crime-Connected Economic Benefits	124
D. The Benefit-Cost Calculation.....	124
1. Taxpayer Benefits and Costs.....	124
2. Welfare Benefits and Costs.....	125
3. Participant Benefits and Costs.....	126
4. Social Benefits and Costs.....	126
E. Conclusions.....	128



TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

	<u>Page</u>
V. Other Supported Work Programs	
<u>Overview</u> .....	129
Ex-Offender Work Project.....	130
A. The Ex-Offender Project as a Component of Wildcat.....	130
B. Supports in the Ex-Offender Project.....	132
1. The Buddy System.....	132
2. Position Control.....	133
3. Early Warning System.....	133
4. Rehiring.....	133
C. Research Findings.....	135
1. Comparison of Ex-Offenders and Cohorts.....	135
2. Comparison of Ex-Addict and Non-Addict Ex-Offenders.....	136
3. Comparison of Ex-Offenders from Different Referral Sources.....	137
Transitional Employment Program.....	140
VI. Issues	
<u>Overview</u> .....	145
A. Expansion.....	146
B. Job Development.....	153
C. Rehabilitation and Productivity.....	159
D. The Crew Chief's Role.....	163
E. Terminations.....	166
VII. Wildcat Financing	
<u>Overview</u> .....	171
A. Diverted Welfare Funds.....	174
B. Contracts for Services.....	175
C. Department of Employment Contracts.....	176
D. Direct Federal Grant Funds.....	177
E. Private Funding.....	178
F. Future Financing.....	178
<i>Conclusions</i> .....	179
References.....	182
Glossary.....	184
List of Appendices.....	187



## List of Tables

Table 1	Performance Success by Project Type.....	19
Table 2	Wildcat Cumulative Terminations.....	36
Table 3	Promotions to Non-Supported Employment.....	40
Table 4	Status of Wildcat Employees at the End of Various Time Periods.....	43
Table 5	First Year Summary Chart.....	51
Table 6	Follow-up Status of Participants due for Annuals by March 1, 1974.....	57
Table 7	Follow-up Status of Experimentals due for Annuals by March 1, 1974.....	58
Table 8	Arrest Rates after Entry for Controls and Experimentals with and without Annuals.....	60
Table 9	Employment Status of Experimentals after One Year.....	61
Table 10	Verified Arrests, Year Prior to Entry.....	76
Table 11	Comparison of Arrests in Years before and after Entry.....	77
Table 12	Verified Arrests, Year before and after Entry....	78
Table 13	Verified Arrests by Six-Month Periods after Entry.....	79
Table 14	Major Verified Charges.....	81
Table 15	Dispositions of Arrests.....	83
Table 16	Arrest Rates for Experimentals and No-Shows.....	85
Table 17	Arrest Rates Per Person-Year for Experimentals...	86
Table 18	Arrest Rates for Working Controls.....	88
Table 19	Self-Reported Drug Use during First Year.....	92
Table 20	Type of School Attended.....	94
Table 21	Doctor Visits, Year after Entry.....	96
Table 22	Reasons for Hospitalization.....	97
Table 23	Types of Future Goals.....	102
Table 24	Causes of Death.....	103





Table 25	Mean Rotter Scores.....	106
Table 26	Mean Anomia Scores.....	106
Table 27	Performance of Methadone and Drug Free Referrals First Year after Entry.....	108
Table 28	Social Benefits of Supported Work.....	127
Table 29	Cost of Supported Work.....	127
Table 30	Comparison of Ex-Offenders and Cohorts on Performance Variables.....	136
Table 31	Comparison of Ex-Addicts and Non-Addicts on Six-Month Performance Data.....	137
Table 32	Comparison of Referral Sources for Six Month Performance Data.....	138
Table 33	A Comparison of Parolees and Post-Releasees (June 1973-June 1974).....	139
Table 34	TEP vs. Wildcat: Terminations and Promotions (as of June 30, 1974).....	143
Table 35	Proportion of Employees Promoted Out and In during Six Month Intervals.....	150
Table 36	Proportion of Employees Terminated with and without Cause during Six Month Intervals.....	151
Table 37	Wildcat Service Corporation: Sources of Funds..	173



## List of Figures

Figure 1	Mean Amount of Alcohol Consumed Weekly (by Self-Report).....	28
Figure 2	Proportion of Wildcat Employees Promoted or Terminated (by Length of Time at Wildcat).....	42
Figure 3	Experimentals and Controls Rated on Employ- ment and Arrest Variables in Fourth Quarter.....	53
Figure 4	Proportion Employed during Year.....	66
Figure 5	Mean Weekly Salary for Experimentals and Controls.....	67
Figure 6	Sources of Income during Year.....	69
Figure 7	Sources and Amount of Weekly Income for Different Groups of Experimentals.....	71
Figure 8	Sources and Amount of Weekly Income for Working and Non-Working Experimentals and Controls.....	72
Figure 9	Arrest Rates by Time Period.....	80
Figure 10	Daily Alcohol Usage.....	93
Figure 11	Marital Status of Experimentals and Controls Pre and Post Entry.....	99
Figure 12	Monthly Absentee Rates Since 1972.....	152



## Preface

This report is about the first two years of Wildcat, a public service corporation which employs about 1,400 people,\* all of whom are ex-addicts or ex-offenders. Wildcat was established in July 1972 by the Vera Institute of Justice in an effort to explore the possibility that ex-addicts and ex-offenders can, through the medium of supported work, break out of the revolving door of drugs and crime. By providing these people with meaningful jobs and salaries on which they pay taxes, Wildcat hoped to demonstrate that they could become self-sufficient, contributing members of society.

At the time Wildcat was established, research was undertaken to document the results of supported work. This research involves not only an examination of Wildcat operations (such as terminations, promotions, and absenteeism) but also a controlled study designed to monitor the changes in the lives of 300 Wildcat employees and 300 people with similar addiction, criminal, and employment histories who were not offered jobs at Wildcat. The research study, conducted by Vera, concerns itself both with the short-term functioning of supported work and with the program's long range impact on the individuals it was designed to employ.

This report, which covers Wildcat's first two years,\*\* is intended not only to report data on the effects of supported work, but to provide a sense of Wildcat -- how it is organized, how it operates, where it is headed, and what it means to its nearly 1,400 supported employees.

The first section of the report, largely descriptive, is devoted to a discussion of Wildcat's operations. Relevant data (promotions, terminations, absence figures) are presented where appropriate.

The Controlled Study is the subject of the second section. Data presented include: employment and income, criminal activity, addiction and drug use, education, health, and changes in life patterns.

Following the Controlled Study are: the Cost-Benefit Analysis (calculations of costs and benefits of the program); a description of the Ex-Offender Project (part of Wildcat) and of the Transitional Employment Project of the City's Health Services Administration; a discussion of some of the issues (such as expansion and job development) which have been of concern to management during the past two years; and the financial structure of Wildcat.

Each major section begins with an overview which summarizes the major points and findings of the section.

---

\* At the end of Wildcat's second year, June 30, 1974, there were 1391 employees. Unless otherwise indicated, all numbers cited in this report are as of that date.

\*\* Results of the first year of the study were reported in The First Annual Research Report on Supported Work.



## I. INTRODUCTION

Vincent was 20 years old when friends introduced him to heroin. At 21, he was an addict. During the next 14 years he was arrested six times, served a total of three and a half years in jail, and tried, unsuccessfully, to kick his heroin and cocaine habit 15 times. Finally, at the age of 35, he entered a New York City methadone maintenance program. Anxious to find work and get off the welfare rolls, Vincent applied for every job he could find. Each interview ended in rejection and a few months of looking convinced him that his addiction and criminal history would prevent him from getting any type of work.

Three years after "going straight," Vincent was still on welfare. Although he kept trying, the only job he managed to get was a temporary position in the stock room of a department store. The job lasted for three weeks during the Christmas rush.

By his own admission, Vincent is depressed. He says that all he can afford from the \$206 welfare check he receives each month are rent, cigarettes, and yogurt. Estranged from his family, Vincent feels lonely and defeated. He spends most of every day in his one room apartment watching television. He reported in an interview, "I get up about 7 a.m., take a walk for half an hour or so, then go inside about 7:30 or 8, drink a few beers and watch television. Maybe at about noon I'll take another walk." The only structure in Vincent's life is the daily trip he makes to his methadone program. "Every afternoon about 2 or 3 o'clock I go to my program and pick up my medication--that usually takes a half hour or so. On my way home I get a strawberry yogurt and the Post from this drug store near my program. Maybe I'll bullshit with some guys I know on the street, but usually I just go home, lie on my bed and look at the paper to see what's in the news and if there are any jobs." Asked whether he goes out in the evenings, Vincent shrugged and said, "Who can afford it? I stay home, have some dinner--yogurt or a cheese sandwich--watch some more television and go to bed."

Today, his life is much the same as it has been for the last few years: he gets up, goes for a walk, watches television, and makes a daily trip to his drug program.

\* \* \* \*

Vincent doesn't have a job at Wildcat. Like many of the City's 55,000 former addicts in treatment,<sup>1</sup> he is unemployed and receiving welfare. The Wildcat Service Corporation was developed for these people; in the two years of its operation, Wildcat has employed 2,309 men and women whose lives might otherwise have been like Vincent's.

## II. WILDCAT

### Overview

In this section, Wildcat's organization and operations are reviewed.

- Because it was believed that ex-addicts and ex-offenders would have difficulties adjusting to employment, Wildcat was designed to provide a supported environment. The supports were to come from group work, peer supervision, feedback, rewards for good performance, and flexibility.
- During its first year, Wildcat employed 300 workers in one unit, and encouraging data from the first year led to increased funding from \$1.7 million to \$6.5 million the second year, with a projected budget of \$17 million for the third year. During the second year, three units and a corporate headquarters were formed and the work force increased approximately five-fold--from 300 to 1400 employees.
- Most Wildcat projects perform public services for the City, although there are some projects for non-profit community agencies. Crews are assigned to about 100 job sites, including clerical, social service, maintenance, and construction work.
- Wildcat is intended as transitional employment. By the end of one year in supported work, one-fifth of the employees had been promoted to non-subsidized positions. After two years, outside promotions increased to 40 per cent. Most Wildcat graduates (76 per cent) have successfully retained their non-supported jobs.
- Absenteeism has been about nine per cent both years. Alcoholism has increasingly been recognized as a problem. Other problems of Wildcat employees include drug use and disruptive behavior.
- Despite supports, about one-quarter of employees were terminated for cause by the end of their first year. Another five per cent resigned and ten per cent left for non work-related reasons (illness, moved out of New York, etc.). After one year, 62 per cent of Wildcat workers were still working (in either supported or non-supported jobs). Fifty-seven per cent were working after two years.



A. The Ideas behind Wildcat

Wildcat is one of a succession of efforts by the Vera Institute to address the problems of people for whom the criminal justice system is not providing effective deterrence or rehabilitation. Many of Wildcat's policies and procedures grew from experiences with these other projects. The experience of the Addiction Research and Treatment Corporation (1969), New York City's first large scale ambulatory methadone maintenance program, pointed to the importance of employment in overcoming some of the problems which face ex-addicts. Project Renewal (1970) showed that some former skid-row alcoholics, thought to be unemployable, could work productively in small, closely supervised groups. Vera's first program of supported work mainly for ex-addicts, the Pioneer Messenger Service (1971), demonstrated that ex-addicts also could work productively, and suggested that therapeutic counseling was a less effective element of rehabilitation than work itself. And a project using Emergency Employment Act funds to place ex-addicts in government jobs on City budget lines (1972) showed that supported workers could successfully handle a variety of jobs.

The Wildcat Service Corporation is the largest and most ambitious of Vera's supported work projects. Founded two years ago as a private, not-for-profit corporation, Wildcat hires unemployed ex-addicts and ex-offenders to work in public service projects developed in cooperation with municipal and community agencies. Wildcat's object is to prepare its workers for non-subsidized jobs in industry or government; and to do so through public service activities useful to the community.

The ideas behind Wildcat are not complicated. At Wildcat's heart is a belief in the work ethic and in the power of work as a rehabilitative force. The supported work programs grew from the conviction that people who have been viewed as unemployable, because of a history of drug addiction, alcoholism, or crime, can work productively in jobs where problems of the chronically unemployed are understood and offset by sensitive management.

Drug addicts who give up heroin and enter treatment programs encounter many obstacles in their efforts to establish law abiding, independent lives. Chief among these obstacles is their inability to find work. Unemployment may send them onto the welfare rolls or back to heroin and habit-supporting crime. Their inability to find and hold jobs is costly to themselves and to the public, which foots the bill for welfare and crime. Wildcat tries to instill its employees with confidence in themselves, to develop their ability to meet the demands of the working world, to demonstrate their abilities to the public (and especially to prospective employers), and to help them find permanent jobs outside Wildcat.

At Wildcat, acquiring good work habits through experience is emphasized more than training in specific skills or personal counseling.

Also important at Wildcat is the value of group work among peers. People whose backgrounds are similar can support one another at work. An ex-addict might want to conceal his background from an ordinary employer and his fellow workers, but he need not do so at Wildcat, since both he and his co-workers have been hired on the basis of that background. Similarly, his co-workers "speak his language" and know his struggles.

At Wildcat, good performance is rewarded by small but frequent salary raises, bonuses, and opportunities for promotion. Public response to a (visible) job well done is an added incentive for employees.

Chance of failure at Wildcat is minimized by placing employees in small crews under the immediate supervision of a crew chief who is also a former addict, and by establishing a response other than firing for employees whose personal problems affect their work performance. Employees may avail themselves of a specific number of days off for personal business, of leaves of absence, and of other avenues for help with problems. Termination is almost always preceded by verbal warnings and other disciplinary measures.

Wildcat was not designed to be a permanent employer. Wildcat employees are expected to move on to non-supported jobs in business or government agencies. After six months at Wildcat, an employee's readiness for a non-supported job is evaluated. Employees are encouraged to look for jobs on their own, but Wildcat and Vera offer assistance in locating and applying for other employment.

Wildcat also experiments with a system which could point to welfare reform. Through a waiver granted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the public assistance benefits a supported employee would have received are diverted into a salary pool. In this way, Wildcat employees receive the cash value of their welfare checks as part of their salaries.

Finally, Wildcat is a demonstration project. The impact of work on the life of an ex-addict is monitored by a controlled experiment and by other research techniques. Since Wildcat's inception, a sample of its employees has been compared with a sample of similar men and women not offered jobs at Wildcat. This report concludes the second year of the research study of Wildcat.

B. How Wildcat is Organized

Wildcat has three operating units, one in Manhattan, one in Brooklyn, and one in the Bronx.\* Each unit employs residents primarily of that borough, although the Manhattan and Brooklyn units also accept residents of Staten Island and Queens respectively. Most of each unit's work projects are located in its own borough. The three units are bound together by a central (corporate) staff which provides overall direction, plans large projects, monitors unit operations, plans the future course of Wildcat, and has overall fiscal responsibility for the corporation.

The Manhattan unit employs about 150 Ex-Offenders, referred by correctional institutions, who may or may not be ex-addicts (see p. 130). Ex-Offenders are integrated with Wildcat's ex-addict employees referred from drug treatment programs and are included in operational statistics (promotions, terminations, absenteeism) for the Manhattan Unit.

For the first 10 months of its existence (July 1972-May 1973), the Wildcat corporation consisted only of the Manhattan unit. The corporate office was established in May 1973 to oversee the projected expansion during the second year.\*\* The Brooklyn unit opened in August 1973 and the Bronx unit in November 1973. As of June 30, 1974, there were 707 persons employed in Manhattan, 403 in Brooklyn, and 268 in the Bronx--a total of 1378 employees.

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\* In addition, there is a small (13 person) Masonry Clearing Unit which operates independently of the borough structure.

\*\* Wildcat originally planned to expand from 300 to 3000 employees in the course of the second year, but the projection was later revised to 1400 in the second year and 2200 in the third. (See Expansion, p. 146).

The borough unit structure was intended to accomplish several things: permit the units to deal with problems immediately; enhance a personal atmosphere despite the overall size of the rapidly growing corporation; help keep problems encountered in one unit from spreading throughout the corporation; attract and develop good managers because of the opportunities for inventiveness and flexibility; and encourage alternate approaches to common problems.

Unit directors and their staffs have considerable independence in fashioning the character of their unit's program. Within the numerical limits and eligibility criteria set centrally, the units hire their own staff and crew members. The units make decisions on promotions, suspensions, and terminations for crew and staff.

Each unit's work projects are organized in four or five operating divisions: one division may handle primarily clerical projects; another, maintenance work; and a third, construction projects. Each division chief oversees about five supervisors, each of whom is in charge of three to five crews. Though crews range in size from one to 20 employees, most are composed of about six members. Each crew is immediately supervised by an ex-addict crew chief.

Wildcat's corporate staff is headed by an executive officer who has authority over all aspects of Wildcat's operations. He reports to a 15 member board of directors consisting of representatives from business, labor, and law enforcement groups. Reporting to him are seven corporate departments: operations, legal affairs, fiscal affairs, administration, planning, personnel, and inspections. All departments (except legal and inspections)

have counterparts in the units; but with the exception of the fiscal department, they do not have line authority over their unit counterparts. Unit department heads (except for the fiscal director) report to the unit director.

Independent of the Wildcat corporate structure, the Vera research department monitors Wildcat's effectiveness in meeting its objectives, and the Job Development Unit determines when crew employees are ready to leave Wildcat and helps them find jobs.

### C. Wildcat's Employees

Three factors determine whom Wildcat hires: 1) eligibility requirements; 2) drug treatment counselors' decisions about which clients will benefit from employment at Wildcat; and 3) Wildcat intake staff's judgment about whether an applicant is ready for work at Wildcat.

Ex-addict employees are referred to Wildcat from about 70 drug treatment programs\* located in New York City. These programs supervise their clients' transition from heroin addiction to methadone maintenance or drug abstinence and they may offer social services such as job counseling and placement, personal counseling, and help with housing and legal problems.

Wildcat asks the drug treatment programs to refer clients who meet Wildcat's eligibility criteria which require that a Wildcat employee be:

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\* Included in this count are 22 "parent organizations" which refer clients from branch offices throughout the City. The actual number of treatment programs with which Wildcat deals is over 200.

- a resident of New York City;
- at least 18 years old;
- a former heroin addict who is now either stabilized on methadone or drug-free;
- enrolled in a drug treatment program for at least the past three months;
- unemployed for at least 12 of the past 24 months; and
- currently receiving or eligible for Supplemental Security Income benefits pursuant to Social Security Administration regulations as they pertain to Wildcat employees (see p. 174).

Within these guidelines, drug program counselors exercise judgment about who is suitable for employment at Wildcat. An informal survey of participating drug programs indicated that programs do not refer their most promising clients to Wildcat, though they do choose those whom they consider well motivated and successful in treatment. The most promising clients are referred directly to non-subsidized jobs. Thus, it seems that Wildcat is sent a middle group, whose motivation and qualifications for work appear adequate but not outstanding.\* No particular employment or training background is sought.

Nearly all eligible applicants are accepted. During Wildcat's second year (July 1973-June 1974) 27 per cent of applicants were rejected, most because they did not meet eligibility criteria. In Wildcat's first year, about twice as many applicants were rejected.\*\* The rejection rate dropped in the second year as Wildcat

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\* See p.111 for a comparison of Wildcat employees and the general ex-addict-in-treatment population.

\*\* Intake records in Wildcat's first year were not maintained to show the number of rejections as a percentage of the number of applicants. However, a research study conducted from spring 1972 through fall 1973 indicated that more than half of all applicants to Wildcat were rejected during that period. The study also showed that the percentage of those rejected because they were not deemed "work ready" by Wildcat intake staff fell from about 20 per cent the first year to about 12 per cent the second.

strove to meet its expansion goal, as changes in the welfare system limited the pool of eligible applicants, and as drug programs learned to refer appropriate applicants.

A typical Wildcat employee is a former heroin addict (98 per cent)\* stabilized on methadone (77 per cent) or drug free (23 per cent), who has been unemployed for at least six months before joining Wildcat. He is black (62 per cent), male (88 per cent), unmarried (64 per cent), and 28 years old. He has been arrested eight times and convicted four times.

#### Case Studies

The following studies provide a description of Wildcat employees before and after coming to Wildcat.

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\* Employees of the Ex-Offender Project within Wildcat are discussed separately in the Ex-Offender Section of this report. Eighty-three per cent of the Ex-Offenders are also ex-addicts and are thus included in the overall percentage of ex-addicts at Wildcat. These statistics differ from those in Appendix A which describes the experimental sample.



Julia

Julia was born 28 years ago in Greenville, Mississippi. Her mother died when she was 10. Her father soon remarried, but Julia could not get along with her new mother.

Julia herself married at 14 and had her first child at 15. "A baby having a baby," she describes it. She and her husband were to have five more children before his death three years ago.

At 19 Julia left Mississippi alone for Connecticut. (She and her family were reunited later.) In Connecticut, she worked at factory jobs and as a domestic, but she was eventually forced to give up work because of the demands made by six young children at home.

Julia began to use drugs soon after her husband's death. A short while later, her home burned down. She was on heroin for a year, during which she lost 60 pounds. She tried to kick her habit several times but finally decided that the only way was to get locked up. She had herself committed to the New York State Narcotics Addiction Control Commission facility at Spring Valley, where she remained for two months. A two-year probation period followed.

In March 1974, Julia obtained a job at Wildcat doing telephone work for Hospital Audiences Inc., a non-profit agency that distributes free cultural and sports tickets to disadvantaged and institutionalized persons. "I really like it here and would like to stay," she says. "There are opportunities to move up. I now look forward to going to work; I never did before."

Julia's children are in residential schools or foster homes. Wildcat and Hospital Audiences have arranged for Julia to work Tuesday through Saturday so that she can visit her children on Monday. Julia has instituted a custody case to get her children back. She has had the opportunity to remarry but has not done so because she feels that most men don't really want a "ready-made family."

Her first weeks at Hospital Audiences were difficult. She was absent two to three days a week, and would burst into tears at the slightest provocation. After a few months, however, she settled into her job. She has an easy relationship with her fellow workers, one of whom she sees socially. Still, she is "mostly a loner" and spends most of her emotional energy on her fight to regain custody of her children. When she visits her children they talk about what they would do if they got back together: "move out of the city and have a real house with stairs and a back yard."

James

James was born in Harlem in 1927, the last child in a family of 14. He is now the only living member of that family.

James went to school until he reached the 11th grade, when his girlfriend become pregnant and he dropped out of school to get married. After his third child was born (he and his wife ultimately had 12), his responsibilities became more than he could handle, and he began to use heroin. He was 19.

James was addicted to heroin for 26 years. During that time, he was arrested between 15 and 20 times. After 17 years of marriage his wife left him because, among other reasons, she could no longer tolerate his stealing things from their home. During his separation, James kept a stable of three prostitutes (who were also addicts) to support him and his habit.

At the age of 45, he had had enough of that kind of life, and he joined a methadone program. He soon gave up his "stable" but continued to live with one of the three women, whom he now considers his common-law wife.

In April 1974, James began work for Wildcat as a maintenance worker at the Queens Criminal Court Building. His wife soon followed his example and started work through the City's Work Relief Employment Project (WREP). To supplement their income, his wife still turns an occasional trick and James sells wine from their apartment after liquor store hours.

James has had only minor problems at Wildcat. The necessity of obtaining a new Medicaid card each month (a result of the changes in the welfare system) caused him difficulties, and he had trouble getting from his work site in Queens to his methadone program in the Bronx. Wildcat helped him change drug programs, and his work habits seem to have improved.

"Shorty"

"Let me check the offices and see if the men have done their work assignments," says Shorty, the crew chief and only female member of a Manhattan maintenance crew. "Sometimes at night I deliberately leave some dirt just to see if it's been cleaned up in the morning."

Shorty's parole officer\* referred her to Wildcat almost a year ago. After 10 months on the job, she was promoted. "It's funny the way I became a crew chief," she says. "My best friend and I were waiting for a promotion, and he blew it because of a drinking problem. Since I got the job we're no longer friends. But I don't think the men resent my being crew chief, except for one, because they all felt I deserved the promotion."

Shorty is 37. She is an acknowledged homosexual and has worn men's clothing since she was 15. She sees her nine year old son only on weekends, but she looks forward to the summer, when she has him for two months.

Although Shorty herself has detoxed, she sometimes goes to her roommate's drug program with her. "I only got on the program in order to get on parole," she says. "I chose methadone just to be sure of myself."

Shorty seems content with her job at Wildcat. "When I get paid, I feel really good," she says. "I put some of my pay in a savings account. The rest I use for my rent, clothes, dry cleaning, laundry, and food. I manage because I don't go out socially too often. I do have one vice: I smoke a lot of reefer."

About her job, Shorty's only complaint is her salary -- \$125 a week. Under a pay policy which has since been changed, Wildcat used to pay its starting crew chiefs \$138 a week. "I started working (as a crew member) under the old policy," Shorty says, "and therefore I think I should be paid under the old policy."

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\* "Shorty" is a member of Wildcat's Ex-Offender Project (see Ex-Offender section, p. 130). She is also an ex-addict.

## D. Wildcat's Projects

### 1. How Projects Are Chosen

During its first two years, Wildcat has sought work not being done by government or private enterprise and has attempted to minimize overlap between its jobs and the jobs that unions and private contractors consider to be their province. In general, Wildcat does work which municipal agencies need done but, because of agency budget constraints, could not contract for at commercial rates.

Most projects are sponsored in one of two ways:

City Sponsored Projects: Large projects with City agencies are planned and negotiated by Wildcat's corporate planning staff. Projects are first considered by Wildcat's planning staff, who then consult with unit directors, and negotiate terms with the agency. If the agency is to pay part of the manpower costs, a contract is drafted and sent through a series of channels: the participating agency itself; the Corporation Counsel's Office; the Bureau of the Budget; and the Comptroller's Office. In part because negotiations and approvals are time-consuming, Wildcat has worked out "umbrella contracts" with a number of City agencies. These contracts limit the costs which the agency will pay in a given year; the details of the work (frequently including several projects) are spelled out in agreements later on. Five such contracts were negotiated during Wildcat's second year.

Privately Sponsored Projects: Neighborhood-based projects are chosen by Wildcat unit directors, in consultation with corporate staff. Details of these agreements are worked out by unit planners.

### Selection Criteria

The kinds of projects which Wildcat takes on have been determined in part by the interests of labor unions, government contractors, and other private contractors. The composition of Wildcat's Board of Directors reflects the corporation's effort to make a workable fit of supported work into the City's existing business and labor communities. The presidents of two banks, and officials of five large corporations and three labor unions have, as members of the Board, guided that effort.

Several factors have helped in limiting conflict between Wildcat and business and labor interests:

- 1) Wildcat is a relatively small organization, and its projects are small enough not to affect established commercial or labor interests;
- 2) in dealing with City agencies, Wildcat takes on work which would have been contracted out if funds had been available, so there is little effect on the agency's employment levels;
- 3) Wildcat avoids projects in which work is similar to civil service jobs above entry-level; and
- 4) Wildcat does not generally pursue projects that are advertised for competitive bids.

Over the past two years, Wildcat has developed some informal measures for evaluating proposed projects:

- Jobs in which there is an opportunity for Wildcat employees to "roll-over" to permanent positions on the sponsoring agency's staff are favored. The potential for roll-over (that is, to be hired by the sponsoring agency as a regular employee) increases chance for permanent employment.
- Group work is preferred to individual placement. Group work offers peer support, and groups are easier to supervise than are single employees scattered throughout an agency. Individual placements are made when work is particularly challenging, agency supervision is strong, or there are opportunities for roll-overs. Wildcat generally assigns experienced employees to projects with individual placement.
- Projects with quantifiable goals are favored. Where the results of Wildcat's labors are clearly visible and productive, public and agency recognition are helpful to employee morale.
- Night work is avoided, because it appears to impede employees' efforts to re-establish normal lives and ties with family and community.
- Projects are selected with the knowledge that most Wildcat employees have had little, if any, skills training. Most projects are appropriate for semi- or unskilled workers. As individual employees demonstrate increased work readiness, transfers are available to more skilled projects.

## 2. Project Characteristics

Wildcat's 1,400 employees work in nearly 100 different projects. Supported employees work as clerks at the Legal Aid Society. They direct tourists at Lincoln Center, in the garment district, and at the South Street Seaport Museum. Crews clean vacant lots in Harlem. They drive elderly people to and from senior citizen centers.

They paint and maintain courts and police stations. They rehabilitate burned-out tenements. They operate a messenger service for municipal agencies. They catalogue books at the New York Public Library.

But despite their diversity, some generalizations can be drawn about Wildcat projects:

All current Wildcat projects perform public service work for public (74 per cent) or non-profit (26 per cent) agencies. One of Wildcat's first decisions was to develop work projects for public and community non-profit agencies rather than create its own projects or channel ex-addicts directly into existing public service jobs.

Much of Wildcat's current work (74 per cent) is contractual and potentially billable to the sponsoring organization. Until Wildcat became established it did not feel it could charge agency sponsors for its work. Now, Wildcat attempts to negotiate contracts under which sponsoring agencies pay a portion of Wildcat's manpower costs. In the coming year, it is hoped that 15 to 20 per cent of Wildcat's budget will be financed through these contract agreements. (See p.175, Wildcat Financing.) Whether or not the work is covered by contract, the sponsoring agency usually pays for equipment and supplies.

Most Wildcat projects (65 per cent) are supervised directly by Wildcat staff. The remaining projects are supervised by sponsoring agency staff (25 per cent) or jointly by Wildcat and the sponsoring agency (10 per cent). The choice is usually made by the agency for which the work is done.

Most Wildcat projects do not provide formal skills training. When Wildcat began, training was not considered an important aspect of supported work. Management was aware that many manpower programs of the 1960's, which emphasized training, had been unsuccessful in finding jobs for participants. Wildcat had also felt that the supported work experience in itself would adequately prepare its employees for permanent employment. However, increasing requests from employees for more skills training, and pressure from the Job Development Unit, which is having difficulty placing unskilled or semi-skilled supported employees, have encouraged Wildcat to re-evaluate its training policies. (See Job Development, p.155.)

Because of these pressures, the number of projects in which there is a training component has increased--employees enrolled in the Pioneer Marine Technical School divide their time between class and work in maritime trades. Wildcatters assigned to rehabilitate tenements for the City's Housing Development Administration attended a three-month part-time course in construction skills given by the Board of Education's evening trade schools division. Several clerical training programs are underway. The two largest are one sponsored by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) under contract with the City's Department of Employment and by the International Business Machines Corporation. The RCA course is an eight-week, half work, half training course; the IBM course offers full-time training for 12 weeks. IBM participants are

guaranteed jobs upon successful completion of the course.

Many current Wildcat projects are unskilled. Projects requiring some skills include clerical (22 per cent of all Wildcat projects), construction (12 per cent), and service work in community agencies, hospitals, etc. (17 per cent).

### 3. Employee Performance by Project Characteristics

The existence of different types of projects suggests the question of whether some project types are more effective than others. To answer this question, projects were grouped according to certain characteristics and the performance of employees\* in the different types of projects was compared.

The projects were grouped as follows:

- 1) Type of work: indoor/outdoor  
skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled  
individual placement/group work  
stationary work site/mobile  
clerical/construction/maintenance/service
- 2) Work setting: Wildcat workers only/integrated environment
- 3) Supervision: Wildcat supervised/host agency supervised
- 4) Financial structure: City sponsored/privately sponsored  
contract/non-contract

These project characteristics are not independent--rather, they tend to form clusters. For example, projects that have individual placement usually are also indoor, do clerical work, in an integrated environment, with host agency supervision. Wildcat supervised projects tend to be group work, performed outdoors, doing maintenance or construction.

Table 1 lists the most successful and the least successful project types for each performance variable. (Where two or more types of projects were ranked the same, they are bracketed.)

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\* Performance data are based on a sample of 197 Manhattan Wildcat employees with first year performance data.



Table 1

*Performance Success by Project Type*

	Most Successful Project Types	Least Successful Project Types
Promotion Out	Agency Supervised Non-Contract Private Sponsored Integrated Environ. Skilled Service	Maintenance City Sponsored Stationary WC Only Contract Unskilled Construction
Termination With Cause	Private Sponsored Non-Contract Agency Supervised Clerical Integrated Environ.	Outdoor Mobile City Sponsored WC Only Contract
Absenteeism	Agency Supervised Clerical Individual Placement Integrated Environ. Non-Contract	Maintenance Unskilled Group Work Mobile WC Supervised
On All Three Variables	Non-Contract Integrated Environ.	- -
On Two of the Three Variables	Agency Supervised Private Sponsored Clerical	WC Supervised Maintenance City Sponsored WC Only Unskilled Contract

Performance was judged according to promotion, termination, and absenteeism rates. The two types of projects with highest rankings on all three performance variables were non-contract and integrated environment projects. The next most successful (best on two of the three variables) were agency supervised, privately sponsored, and clerical. None of these project types is characteristic of the majority of Wildcat projects.

The least successful project types, (worst on two of the three performance variables\*) were Wildcat supervised, maintenance, City sponsored, Wildcat workers only, unskilled, and/or contract projects. These characteristics tend to be representative of Wildcat projects.

Since assignment of employees to projects is not random, and since employees are often transferred from one project to another in response to special abilities or needs, the type of project should not be assumed to be the cause of differences in performance. In determining the assignment of employees to projects, there is a tendency to fill the more demanding job slots with employees who have better records, or who are judged more stable or skilled. Projects with more demanding job slots are generally supervised by non-Wildcat personnel, privately sponsored, integrated, non-contract, and require skills. This placement policy may explain the higher levels of performance (as measured by promotions, terminations, and absenteeism) found in these project types.

An analysis of demographic characteristics by project type for a sample of employees indicates that in most project types judged successful on absenteeism, terminations, and promotions, there is an over-representation (compared to the Wildcat average) of women, those who have been at Wildcat for more than eight months, and drug free referrals.\*\*

Probably demographic characteristics, policies for assigning employees to crews, and type of project all interact to determine crew performance.

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\* None of the project types examined was worst on all three performance variables.

\*\* An analysis of demographic characteristics related to good work performance not according to project, also indicated that drug free employees had good overall job performance. (Sub-group studies, p. 108).

Case Studies

The following case studies illustrate some of the different types of projects on which Wildcat employees work. (See Appendix B for a list of current Wildcat projects.)

## Bronx River Restoration

The Bronx Wildcat Unit has emphasized projects useful both to Wildcat and to the Bronx community, and in March 1974, when a committee of Bronx community public and private agencies discussed the cleaning and restoration of part of the Bronx River, Wildcat offered its services.

The impetus to restore the river came originally from the Police Department and grew to involve other agencies, including the City Planning Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Office of the Bronx Borough President, the Parks Department, and the Penn Central Railroad.

Wildcat's job was to remove debris and plant shrubs along a three-mile stretch of the river around the Bronx Zoo. Though the 21-man crew had access to heavy machinery lent by the Parks Department and the New York Telephone Company, most of the clean-up was done manually. Either by wading in hip-high boots or by dredging from small boats, the crew removed logs, litter, and even some stoves from the river. From March to September 1974 (when the project was suspended during the colder weather) the crew removed 240 tons of garbage.

Work at the project involved hard physical labor and exposure to a sometimes unhealthy work environment. The men found cutting through overgrown plant life and tearing down overhanging branches taxing and tedious. Nor was crew morale improved by daily exposure to leeches, bugs, rats, and poison ivy. Morale reached its lowest point in mid-summer when hot sun and humid days added to already unpleasant work conditions.

Perhaps the most distressing situation occurred in the project's early weeks when loads of the garbage which had been collected was thrown back into the river. Tempers were mollified when Zoo and Wildcat managements cooperated in devising a more efficient schedule of garbage collection.

Positive public response to the project, together with the striking change in the river's appearance, have been a boost for the Wildcat employees and have helped establish the Bronx unit as a community resource.

The plan to continue the project next spring is confirmation of the strong community support the project has enjoyed. That the community sees the project as a worthwhile job which otherwise might not have been done is an important factor contributing to the project's strength. Yet, despite the frequently expressed public pleasure, Wildcat management is fully aware of the displeasure voiced by many of the crew members at the difficult working conditions, and when the project recommences in the spring, a new group of employees will be selected.

## Brooklyn Board of Education Clerical

In December 1973, the Brooklyn Board of Education contracted with Wildcat for a clerical crew at their 49 Flatbush Avenue Extension offices. The initial six-month contract has since been renewed and extended to June 1975.

The crew consists of four people who work in different sections of the building and perform various types of clerical work. Wildcat workers are under the direct supervision of Board staff members and are not readily distinguishable from regular employees.

All crew members do some filing and light typing. In addition, they perform various tasks such as filling out supply requisition forms, data logging, sorting mail, coordinating incoming phone calls, and keeping track of information collected from schools under the Board's jurisdiction.

Board of Education supervisors have indicated that they are pleased with the work of the Wildcat employees currently working in the project. Equally important, the crew members are pleased with their jobs. Several factors are responsible for this comfortable situation. Perhaps most important, the relationship between Wildcat and the Board is clearly defined, and all supervision is the responsibility of the host agency.\* The Board also maintains an active voice in the selection of Wildcat employees assigned to the project. On one occasion, the Board requested the dismissal of a Wildcat employee who had an unsatisfactory attendance record. Wildcat obliged by transferring the employee and assigning another in his place.

Despite the general success of the project, there have been problems. Some Board employees, uncomfortable working with former drug addicts, have made disparaging remarks to Wildcatters about their work performance. This has discouraged and angered Wildcat workers.

All work orders and assignments come from the Board of Education supervisor with whom each project employee regularly deals. In this project, the Wildcat supervisor (who visits each crew member every day) serves as the link both among the Wildcat crew members and between the crew and Wildcat management. Because project participants are scattered throughout a large building and may lose touch with their peers and with Wildcat policies and procedures, the supervisor's role is particularly important. Crew meetings are held weekly and serve as a reminder of the employees' dual obligation to Wildcat and the Board of Education.

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\* Lack of clear lines of authority of host agency and Wildcat supervisors has caused problems in other projects supervised by host agency personnel.

## Broadway Malls

When it opened in April 1973, the Broadway Malls project attracted a great deal of media coverage and public attention. By agreement with the Broadway Malls Association (an affiliate of the Parks Council), 10 Wildcat workers were assigned to plant shrubs, weed, water, pick up litter, and generally maintain the malls on Broadway between 61st and 110th Streets in Manhattan.

From the beginning, there were problems with the project: poor planning, inadequate training, and unresponsive management contributed to the difficult situation which arose because the relationship between Wildcat and the Malls Association was never clearly articulated. For example, there was the issue of responsibility: who was to be responsible if plants died or if equipment was broken or stolen? Who was to provide horticultural training for Wildcat employees?

The result of these problems (some of which are experienced by other Wildcat projects) was that the malls were poorly maintained and over 600 inadequately watered shrubs eventually died and had to be replaced. When Wildcat was advised by the Malls Association to clip back the dying shrubs, there were not enough shears with which to do the job, and those shears which were available were too dull. Two weeks after the suggestion had been made, shrubs on only two of the malls had been clipped back.

Another setback occurred in August, when there was a fire in the tool storage area. It took a month to get the new supply of hoses, rakes, and other cultivating equipment necessary for Wildcat workers to do their jobs.

Had the project been more carefully planned, had Wildcat management acted sooner to solve existing problems, and had crew members received adequate instruction from the Parks Department on proper watering procedures, some of the difficulties encountered in the project's early months might have been avoided.

Although it was too late for the 600 dead shrubs, Wildcat management did take steps to pull the project together. Crew supervision was tightened, communication with the Malls Association was increased, more efficient reporting procedures were initiated, and crew members received horticultural training.

## Engine Company #84 Rehabilitation

In January 1974, several Manhattan Wildcat crews were working at three Brooklyn firehouses removing rubbish and painting. As the work there was nearing completion, there was a fire in the 84th Engine Company Firehouse (at 515 W. 161st Street), and the building suffered extensive damage. Wildcat was asked to provide a crew to clean and paint the building.

Although the project was initially one of rubbish removal and painting, the Fire Department was pleased with Wildcat's work and began to ask that more skilled and complex tasks be undertaken, and soon crew members were doing a major reconstruction job.

Wildcat was pleased to have its employees gradually take on more and more skilled work, but the arrangement did have a drawback. Long-range plans for the renovation of the firehouse were never drawn up, and, because operations developed in piece-meal fashion, there were many delays encountered in obtaining the necessary materials and supplies. These difficulties, added to the fact that workers were, in effect, learning as they went along, resulted in the work taking about twice as long as it would have taken a private contractor.

Many of the 28 men assigned to the crew entered the project with only minimal skills. (The four crew chiefs were only somewhat more experienced, and only the on-site Wildcat supervisor had construction skills.) The crew began by removing rubbish, washing walls, scraping, and painting and gradually progressed to replacing beams, waterproofing walls, tiling, glazing, and installing sheetrock. The crew has also torn down and rebuilt partitions, completely restored a kitchen and a bathroom, and learned the various carpentry skills necessary for the entire reconstruction of two full floors of the building. In addition, they have painted the entire firehouse.

Not only was the job a challenge which the employees worked hard to meet, but it provided the crew members with useful, marketable skills. At each step of the way, goals were clearly visible, and their attainment served as an incentive to continue.

E. Wildcat's Operations

1. Performance Incentives

Wildcat's personnel policies serve to translate the corporation's principles into operating procedures. Salary structure is designed to provide high enough pay to attract unemployed people who are receiving welfare payments, but not so high that employees will want to stay at Wildcat permanently rather than move on to outside jobs. Weekly paychecks and frequent small raises are intended to reinforce an employee's sense of progress.

Salary structure is uniform throughout Wildcat regardless of the project in which an employee works.\* Wildcat employees begin at \$95 a week. After eight weeks they are eligible for a raise to \$100; after 20 weeks, to \$105; and after 36 weeks, to \$115, (\$5,980 annually, plus fringe benefits). Raises are based on attendance, punctuality, and performance ratings by crew chiefs and supervisors. Increasingly stringent standards must be met to be eligible for raises.\*\*

Monthly bonuses are also used to encourage employees to perform well, to get to work on time, and not to take unnecessary days off. To qualify, employees may have no more than one absence and two latenesses or early departures for the month. In addition, their work performance must be satisfactory. Between one-third and one-half of Wildcat's employees receive bonuses each month.

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\* There are, however, salary differentials for employees with special skills, like drivers, or for those who work weekends or longer weeks.

\*\* To qualify for the eight- and 20-week raises, employees may have no more than four absences and six latenesses or early departures during the raise period (eight weeks in the first case, 12 weeks in the second). For the 36-week raise, the standard is no more than two absences and four latenesses during the 16-week-long raise period.



A starting employee has a one in seven chance of receiving a promotion within Wildcat during the year. Such a promotion may be to a position with a higher salary (such as driver), or to crew chief.

At the end of the second year, cumulative rates of internal promotions were similar among the three units: 14 per cent in Manhattan and 15 per cent in Brooklyn and the Bronx. Promotions outside of Wildcat are discussed in Transitional Employment (p. 39).

## 2. Work Problems of Wildcat Employees

Wildcat is designed to accommodate more work problems than most employers would tolerate, and to permit its employees leeway in dealing with personal difficulties without jeopardizing their jobs.

### Tardiness and Absenteeism

Many Wildcat employees had never held steady jobs before they came to Wildcat, and thus have a difficult time adjusting to a schedule which requires that they be at a given place every morning at the same time.

The average rate of absenteeism has been about nine per cent for Wildcat's first two years.\* Almost half of Wildcat's employees (47 per cent) were absent more than 10 per cent of their scheduled work-days and one in 10 employees missed more than 40 per cent of scheduled work-days. (These figures include employees eventually terminated for poor attendance.) Since crew chiefs and supervisors have varying policies for recording punctuality, it is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the extent of the problem. Certain crews report up to three per cent of the work week lost to late arrivals and early departures.

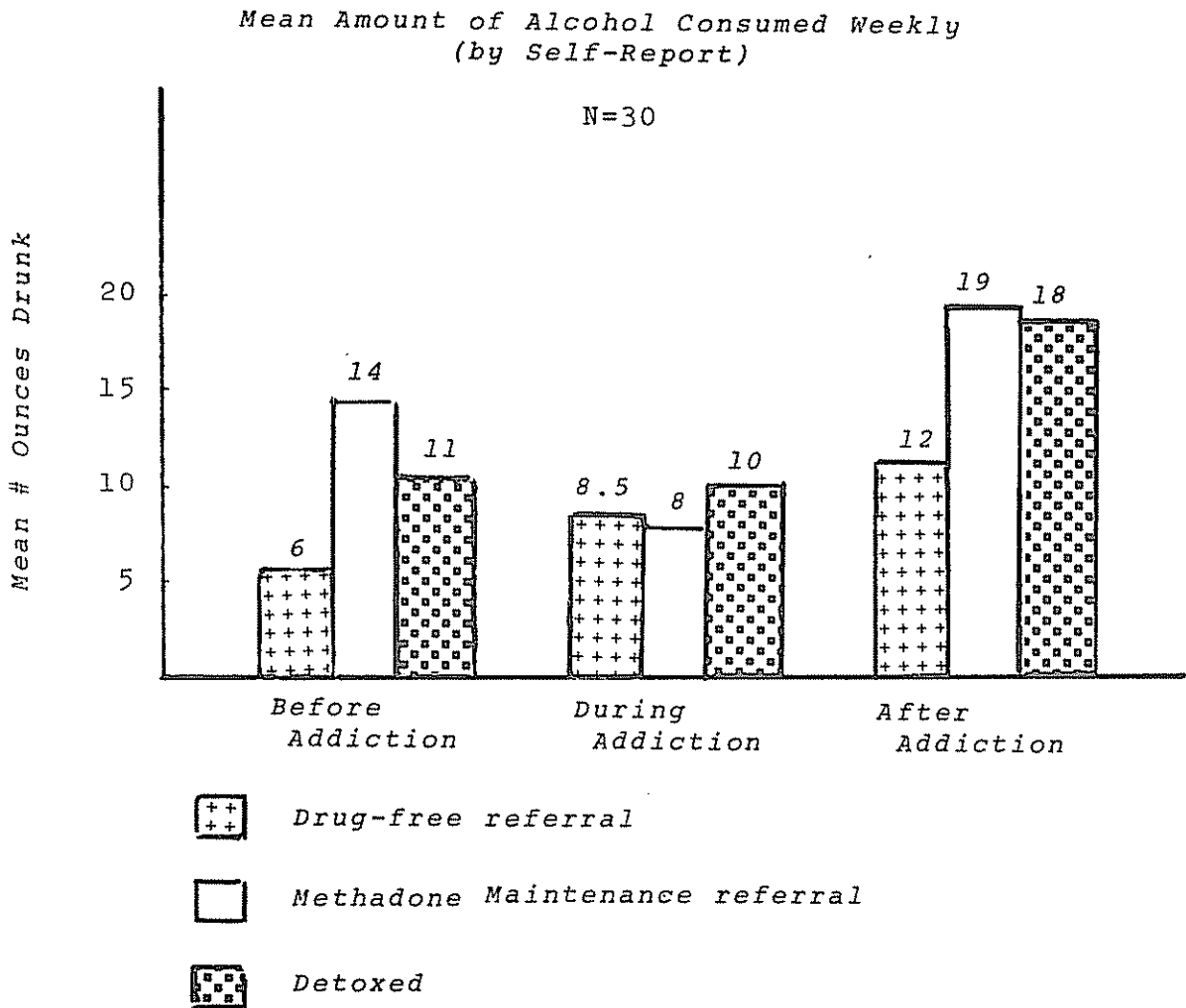
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\* Although it is difficult to judge standards for private industry, a five per cent rate of absenteeism is estimated as acceptable.

Alcoholism and Drug Use

A major rehabilitative problem with ex-addicts-in-treatment is excessive alcohol consumption. Use of alcohol often increases following abstinence from heroin.<sup>2</sup> Almost half (42 per cent) of a sample of Wildcat employees reported that their alcohol consumption had increased since they stopped using heroin.

Figure 1



Instances of alcohol problems at work sites are frequently reported, although few terminations occur specifically for alcohol use. In a recent study on alcohol consumption (by self-report)

one-fourth of a randomly selected group of employees reported that they drink during working hours.\* The mean alcohol consumption for this sample was 18 ounces (about 1 1/2 "pints") per week. Drug-free participants reported lower alcohol consumption than did methadone maintained or detoxified individuals (Figure 1). For those who reported drinking during working hours, monthly performance ratings were similar to those of other Wildcat employees.

Although Wildcat's official policy concerning drinking on the job is strict (a warning for a first offense, followed by termination), the staff often approaches drinking cases with leniency. In practice, drinking appears to be tolerated until it affects an employee's performance, but an individual who drinks during working hours is rarely transferred to skilled projects or promoted.

In addition to alcohol, some crew members use and/or deal in marijuana or illegal methadone during work hours. In a study of 24 employees, 13 per cent reported that they smoke marijuana at work. Naturally, it is difficult to gauge the extent of Wildcatters' drug and alcohol activity, but one intensive study of terminations showed 15 per cent of employees terminated for alcohol or drug use. This is probably an underestimate of the actual incidence.

#### Disruptive Behavior

Disruptive behavior among Wildcat workers includes: abusive language, inappropriate attire, theft, threats or actual incidents of violence, and disrespect for authority figures: Although similar problems occur in many employment situations (particularly outside work such as shipyards, ground maintenance, etc.) the

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\* Only five of those questioned (21 per cent) reported no alcohol consumption at all.

Wildcat population is perhaps more prone to exhibition of deviant behavior (especially as new employees) than many employers would be willing to accept.

Theft has been one problem with which Wildcat management has had to deal. Two of 20 terminations investigated in detail (see Issues, p. 166) were for theft from the host agency. Reported cases of theft at work sites have involved money, uniforms, and equipment.

#### Personal Problems

Many Wildcat employees bring with them the baggage of their former lives. They may be hindered by:

- poor health as a result of years of inadequate medical attention, compounded by drug addiction. Data from a sample of employees indicated that 17 per cent were hospitalized during a 12-month period;
- dependence on methadone (77 per cent of Wildcat employees are on methadone maintenance) which means juggling work and pick-up hours. For many, pick-ups may result in excessive latenesses or extended lunch hours. Unnecessarily high dosages may result in "nodding out" at work. Although these problems are sometimes best solved by change in drug program, lowering methadone dosage, or detoxification, these solutions may in turn create additional medical or work-related problems;
- financial problems which mean that buying appropriate work clothes, moving to a better apartment, or even having enough money for transportation to work can be difficult. Only 12 per cent of Wildcat employees had savings accounts when they started work;
- left-over legal problems which may require court appearances or visits to parole officers. Twenty-one per cent of Wildcat employees had pending legal problems when they started work;
- problems with public assistance. Since most Wildcat employees were receiving welfare before starting work, they often must devote time to straightening out their status and arranging for continued medicaid coverage (for which they are eligible).

### 3. Dealing with Problems

Because it was anticipated that transition to a work routine would be difficult for many employees, the structure of Wildcat was designed to be supportive. Supports have evolved to include: group work, peer supervision, flexible work policies, a highly structured environment with emphasis on feedback, and a Special Services Unit.

#### Flexible Work Policies

Policies have been developed to deal with the work problems of employees and thus avoid terminations whenever possible. For example:

- Attendance and punctuality requirements are not as strict as are those in non-supported employment.
- In addition to 10 days of vacation and 12 days of sick leave a year, Wildcat allows its employees four days annually as "personal business days," to be used for visits to welfare centers, court appearances, counseling at their drug treatment programs, or other personal matters. Time off work is allowed for visits to the Special Services Unit, Job Development screening, and job interviews.
- Employees whose problems temporarily prevent them from working full-time may take an unpaid leave of absence of up to two months without jeopardizing their employment status. At any given time, an average of five per cent of Wildcat employees are on unpaid leave.
- Employees with problems may be suspended instead of terminated. Suspensions usually last from two to seven days and are in response to specific events (drinking on the job, unauthorized use of a vehicle) or to chronic problems (excessive absenteeism or lateness). About five per cent of employees are suspended during each month.

### Structure and Feedback

It was intended that Wildcat provide its employees with a clear work structure (clear lines of supervisory authority, precise job definition, graduated performance demands) so that they would know exactly what was expected of them. Work structure was to accompany continuous feedback in order for employees to know whether or not they were meeting the performance demands which had been set for them. Although the intended systems of both structure and feedback are present to some extent in actual Wildcat operating procedures, practice has fallen short of the original ideals.

One problem has stemmed from the fact that in projects where supervision is provided by the host agency, there is sometimes confusion about whose instructions carry more weight--the Wildcat or host agency supervisor's. Unless the supervisory arrangement is clearly spelled out, workers may be confused about exactly what is expected of them and to whom they are responsible.

Supplying all employees with the feedback they need has also been a problem. Supervisors receive no specific training in the importance of feedback, nor is the issue one which is stressed by Wildcat operations staff. In addition, the lack of standardized performance demands has made feedback a matter which individual supervisors and crew chiefs must decide for themselves.

### Loans

To help employees deal with their financial difficulties, Vera and Chemical Bank arranged a loan program to be administered jointly by Wildcat and Chemical. The program was guaranteed by Vera (up to \$6,640). By the end of Wildcat's second year, 76 employees had borrowed a total of \$11,940 with a default rate of about 15 per cent. Most loans are about \$150 and go for deposits on new apartments.

In addition to the agreement between Chemcial, Vera, and Wildcat, the bank at one point allowed Wildcat employees to participate in a regularly advertised loan program for people who had worked for a year and earned at least \$5,000 annually. Because the default rate on first payments by Wildcat employees was close to ten per cent (the rate for non-Wildcat loans was about three to four per cent) Wildcat employees (by mutual agreement between Chemical and Wildcat management) were eventually excluded from the program. It appears that some employees took out loans just before they were terminated, and then defaulted on their payments.

#### Special Services

In addition to the structural supports discussed above, each Wildcat unit has a Special Services staff to deal with non-work-related problems. The Special Services Units, though not intended to provide extended therapy, were intended to give counseling as needed, provide referral information, and assist with housing, medical, drug program, welfare, legal, financial, and educational problems.

Special Services Units were not, however, adequately staffed to fulfill these functions, nor did they receive unified support from Wildcat management, and compromises were adopted: management thought that Wildcat was not the place for counseling and vocational training -- these services were theoretically available at employees' drug treatment programs. To some extent, operations staff feared that too strong a Special Services staff could interfere with their influence over employees. Partially in response to this fear, but also in response to budget constraints, and to the lesson learned at Pioneer about the importance of work,

it was decided that the role of Special Services should be limited to referrals. Problems requiring counseling were to be handled by drug program personnel, parole officers, or, where appropriate, by operations staff (crew chiefs and supervisors).

Despite this decision, pressure continued within Wildcat to provide counseling. Not only did crew members feel that crew chiefs were ill-equipped to handle the problems with which they were faced, but crew chiefs thought so as well. Furthermore, some employees felt they were not receiving adequate counseling at their drug programs. More and more employees turned to Special Services for the therapeutic supports not available elsewhere and an untrained, overburdened staff was put in the position of having to counsel employees or see them go unaided.

This arrangement proved unsatisfactory for both those who favored counseling at Wildcat and those who opposed it. When crises occurred, Special Services was often called on to intervene. With only two staff members in each borough, Special Services Units were thus unable to provide even an effective referral service for employees.

Failure to develop a unified approach about providing supports for employees has resulted in Special Services Units which are largely ineffectual. Since counseling has been all but eliminated from the unit's jurisdiction, the proportion of employees seeking help each month from Special Services has dropped from one quarter to less than a tenth. The units have become a catch-all for administrative problems such as the change from City administered to Federal welfare benefits. (During one quarter, close to half the staff time of Manhattan's Special Services Unit was spent making sure



that employees still held valid medicaid cards after the change in welfare benefits.) Only the Brooklyn unit has continued to offer short-term problem solving for employees with attendance and punctuality problems.

Although management has resisted incorporating therapeutic supports into Wildcat\* this approach is continually re-evaluated. Two findings especially have encouraged Wildcat to reconsider the Special Services issue. The Ex-Offender Program has in effect provided more supports through a buddy system (see p. 132) and appears to have lowered the termination rate. In addition, job development staff have felt that employees often have personal problems which keep them from being acceptable for private sector employment. (For further discussion, see Rehabilitation and Productivity, p. 161.)

#### 4. Termination

At Wildcat, even though employees are generally terminated as a last resort, one quarter are terminated negatively by the end of their first year. Another five per cent have resigned (often knowing that they are about to be fired), and ten per cent have left for non-work-related reasons (such as illness or moving out of New York). Although the process has not been standardized and disciplinary action varies both within and among units, terminations generally follow a series of efforts to deal with an employee's problem. In the Brooklyn unit (which has instituted the most concrete termination procedure), the method for dealing with an employee who is frequently late is:

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\* In the past few years it has become increasingly common to find support and counseling programs in banks, insurance companies, department stores, and manufacturing and industrial plants.

- 1) warning from supervisor and referral to Special Services;
- 2) warning from Deputy Division Chief;
- 3) three-day suspension;
- 4) recommend termination.

Table 2 summarizes reasons for terminations. Cumulatively, about half of terminations have been "with cause" and the other half "without cause." These figures contrast with first year data which showed 66 per cent of terminations as "with cause."

Table 2

*Wildcat Cumulative Terminations*

	Wildcat Total N=727 %		Wildcat Total N=727 %
TERMINATIONS WITH CAUSE	51	TERMINATIONS WITHOUT CAUSE	49
Absenteeism	27	Resigned	31
Unsatisfactory Production	1.5	Illness/ Medical	13
Unsatisfactory Attitude	8.5	Death	1
Alcohol/Drugs	3	Moved	2
Arrest/Incar- ceration	6	Other	2
Disorderly Behavior	3		
Other	2		

Resignations have accounted for the sharpest increase in the "without cause" category. Some resignations occurred because employees knew they were about to be fired. Others left Wildcat because they were dissatisfied with their jobs, and others because they were receiving and cashing both welfare and Wildcat checks and Wildcat required repayment.

Excessive absenteeism and tardiness are the most common reasons for termination "with cause"; resignation is the most common in the "without cause" category. Illness constitutes the third largest category of terminations (13 per cent). An intensive study of terminations (p. 166) suggested that recorded reasons tend to underestimate the number of terminations due to alcohol, drugs, and disorderly behavior.

This study also indicated that many terminations are explained by interlocking factors: poor attendance is more likely to result in termination when accompanied by other problems than when it is the sole factor. At least half the individuals terminated for absenteeism had other difficulties as well: these included drinking, poor attitude, and conflicts with supervisors. Undoubtedly, such problems contributed to and exacerbated their absence problems.

## 5. Rehiring

Part of the effort to respond flexibly to employees is to offer the opportunity for rehiring after termination. A study of 28 terminated Wildcat employees who were rehired showed that 82 per cent had been re-terminated within six months. Whatever difficulty was originally experienced at Wildcat apparently did not disappear after the first termination. Two groups of rehires tended to have lower termination rates:

- Employees who had worked at Wildcat for over four months during their first tenure. (The average length of time before the first termination was 1.7 months for those reterminated and four months for those who were not re-terminated.)
- Employees originally terminated because of arrest. These terminations were not work-related. In fact, Wildcat rarely terminates people because of an arrest, unless it results in a lengthy incarceration.

The following study illustrates some of the problems discussed in this section: punctuality, poor liaison with an employee's drug program, and re-hiring.

Paula was a rehire who had initially been terminated for "walking off the job" and showing "poor job performance." When she returned, she was assigned to the switchboard at Wildcat, but neither her punctuality nor her performance was acceptable for this position. She was transferred to the "Theater for the Forgotten" (an acting class and company) crew, but her latenesses continued. Paula claimed that her lateness was the result of her methadone pick-ups, and that since she was detoxing, the problem would soon be alleviated.

Paula's supervisor spoke to her drug counselor and arranged to have Paula pick up her medication at night. (An attempt was also made to change Paula's drug program to one closer to her work site, but Paula felt that in the time it would take her to change programs she would have "detoxed.") Paula's lateness continued even after this adjustment in her pick-up schedule. A crew member reported that she had accompanied Paula when she picked up her methadone after work, and that as far as she knew Paula always picked up her methadone in the evening. After repeated warnings, Paula was re-terminated.

## 6. Transitional Employment

One of Wildcat's goals has been to determine how many of its employees could make the transition from addiction, welfare dependency, and crime, to a heroin free and self-supporting existence. Wildcat set out to be a transitional employer, a way-station and training ground between dependence and independence. At Wildcat, employees would develop the work habits and acquire the work records that would qualify them for jobs in industry or civil service.

Wildcat planners could not predict how difficult it might be to effect the transition from addiction to self-support. There were many unknowns: its employees' ability to adjust to the realities of the working world; industry's willingness to take a chance on rehabilitated ex-addicts; and the unsteady job market were a few of the variables. And during its first year of operations, staff energies were so absorbed in creating a structure in which its employees could learn and prove themselves that little attention was paid to the development of future jobs.

Since Wildcat felt that a job development effort during a time of rapid expansion would strain management capacities, Wildcat and Vera agreed that Vera would set up and run a Job Development Unit until Wildcat management could devote sufficient resources to the task.

The Job Development Unit began operations in December 1973. Job developers were assigned to discuss job slots with private employers, and job placement specialists (screeners) were assigned to Wildcat units to help evaluate employees' readiness for non-supported jobs and match job-ready workers with jobs found by the job developers.

Between October 27, 1972, when the first non-supported job was obtained by a Wildcat employee, and June 30, 1974, 161 persons (seven per cent of those ever employed) obtained non-supported jobs. These placements were a combination of the efforts of the Job Development staff, roll-overs to permanent positions at Vera, Wildcat, or the host agency where they had been supported workers, and self-referrals. Of these 161 placements, 81 were made in the six-month period between January 1, 1974, and June 30, 1974. Hiring and retention figures are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

*Promotions to Non-Supported Employment Oct. 1972 through June 1974  
(confirmed as of July 31st)*

	# Promoted	# Still Working	% Still Working
Confirmed Placements (to private, non-profit and public sectors)	40	28	70
Confirmed Rollovers	44	38	86
Confirmed Promotions to Staff (Wildcat or Vera Projects)	18	16	89
Self-Referrals			
Confirmed	17	7	41
Unconfirmed	42	-	-
Confirmed Sub-Total	119	90	76
TOTAL	161		

While the number of placements to non-supported jobs has not been encouraging, those who have been placed have performed well. Thus far, 90 of the 119 confirmed placements (76 per cent) retained their new jobs as of June 30. The retention rate for those persons placed before January 1 was 70 per cent, and for those placed afterwards, 82 per cent.

Of those people evaluated who were in supported positions at the end of Wildcat's second year, 32 per cent were job ready after six months of work, and 73 per cent were job ready after a year.

#### 7. Employee Flow

Figure 2 summarizes the flow of employees through Wildcat; that is, at what points certain proportions are terminated or promoted. It shows that the proportion of employees who remain crew members decreases as their time at Wildcat increases. The figure also demonstrates that promotions increase quickly after the ninth month, while the majority of terminations occur within the first six months and rarely thereafter. Employees who stay at Wildcat at least nine months are more likely to be promoted to non-supported jobs than to be terminated.

Figure 2

Proportion of Wildcat Employees Promoted or Terminated  
(by Length of Time at Wildcat)

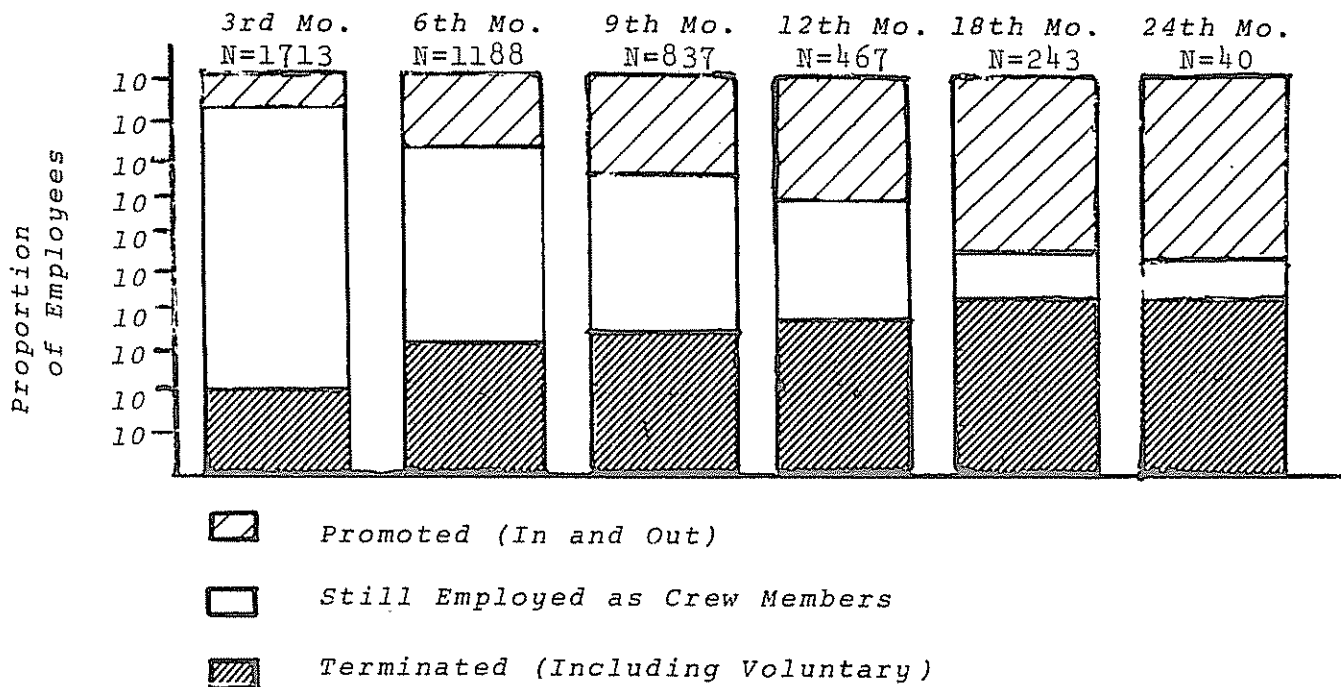


Table 4 provides details on status changes presented in Figure 2 for Wildcat employees according to their time of entry. The 40 employees who entered Wildcat two years ago are included in each column and are the only ones who appear in the extreme right column; those who have been at Wildcat for only three months appear in the far left column only.



Table 4

Status of Wildcat Employees at the End of Various Time Periods  
(as of June 30, 1974)

	3rd Mo. N=1713 %	6th Mo. N=1188 %	9th Mo. N=837 %	12th Mo. N=467 %	18th Mo. N=243 %	24th Mo. N=40 %
(1) Promoted Out (to Non-Subsidized Work) <sup>a</sup>	2	3	7	13	20	30
(2) Promoted to Vera/Wildcat (Non-Subsidized)	(b)	1	3	6	11	10
(3) Separations (Moved, medical problems, arrests, etc.)	5	6	8	10	9	13
(4) Resignations (Voluntary)	6	8	7	5	7	0
(5) Terminations	8	16	19	23	26	30
(6) Total Departures from Wildcat	21	34	44	57	73	83
(7) Crewmember	74	52	40	30	13	10
(8) Promoted within Wildcat	5	14	16	13	14	7
(9) Total Remaining at Wildcat	79	66	56	43	27	17

<sup>a</sup> Includes roll-over to the City payroll.

<sup>b</sup> Less than one per cent.

The following patterns emerge from the data:\*

- promotions out start slowly and build with time in the program; (line 1)
- promotions to positions within Vera and Wildcat follow a pattern similar to that for promotions out, but remain lower; (line 2)
- separations occur early in an employee's tenure and are fairly regular, as they are unrelated to the actual work situation; (line 3)
- most resignations occur within an employee's first six months, as they often reflect job dissatisfaction; (line 4)
- terminations continue throughout the entire 24 months, but are highest during the initial six months; (line 5)
- one-fifth of all employees have departed by the first three months of employment, over half by the end of the first year, and 83 per cent by the end of two years; (line 6)
- only 10 per cent of employees who stay at Wildcat for two years remain at the level of crew member; (line 7)
- of those who remain at Wildcat and receive promotions within supported work, most receive their promotions within the first six months. (line 8)

Reading vertically, the table indicates that after a year (12th month), the proportion of employees who left Wildcat was 57 per cent, a third of which were promotions to non-supported positions. Slightly more than a third of the departures were terminations, and the rest were voluntary resignations or separations. By the end of two years, the departure rate was 83 per cent, half of which were promotions.

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\* Note that the number of employees decreases as length of time increases, since fewer people have been employed for long periods of time. For example, in line 3, 10 per cent have separated from Wildcat by the end of their first year, whereas nine per cent have separated after a year and a half. This is because the populations are not the same for the two periods.

## Case Studies

The following case studies illustrate the experiences of two employees at Wildcat. One worked well, was promoted to crew chief and then to non-supported work. The other had personal and job related problems. He was unhappy with the "deal" he got at Wildcat. After his termination he went back on welfare, figuring this was easier than working.

### Charles

Charles was 23 when he was hired at Wildcat, a methadone patient for the past 13 months and a drug addict for six years before that. He grew up in the Bronx and Harlem, dropped out of school at 17, and began selling heroin soon after to support his own habit. By the time he was 21, he had been arrested twice, once for possession and once for sale of narcotics.

"My father was really disgusted," Charles recalls, "but I couldn't do anything about it. I'd been an addict for four years, and I was deep into it. I needed help."

That was early in 1971. In January 1972, after a year on a waiting list, Charles was admitted to the Mount Sinai Hospital methadone maintenance program.

In August 1972, Mount Sinai referred Charles to a training program for building maintenance workers. Three weeks after he enrolled, the project's grant ran out, and Charles was back on welfare, receiving \$58 every two weeks. He was desperate for work. "I'd have taken anything," he remembers, "...janitor, porter, anything to get off welfare, but I couldn't seem to find even that."

Then in March 1973, when making a court appearance in connection with the "possession and sale" charges against him, Charles noticed a maintenance crew of young black men at work in the court building. He asked how they got their jobs. "At a place called Wildcat," they told him. "Get a letter from your drug program and take it to 2000 Broadway." Charles went to Wildcat the following day.

Wildcat offered Charles a job in the Police Quartermaster Project, filling orders for forms and supplies in a police stockroom. Working for the police was a job that many former addicts might have approached warily, but Charles felt, "I wanted to work, and I wasn't going to be choosy. I figured as long as they didn't bother me, I wasn't going to bother them."

Charles began work the following Monday at \$92 a week (Wildcat's original starting salary). His attendance was good, and his weekly evaluation sheets reflected the approval of his crew chief and supervisor.

After a while, friction developed between Wildcatters and police personnel. "It was little stuff at first," Charles says, "like when the weather got hot, the police put these fans in, but they didn't put any where we were working. We figured maybe they didn't care about us, and it made us angry."

The police had complaints too. One crew member was often high because his methadone dosage was excessive. In addition, the police thought some crew members were coming in late and leaving early.

During his first five months, Charles earned two raises, which brought his salary to \$105 a week. Then the crew chief slot opened and Charles got the job.

But not for long. After a month, the tension between police and crew came to a head. At the request of the police, Wildcat disbanded the order filling project.\* Charles was transferred to a clerical position in the Wildcat office, losing his promotion in the process.

Charles accepted his demotion and transfer gracefully. "I just wanted work, and it didn't matter where." He took to the new job and got along well with his co-workers. When the Job Development Unit contacted him about permanent outside employment, Charles was reluctant to consider leaving Wildcat. But a few months later (about a year after he entered Wildcat) Job Development referred him for a maintenance job at the New York Telephone Company. Charles was hired; the job paid \$161 a week and included an eight-week training course.

Although making much more money than at Wildcat, Charles sees little difference between Wildcat and his current job. "Work is work," he says. "I'm just glad to have a chance to make a living."

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\* Problems were subsequently resolved and the project was re-opened.

Felix

Felix was born in 1948 and grew up in the Bronx with his parents and two sisters. His father was a handyman; his mother a teletype operator. His parents argued incessantly. By the time Felix reached 11th grade, his home life had become too difficult, and he joined the Army. He was trained as a radio operator and shipped to Vietnam.

After a year, Felix was transferred to an Army base in Colorado. It was on home leave that he began dabbling with hard drugs. Upon completion of his Army tour two years later, he returned to New York. His brother-in-law got him a job in the computer department of an insurance company at \$127 a week. But Felix was building up a heroin habit, and he soon quit work. At the urging of his mother, he joined a drug rehabilitation program in the Bronx. He stayed there for six months, but on his first weekend pass he shot dope and never went back.

Felix spent the next two years on and off welfare, in and out of detoxification centers, living now and then with a girlfriend who earned enough to support both their habits. In September 1972, Felix's sister convinced him to sign up at a methadone maintenance program, where he learned about Wildcat. It was a work program, his counselor said, that would teach him a trade and help him find a job. Wildcat hired Felix in March 1974 and assigned him to a paint crew at the Bronx Botanical Gardens.

Felix's attendance was poor from the start. His supervisors warned him that he would have to improve, but with no result. Felix claims that his absenteeism was due to his methadone pickup schedule, which, he says, his drug program counselor promised to change but never did. On Monday mornings, the clinic didn't open until 9, so Felix couldn't get to work until late morning. Since he had missed almost half a day by then, Felix reasoned, there was no point going to work at all. Felix's absences--11 1/2 days during 12 weeks of employment--were almost always on Mondays.

Felix was also having personal problems: arguments with his mother which left him depressed and angry. But he didn't discuss his problems with his drug program counselor or his Wildcat supervisor. "You just don't talk about your problems with people you work with," he says.\*

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\* Each Wildcat borough unit has a Special Services Unit to help employees deal with personal problems or difficulties with drug programs. Felix says he never heard of Special Services.

Because of his poor attendance, Felix was suspended for three days in May. In June he was fired. "Atrocious attendance and punctuality record," his termination form reads. "This man has been spoken to on numerous occasions concerning improvement."

Felix admits that much of the fault was his own, but he is disappointed with Wildcat too. "I wouldn't go back," he says, "even if I could. They don't offer you anything. All I did was paint. My counselor said they would teach me some kind of trade. But I never learned a trade. They said they'd try and place me on a job after a year. But if they don't, that's it. I feel they just used me. If they hired a professional to do the work, it would cost 10 times as much."

"You make less at Wildcat than if you just collected welfare," Felix continues. "You figure carfare, lunch money, all this stuff. If I didn't work, I'd be making more money than if I did."

### III. MEASURING THE IMPACT OF SUPPORTED WORK

#### Overview

Even before Wildcat began, Vera felt strongly that efforts toward social reform should be accompanied by efforts toward evaluation of the effectiveness of these reforms. This is particularly important in the case of reforms directed at quantifiable ends. Program evaluations have typically been concerned with whether or not a program functions. In the case of Wildcat, this would mean determining whether the corporation can employ and maintain large numbers of ex-addicts and ex-offenders in public service and obtain contracts for that labor from the City. Necessary as such an evaluation is, it does not touch the harder question of whether supported work has achieved its goal of facilitating the rehabilitation process. It is the evaluation of this second step that is a difficult and major enterprise, requiring analysis of the short- and long-term impact of the program on the lives of individuals--beyond their behavior on the job.

The rehabilitative impact of supported work (or of any social program) is best measured by the difference from what would have occurred in the absence of the program. Controlled experimentation allows the measurement of the effectiveness of a given treatment, since the only difference between two groups is that one has been exposed to the treatment (in this case a social program) and the other has not. For example, that supported workers are arrested less frequently than before they entered Wildcat is misleading unless it is also known that the arrest rate would have decreased

anyway (although not as much), as is shown by comparison with the control group. Without a proper base of comparison, the cause of a change cannot be isolated.

With supported work, the experimental situation evolved naturally from the size of the initial efforts. Funds had been secured for employment of 300 ex-addicts, and the experimental design followed from this limitation: a comparable group of 300 who would not have the benefits of supported work would also be monitored.

Comparability in groups can be achieved only by random assignment; that is, assignment by lottery from a common pool of qualified applicants to an experimental or control group. The 300 people who would be able to participate in the supported work program were randomly selected from a group of 600. The remaining 300, left to the available roads toward rehabilitation, formed the control group. Participants in both groups were contacted on a regular basis to discover changes in their lives in the area of employment, illegal activity, drug abuse, and life patterns.

A comparison of the lives of experimentals and controls during the first year after entering the study are presented in Table 5 and summarized below.



Table 5

First Year Summary Chart

	Experimentals N=148	Controls N=160	Refer To
<b>Employment and Income</b>			
Per Cent Working During Year	96	52	Page 66
Average Number of Weeks Worked	40	11	Page 66
Income (Total)	\$5320	\$3470	Figure 6
from legal earnings	4460	1112	Page 67
from public assistance	340	1788	Page 68
from hustling	520	572	Page 68
<b>Illegal Activity</b>			
Per Cent Reporting Hustling (Self-Report)	13	20	Page 68
Per Cent Arrested Year After Entry (Verified)	27	32	Table 11
Per Cent of Those Arrested Sentenced to Prison	9	27	Table 14
<b>Drug Addiction</b>			
Per Cent Reporting Illicit Drug Use	14	19	Table 19
Per Cent Reporting Daily Drinking	10	19	Page 93
<b>Education</b>			
Per Cent Attending Some School	28	27	Table 20
<b>Life Patterns</b>			
Increase in Per Cent of Married or Living in Common Law	14	1	Page 98
Mean Number of People Supporting	2.5	1.5	Page 99
Per Cent with Savings or Checking Account	47	19	Page 101
Per Cent of Population Died	2	2	Table 24

## 1. Employment and Income

Since the program was to offer employment; it is not surprising that twice as many experimentals as controls worked during the year, providing further evidence that even motivated ex-addicts have a difficult time locating work. The fact that, on the average, controls worked only 11 weeks during the year indicates that even when controls found jobs they had more difficulty keeping them than did experimentals at Wildcat, most of whom stayed productively employed for the year.

It follows that the experimentals earned more than the controls (one and a half times as much), and consequently were less dependent on direct public assistance than were controls.

## 2. Illegal Activity

Participation in supported work seems to discourage illegal activity. Fewer experimentals than controls (13 vs. 20 per cent) report hustling (making money through selling methadone and other drugs, running numbers, shoplifting), and fewer experimentals than controls were arrested in the year after entering Wildcat. Of those participants arrested, only a third as many experimentals as controls were sentenced to prison: more experimentals had their cases dropped and more were sentenced to probation. The type and severity of charges for which controls and experimentals were arrested were similar.

## 3. Drug Addiction and Use

Few participants in either group returned to drugs as a way of life, but a portion of each group (14 per cent of experimentals and 19 per cent of controls) reported that they used illegal drugs during the year. Excessive alcohol use, though a problem for each group, was more common for controls: twice as many controls as experimentals (19 vs. 10 per cent) reported daily alcohol use.

## 4. Education

About a quarter of the participants in both groups attended some school during the year, suggesting that a significant portion of each group has taken positive steps to improve their earning abilities.

## 5. Life Patterns

Supported work appears to have had a stabilizing influence on the lives of the participants. More experimentals than controls married (or entered into common-law relations) and fewer were divorced or separated. Almost half the experimentals had children living with them, whereas only a third of the controls did at year's end. Probably as a result of stabilized family relations and more earnings, experimentals were supporting, on the average, one more person per family than were controls.

The higher percentage of experimentals (47 per cent, compared to 19 per cent of controls) who had savings or checking accounts at the end of the year suggests that experimentals, as well as having more money, are more concerned than controls about planning for the future.

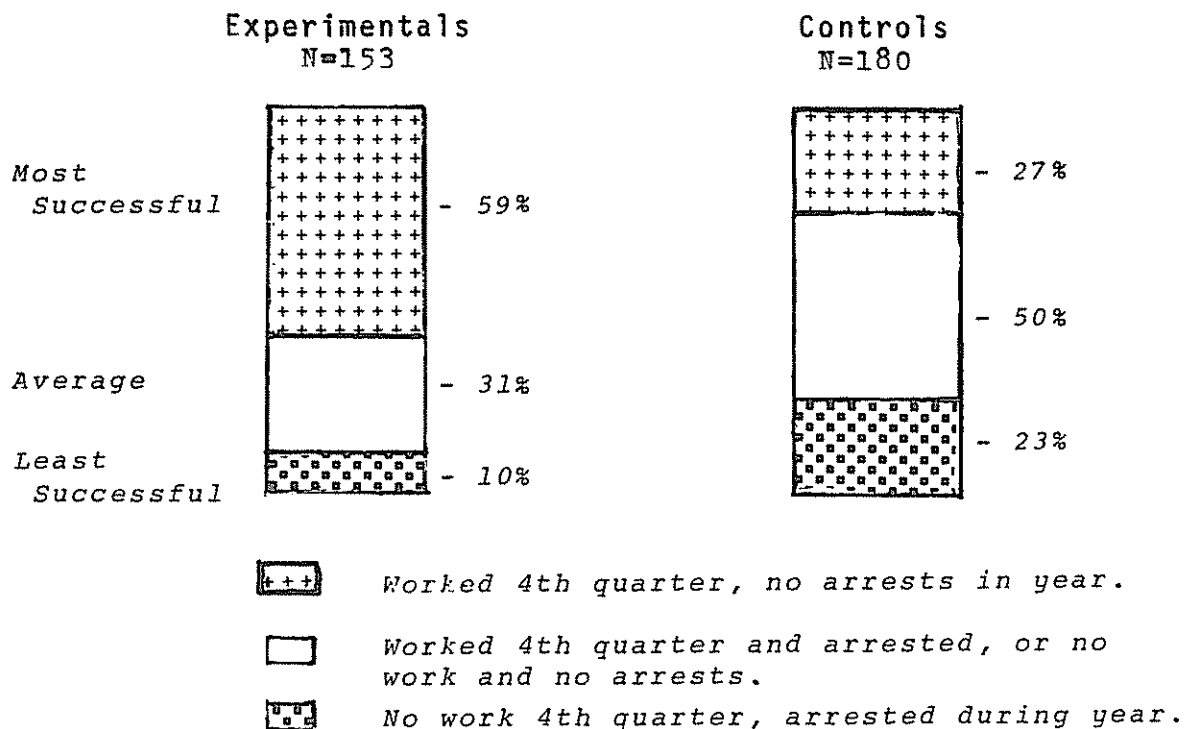
The high number of deaths, many as a result of homicide, reported for both the experimental and control groups suggests that a portion of the people offered employment by Wildcat live close to violence and street life.

\* \* \*

Two important variables in the lives of participants--employment and arrests--were combined to gauge the proportion of each group who were successful at the end of the first year. Success was defined as having been employed during the fourth quarter and not having been arrested during the year. A group with mixed success was defined as either 1) no work in the fourth quarter and no arrests during the year or 2) work in the fourth quarter but arrested during the year. The least successful group were those who did not work during the fourth quarter and had been arrested during the year (Figure 3). About three-fifths of experimentals and one quarter of controls were in the successful category; one tenth of experimentals and almost one quarter of controls were characterized as least successful.

Figure 3

*Experimentals and Controls Rated on Employment and Arrest Variables in Fourth Quarter*



Methods

1. Selection and Distribution of Participants

The first step in the controlled study was to produce a pool of qualified applicants (see p. 9 for acceptance criteria). From this pool, applicants were assigned randomly to either the experimental group (offered a job in supported work) or to the control group (not offered a job).

Selection of the research sample began in May 1972 and was completed in August 1973. During that time, all participants in the controlled study were selected by means of a lottery in which they were given a 50-50 chance of being offered employment. This lottery process was conducted following an initial interview by an intake screener, a second interview (with management) and, if judged ready for supported work, a third (research) interview.

Not all applicants took part in this process. For a few jobs requiring special qualifications or skills (such as library workers, drivers, crew chiefs), there were not enough qualified applicants. For these positions, the lottery was waived, and these persons were excluded from the study group. The lottery system was explained to all applicants before intake interviews were administered.

Though there were originally 604 people in the pool (each group contained 302 persons), that number has since been reduced to 288 experimentals and 298 controls.\*

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\* Due to a clerical error, four participants in each group who should have been included in the Ex-Offender sample were included in the supported work sample. In addition, 10 experimentals were later found to have been rejected from Wildcat because they had not met eligibility requirements and were removed from the sample.

Eighty-six per cent of the subjects in the supported work sample were assigned to jobs at Wildcat. The remaining 14 per cent were assigned to other supported work programs: four per cent to Pioneer Messenger Service (Vera's first supported work project for ex-addicts), four per cent to the Newspaper Recycling Project, and six per cent to Bedford-Stuyvesant Pest control (both Emergency Employment Act projects).

A major difficulty resulting from the experimental design was that 11 per cent of applicants to Wildcat and the other supported employment programs never showed up for work (called "no-shows"). Although assigned to the experimental group, they have never been exposed to the experimental treatment.

## 2. Data Collection

All sample participants have been and are being followed in a longitudinal study which includes quarterly and extensive annual interviews (given at the end of each year of participation in the study) and verified data such as arrest or social security records. Controls, experimental no-shows, and experimentals who are no longer employed at Wildcat (for either positive or negative reasons) are paid five dollars for quarterly and ten dollars for annual interviews. Quarterly interviews serve largely to help maintain contact with the research participants, a major problem with the control and terminated experimental groups. For the most part, participants who are not employed in supported work are given their quarterly interviews over the telephone and those still employed are interviewed at their work sites; annual interviews are always done face-to-face. Interviews, especially annuals, focus on various aspects of the participant's life during the previous quarter or year. This includes changes in family life, employment, welfare or drug program

status, information on drug and alcohol use, and details of daily life (such as preferences in entertainment and eating and spending patterns).

### 3. Problems with Data Collection

Longitudinal studies present difficulties in maintaining contact with participants over long periods, but this population offers some special problems: they tend not to have permanent addresses, they often do not have a telephone, and almost never have a business address. Many participants do not maintain ongoing relationships with friends, or are estranged from their families. Finally, though participants may frequently be reached through their drug programs, changes in program occur. Thus, it has not been possible to keep in touch with all members of each group.

The self-report data presented in this report are based on individuals whose annual interviews had been placed on computer file by June 30, 1974. This does not include all those whose annuals were due by that date; in monitoring the follow-up process, a lag time of four months is allowed before an individual is considered overdue for an annual.\*

Of annuals due by March 1, 1974, 81 per cent were entered in the computer file by June 30, 1974. Incomplete information was

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\* This is because the contact process can often take that long: first a letter is sent to the applicant before the due date; if no response occurs (or if the letter is returned by the post office, which happens frequently) then phone calls to the participant's home are made--if a phone number is available. If this is unsuccessful, drug programs, friends, or relatives are called. The process continues even after the four-month lag period and participants have been found sometimes after a year or more.

available on another 12 per cent of the sample (they had been contacted at some time, or information was available from family, friends, or drug programs). Two per cent had never been contacted after the initial interview and five per cent had moved out of the area or died (Table 6).

Table 6

*Follow-up Status of Participants Due for Annuals by March 1, 1974*

	Experimentals N=135 %	Controls N=134 %	Total N=269 %
Completed Annuals	<u>84</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>81</u>
Incomplete Information	<u>9</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>
Follow-ups, No Annuals	7	14	10
Contact with Family or Friends	1	1	1
Contact with Drug Program	1	1	1
No Contact	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Never Seen	4	1	2
Moved Out of NY	0	3	2
Died	3	2	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

As expected, the terminated and no-show groups were more difficult to keep in contact with than were working experimentals (Table 7).

Table 7  
Follow-up Status<sup>a</sup> of Experimentals Due for Annuals  
by March 1, 1974

	Terminees N=97 %	No-Shows N=13 %	Working N=25 %
Annuals Completed	84	69	100
1-3 Quarterlies Completed	10	0	0
Never Seen	6	31	0

<sup>a</sup> Status at time annual was due.

This incomplete set of annual self-reports presents two problems:

1) There is no way of knowing whether the participants for whom these data are available are representative of the whole group, and;

2) Whatever non-random factors are responsible for the incomplete data may differ between experimentals and controls.\*

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\* An advantage of official records such as arrest data is that, while often not complete, there is no a priori reason for the biases to differ between the experimental and control groups.



It is possible that those individuals who received annuals are more stable or more successful than those who could not be reached and thus comparisons between experimentals and controls who have had annuals cannot be reliably generalized to the entire group.

In the following section, characteristics of participants with annuals are compared to those without annuals in an effort to understand possible bias in the self-report data presented in subsequent sections.

Annual interview data presented in this report are based on 148 experimentals (55 per cent) and 160 controls (57 per cent) due for annuals by June 30, 1974. These numbers include some participants due for annuals between March 1 and June 30, 1974.\*

There are three available sources of data which, because they are relatively unbiased, may indicate possible differences between those who received annuals and those who did not: 1) data collected at time of entry (self-report); 2) official arrest records, and 3) for experimentals, Wildcat employment records.

1) An analysis of demographic, criminal, and drug characteristics collected for all group members at entry suggests that participants with and without annuals were similar. The groups were compared on 42 variables. The few differences which did emerge were between controls with and without annuals.

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\* Those without annuals include many still within the four month "lag" period; and are thus not considered overdue. Since there were no significant differences between those whose annuals were completed by March and those completed later, data are grouped.

Controls with annuals reported fewer arrests previous to supported work (8.5 arrests, compared to 6.7 for those without annuals) and were more likely to be referred from a methadone program than were controls without annuals (eight vs. 15 per cent). Since arrest history does not appear to be a good predictor of behavior after entry into the study, differences on this variable probably do not indicate a bias. However, drug-free referrals in the control group who have been contacted tend to report drug use more often than do methadone referrals, suggesting that the relatively small percentage of drug-free referrals in the sample may have the effect of a negative bias for controls. In other words, contrary to expectation, it is possible that controls with problems are easier to reach, consequently exaggerating the impact of supported work on experimentals.

2) Official arrest records suggest that participants who had annuals were somewhat more likely to have been arrested after entry than were those who could not be reached (Table 8). Although it had been anticipated that more stable participants would be easier to reach, these data suggest the contrary.

Table 8

*Arrest Rates after Entry for Controls and Experimentals with and without Annuals*

	Experimentals				Controls			
	With Annuals		Without Annuals		With Annuals		Without Annuals	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Rate</i>
First 6 Mos.	160	.31	89	.36	156	.46	102	.43
Second 6 Mos.	112	.37	39	.26	138	.36	72	.33

3) Information on employment performance and status, available for all experimentals, allows additional comparison of those with and without annuals. The data suggest that, among those interviewed, working crew members are over-represented, and no-shows, those promoted out, and those terminated are under represented (Table 9).

Table 9

*Employment Status of Experimentals after One Year<sup>a</sup>*

	With Annuals (N=160) %	Without Annuals (N=128) %
Still Working as Crew Member	41	12
Promoted to Crew Chief	13	8
Promoted to Staff or Non-Subsidized Work	9	22
Terminated	30	42
No-Shows	7	17

<sup>a</sup> Additional data were available on some participants not included in other tables in this section.

These data suggest that employment data might be biased in favor of experimentals, since a larger proportion of terminees and no-shows are unemployed at the end of the first year. Also, experimentals promoted to staff might bias earnings data, although the presence of fewer experimentals promoted out may be a balancing factor. There is no clear indication of any bias for control employment data.

Although data may be biased in a few cases, information gathered by self-report is considered equally accurate or inaccurate for both groups. Where a bias is known, as in earnings data, corrections have been made. Such instances are noted where they occur.

#### 4. No-Shows

Included in the experimental group are 33 no-shows--applicants assigned to the experimental group and offered jobs at Wildcat, but who refused employment or never reported to their assigned job sites. Although it does not appear that the 33 no-shows can be distinguished on demographic, criminal, or addiction characteristics from the rest of the experimental group, it is conceivable that they represent either a particularly motivated group, able to find employment on their own, or a poor risk group, too unstable even to come to a job. Even though no-shows were never employed by Wildcat, eliminating them from the experimental sample might bias it, if, in fact, they do represent an especially strong or weak group. (Because all participants were randomly assigned, a similar group would have been assigned control status, and could not be differentiated.)

Of the 14 no-shows eventually contacted, the explanations given for refusing Wildcat jobs varied: three took better job offers; one accepted a college scholarship; one could not work because of his health; one refused because she was back on drugs; two did not want the job offered; one said Wildcat was too low paying; and five said they either were not offered jobs or were never told where or when to report for work. (This is unverifiable and may be untrue.) Demographic data prior to entry give no indication that no-shows were more or less "hard-core" (longer arrest and

conviction record, more extensive addiction history) than other experimentals.

Since follow-up data have been collected for only 14 no-shows (42 per cent), conclusions must be tentative. It is possible that those no-shows who have been interviewed are more stable than those who could not be reached. In addition, four no-shows (12 per cent) have died since the study began.

#### 5. Representativeness of the Research Sample

Since the cost of extensive follow-up for all Wildcat employees would be prohibitive, the research group is a sample of all supported workers.\* Provided that the 288 experimentals in the sample are representative of all the Wildcat employees, results of the controlled study may be generalized to the rest of the Wildcat population.

A comparison of sample participants with all Wildcat workers indicates two differences: drug-free referrals and older participants are under-represented in the experimental sample. Analysis of performance at Wildcat has indicated that those referred from drug free programs are more successful than those on methadone. Thus it is possible that the sample under-represents successful performance among experimentals. In terms of rehabilitation variables, however, few correlations have been noted between demographic characteristics and the impact of Wildcat, so results from the controlled study can be generalized to the entire Wildcat population.

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\* Ideally, the sample would be a random selection of all Wildcat employees. Such an arrangement was not possible, however, because employees in certain jobs (drivers, crew chiefs, library clerks) were exempt from the lottery and because the sample was chosen during Wildcat's first year.

A Note on Statistical Significance

In the following sections, differences in the data between groups are judged on the basis of "statistical significance." In measuring the effect of a given treatment (in this case, supported work) on a dependent variable (for example, earnings, criminal activity, drug use) for two groups, one must judge the probability of an observed numerical difference having occurred by chance, rather than as a result of the treatment received by one group. Differences are assessed by statistical tests which determine whether or not the researcher may be confident that the difference represents a real effect and not chance. Conventionally, an effect is judged real when the probability of chance accounting for the difference is less than .05. This means that there is less than one chance in 20 (or five per cent) that there was no true difference between the groups, so the researcher can be reasonably confident the treatment has caused the difference.

Results of statistical tests (t-tests, F-tests, and chi-squares) will be reported in the following sections if the probability of chance occurrence is less than .1 (one in 10, or 10 per cent). Values less than .05 are considered "significant"; values between .05 and .1 "marginally significant." Where a difference between groups occurred, but was not significant, qualitative terms (such as "slight difference," "tends to affect," "suggests a difference") are used.

A. Employment and Income

Since experimentals were offered steady employment, it was expected that their employment status and income during the first year would be better than that of controls. The New York City job market made it especially difficult for a control group member--an ex-addict, ex-offender, minority group member--to secure employment.

The effects of supported work on employment will be better measured when it is known whether experimentals can remain off welfare rolls and move into non-subsidized, steady jobs. Thus employment and income data described in this section, covering a participant's first year, only reflect a portion of the anticipated impact of supported work.

Three-fourths of the applicants had not worked in the six months prior to entry.\* Of those who did work, most held jobs with little potential. Forty-four per cent reported that they had had some job training. In the year prior to the study, most participants were receiving welfare,\*\* food stamps, and New York State medicaid coverage. Direct payments from welfare averaged \$2,268 a year. Illegal income was not calculated for the year prior to entry.

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\* Among Wildcat's acceptance criteria was no continuous employment for 12 months within the last two years.

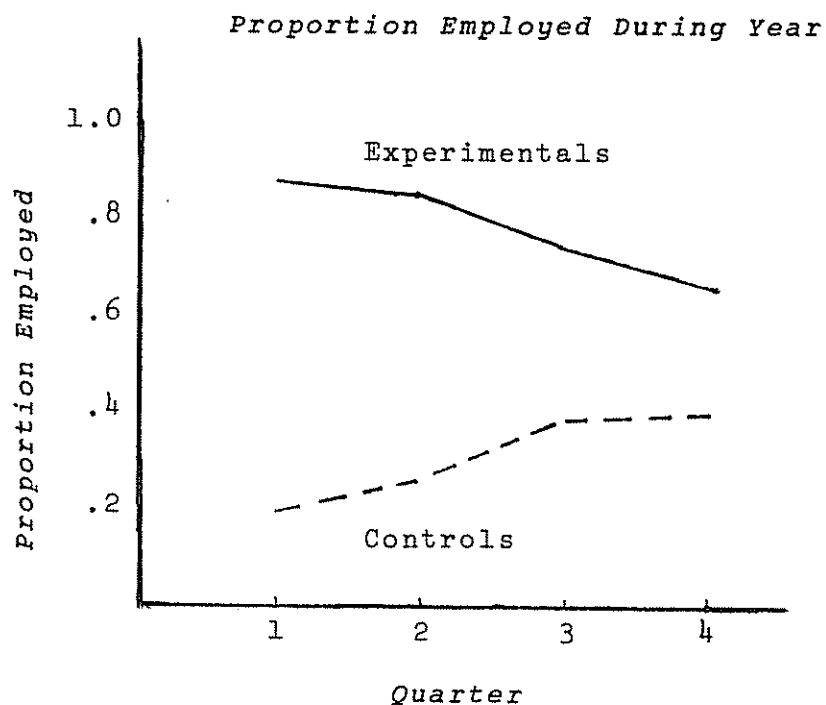
\*\* During the first month of operation, Wildcat did not require applicants to be receiving welfare. The non-Wildcat supported work programs did not require applicants to be on welfare, although most were.

1. Experimentals and Controls

Employment

Fifty-two per cent of controls worked at some point during the year, compared to 96 per cent of experimentals ( $X^2=67.53$ , 1 df,  $p<.001$ ). About a fifth of controls found a job in the first quarter, increasing to about a third during the last quarter (Figure 4).

Figure 4



Experimentals worked an average of 40 weeks during the first year (including those no-shows who did not work) while controls worked an average of 11 weeks.

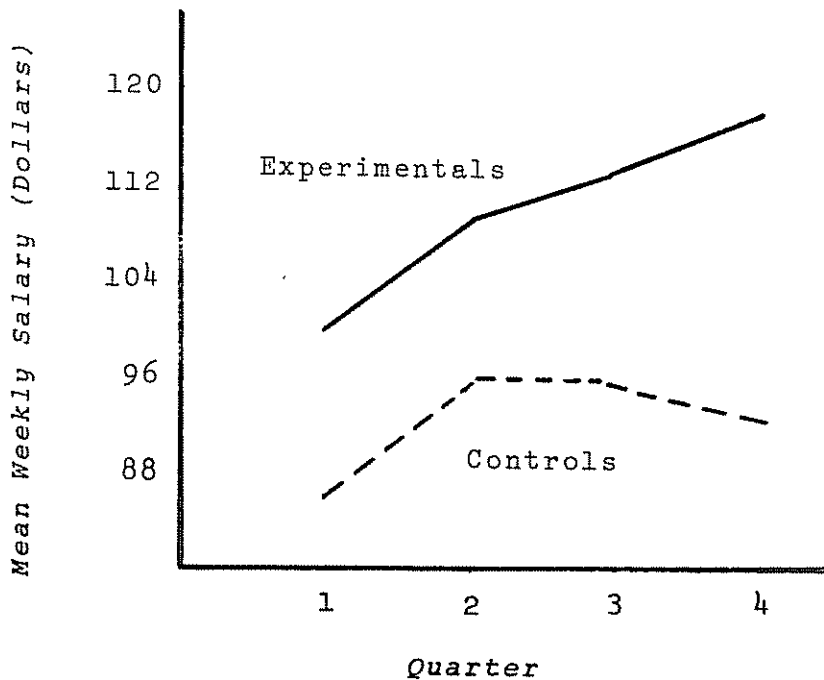
The average weekly salary earned by working controls (\$93) was lower than that earned by experimentals while working at Wildcat (\$110); salaries of experimentals showed a steady rise and averaged \$118 per week at the end of the year for working experimen-



tals, 21 per cent higher than that for controls (\$92 per week) ( $t=3.38$ , 160 df,  $p<.002$  for fourth quarter) (Figure 5).

Figure 5

Mean Weekly Salary for Experimentals and Controls



During their first year in the study, experimentals earned an average of \$4,460\* (median income \$5,200, N=126). In contrast, control group members earned a mean of \$1,112; (median income \$88; N=152) ( $t=11.52$ , 277 df,  $p<.001$ ).

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\* Correcting for the over-representation of employed experimentals with annuals, the average annual earnings is lowered to about \$4,200.

### Public Assistance

Not surprisingly, most non-working participants were collecting welfare. (Working experimentals receive indirect welfare payments which make up part of their Wildcat salaries. See Wildcat Financing p. 174.) In the fourth quarter, 72 per cent of controls, compared to 20 per cent of experimentals,\* were on welfare ( $X^2=79.44$ , 1 df,  $p<.001$ ). For those on welfare, the average monthly assistance was similar for both groups, about \$190 per month (\$2,280 per year). In addition, some participants lived with a person collecting welfare, and thus presumably shared some of that income. A higher proportion of controls than experimentals (41 vs. 25 per cent;  $X^2=7.92$ , 1 df,  $p<.005$ ) was living with a person on welfare. They thus had access to additional public assistance income, although the exact dollar amount is not known.

### Illegal Income

Thirteen per cent of experimentals and 20 per cent of controls reported income from hustling (such as gambling, running numbers, selling drugs, fencing stolen merchandise;  $X^2=2.60$ , 1 df,  $p<.1$ ). These estimates may be low because of under-reporting of illegal activity. A small proportion of each group also estimated illegal income for a typical month. For experimentals, monthly illegal income averaged \$704 in a typical month; for controls, the monthly figure was \$746. It is possible, however, that these estimates are high since only those participants who "do well" may be willing to make estimates. Reported monthly income from hustling ranged from \$75 to \$4,000.

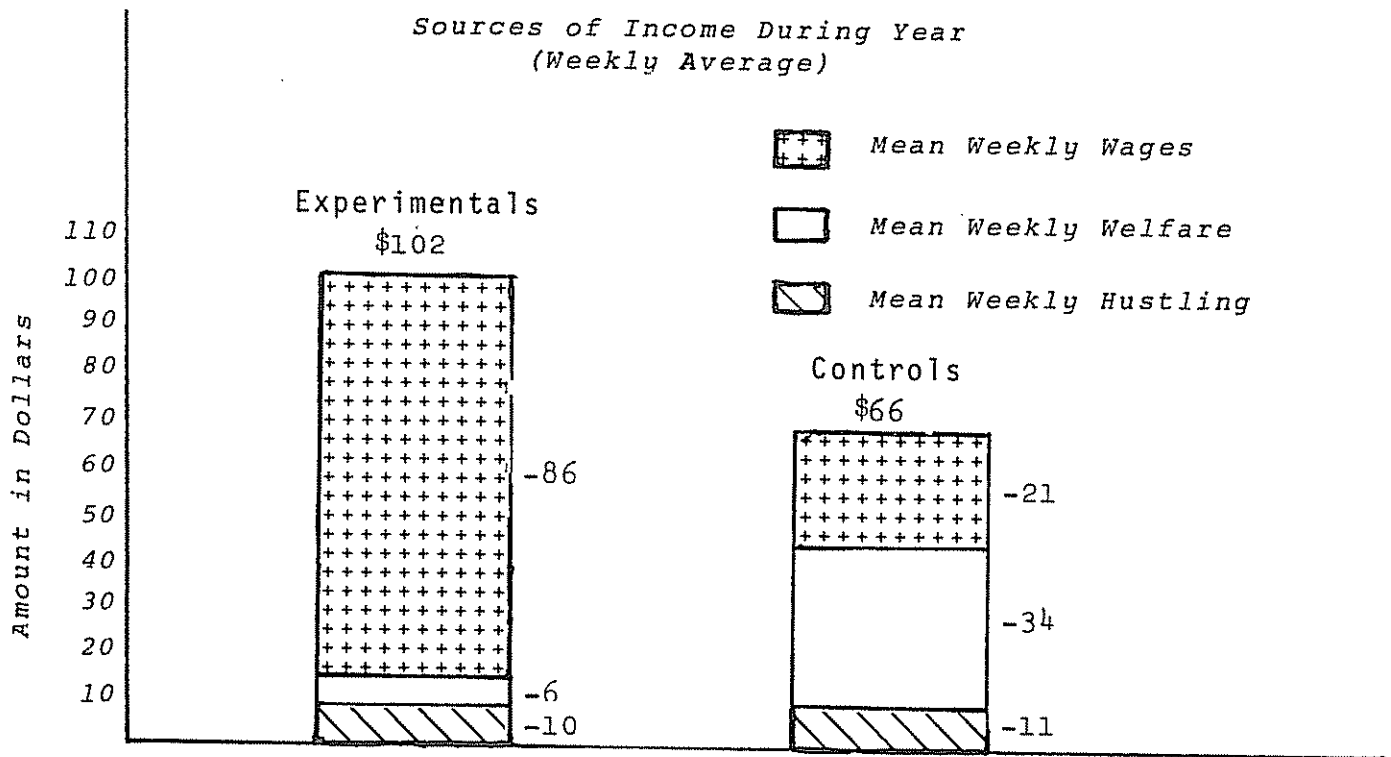
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\* Some controls and experimentals were employed and collecting welfare simultaneously.

Total Income

Annual income from legal and illegal earnings and public assistance averaged \$3,470 for controls and \$5,320 for experimentals. Experimentals thus had approximately one and a half times the total income of controls. The income of experimentals more than doubled from the year before entry,\* while the income of controls increased by about 20 per cent. Figure 6 summarizes the sources and amounts of annual income during the first year after entry for each group.

Figure 6



2. Experimentals

One year after entry, 56 per cent of experimentals (excluding no-shows) were still working in supported work; an additional 14 per cent had been promoted to non-supported jobs, and 30 per cent had been terminated.

\* In the year before entry, most experimentals were on welfare, and few were employed. The mean income from welfare was less than \$2,300 per year.

Does Wildcat affect ex-addicts who were not successful in the program? What happens to individuals after termination? Data available on terminated experimentals suggest that only one of five obtained employment after termination. (Since part of the first year is taken up by Wildcat employment, it is possible that more terminees will obtain employment during the second year.) Data for 39 terminees\* indicated that eight found employment (seven with full time jobs) and one entered school. The mean weekly salary for employed terminees was \$83.

About a fifth of the 14 no-shows contacted reported that they turned down positions at Wildcat because they had other jobs. An additional two-fifths found jobs during the year. The 64 per cent of no-shows employed during the year is higher than the per cent employed of the control group.

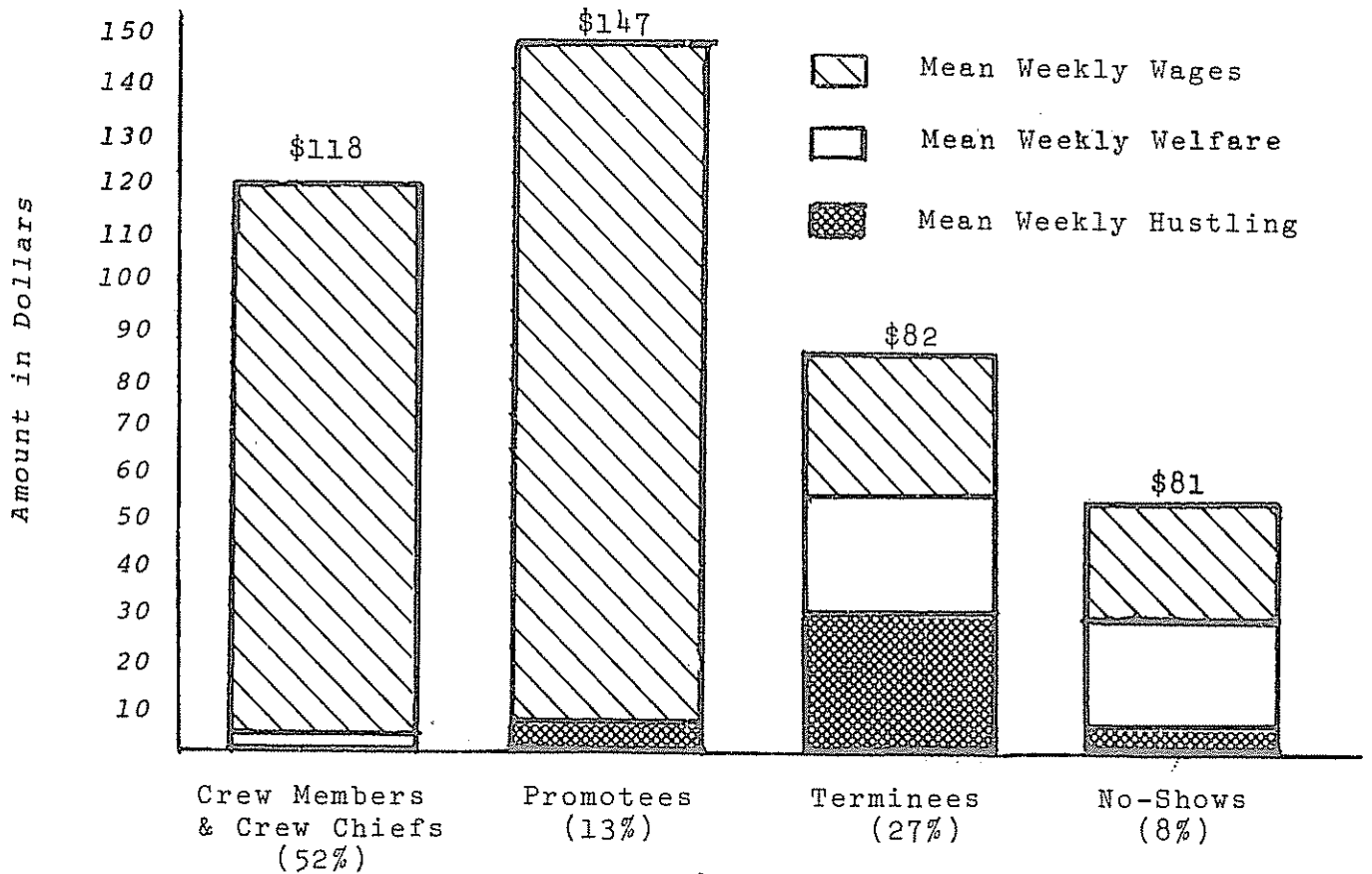
Figure 7 summarizes the sources of income for groups of experimentals during the fourth quarter.

- The highest weekly income for the fourth quarter was for the group promoted to non-subsidized positions.
- Terminees and no-shows had incomes similar to that of the average control (about \$70 weekly).
- The highest income from hustling was reported by terminees.

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\* This represents only 42 per cent of terminees due for annual interviews. The sample under-represents terminees; possibly those interviewed were more likely to have jobs or willing to be interviewed.

Figure 7  
Sources and Amount of Weekly Income  
for Different Groups of Experimentals  
(Fourth Quarter)



### 3. Controls

Jobs held by controls tended to be temporary and low paid. Examples include: stock clerk, shipping clerk, hotel desk clerk, security guard, jewelry maker, free-lance artist, truck loader. Controls also had occasional employment with friends or relatives, or did odd jobs around the neighborhood. A few controls were particularly successful: one had a construction job at \$300 a week; and two worked at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, one as a shipfitter (\$230 a week) and one as a rigger (\$212 a week).

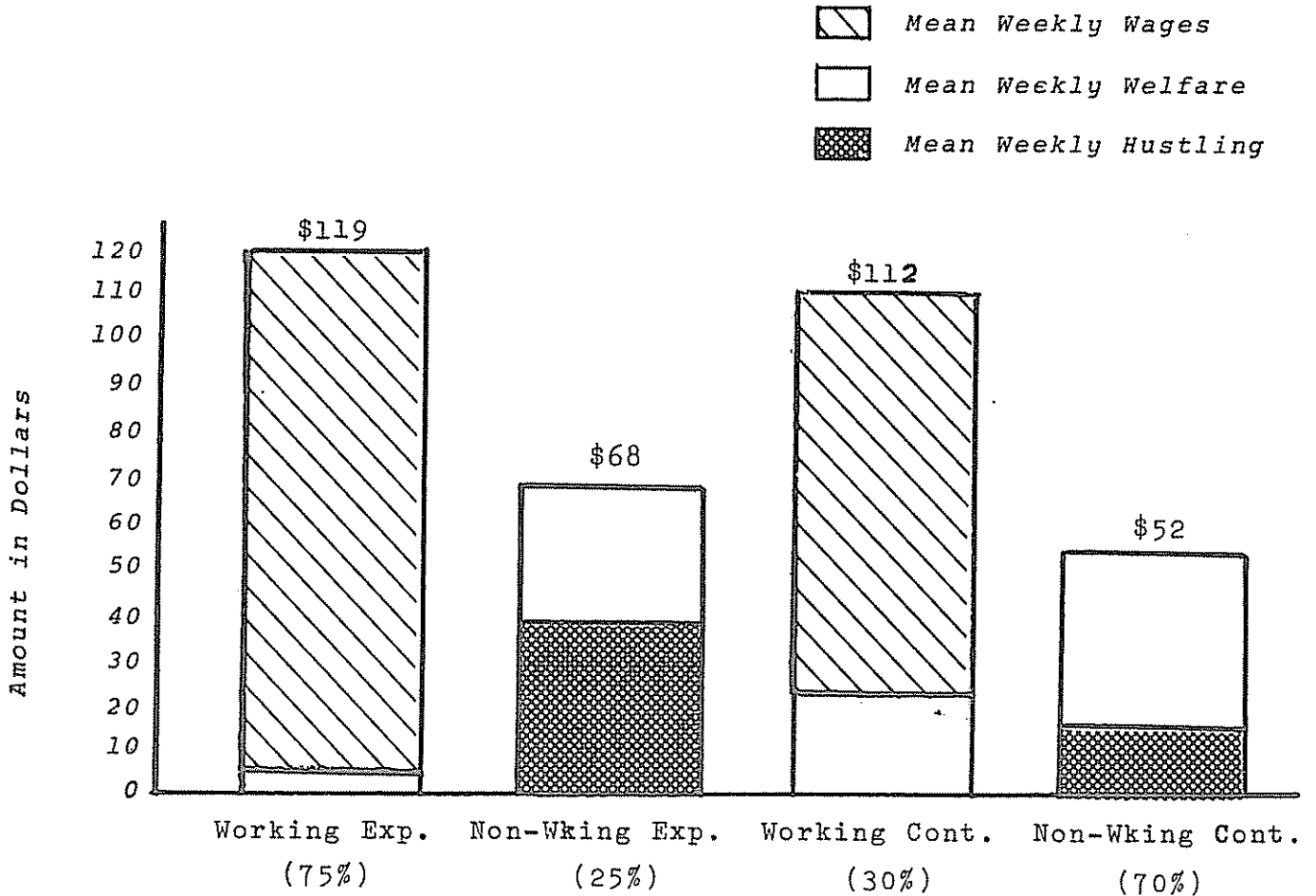
Of the 84 controls who worked, 58 per cent left their jobs: 14 per cent were laid off because the jobs were temporary, 29 per cent were fired, and 15 per cent quit. In contrast, 30 per cent of experimentals were terminated during the first year.

4. Weekly Income in the Fourth Quarter

Income for controls and experimentals (separated by working status) during the fourth quarter is summarized in Figure 8. As might be expected, income from welfare and hustling increases as the proportion of those working decreases. The income of working controls was nearly the same as the income of working experimentals; however, more of these controls' income came from welfare. Some workers were collecting welfare during the fourth quarter either before they found jobs or while they were working.

Figure 8

*Sources and Amount of Weekly Income  
for Working and Non-Working Experimentals and Controls  
(Fourth Quarter)*



B. Criminal Activity

One of the expectations of supported work was that it would reduce criminal activity among its participants. A number of factors could be responsible for this result, if indeed it occurred:

- 1) By providing income to participants through earned wages, need for crime would be reduced (this would apply mostly to property crimes).\*
- 2) By learning that employment is more reliable than crime as a way to earn money, participants would develop new attitudes about the "straight world" of work and discover it had a less risky cost/benefit ratio.
- 3) Peer support for a straight life would come from others who were also changing life styles.
- 4) By filling the working day, participants would have less time available for crime.
- 5) Having more money would lead to a more stable life, which in turn would discourage crime (e.g., children would not want fathers engaged in crime).

Arrest statistics provide only an estimate of criminal activity, since people may commit crimes for which they are not arrested, or may be arrested for a crime they did not commit.\*\*

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\* A study by Lenihan,<sup>3</sup> indicates a slight decrease in property crime as a result of stipends of \$60 per week for 13 weeks for newly released convicts.

\*\* A Department of Justice report on crime in the five largest cities in the U. S. estimated through victim surveys that the number of criminal incidents occurring in New York (and other cities) was almost twice the number of arrests recorded by the Police. In New York, an estimated 38 per cent of crimes against persons, 49 per cent of crimes against households, and 80 per cent of crimes against commercial establishments were reported to the police.<sup>4</sup>

In this report, official arrest records are used and are supplemented by self-reports where official records were not available.\* The advantage of self-reported data is that official records are not available for participants without arrest records, nor is there any way of knowing if absence of a record indicates no arrest or incomplete identifiers; the advantage of official records is that they are not biased one way or the other.\*\*

Arrest activity is measured in two ways--per cent arrested and arrests per person-year. The first statistic (per cent arrested) indicates the proportion of individuals in a particular group who were arrested during a specific time period. Thus the per cent arrested indicates only what proportion of the group was arrested and does not differentiate between participants with one or several arrests.

Arrests per person-year measure the average number of arrests expected for a member of a group during a year's period. Thus, a rate of .50 arrests per person-year would mean that individuals in this group might be expected to have one arrest every two years. If the group contains 100 individuals enrolled for a year, then 50 arrests occurred during the year for the group: the rate is the same whether 50 persons were arrested once each, 25 persons were arrested twice each, or one person was arrested 50 times; it is

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\* Comparison of arrest rates indicated that self-supported arrests were about 26 per cent below official records for experimentals and 31 per cent below for controls.

\*\* Verified arrest data may be an overestimate of criminal activity because the base figure used is limited to individuals with available arrest records. Since verified data were available for 87 per cent of each group, it is possible that the remaining 13 per cent were not arrested. Since the actual figure is not obtainable, the estimates used are the highest possible rates for both experimentals and controls.



the number of criminal acts taking place that is of concern and being counted. Arrest rates per person-year have the advantage of allowing comparisons for different time periods, since they are computed on a per year basis. Whereas per cent arrested reflects the impact of the program on the participants, arrests per person-year reflect the impact of the program on society, since from the public's perspective, if one person commits two crimes or two people each commit one crime, society has suffered the same.

1. Arrests Prior to Entry

Ex-addicts applying to supported work had extensive criminal histories, often antedating the onset of regular heroin use. At time of entry, only five per cent of the participants reported never having been arrested.\* Experimentals had been arrested an average of 8.8 times before applying to supported work and controls 8.9 times (verified). Experimentals had been convicted 4.5 times and controls 4.1 times (by self-report); most were misdemeanor convictions. By self-report, experimentals were first arrested at age 18 and controls at age 19.\*\*

Data from the year prior to entry suggest that while enrolled in drug programs and seeking employment, participants were still involved in criminal activity. Thus, despite the absence of heroin addiction during the year prior to entry, more than one-third of the participants were arrested, totaling 311 arrests (Table 10).

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\* Since arrest records are not available for those not arrested in New York City, there is no way of verifying data for these people. Twenty-eight individuals reported never being arrested up to time of intake, but some under-reporting may have occurred.

\*\* Since juvenile offenses do not appear on police arrest records, records indicate that participants first had contact with the criminal justice system at a mean age of 20.

Table 10

*Verified Arrests, Year Prior to Entry<sup>a</sup>*

	Experimentals N=249	Controls N=258
Per Cent of People Arrested During Year Prior to Entry	35	36
Total # Arrests Year Prior to Entry <sup>b</sup>	142	169
Arrests/Person-Year Year Prior to Entry	.57	.66 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The difference between per cent arrested and arrests per person-year is illustrated in this table. Although the difference in per cent arrested between experimentals and controls is only one per cent, there is a difference of .09 arrests per person-year (a difference of almost 14 per cent). The control group contained more persons with multiple arrests, thus the number of criminal incidents was higher.

<sup>b</sup> If victim studies are correct and the underestimate of criminal acts in police statistics is about one-half, and if arrests truly reflect criminal acts, the research sample may have been responsible for over 600 criminal acts during the year prior to entry.

<sup>c</sup> One control was arrested seven times (six times for prostitution) during the year prior to entry; excluding this person the control arrest rate was .63 arrests/person-year.

2. Arrests after Entry

Fewer experimentals than controls were arrested the year after entry and more showed a net improvement in arrest status (Table 11).\*

In the year prior to applying to supported work, 41 per cent of experimentals and 35 per cent of controls were arrested (Column 1). However, during the year after entry 27 per cent of experimentals and 32 per cent of controls were arrested (Column 3), a decline of more than one-third for experimentals and less than one-tenth for controls. This suggests that supported work has the greatest impact on those recently arrested.

\* The verified data support the validity of self-report data on amount of hustling. Fewer experimentals than controls (13 vs. 20 per cent) reported income from illegal sources. The per cent of experimentals and controls who reported that they committed crimes for which they were not arrested was similar (37 per cent of experimentals and 39 per cent of controls).

Table 11

Comparison of Arrests in Years before and after Entry<sup>a</sup>

	Experimentals N=151 <sup>b</sup>				Controls N=210			
	Columns				Columns			
	1	2	3	4 <sup>c</sup>	1	2	3	4 <sup>c</sup>
Per Cent Not Arrested Year Before <u>or</u> Year After Entry		46		=		49		=
Per Cent Arrested Year Before but <u>not</u> Year After Entry			28	+			19	+
Per Cent Arrested <u>Both</u> Year Before and Year After Entry	41		13	=	35		16	=
Per Cent Arrested Year After Entry but <u>not</u> Year Before Entry		14		-		16		-
Net Increase				+14				+3

<sup>a</sup> This table includes only those who had complete data for year before and year after entry. The per cent arrested in year before entry differs from the per cent presented in Table 10 because of different bases. Table 10 includes all sample members on which police records were available; Table 11 includes only those on whom records were available for the entire year after entry.

<sup>b</sup> There are fewer experimentals than controls with full-year data because most experimental records were pulled in early March 1974, whereas control records were pulled two months later. A number of experimentals have arrest data for just short of a full year, especially from among the 81 experimentals who entered the study during March and April 1973.

<sup>c</sup> (=) no status change; (+) status improved; (-) worsened status.

Arrests per person-year show a similar pattern: experimentals were arrested slightly less often than controls in the year after entry (Table 12). Experimentals showed a decrease of .32 arrests per person-year (down 47 per cent) while the control rate decreased .25 arrests per person-year (down 37 per cent).

Table 12

Verified Arrests, Years Before and After Entry<sup>a</sup>

	Experimentals (Including no-shows)			Controls		
	N	% Arrested	Arrests/ Pers.-Yr.	N	% Arrested	Arrests/ Pers.-Yr.
Year Before Entry	151	41	.68 <sup>b</sup>	210	35	.67 <sup>b</sup>
1st Year After Entry	151	27	.36 <sup>c</sup>	210	32	.42 <sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Self-report arrest data are available for eight experimentals and eight controls whose official records are not available. None of these experimentals reported an arrest during the year after entry, while two of the eight controls (25 per cent) reported an arrest.

<sup>b</sup> The arrests per person-year differ from those presented in Table 10 because they are limited to those with data for the full year after entry.

<sup>c</sup> In calculating arrests per person-year, time in prison was subtracted from total time. More controls than experimentals were sentenced to prison terms, which meant that they had less time "at risk." (See p. 81 for disposition data.)

An examination of arrests by six-month periods suggests that the impact of supported work occurs unevenly (Table 13). During the first six months after entry, controls were arrested at an annual rate of .47 (down 29 per cent from the year prior), compared to an arrest rate of .34 for experimentals (down 40 per cent from the year prior). During the first six months after entry, the experimentals' rate of arrests was 28 per cent lower than the control rate.

Table 13

Verified Arrests by Six-Month Periods After Entry<sup>a</sup>

	Experimentals (including no-shows)			Controls		
	N	% Arrested	Arrests/ Pers.-Yr.	N	% Arrested	Arrests/ Pers.-Yr.
Year Before Entry	249	35	.57	258	36	.66
<u>After Entry</u>						
1st 6 Mos.	249	14	.34	258	20	.47
2nd 6 Mos.	151	16	.36	210	14	.36
3rd 6 Mos.	81	11	.25	106	16	.38

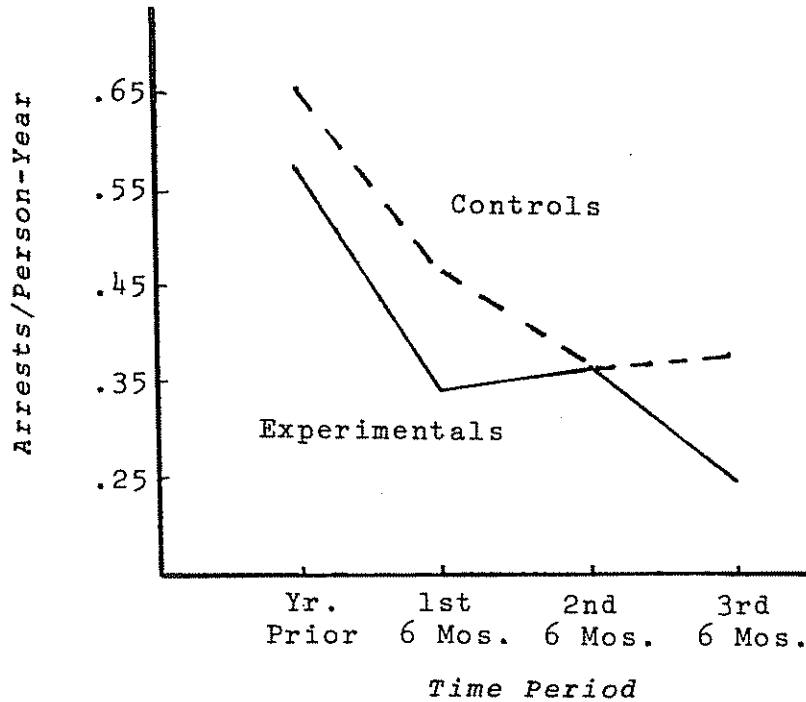
<sup>a</sup> Includes additional participants with arrest data only through the first six months.

During the second six months after entry, however, the control arrest rate decreased by an additional .11 arrests per person-year, while the experimental rate remained the same. The control arrest rate for the third six-month period was the same as that for the second six-month period, while the experimental arrest rate decreased to its lowest level (down 56 per cent from the year prior) (Figure 9).

The decrease in arrest rates for both groups in the year after entry can probably be attributed partly to increased time in drug treatment programs and partly to getting older. Studies of drug treatment programs note decreases in arrest rates following an extended time in treatment.<sup>5</sup> However, both experimentals and controls showed a higher rate of decrease than was reported for the general population of ex-addicts in treatment.

Figure 9

Arrest Rates by Time Period



### 3. Types of Charges

There were no important differences between experimentals and controls in the types of crimes with which they were charged (in all cases only the major charge was counted (Table 14)). The proportion of misdemeanor charges was the same for both experimentals and controls (about one third).\* The pattern of charges was similar within the misdemeanor category as well.

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\* This ratio of misdemeanor to felony arrests (one to two) is lower than the general New York rate, which was 54 per cent misdemeanors to 46 per cent felonies in Manhattan in 1973.<sup>6</sup> The ex-addict/ex-offender population has a higher rate of felony arrests than does the general population.

Table 14  
Major Verified Charges<sup>a</sup>

	Experimentals N=70 <sup>b</sup>		Controls N=95	
	% <i>Misdemeanors</i>	% <i>Felonies</i>	% <i>Misdemeanors</i>	% <i>Felonies</i>
Against Person	4	33	0	22
Property	11	16	15	20
Drug	11	9	11	15
Other	7	9	9	8
Total	34	66	35	65

<sup>a</sup> N equals the total number of arrests for each group; this includes those with six-month and those with full year data.  
% equals the per cent of total arrests for each group.

<sup>b</sup> One arrest with unknown charge

Experimentals had a greater proportion of felonies against persons and fewer drug felonies than controls. The lower drug crime rates among experimentals corroborates the slightly lower self-reported drug use rate for experimentals (see p. 92). The similarity of proportion of property crimes is interesting in view of the more favorable economic status experimentals (cf. Lenihan, 1973). For many arrested experimentals, criminal activity does not appear to be economically motivated.

#### 4. Disposition Data

The dispositions of experimental and control arrests\* were obtained from New York Criminal Court files. It was hypothesized that experimentals, because of their association with Wildcat, would receive more lenient sentences or have a higher proportion of cases dismissed. Further, arrestees with jobs were expected to be less likely to be incarcerated.\*\* (Wildcat does not provide legal assistance to its arrested employees although a Special Services staff member generally accompanies an employee to court appearances.)

The hypotheses were partially confirmed. Although the proportion of cases dismissed was similar (27 per cent of experimentals, 28 per cent of controls), charges were dropped for nine per cent of experimentals, but for no controls. Nine per cent of experimental arrestees were sentenced to prison terms compared to 27 per cent of controls. More experimentals received alternatives to incarceration: 23 per cent compared to 13 per cent of controls were put on probation. Further, a slightly higher proportion of experimentals (19 per cent vs. 15 per cent of controls) received conditional discharges, and about 10 per cent of each group received adjournments in contemplation of dismissal (ACD) followed by dismissal (Table 15).

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\* All arrests occurring in Manhattan were followed up; however no court records could be found for eight experimental and four control arrests.

\*\* Eight controls (three per cent of the sample) and eight experimentals are known to be currently incarcerated.



Table 15

*Dispositions of Arrests<sup>a</sup>*

	Experimentals			Controls
	Terminees	Other	Total	
	(N=19)	Experimentals	(N=47)	(N=60)
	%	(N=28)	%	%
		%		
Charges Dropped	11	7	9	-
Case Dismissed	37	21	27	28
ACD (and Dis- missed)	-	18	11	10
Conditional Discharge	-	32	19	15
Summary Pro- bation (No Check- in Required)	-	4	2	3
Formal Pro- bation (Check- in Required)	26	18	21	10
Fine	5	-	2	7
Prison Sentence	21	-	9	27

<sup>a</sup> Cases pending were not included in this table.

For those who received prison sentences, there was no difference in the length of sentence. The mean experimental sentence (N=4) was 5.5 months; the mean control sentence (N=16) was 5.0 months.

Comparison of working and terminated experimentals\* indicates that:

- all four experimentals sentenced to prison were terminees;
- employed experimentals had a higher rate than terminees of both conditional discharge (32 to 0 per cent) and ACD's (18 to 0 per cent);
- terminees had a higher rate of cases dismissed;
- probation rates were similar for both groups.

In sum, although the rates of dismissal were similar, controls received a higher proportion of prison sentences and fines, and experimentals were more likely to be placed on probation.

#### 5. No-Show Arrest Rates

Arrest figures for experimentals include individuals who never entered supported work (no-shows) as well as those terminated. Members of both these groups were arrested more often than those who showed up and stayed in supported work. This may indicate that the motivations that led this group to engage in criminal activity also led them to reject supported work. The no-shows were arrested two and a half times as often as were experimentals who began supported work (Table 16).

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\* Those terminated before or shortly after (within three months of) the arrest.

Table 16

*Arrest Rates for Experimentals and No-Shows*

	No-Shows			Other Experimentals		
	<i>N</i>	% <i>Arrested</i>	<i>Arrests/</i> <i>Pers.-Yr.</i>	<i>N</i>	% <i>Arrested</i>	<i>Arrests/</i> <i>Pers.-Yr.</i>
Year before Entry	26 <sup>a</sup>	35	.46	223	36	.64
1st Year after Entry	23	43	.74	128	24	.30
1st 6 Mos.	27	19	.67	222	14	.30
2nd 6 Mos.	23	30	.78	128	13	.28

<sup>a</sup> One official record had incomplete data for the year before entry.

It might be anticipated that no-shows were "bad apples," but during the year before entry they were arrested less often than were experimentals who began work. In the year after entry, however, their arrest rate increased by 61 per cent. Possibly the no-shows may be a particularly high-risk group, although data from time of entry do not provide any indications of this (see discussion, p. 62).

A comparison of the arrest rate of experimentals exposed to supported work (excluding no-shows) with the rate for controls, shows a much lower rate for experimentals (.30 vs. .42 for controls) for the first year after entry.

6. Terminee Arrest Rates

What happens to those who are terminated from supported work? How lasting is the effect on criminal recidivism? Is it a job per se with its economic advantages which is responsible for a reduction in arrest rates?

Table 17 indicates that increased criminal activity follows termination from supported work, although arrest rates for terminees while employed were higher than the rates for successfully employed experimentals. Terminees (by definition) also show poor work performance, and appear to have difficulty adapting to a "straight" working world. Arrest rates prior to supported work were the same for terminees and other experimentals.

From data for the third six-month period after entrance to the study, it is apparent that experimentals who remain employed for more than a year have extremely low arrest rates. Only four arrests occurred within this group of 52 persons during the third six months.

Table 17  
*Arrest Rates Per Person-Year for Experimentals<sup>a</sup>  
 and Terminees Pre and Post Termination*

	Terminees			Experimentals	
	<i>N</i>	<i>While Employed</i>	<i>After Terminated</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>While Employed or Promoted Out</i>
Year Before Entry	67 <sup>b</sup>	.63	-	156	.65
1st Year After Entry	44	.34	.54	84	.23
1st 6 Mos.	68	.43	.62	154	.21
2nd 6 Mos.	44	.50 ( <i>N=26</i> )	.50	84	.17
3rd 6 Mos. After Entry	22	.62 ( <i>N=6</i> )	.53	52	.15

<sup>a</sup> Excluding no-shows.

<sup>b</sup> Arrest information for one terminee was incomplete for the year before entry.

Individuals who do not stay with supported work show high arrest rates, while those who remain or are promoted to other jobs show lower arrest rates than do controls. These data do not, however, imply a causal relation between employment and criminality, since other factors may account for criminal activity or failure in supported work. The increase in arrest rates following termination suggests a "rebound effect," perhaps related to frustration at failing in supported work.

#### 7. Working and Non-Working Controls

An examination of arrest rates for working and non-working controls provides a clue to the relation between work and illegal activity. Twenty-three controls\* with annual interviews and verified arrest data worked steadily for a period (at least 20 hours a week for at least one full quarter) during the first year after entry. On demographic characteristics, these working controls did not differ from the control group as a whole, suggesting that they were not, as might have been anticipated, the "cream" of the control group.

Arrest data for working controls (Table 18), indicate that they were arrested slightly less often than were non-working controls during the years prior to entry but at the same rate the year after entry.

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\* These data are based on the first 86 controls whose annuals were placed on computer file as of May 1, 1974.

Table 18

*Arrest Rates for Working Controls*

	Working Controls			Other Controls		
	<i>N</i>	% <i>Arrested</i>	<i>Arrests/</i> <i>Pers.-Yr.</i>	<i>N</i>	% <i>Arrested</i>	<i>Arrests/</i> <i>Pers.-Yr.</i>
Year before Entry	23	35	.61	58	31	.66
1st Year after Entry	22	32	.45	54	39	.48

For controls, steady employment does not seem to influence criminal activity during the first year in the study. This suggests that the reduction in crime among experimentals (compared to controls) cannot be attributed simply to having a job, since those controls who did have jobs were arrested at the same rate as those who did not. There may, in fact, be aspects of the supported work environment, such as peer pressure and support, which encourage employees to lead a "straight" life. Data in the following sections suggest that indeed the lives of experimentals differed from those of controls in ways beyond having more income.

### C. Addiction and Drug Use

Since applicants for supported work\* were accepted only if they had a history of drug addiction and had been in a drug program for at least three months, it was anticipated that drug abuse would be a major problem facing the supported work population. Five data sources were considered as a gauge for measuring drug recidivism among participants:

- 1) self-report from the annual interview;
- 2) drug program records;
- 3) police records showing repeated arrests for drug-related offenses;
- 4) difficulties with or termination from the job for drug use (only applicable for experimentals); and
- 5) hearsay from family and friends.

Because none of these sources offers complete data, this report focuses mainly on self-report (the source for which there is the most data available, but one which probably underestimates the amount of drug use). Where other data were available and appeared reliable they are also included.

While alcohol use has become an increasing problem among ex-addicts,\*\*<sup>7</sup> only a handful of participants among both groups have returned to a life of heroin addiction. It is estimated that one per cent of experimentals and two per cent of controls have returned

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\* Except those in the Ex-Offender project (see p. 130).

\*\* Both controls (45 per cent) and experimentals (42 per cent) report that they have increased alcohol consumption since stopping regular heroin use.

to street life,\* excluding those who have been incarcerated.

Supported work, however, does not appear responsible for this low level of drug recidivism as the proportion is low for both controls and experimentals. It appears that drug treatment programs in New York City are successful in enabling clients to keep off regular use of hard drugs.

The ex-addicts in supported work shared an addiction history. They had, on the average, become addicted at age 19 and had been addicted about 10 years before entering a drug program;\*\* on the average they had been in a drug program for 13 months before applying to supported work.

Most participants had also had experience with illicit drugs other than heroin (e.g., cocaine, illegal methadone, barbiturates, amphetamines). About half also reported regular alcohol use before entering the study.

Seventeen per cent of experimentals and 11 per cent of controls were referred from drug-free treatment programs at the time of entry, with the remainder on methadone maintenance ( $\chi^2=3.98$ , 1df,  $p<.05$ ).\*\*\*

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- \* Since the group that has returned to regular drug and street life would probably be difficult to identify and follow, this is perhaps an underestimate of drug recidivism.
- \*\* Most individuals had not been on heroin continuously, but kicked from time to time in hospitals, jail, or on the streets. The mean "longest period off heroin" (by self-report) was 22 months, including recent time spent in a drug program.
- \*\*\* This was one of two significant differences between controls and experimentals. Since they were compared on over 50 variables, by chance 2.5 would be expected to be significantly different at the .05 level.



What then happened to participants in the year after entering the study? Seventy-seven per cent of each group remained in the same drug program, and another 10 per cent of experimentals and 12 per cent of controls changed programs, but stayed in treatment. A similar proportion of each group (11 per cent of experimentals and nine per cent of controls) graduated from their drug program. The remainder left their drug programs without graduating (two per cent of each group).

The data indicate that slightly more experimentals than controls detoxified from methadone during the year (21 vs. 13 per cent; not significant). A little over 40 per cent of each group decreased methadone dosage. Both groups reduced average methadone dosage (from time of entry) by about 20 milligrams. Although Wildcat neither encourages nor discourages detoxification from methadone, in many crews there is peer pressure for detoxification which may account for more experimentals than controls "detoxing." Slightly fewer experimentals than controls were taking all their prescribed methadone (81 vs. 89 per cent).

Participants are asked the frequency of their illegal use of heroin, illegal methadone, cocaine, barbiturates, amphetamines, hallucinogens, marijuana, and alcohol. With the exception of alcohol and marijuana, self-reported drug use was under 20 per cent for both groups (Table 19).

Table 19

*Self-Reported Drug Use during First Year*

	Experimentals (N=144) <sup>a</sup> %	Controls (N=159) <sup>a</sup> %
Heroin	1	7
Illegal Methadone	1	1
Cocaine	12	15
Barbiturates	3	4
Amphetamines	1	2
Hallucinogens	1	2
Any of Above <sup>b</sup>	14	19
Marijuana	43	48

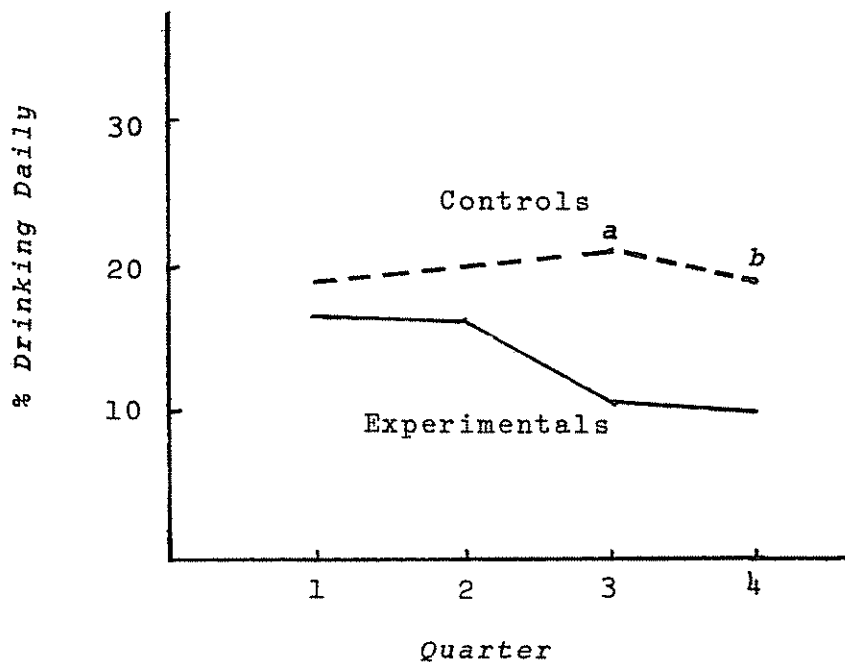
<sup>a</sup> N's for several categories are lower due to missing data.

<sup>b</sup> Includes those who used only one drug as well as those who used any combination of drugs.

A significantly higher percentage ( $X^2=5.80$ , 1 df,  $p<.025$ ) of controls than experimentals report using heroin. If there is a similar degree of under-reporting for both groups, then controls have a slightly higher incidence of drug use. However, since at Wildcat drug use may result in termination, experimentals may be under-reporting to a greater extent than controls.

The percentage of experimentals who drink daily decreased during the year, while the percentage of controls drinking daily stayed the same (Figure 10). During the fourth quarter, a significantly greater proportion of controls reported drinking daily (19 per cent vs. 10 per cent of experimentals;  $\chi^2=4.67$ , 1 df,  $p<.05$ ). Slightly more controls report drinking during working hours (12 per cent of controls vs. seven per cent of experimentals).

Figure 10  
Daily Alcohol Usage



a  $\chi^2 = 4.77$ , 1 df,  $p < .05$

b  $\chi^2 = 4.67$ , 1 df,  $p < .05$

D. Education

It was initially felt that supported work would encourage experimentals to further their education as a means of expanding job opportunities. The average grade completed for both groups was 10.5 at time of entry, and one-fifth had completed a high school education. The same proportion of both groups attended school during the year after entry (Table 20), although controls who attended school spent more time there than did experimentals (23.5 vs. 13.8 weeks;  $t=2.25$ ,  $df=68$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Since more controls than experimentals were not working, they probably had more time to devote to schooling. Thirty-three experimentals (22 per cent) and 16 controls (10 per cent) were working and attending school at the same time during the first year. There were no significant differences in the types of school attended.

Table 20

*Type of School Attended*

	Experimentals (N=146) %	Controls (N=160) %
High School	0	1
H. S. Equivalency	8	10
Trade	8	8
College	5	4
Other	7	4
TOTAL	28	27

E. Health

Ex-addicts seem to have many health problems. In addition to problems stemming from heroin addiction, problems frequently arise from prolonged use of methadone or from rapid detoxification. The death rate among participants (two per cent) is considerably higher than the rate for the general population--several participants died in violent fights and at least one died from an overdose of drugs. It was not expected that supported work would have an immediate and direct impact on the health of experimentals; it was, however, hypothesized that experimentals would initially make greater use of available medical services than would controls, and would in the long run prove to be a healthier population. There were two possible rationales for such an hypothesis:

- good health is important for job performance (more sick days mean less pay); thus experimentals would be more apt to visit a doctor at the first appearance of a medical problem and to continue the visits until the problem was cleared up;
- a stabilized life and commitments to family and friends would make experimentals more conscious of health, having the result of more visits to doctors. Again, in the long run better health would be the result both because of more adequate preventative measures and more regular eating and sleeping habits.

Thus far, only the first (direct) part of the hypothesis can be examined. While similar proportions of experimentals and controls (93 and 89 per cent, respectively) visited a doctor during the year, it appears that more experimentals than controls used doctors preventively (for check ups) (Table 21).

Table 21

*Doctor Visits, Year after Entry*

	Experimentals			Controls		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>
Check-up Required by Program	107	83 <sup>a</sup>	1.6 <sup>b</sup>	139	73	1.3
Non-required Check-up	132	34	0.6	147	28	0.5
Non-routine visit	135	56	2.5	149	55	4.3

<sup>a</sup>  $\chi^2=3.80$ , 1 df,  $p < .05$

<sup>b</sup>  $t=2.13$ , 244 df,  $p < .05$

In the first year after entry, 83 per cent of experimentals and 73 per cent of controls visited a doctor for check-ups required by their drug program; 34 per cent of experimentals and 28 per cent of controls had non-required check ups. About half of both groups made non-routine doctor visits. Controls, however, did so more often than experimentals (4.3 vs. 2.5 visits)--a suggestion of either repeated or more severe illnesses.

The medical needs of ex-addicts were not fully recognized at the onset of the study. Consequently, not enough information on medical histories was gathered. Data show, however, that 10 per cent of both groups were hospitalized in the year prior to entry. During the first year in the study, the proportion of participants who were hospitalized increased to 23 per cent of experimentals and 18 per cent of controls. The mean length of hospital stay was the same (22 days) for both groups.

A study based on 120 experimental and 110 control annuals indicated that experimentals had a hospitalization rate almost twice that of controls: .29 hospitalizations per person-year vs. .16 for controls.\* (That is, 29 hospital stays occurred for each 100 experimentals.) A comparison of reasons for hospitalizations (Table 22) shows that experimentals had a higher rate of hospitalization for illness than did controls (.16 vs. .06).

One fourth of control hospitalizations were for detoxification from methadone, nearly a third were a result of violence, and another third were for illness. In contrast, one-half of the experimental hospitalizations were due to illness, about a fifth were the result of violence, and a fifth resulted from accidents. (Reasons for hospitalization are presented in Appendix C.)

Table 22  
Reasons for Hospitalization

	Experimentals N=33		Controls N=16	
	% of Total Hospitalized	Hospital- izations/ Pers.-Yr.	% of Total Hospitalized	Hospital- izations/ Pers.-Yr.
Detox. Metha- done or Alco- hol	6	.02	31	.05
Violence	18	.05	31	.05
Accident	21	.06	0	.00
Illness	54	.16	37	.06
	<i>Total</i>	<i>.29</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>.16</i>

\* In this group, 24 per cent of experimentals and 16 per cent of controls had been hospitalized--a proportion similar to that from more recent data. While the percentage of experimentals exceeds the percentage of controls by a third, the number of experimental hospitalizations per person-year is almost double that for controls, because individual experimentals were hospitalized more often.

F. Life Patterns

It was expected that supported work would have a stabilizing influence on the lives of experimentals. Specifically, it was felt that a steady income and a more ordered daily existence would encourage other changes in the life circumstances of experimentals. Anticipated changes included marriage, bringing one's children back from the homes of foster families, grandparents, or other relatives, and moving into better housing.

Supported work seems to affect the family and living conditions of ex-addicts. During the first year of the study, experimentals tended to solidify family relationships and to establish homes more often than did controls. Figure 11 shows changes in marital status during the year. Although the two groups were initially similar, during the year progressively more experimentals were legally married or entered into common law relationships, while the proportion of controls who split from their spouses increased. At the end of the year, 52 per cent of experimentals were married, compared to 37 per cent of controls; 21 per cent of controls were separated or divorced, compared to 10 per cent of experimentals.

Data on living arrangements support this picture: more controls than experimentals were living alone or in single room occupancy hotels (to a large extent these variables are concomitant). At the end of the year 38 per cent of controls were living alone (about the same as the percentage at time of entry); in contrast, 16 per cent of experimentals were living alone after the first year (down from 36 per cent initially). Further, 13 per cent of controls (no change from time of entry) were living in hotels or

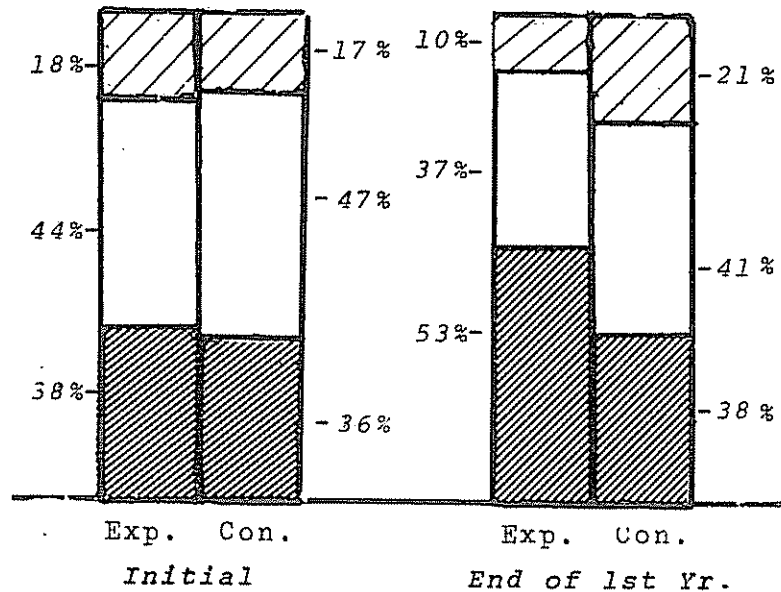


residence halls at the end of the first year, compared to only four per cent of experimentals (down from 12 per cent initially).

Figure 11

*Marital Status of Experimentals and Controls Pre and Post Entry*

▨ Separated/Divorced      □ Single      ▩ Married



Also at the end of the year, experimentals were both supporting and living with more people than were controls. Including themselves, experimentals supported an average of 2.5 people and were living with an average of 2.9 people, while controls supported an average of 1.5 people and lived with an average of 2.5 people.\* Both experimentals and controls lived in dwellings with an average of 1.2 rooms per person and paid about \$32 per room. At the end of the year, 47 per cent of experimentals and 32 per cent of controls had one or more children living with them.

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\* statistical tests based on fourth quarter data:  
 number supporting - t=5.19, 284 df, p<.001  
 number living with - t=3.32, 275 df, p<.001  
 number of rooms - t=2.18, 275 df, p<.05

Controls moved slightly more often than experimentals during the first year (46 vs. 40 per cent). Since the moves could have been either to better or worse neighborhoods, an analysis was conducted of the neighborhoods to which participants moved. A sample of 29 experimentals and 41 controls who moved during the first year was studied. Data were collected from two sources:

- 1) the 1970 census report on the population and housing characteristics for New York City, which provides detailed information about the social and economic characteristics of neighborhoods; and
- 2) a 1973 New York City Addiction Services Agency report<sup>8</sup> which ranks health districts in terms of drug abuse problems.

As a group, controls moved into slightly better neighborhoods economically than did experimentals. On the other hand, a greater proportion of individual experimentals moved to neighborhoods with a higher per capita income and fewer poverty level families. In addition, more experimentals moved to health districts with less drug abuse, while more controls moved into districts with slightly more drug abuse.

These data suggest that one motivation for experimentals to move is to distance themselves from their past by relocating in areas less dominated by drug abuse.<sup>9</sup> This trend was also apparent in responses to an open-ended question about whether participants had any friends at all and if these friends were addicts or non-addicts. There were no differences between experimentals and controls in the percentage associating only with non-addict friends (35 and 36 per cent, respectively). However, a greater percentage of controls had friends who were currently heroin addicts (11 per cent vs. one per cent of experimentals).

Beyond major life changes such as marrying, bringing children back home to live, or moving to new neighborhoods, changes in daily habits and standards of living were anticipated for experimentals.

Experimentals were slightly more likely than controls to own televisions (92 vs. 86 per cent); stereos (63 vs. 56 per cent); and cars (10 vs. seven per cent). The same proportion of each group (about 42 per cent) owned pets. While experimentals were spending some of their income on material possessions, many also started saving money and have perhaps broken the pattern of living "hand to mouth": 47 per cent of experimentals (vs. 19 per cent of controls) report having a checking and/or a savings account.

The two groups seem to use leisure time similarly. There are no differences between the groups in frequency of watching television (52 per cent of experimentals and 54 per cent of controls watch television daily for three hours or more), or the frequency of going to movies (three quarters of each group reported going to the movies within the last month). It appears, however, that more experimentals read the newspaper daily (81 per cent vs. 68 per cent of controls).\*

Subjective information about the daily lives of experimentals and controls comes from interviewers' impressions of participants' eating and living habits. Interviewers characterized 90 per cent of experimentals and 76 per cent of controls as having "stable" eating and living habits. While these judgments are not based on

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\* Since many participants report that they look at the newspaper just to get the daily number, this statistic does not necessarily indicate a well-informed population.

precise criteria, interviewers take into account the quality and number of meals the participant eats, the hours the participant keeps, and the amount of social contact.

While the data reveal only small differences between life patterns of experimentals and controls, there is a trend among experimentals toward stability and socialization: experimentals appear to be concerned with establishing homes and reuniting their families, and the money they earn is often applied toward these goals. They find larger apartments for their families, they eat better, and they put money in the bank.

What about the future? Respondents were asked in open-ended questions if they had future plans for employment or family. Responses were characterized as expressing "definite plans," "indefinite plans," or "no plans."

Fewer controls than experimentals expressed definite plans; more experimentals than controls expressed no future plans at all. (Included are experimentals who expressed satisfaction with Wildcat and said that their only plan was to stay in supported work (Table 23).)

Table 23

*Types of Future Goals*

	Experimentals N=85 %	Controls N=80 %
Definite Plans	61	50
Vague Plans	16	39
No Plans	22	11

Examples help illustrate the differences between the three categories:

Definite Plan: "Settle down, marry my girlfriend Carmela, retake my High School Equivalency Exam in May, and be myself."

Indefinite Plan: "Leave New York someday and find a job ... the south would be nice."

No Plan: "Nothing different; what else can I afford?"

Controls expressed fewer plans concerning jobs (18 per cent vs. 32 per cent of experimentals) and both groups showed a similar breakdown of definite plans concerning education, marriage and family, housing, and moving out of New York.

Six experimentals and five controls are known to have died since the onset of the study. Four of the experimentals who died were no-shows. Most of the deaths were the result of violence: four out of five control deaths were homicides; the fifth was a drug overdose. Only one of the known deaths (an experimental) was due to natural causes (Table 24).

Table 24

*Causes of Death<sup>a</sup>*

	No-Shows	Other Experimentals	Controls	Total
	#	#	#	#
Homicide	2	1	4	7
Drug Overdose	-	-	1	1
Accident	2	-	-	2
Illness	-	1	-	1
Total	4	2	5	11

<sup>a</sup> Verified data from New York City Department of Health records.

### G. Attitude Scales

As a means of measuring the psychological impact of supported work, two attitudinal scales, the Rotter Internal-External Scale and the Anomia Scale, were administered to all participants at time of entry and again one year later during Annual interviews.

The Rotter Scale,<sup>10</sup> designed to measure the extent to which individuals feel that they control their fate, requires respondents to choose between two statements: one which represents an internal orientation (e.g., "People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make"); the other, an external orientation (e.g., "Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck"). It was hypothesized that, when the test was readministered at the end of the year, more experimentals than controls would indicate agreement with internal trait statements, which stress the concept that a person's own behavior determines to a large extent what will happen in his or her life.

In the Anomia Scale,<sup>11</sup> designed to measure social and interpersonal alienation, a subject is asked to indicate strength of agreement or disagreement (on a five-point scale) with statements such as, "These days a person really doesn't know who he can count on." It was hypothesized that experimentals would show a decrease in alienation over time. No such differences were expected for controls.

At intake, there were no differences between scores of experimentals and controls on either scale. One year later, scores of the two groups still showed no statistical difference, disproving the original hypothesis (Tables 25 and 26). Though it seems that supported work had no effect on test scores, scores for both groups

changed significantly over time ( $F=9.97$ ,  $p<.002$  for Rotter;  $F=5.44$ ,  $p<.05$  for Anomia), with both experimentals and controls showing an increase in alienation and external orientation from Test Time 1 to Test Time 2. What do these results suggest?

The decision to use the Rotter Scale was based on previous research findings<sup>12</sup> showing that "powerless groups" (e.g., minority groups) and lower socio-economic classes tend to have high mean external scores on the test. It was reasoned that Wildcat employment would provide experimentals with the opportunity and economic power needed to better their life conditions--that is, to exert more control over their environments. Subsequent to Test Time 1 (intake) of the Rotter Scale, a research report was published<sup>13</sup> which demonstrated that the customary generalizations regarding internal-external control among "powerless groups," upon which the hypotheses were based, were not applicable for heroin addicts. It was reported that the mean scores of addicts on the Rotter deviate from the norm in the internal direction, and that these results reflect the addict's tendency to believe that through the administration of drugs, he has the power to control "anxieties, moment impulses, physical state, conflicts, etc."<sup>14</sup> Initial data support these findings: the mean Rotter scores obtained at time of entry are similar to the mean scores reported in the paper. Against this background, then, the increase in external trait choices made by experimentals and controls at Test Time 2 is understandable. As their years of heroin addiction become part of their past, attitudes and perceptions of the world for both experimentals and controls change increasingly in the direction of the norm.

In the Anomia Scale, the increase in alienation evidenced by mean scores of experimentals and controls at Test Time 2 is most likely the result of a "history effect." As the Watergate saga unraveled, the American public grew to express more suspicion of and skepticism toward government and its leaders. The relevance of this to the Anomia Test is clear when the test is examined in detail: in 1974 the response to the statement, "Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man" might differ from a response in 1972.

Table 25  
*Mean Rotter Scores<sup>a</sup>*

	Experimentals N=114 <i>Mean</i>	Controls N=132 <i>Mean</i>
Test Time 1 (Entry)	7.2	7.4
Test Time 2 (Year Later)	8.1	8.3

<sup>a</sup> The possible range of scores is 0-20. External choices are scored.

Table 26  
*Mean Anomia Scores<sup>b</sup>*

	Experimentals N=106 <i>Mean</i>	Controls N=129 <i>Mean</i>
Test Time 1 (Entry)	38.2	39.1
Test Time 2 (Year Later)	40.4	39.4

<sup>b</sup> The possible range of scores is 14-70. Higher score indicates stronger feelings of alienation.



## H. Sub-Group Studies

While the discussion thus far suggests that supported work positively influences many employees, it has not addressed the question of whether supported work is effective more for one group of ex-addicts than for another; that is, whether certain groups of employees are more successful than others. The sub-group studies are designed to answer this question by identifying demographic or sociological factors held in common by participants.

There are problems, however, in defining success. In the absence of more subtle and less quantifiable parameters, bonuses and low termination, high promotion, and low absenteeism\* rates are used to define success in supported work. It is, however, recognized that these may not be the best measures of performance. In terms of the rehabilitative goals of supported work, success is defined by reduction in criminal activity, dependence on welfare, illicit drug or alcohol use, and by an increase in family stability.

The results of this analysis were disappointing in that it was not possible to isolate a group of participants who were successful on all variables. Two types of analyses were performed:

- 1) Multiple regression analyses were conducted using performance and rehabilitative measures as dependent variables. The independent variables were 15 demographic, drug, and criminal history variables. No factor or factors emerged from these analyses as a significant predictor of success or failure with the regression model.

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\* Absenteeism data were taken from Wildcat employee records, based on (unaudited) weekly time sheets filled out by crew chiefs.

2) Experimentals and controls were divided into sub-groups based on demographic characteristics and drug and criminal history. These characteristics were then examined in relation to success or failure on work performance measures (for employed experimentals) and with success or failure on rehabilitative measures (for the entire sample). Only sub-groups where significant differences occurred are discussed.

1. Performance Measures among Experimentals

What factors are related to success of employees at Wildcat?\*

Two sub-groups tended to perform better in supported work: they were drug-free (as opposed to methadone maintenance) referrals, and individuals first addicted to heroin at or before age 18.

With the exception of promotions within Wildcat, drug-free Wildcat referrals had significantly better performance records than did methadone referrals (Table 27).

Table 27

*Performance of Methadone and Drug Free Referrals  
First Year after Entry*

	Drug Free N=28	Methadone N=163	Significance Level
Mean Individual Absenteeism Rate	11.8	18.9	p=.05
Per Cent Possible Bonuses Received	56	37	p<.01
Per Cent Promoted Within	21	19	N.S.
Per Cent Promoted Out	25	12	p=.05
Per Cent Terminated With Cause	7	28	p<.05
Per Cent Terminated Without Cause	4	18	p<.05

\* No detailed performance records were available for non-Wildcat supported work employees. However, other rehabilitative measures (arrest, drug, employment) do include these individuals.

Since drug-free referrals tend to be younger and have fewer previous arrests than methadone maintenance referrals, these factors may also have contributed to better performance. An analysis of performance by age and number of prior arrests does not, however, show any relation between performance and either age or number of arrests.

Wildcat employees first addicted by age 18 tended to do better than those addicted after age 18; this was independent of current age and ethnic group (each of which is correlated with age first addicted to heroin) for this sample.

These interactions between referral type and age first addicted with job performance indicate a correlation, but do not imply a causal relationship. For example, that drug free experimentals perform better in supported work may be related to motivational variables or to impetus or support from drug-free programs, rather than to the absence of methadone.

Ethnicity also seemed to be related to performance. The performance of white employees was poorer than that of other ethnic groups; it should be noted, however, that only six per cent of employed experimentals are white.

## 2. Rehabilitative Measures for Experimentals and Controls

The impact of supported work on criminal activity is more pronounced for drug-free than for methadone maintained participants. Fewer drug-free than methadone maintained experimentals were arrested during the year after entry ( $X^2=4.48$ , 1 df,  $p<.05$ ) with drug-free referrals arrested only one-fifth as often in the year after entry as they had been the year before.

Drug-free experimentals report greater alcohol but less illicit drug use than do methadone maintained experimentals. The number of control drug-free referrals who received annual interviews (eight) was too small to allow meaningful comparisons for drug use between drug-free and methadone controls.

Lukoff and Vorenberg<sup>15</sup> have argued that arrest rates of ex-addicts arrested before the onset of regular heroin use remain high even after entering drug treatment. Data from supported work provide partial support for this hypothesis. Verified arrest rates were examined for those whose first arrest predated the onset of heroin addiction. For both experimentals and controls, those arrested before they were addicted had a higher mean number of arrests prior to entry ( $p < .005$ ) as well as the year after entry (not significant).

Younger controls (under 36 years) were more successful in finding employment than were older controls (36 years and over). Fifty-seven per cent of the younger group worked during the first year, compared to 35 per cent of the older group ( $X^2 = 3.82$ , 2 df,  $p < .15$ ). Age did not interact with job performance for experimentals. Given a job market which favors younger employees, this suggests that supported work has a greater impact on older ex-addicts than on younger ones.

Older experimentals report more drug use than do younger experimentals (26 vs. 11 per cent;  $X^2 = 3.72$ , 1 df,  $p = .05$ ).

Thus, it does not appear possible to characterize those individuals most likely to succeed in supported work or to be rehabilitated by means of it. In specific areas (such as reduced criminal activity or job performance) some sub-groups appear to do well, but this success does not carry over to all areas of rehabilitation. This seeming independence of job performance and rehabilitative variables was unexpected. It had been anticipated that employees who performed well in supported work would show the greatest reduction in criminal and drug recidivism and a more stable life style.

#### I. Conclusions

Supported work appears to have had a positive impact on its employees: they are more likely than controls to be productively employed and to solidify family relations, and less likely to be involved in criminal activity and drug or alcohol use. The impact of supported work seems to extend beyond work to the life styles of participants.

The extent to which Wildcat would be an effective vehicle for all ex-addicts is not readily known. A comparison of Wildcat employees (based on the experimental sample) with the general population of ex-addicts-in-treatment in New York<sup>16</sup> suggests some differences between the groups:

- While 82 per cent of Wildcat employees are referred from methadone programs, only 60 per cent of ex-addicts-in-treatment in New York are on methadone.
- Wildcat employees are older than the average for ex-addicts-in-treatment: 74 per cent of Wildcat employees and 46 per cent of ex-addicts-in-treatment are older than 26.
- A higher proportion of Wildcat employees are men (92 per cent) than is true for the general treatment population (77 per cent).
- There is a higher proportion of minority group members in Wildcat than in the City-wide sample of ex-addicts-in-treatment: at Wildcat, 63 per cent are black, 30 per cent are Puerto Rican, and six per cent are white; the overall City treatment population is composed of 44 per cent black, 22 per cent Puerto Rican, 31 per cent white, and three per cent other.
- Arrest figures for participants in the research sample (in the year prior to entry) were .60 per person-year whereas in a sample of the HSA treatment population, the rate was .21.<sup>17</sup> (Rates for both groups were for comparable periods of time after entering drug treatment programs.) These data suggest that the Wildcat population has been engaged in more criminal activity than has the general New York City treatment population.
- The death rate for the methadone maintained participants was two per cent compared to .5 per cent for methadone maintained ex-addicts in the general drug treatment population.

These comparisons indicate that Wildcat is not enrolling those members of the ex-addict population for whom making the transition from "street" to "straight" life might be considered easier.

It appears that the supported work concept is appropriate for many ex-addicts who have difficulty in finding jobs and who exist on the margin of the work force. Thus far, the evidence suggests that a substantial portion of ex-addicts-in-treatment would benefit from supported work.

#### IV. COST BENEFIT EVALUATION

##### Overview

As part of the research effort accompanying the supported work experiments described in this report, the program's costs and benefits to the taxpayer, to welfare agencies, to its participants, and to society at large have been analyzed.

The evaluation is divided into four sections. First, the types of benefit-cost calculations used and the meaning of their results are explained. Second, costs and benefits directly associated with the program's operation are analyzed. Nine projects have been studied in detail and provide the basis for an overall estimate. Third, costs and benefits of supported work not directly associated with the program's operation are analyzed, including effects on crime, out-of-program earnings, and welfare payments. Finally, the overall costs and benefits of supported work are calculated combining data on the program's operational and non-operational effects.

Data for the analysis come from two main sources: operating expenses of supported work projects, and the controlled study. Data from the controlled study enable the computation of how much project participants would have cost society without the intervention of the program. To the extent that members of the control group would have cost society more (for example, in greater public assistance payments) than would members of the experimental group, the difference between the two groups is counted as a benefit. (Of course, if controls proved to be socially less expensive than experimentals, the difference would be counted in the cost column when computing the ratio.)

This economic analysis has been limited to costs and benefits which can be calculated with a fair degree of confidence. Because too many assumptions must be made to quantify future wage earnings, health benefits, and educational advantages, these possible benefits have not been calculated in this analysis. Furthermore, changes in the lives of participants (are they happier, more stable, better off in the long run?)--which is an important goal of supported work--are impossible to quantify.

When benefits and costs are compared, the higher the resulting ratio is above 1, the greater the indication that the program makes good use of society's resources. The ratios for the four different analyses were:

- Taxpayer benefits and costs: benefits from operation of the program (services to the community), reduced welfare payments, increased taxes paid by participants, and savings from crime reduction divided by the cost to the taxpayer of the average participant's stay in supported work yields a ratio of 1.01. In other words, the program returned in benefits to the taxpayer one per cent more than it cost.
- Welfare benefits and costs: benefits to the welfare department accrue because the portion of a participant's salary which comes from diverted and direct welfare payments is less than welfare payments to controls, yielding a ratio of 1.31, or a return in benefits to the welfare department of 31 per cent more than the cost of the program.
- Participant's benefits and costs: wages and out-of-program earnings for participants divided by opportunity costs (available by comparison with control group members) of income, increased taxes, and reduced welfare benefits yields a ratio of 1.53, or a return in benefits to participants of 53 per cent more than the cost of the program.
- Social benefits and costs: operational benefits of the program (value of goods and services produced, out-of-program earnings by experimentals, and savings from crime reduction) divided by the social cost of the program (alternative uses of staff and non-personnel expenses, opportunity costs of supported employees) yields a ratio of 1.81, or a return in benefits to society of 81 per cent more than the cost of the program.



A. Types of Cost-Benefit Calculations

The first cost-benefit calculation measures the immediate effects of supported work from the perspective of the general taxpayer. The taxpayer benefit-cost ratio is the value of the current "in-flows" (benefits) to taxpayers divided by the current "out-flows" (costs). Although it is desirable to have as high a ratio as possible, most publicly subsidized programs have ratios less than 1. The difference between the actual ratio and 1 is the proportion of the taxpayer's dollar invested to generate future returns. A ratio above 1 indicates a return greater than the actual investment.

The lower the benefit-cost ratio, the riskier the program is to the taxpayer (in that the returns depend more heavily on uncertain future effects), although a low ratio would not necessarily imply that the investment is "bad," because future benefits could turn out to be substantial. The ratio is greater than 1 if current "in-flows" to taxpayers from the program are greater than the "out-flows" from the program. That would indicate, of course, an extremely safe program in which to invest--because taxpayers would have an immediate net benefit.

Costs (e.g., staff salaries) and benefits (e.g., value of goods and services) which result directly from program operations are considered separately from other costs and benefits (such as reduced welfare payments). Normally, operational costs are greater than operational benefits and the difference is made up by a taxpayer contribution or investment (called the residual taxpayer investment in this evaluation). If the program is successful, the taxpayer investment is repaid in non-operational benefits (e.g.,

reduced crime or increased taxes from supported employees) that occur because the program exists.

Benefits which will be realized in the future are not estimated in this analysis because experimental data available at this time are limited to the first year's experience of 148 supported work employees (experimentals) and 160 persons with similar characteristics not employed by supported work programs (controls).<sup>\*</sup> This sample provides a good data base for examining the first year effects of the program, which include some post-program experience for experimentals. However, it does not cover a period of time long enough to provide an estimate of the future effects of the program.

In calculating the overall benefit-cost ratio for the taxpayer, all benefits (operational and other) are divided by all costs (mostly operational).

The second benefit-cost calculation is from the perspective of welfare agencies. The supported work programs analyzed are funded in part through diversion of welfare funds (which participants would have received if the program did not exist). For that reason, this benefit-cost calculation measures the ratio of (a) welfare savings which result from the reduction of direct welfare payments to experimentals, to (b) welfare payments made to fund the supported work program. The higher the ratio, the smaller the total investment actually made by the welfare system.

The third benefit-cost calculation is from the perspective of potential participants in the program. In calculating this ratio, the benefits participants receive are measured in relation to what they must forego ("opportunity costs"). In a sense, this is a measure of the attractiveness of the program to potential participants.

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<sup>\*</sup> Criminal data were based on a larger sample.

The higher this benefit-cost ratio, the more attractive the program is.

An important economic question about the program which this study can answer is whether society as a whole has profited from its investment in supported work. All the real resources used--supported employees, management staff, materials, equipment, and office space--have alternate uses which would provide society with both economic "goods" and "bads" (e.g., crime).

The final calculation must answer the question of whether the net economic value achieved through operating the supported work program exceeds the economic value which these resources would have produced if the program did not exist. This is called a social benefit-cost analysis, and is commonly used for evaluating government funded programs.

#### B. The Costs of Supported Work

During the past two years, Vera's Research Department has studied the cost and the value of the work produced by a sample of supported work projects. The First Annual Report presented five blue-collar projects in detail. Below are summarized the comparisons of value of services to cost of operations for an additional two blue-collar projects and two white-collar projects.

##### 1. Blue-Collar Projects

In order to calculate an average difference between value and cost for supported work as a whole, it is assumed that the seven blue-collar projects studied are representative of all blue-collar work, and that the two white-collar projects are representative of all white-collar work. While it is possible that this assumption may prove incorrect as the program grows and new projects are

developed, it is the best estimate currently available. It should be noted that participation in supported work is measured by a person-year--the time one person would be enrolled in the program for one year (all paid days plus unpaid absences)--rather than an actual calendar year.

#### Police Barrier Shop

In October 1972, Wildcat employees began to work in the police barrier shop constructing traffic barriers. The statistical period covered in the analysis was from October 30, 1972 through June 29, 1973. During that time 4.72 person-years of supported work labor were used at a total cost for salaries and overhead of \$39,558.

The crew members in this project were found to be working extremely efficiently, at 95 per cent of commercial standards. The total value of the barriers constructed was \$32,034. The estimate of this value was based on the \$24 unit price per barrier paid by the City to private contractors before the project began.

The total cost of this project per person-year was \$8,381. The value of barriers produced per person-year was \$6,787. It was conservatively estimated that supported employees would pay \$477 in federal, state, and City income taxes and in City sales tax (based on average annual earnings of \$4,460). Computed in person-years, the total cost of \$8,381 less the sum of the value of services and taxes, (\$6,787 + \$477) gives the residual taxpayer investment of \$1,117 per person-year.

#### Public Messenger Service

In September 1973, the Wildcat Service Corporation began operating a messenger service in the Civic Center. In addition to seven daily routes in lower Manhattan, the Public Messenger Ser-

vice also provides special deliveries outside the route area, stationary messengers in five City buildings, and personnel who sort and prepare mail for route delivery. Their operations were studied for the period of September to December 1973. A total of 8.59 person-years of labor was used during this time.

The total value of the messenger services was estimated at \$72,080, based on the actual time freed for City employees who had been responsible for message delivery (85 per cent of the total value) and the postage savings for items that previously would have been mailed (15 per cent of the total value). The total cost of the project was \$81,466 or \$9,484 per person-year. The average value of services produced per person-year was \$8,391. With the \$477 average taxes paid, the residual taxpayer investment per person-year was \$616, indicating an efficient project.

#### Total Blue-Collar

Based on the preceding studies (and those in the First Annual Report), the average residual taxpayer investment per person-year\* is estimated at \$2,235 for blue-collar supported work projects.

#### 2. White-Collar Projects

It is difficult to measure the productivity of workers in white-collar jobs and thus to determine the value of supported employment at these tasks. Even when productivity can be measured, there are usually no commercial standards against which productivity measures can be compared.

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\* Each project's residual taxpayer investment is weighted by the number of person-years employed. In the First Annual Report a person-year was based on an individual working five days a week fifty-two weeks a year. Since an employee does not work every working day of the year, the current report measures a person-year by time actually enrolled in the program per year. The necessary conversions have been made from the prior report.

These evaluation problems were surmounted in the Off-Track Betting projects, which have very reliable labor cost information and productivity standards (for example, daily shortages).\* The projects have been operating for a relatively long time period and involve a considerable number of person-years of supported employment. Unlike the other projects studied, the OTB projects were not contained in the Wildcat corporate structure, but operate as part of the OTB Corporation.

OTB I was studied for an 18-month period, involving 34.77 person-years of labor. The total cost of operating this office was \$270,744 during the period. The branch would have cost \$226,082 to operate as a regular OTB office. On a person-year basis, the actual costs were \$7,787. If it had not been a supported work project, the cost per person-year would have been \$6,502. Thus, the residual taxpayer investment (subtracting the \$477 in taxes paid by each employee) was estimated at \$808 per person-year.

OTB II was evaluated from September 1, 1972 through August 25, 1973, during which it was found to be less cost-effective than OTB I.

There were 15.69 person-years of labor employed by OTB II, which operated at an average annual cost of \$8,432 per employee. The cost of operations had it not been a supported branch would have been \$5,674 per person-year.

Subtracting the average taxes paid (\$477), the residual taxpayer investment per person-year was estimated at \$2,281. The weighted average residual taxpayer investment per person-year for white-collar projects is thus \$1,270.

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\* Vera and the OTB Corporation cooperated in establishing three supported OTB branches in which only branch managers (and, in some cases, supervisors) were provided by OTB, and all cashiers were supported employees.

Average Residual Taxpayer Investment

The average residual taxpayer investment per person-year is the average of the blue-collar (\$2,235) and white-collar (\$1,270) investment, weighted by the proportion of the total program accounted for by each type of employment. The proportions are roughly 73 per cent blue-collar and 27 per cent white-collar. The average residual taxpayer investment was thus 73 per cent of \$2,235 + 27 per cent of \$1,270 equal to \$1,974 per person-year.

3. Wildcat as a Whole

The total cost of operating the Manhattan division of Wildcat, including corporate expense allocation, was \$3,181,923 during the period July 1973 through April 1974. Of this, 65 per cent went for supported work salaries and fringe benefits, 26 per cent to other personnel costs, and nine per cent for non-personnel expenses. Since 360.81 person-years were employed, the average cost per person-year was \$8,819. This compares with an average cost per person-year for the prior 10 months of \$8,892, with 148.24 person-year years worked.\*

The Brooklyn division of Wildcat, which started in August 1973, cost \$1,266,178 to employ 113.13 person-years by the end of April, at an average cost of \$11,192 for this entire period. This figure includes start-up costs, and looking only at the last seven months, the average cost per person-year was \$10,575. Even taking inflation into account, it seems that Brooklyn is slightly more expensive than the Manhattan division at a comparable stage of development.

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\* See footnote on p. 119.

The third Wildcat unit, in the Bronx, was started during this second year, and has not yet been studied. No data relating to the Bronx division are included in this report.

Finally, looking at expenses for the Manhattan and Brooklyn units during the 20-month period since September 1972, there were 622.18 person-years of supported labor employed at a total cost of \$5,779,569, or an average cost of \$9,289 per person-year. Of the \$9,289, 62 per cent was for supported work salaries and fringe benefits (\$5,759) and 38 per cent was for staff and non-personnel expenses (\$3,530).

Since the average Wildcat project cost \$9,289 per person-year, returned \$477 in taxes, and had a residual taxpayer investment of \$1,974, the average value of goods and services produced was \$6,838.

### C. The Social Effects of Supported Work

#### 1. Out-of-Program Experimental Earnings

The average annual income from all legitimate earnings for experimentals was \$4,460. These annual wages were considerably higher than those of controls (\$1,112).

The average annual wage earnings from the supported work program for experimentals were \$3,247. Thus the average out-of-program wage earnings were \$1,213 (\$4,460 - \$3,247).

The average experimental earned more in the working period that he or she was not in the supported work program than did the average control in a full year. This would not be surprising if all the out-of-program earnings were earned by successful graduates who



left supported work for better jobs. The average, however, also includes the earnings of program drop-outs and no-shows. Thus, the non-supported earnings rate of experimentals who started supported work and then left was higher than the earnings rate of controls.

It is interesting to observe that the annual out-of-program earnings rate for those who started supported work (i.e., excluding no-shows) was \$5,396, a figure 10 per cent higher than the \$4,804 in annual average earnings of those people who stayed in supported work. Thus, the average earnings of those who "graduated" or were "terminated" from the program were higher than earnings of those still in the program--as it ideally should be in order to provide an incentive to leave for a non-supported job.

## 2. Welfare Reductions

Experimentals received \$1,448 less than controls in direct welfare cash benefits. For indirect benefits such as Medicare and food stamps, it is estimated that experimentals received \$413 less than controls.

	<u>Cash</u>	<u>Indirect</u>	<u>Total</u>
Controls	\$1788	\$871	\$2659
Experimentals	<u>340</u>	<u>458</u>	<u>798</u>
Difference	\$1448	\$413	\$1861

Thus the total reduction in welfare for experimentals is \$1,861.

### 3. Crime-Connected Economic Benefits

Arrest records (based on police records) for controls were compared with rates for experimentals who had .06 fewer arrests per person-year.

The cost of operating the criminal justice system in New York City was estimated at \$1,705 per arrest (based on operating expenditures reported to LEAA<sup>18</sup> and on the number of annual arrests for non-traffic offenses).<sup>19</sup> Thus the net reduction in criminal justice system costs attributable to supported work was \$102 per (experimental) person-year.

Though it is very difficult to measure the cost of crime itself to society, two independent studies<sup>20</sup> suggest that the ratio of the identifiable losses (e.g., value of damaged property, loss of earnings, and medical expenses from bodily harm) to system costs is 2.42. This equals \$248 in crime reduction benefits per experimental person-year. This figure is a minimum estimate, as it does not include benefits which result from non-quantifiable aspects of reduced crime.

#### D. The Benefit-Cost Calculation

##### 1. Taxpayer Benefits and Costs

The operations of the program produced \$6,838 in goods and services per person-year. For annual average earnings of \$4,460 for experimentals and \$1,112 for controls, the estimated income and sales taxes are \$477 and \$113 yielding increased taxes of \$364 for experimentals over controls. Adding the other non-operational benefits (which result from a reduction in welfare benefits of \$1,861 and crime costs of \$102 and \$248), total taxpayer benefits were worth \$9,413 per person-year.

Taxpayer Benefits per Person-Year

1. Operational Benefits	\$6838
2. Reduction in Welfare	1861
3. Increased Taxes Paid by Employees	364
4. Savings from Crime Reduction	
a) in the criminal justice system	102
b) in reduced crime-related losses	248
	<u>\$9413</u>

Since the operating cost per person year was \$9,289, the taxpayer benefit-cost ratio was 1.01 ( $\$9,413 \div \$9,289$ ). This is a surprisingly positive result, indicating that taxpayers are not being asked to wait to see results from their investments. Usually manpower programs involve more delayed pay-offs to the taxpayer. The 1.01 ratio indicates that taxpayers get back more than they spend in just the first year of the program.

2. Welfare Benefits and Costs

The average experimental in one person-year received \$3,247 in supported work wages for approximately 1,039 hours of work. Direct cash welfare payments were diverted to the Wildcat salary pool at the rate of \$1.19 per hour worked by a supported employee. The diverted welfare payments added up to \$1,237 per person-year. Since experimentals including terminees and no-shows received, on the average, \$340 directly from welfare, the total cash benefit received from public assistance sources was \$1,577. Experimentals also received an average of \$458 in indirect benefits (Medicaid and Food Stamps). Thus, a total of \$2,035 was spent per person-year by welfare agencies.

By making this \$2,035 investment through supported work, the welfare department saved the \$2,659 in total benefits they paid the average control, for a net gain of \$624 per participant.

As a result, the welfare system had a benefit-cost ratio of 1.31 for investing in Supported Work.

### 3. Participant Benefits and Costs

When they entered supported work, participants gave up their opportunities to earn other income. This was a cost to them and can be equated to the \$1,112 average annual earnings for controls.

The program also had other personal income effects on participants: their taxes were increased by \$364 and their direct welfare payments were reduced by \$1,448. Thus, the total cost to the participant was \$2,924 per experimental person-year.

The program provided \$3,247 in wages and fringe benefits to the participant and \$1,213 in out-of-program earnings for a total of \$4,460 in benefits to the participant.

Thus the potential participants had an expected personal income benefit-cost ratio of 1.53--not including the effects of the program on future earnings.\*

### 4. Social Benefits and Costs

Two of the important questions which must be asked about the supported work program are: how would society's resources have been used otherwise (its opportunity costs); and, what benefits are received from diverting resources to this particular program?

The first social cost is the use of the labor of supported employees in the program rather than elsewhere. The opportunity cost of the labor--the economic value to society which it would achieve if the program did not exist--is best estimated by observing the earnings of the control group. These earnings were found to be \$1,112 per person. Other social costs result from the use of staff labor (which would also have been used elsewhere) and from non-personnel expenses.

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\* It should also be mentioned that individuals may be affected by drug-related or health changes, but the value of such changes is not easily quantified.

These social costs and the social benefits from the program are summarized in Tables 28 and 29. The ratio of social benefits to social costs is 1.81 ( $\$8,401 \div \$4,642$ ).

Table 28

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*Social Benefits of Supported Work*

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Operational Benefits (i.e., value of goods and services produced by the program)	\$6838
Out-of-Program Earn- ings by Experimentals	\$1213
Savings from Crime Reduction	
In the Criminal Justice System	\$ 102
In Reduced Crime- Related Losses	\$ 248
 TOTAL SOCIAL BENEFITS	 \$8401

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Table 29

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*Cost of Supported Work*

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Staff and Non-Per- sonnel Expenses	\$3530
Opportunity Costs of Supported Em- ployees	\$1112
 TOTAL SOCIAL COSTS	 \$4642

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E. Conclusions

The economic analysis of Wildcat's second year strengthens the conclusions reached during the first. The supported work program has demonstrated that it makes efficient use of society's scarce resources, and that it can be operated to the net advantage of taxpayers, welfare agencies, participants, and society as a whole.

## V. OTHER SUPPORTED WORK PROGRAMS

### Overview

During Wildcat's second year, the concept of supported employment has been extended to two other models. In the Wildcat Ex-Offender Project, 252 people referred from correctional institutions were hired and integrated into the Manhattan Unit of Wildcat. Also, the Health Services Administration and the Department of Employment cooperated in a program to employ 400 ex-addicts. Like Wildcat, the Transitional Employment Program (TEP) offers its participants transitional employment in hopes of preparing them for non-subsidized jobs. Unlike Wildcatters, TEP employees are placed individually throughout the agency in which they work.

The major findings of the Ex-Offender program are:

- Through special staff, a buddy system, an early warning system, and flexible rehiring policies, the Ex-Offender Project has begun to provide more supports to its employees than are provided for regular Wildcat employees.
- The termination rate among the employees referred from correction institutions has been higher than the rate for a comparable group of regular Wildcat employees, but has been improved by the Project's additional supports.
- The non-addicts among the Ex-Offenders have been promoted more frequently than have the ex-addict Ex-Offenders.
- There have been differences among the referral groups: Parolees and Upstate/Work-Releasees have performed better than City/Work-Releasees and Post-Releasees.

The major findings from the TEP study are:

- Although employees in TEP do not work in group settings, they receive supports in other ways, particularly in the form of sympathetic and sensitive supervision.
- The rate of both promotions and terminations has been slightly higher for Wildcat employees than for TEP employees (employees were randomly assigned to either TEP or Wildcat and are thus comparable).

EX-OFFENDER SUPPORTED WORK PROJECT

A. The Ex-Offender Supported Work Project as a Component of Wildcat

The Ex-Offender Supported Work Project was created in May 1973 to extend the supported work concept to groups other than the original ex-addict population of Wildcat. The project employs people referred directly from the correctional system (not necessarily ex-addicts). These Ex-Offenders have been assigned to work in integrated crews within the Manhattan unit of Wildcat; they have, however, received additional supports from the Ex-Offender Project staff and have been monitored separately for research purposes. Whereas some funds from the LEAA grant (see Wildcat Financing, p. 171) have been designated specifically for the Ex-Offender program, because the administration of the program is incorporated within Wildcat, costs have not been separated from Wildcat generally.

Through the first 14 months of the Ex-Offender Project, 252 Ex-Offenders have been employed by Wildcat. As of June 30, 1974, 146 Ex-Offenders were on the payroll.

Ex-Offenders employed within the Project have been hired from five different referral sources:

- 1) Parolees are those already on parole and referred from the New York City Parole Office (36 per cent of all Ex-Offenders);
- 2) Post-Releasees are interviewed four to six weeks prior to their release from two New York City facilities on Rikers Island. Since on release from prison they will have completed their sentences, they are not placed on parole or in a work release program (27 per cent);
- 3) Conditional Releasees (from Rikers Island) are people sentenced to a maximum of one year in prison whose applications for early release have been granted by the parole board. They are subject to parole supervision for one to two years, and if re-arrested, can be reincarcerated for the balance of their unserved sentences (three per cent);



4) City Work-Releasees are those who have three or four months left to serve at Rikers Island and have been accepted at a City Department of Corrections community work release facility. They return to the work release facility at night. Wildcat accepts referrals from all four City work release facilities (17 per cent);

5) Upstate Work-Releasees are referred from state correctional facilities (e.g., Sing-Sing, Bedford Hills for Women, and Taconic) where inmates are usually serving sentences longer than a year. Their work-release is followed by parole (17 per cent).

Research on the Ex-Offender Project involves a controlled experiment for three of the groups--Parolees, Post-Releasees, and Upstate/Work-Releasees. Because the sample was chosen from participants entering the study after January 1974, it is too early to cite results.

Comparisons are also being made:

- 1) between Ex-Offender Wildcat employees and a group of regular Wildcat employees hired at the same time and placed, to the extent possible, in the same work crews (referred to as "Cohorts");
- 2) between Ex-Offenders who are ex-addicts and Ex-Offenders who are non-addicts; and
- 3) among Ex-Offenders from different referral sources.

B. Supports in the Ex-Offender Project

Because they come to Wildcat from recent (or current) incarceration, rather than from a community-based drug treatment program, Ex-Offenders are thought to have needs different from those of regular Wildcat employees. For example, Parolees, Post-Releasees, and Conditional Releasees must simultaneously start a new job and re-establish a home in the community.

In response to these needs, the Ex-Offender Project offers more supports than are available to regular Wildcat employees. These supports begin at Intake assignment (Position Control). After hiring, an Early Warning System is used to monitor employees' problems. In cases where an employee is terminated or resigns, Ex-Offender staff will intervene on behalf of the employee if he or she expresses interest in being rehired.

1. The Buddy System

The "buddies" are the Project's two interviewers, both of whom are themselves ex-offenders. They are responsible for interviewing prospective employees and maintaining contact with them after hiring. The system is based on the rapport established between the buddy and the Ex-Offender employee during intake. Whenever staff become aware of an employee's difficulties, the buddy intervenes and works with the employee in resolving the problem.

While statistics are not yet available (the system began operating in May 1974), the practice is credited both with preventing many terminations and with providing needed support and understanding for Ex-Offender employees. It is also said to contribute to the esprit de corps that characterizes the project.

2. Position Control

Although Ex-Offenders work in typical Wildcat projects alongside regular Wildcat employees, Project staff is particularly concerned that Ex-Offender job assignments offer supports which complement their own efforts. For this reason, they play an active role in matching the talents, interests, and needs of the Ex-Offenders with available positions within Wildcat.

3. Early Warning System

On the assumption that timely intervention and assistance with work-related and personal problems can reduce the need for termination, Project staff works closely with Wildcat supervisory staff and employees whenever problems arise. Staff intervention can be initiated by the employee, the Wildcat supervisor, or the buddy (who makes routine visits to job sites). If a problem is work-related, the employee's crew chief, supervisor, or division chief may help in its identification and resolution. Personal problems are generally "talked through" with the buddy. If outside intervention seems appropriate, the buddy may make a referral to an outside source of help.

4. Rehiring

Eighteen of the 252 Ex-Offenders ever hired by Wildcat have been offered a second employment opportunity (two of these were offered a third chance) and no Ex-Offender who has reapplied for a job at Wildcat has been turned down. In these situations, the personalized approach of the project is apparent. Project staff members accompany employees in their efforts to negotiate reinstatement. Arrangements are frequently made for employees to

be assigned to crews other than the ones from which they were terminated. Of the 18 Ex-Offenders rehired, 13 (72 per cent) are still employed at Wildcat, one (six per cent) has been promoted out to a better job, and four (22 per cent) were terminated a second time.\*

For one Ex-Offender employee, the interlocking set of supports worked in this way:

Herbert is a 32 year old Post-Releasee, employed in Wildcat's park project. Shortly after he was recruited through the Addiction Services Agency unit on Rikers Island, an outstanding warrant fell due. Soon to conclude his nine-month prison term, Herbert was faced with the prospect of another prison sentence. His buddy accompanied him to court, explained that he would be coming out to a supported work job, and Herbert was paroled in custody of the Ex-Offender Project. After starting work, Herbert had problems which stemmed from his use of illegal methadone. Herbert's Division Chief reported the problem to the buddy, who intervened and got Herbert into a drug treatment program. There his dosage was regulated and he is now in a methadone maintenance program.

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\* Regular Wildcat employees are not as likely to be rehired as are Ex-Offenders. Only two of the six terminated Cohorts who reapplied to Wildcat were reinstated in their jobs. Of these, one is still working, and the other has been re-terminated.

C. Research Findings

Findings on the Ex-Offender Project are preliminary, since the full support system did not begin until after the January-March 1974 hiring period. Tentative results, however, can be cited:

1. Comparison of Ex-Offenders and Cohorts

The data for the first 14 months of the Project suggest that Ex-Offenders have a slightly more difficult time adjusting to employment than do ex-addicts referred from drug treatment programs (Cohorts). This is indicated by a rate of termination higher than that for Cohorts.\* Rates of promotion and absenteeism have, however, been similar for Ex-Offenders and Cohorts (Table 30).

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\* A factor to be considered in comparing Ex-Offenders and Cohorts is the influence of the rehiring policy on the measure of "instances of termination"; there have been 20 Ex-Offender rehires and only two Cohort rehires. If the "instances of termination" that are, in effect, "cancelled" by rehiring are taken into account, the difference in termination rates between Ex-Offenders and Cohorts is reduced from eight to four per cent.

*Cumulative Termination Rates  
With and Without Rehires Factored Out*

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	# Employed	# Terminated	Per Cent
<i>All Ex-Offender Hirings</i>	272	111	41
<i>Less Rehires</i>	252	91	36
<i>All Cohorts</i>	230	75	33
<i>Less Rehires</i>	228	73	32

Table 30

*Comparison of Ex-Offenders and Cohorts  
On Performance Variables*

<i>Number of Hirings</i>	<i>Ex-Offenders</i>	<i>Cohorts</i>
	= 272 %	230 %
Promotions within Wildcat	4	6
Promotions outside Wildcat	6	5
Terminations	41	33
Remained as Crewmember	49	56
Absenteeism	10.3	10.7

Demographic comparison shows that more Ex-Offenders than Cohorts are female (17 vs. nine per cent) and that Ex-Offenders have a lower mean age than Cohorts (26 vs. 30 years). Seventy per cent of Ex-Offenders are also ex-addicts.

2. Comparison of Ex-Addict and Non-Addict Ex-Offenders

Non-addict Ex-Offenders did not enter the Project in large numbers until after January 1974, when grant funds became available to pay the full salaries of Ex-Offenders ineligible for SSI assistance. (To control for differences due to time of entry, data are presented for January through March only.)

Non-addict Ex-Offenders have lower termination and higher promotion rates than their ex-addict counterparts. It may be that the same factors which influence the better performance of drug free (compared to methadone maintained) employees are playing a role in the performance of ex-addict and non-addict groups (Table 31).

Table 31

*Comparison of Ex-Addicts and Non-Addicts  
on Six-Month Performance Data*

	Ex-Offender		Cohort
	<i>Ex-Addict</i>	<i>Non-Addict</i>	<i>Total</i>
	N=96 %	N=28 %	N=92 %
Promoted within Wildcat	1	7	3
Promoted outside Wildcat	5	7	5
Terminated	39	29	29
Remained as Crewmember	55	57	63

3. Comparison of Ex-Offenders from Different Referral Sources

To compare Ex-Offenders from different referral sources it is necessary to control for time of entry, since promotions and terminations are related to length of time at work and since the groups entered at different times.

Parolees and Post-Releasees began entering the Project in May 1973; Rikers/Work-Releasees began entering in December 1973; and Upstate/Work-Releasees began entering in January 1974. For purposes of this study comparisons are limited to those hired since January.

Performance data (Table 32) for participants hired between January and March 1974 show that Upstate/Work-Release participants have the highest rate of internal promotions. Parolees and City/Upstate/Work-Release referrals had a lower termination rate than the other Ex-Offender groups. Attendance of all but the Post-Release group was 10 per cent or less.

Table 32

*A Comparison of Referral Sources for Six Month Performance Data*

	Parolees N=54 %	Post- Release N=28 %	Cond. Release N=5 %	Rikers Wk. Rel. N=29 %	Up-State Wk. Rel. N=8 %
Promoted within Wildcat	4	0	0	0	13
Promoted outside Side Wildcat	8	4	0	8	0
Terminated	33	46	40	41	13
Remained as Crewmember	55	55	60	51	74
Cumulative Ab- senteism	9.6	12.2	9.4	10.3	6.6

Upstate/Work-Release referrals have given early indications of success in Wildcat. The Project's long-distance commuters (who must travel from their upstate facilities to Manhattan every day) thus far have the lowest termination rate and the best attendance record of all the referral groups. Furthermore, two members of this group have received promotions, suggesting a high degree of work readiness.

Conditional Release has remained a small referral source because of lack of interest on the part of those nearing release to leave prison with "strings attached." (E.g., an inmate having 60 days of a sentence remaining may prefer to serve out that time rather than be subjected to a year of parole supervision under Conditional Release.)



Table 33

*A Comparison of Parolees and Post-Releasees  
June 1973-June 1974*

	Parolees N=97 %	Post-Releasees N=96 %
Promoted within Wildcat	7	2
Promoted outside Wildcat	6	7
Terminated	39	48
Remained as Crewmember	48	43
Cumulative Absenteeism	9.6	12.2

The greater stability of Parolees might be attributable to careful selection by parole officers, more time to adjust to life in the community prior to Wildcat hiring, or any coercion or support on the part of the parole officer. In any case, it appears that Post-Releasees, the group with fewest institutional ties, have the greatest difficulty in the supported work environment. Preliminary analysis of demographic characteristics of the two groups does not, however, indicate that they account for any correlation with performance differences (Table 33).

The early indications from the Ex-Offender Supported Work Program suggest that the supported work concept can be extended to target populations other than ex-addicts with a community drug treatment program base. The additional supports provided to Ex-Offenders at Wildcat have proven a valuable and probably necessary component of the program.

TRANSITIONAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

The Transitional Employment Program (TEP) was initiated by the New York City Department of Employment (DOE) as an alternative to the Wildcat program of supported work for ex-addicts. DOE set aside \$1.7 million from its capital budget for the development of the model employment program and designated the Health Services Administration (HSA) as administrator.

TEP does not offer its employees the formal work supports of Wildcat: ex-addicts enrolled in TEP do not work in teams; their immediate supervisors are regular civil service personnel; they are expected to meet the same performance criteria as regular City employees; and they have available to them the same counseling and referral services provided to all City employees through the Employee Counseling Program.

TEP employees work in the Health Services Administration on a full-time basis for a period of one year. During their tenure with the City, the transitional employees are expected to develop the work habits and skills necessary for regular employment. They are encouraged to take civil service tests or to look for employment in the private sector. TEP employees are hired as Community Service Aides at the entry-level salary of \$102 per week with no opportunity for salary increase or promotion, although some transitional employees may be able to roll-over to provisional civil service lines.

Since TEP employees were to be integrated into existing work settings, only minimal additions to the City staff were required, and no significant modifications in existing structures were

necessary. Administration of TEP was absorbed by the Health Services Administration's Personnel Department. It was thus expected that TEP would show a more favorable cost-benefit ratio than Wildcat.

Using the same eligibility criteria for enrollment that are used by Wildcat, TEP began employing ex-addicts on October 29, 1973. By June 30, 1974, there were 347 employees working at TEP, (a total of 492 employees have been hired since the program began).

The TEP employees are assigned to a variety of work projects. Many (43 per cent) perform clerical tasks: typing, filing, and operation of copying and other office machinery. Nearly one-fifth remove refuse, exterminate rodents and roaches, and organize community Pest Control projects in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Manhattan's Lower East Side, and East Harlem. Eight per cent staff "welfare hotels" throughout the City and refer alcoholics and drug addicts to treatment facilities as part of the Addiction Services Agency's Outreach Program. Nine per cent assist with research, writing, and statistical analysis in ASA's Office of Research and Evaluation. TEP employees also work in community health centers, in the Bureau of Records, and in drug treatment and referral centers.

Vera was asked by the Department of Employment to compare the work experiences of Wildcat and TEP employees. Most TEP workers seem satisfied with their jobs, and civil service supervisors are pleased with the productivity, attendance, and attitude of the TEP workers.

Although group work, a key feature of Wildcat, is absent, TEP employees generally feel comfortable with their co-workers, some

of whom are in manpower programs such as WREP (Work Release Employment Program). The drug and criminal history of TEP employees is generally known to their co-workers and in all cases is known to supervisors. Some TEP employees have, however, expressed discomfort about working with "straight" employees, and friction has occasionally developed. In most cases, supervisors have been supportive, spending extra time training TEP employees in their assigned jobs. They have allowed time for adjusting to the attendance and productivity standards. Most supervisors report that they make a special effort to praise work well done. In cases where the supervisor or the employee has been unhappy with the job match, the employee has been transferred.

It thus seems that although formal job supports were not built into TEP, employees do receive supports similar to those at Wildcat. At some TEP job sites, especially within the Addiction Services Agency, regular personnel appear particularly sensitive to the needs of ex-addicts.

A comparison of the two programs on work performance and impact on participants indicates few differences between the programs after six months. TEP employees tended to be both promoted and terminated slightly less often than Wildcat employees over comparable time periods (Table 34). The difference in ethnicity and referral type between a random group of Wildcat and TEP employees (there were higher percentages of blacks and methadone referrals at Wildcat than at HSA) did not correlate with performance variables.

Table 34

*TEP vs. Wildcat: Terminations and Promotions  
(as of June 30, 1974)*

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	TEP N=87 %	Wildcat N=36 %
Promoted Out (to school, non-supported job)	7	11
Terminated	31	36
With Cause	16	14
Without Cause	15	22
Still Employed	62	53
TOTAL	100	100

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Results from the first set of follow-up interviews indicate no differences in the impact of the program after three months on rehabilitative variables such as alcohol and drug use, criminal activity, and life patterns.

TEP was designed to be a less expensive program than Wildcat. To assess the difference in program costs between Wildcat and TEP, the marginal increase per employee in each program has been calculated; that is, the cost of adding a TEP employee to the HSA structure compared to the cost of adding an employee to Wildcat.\* A direct comparison of the two sets of costs cannot be made, however, since many overhead costs for TEP are unknown or "hidden" within the larger budgets of the Health Services

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\* "Cost" includes the employee's salary, additional staff and administrative time, and overhead.

Administration or the Department of Employment. TEP is part of a large bureaucracy, while Wildcat is small and independent; economies of scale thus favor TEP.

The cost of adding an employee to the Wildcat program (averaged from four different time periods) is \$7,071. The cost of adding an employee to TEP is \$6,658--\$413 less than the cost to Wildcat. (TEP's marginal cost increase per employee, however, reflects those costs set forth in the TEP budget and does not include additional costs hidden within the larger framework of the Health Services Administration, the Department of Employment, or the Comptroller's Office.) Thus, during its early months, TEP's success in offering employment with some supports similar to those of Wildcat at a possibly lower cost indicates that the program is a promising variation on supported work.

## VI. ISSUES

### Overview

The following issues have been particularly important to Wildcat during its first two years:

- Expansion: Wildcat's almost five-fold expansion has affected hiring, planning, liaison with drug programs, and performance. The rate of promotion decreased slightly, but terminations and absenteeism remained constant. Compounding the problems of expansion were the changes in the welfare law and in the City administration.
- Job Development: Of 1635 employers approached for Wildcat hiring, 104 companies offered jobs which were appropriate for Wildcat employees. About half the employers rejected the applicants and one-fifth of the jobs were turned down by the applicants. The current job market is a major explanation for the difficulties encountered in placing Wildcat graduates.
- Rehabilitation and Productivity: There has been some tension between Wildcat's desire to function as a business and its desire to rehabilitate its employees. Wildcat has adopted the premise that work is itself rehabilitative. Pressures for more supports have, however, mounted throughout the year.
- Crew Chiefs: Crew chiefs, who have been selected from their peer groups, have been an important support for Wildcat. However, problems have developed because crew chiefs, although successful in their jobs, do not necessarily have strong leadership capabilities.
- Terminations: Wildcat has had a conflict between its limited resources and its effort to employ people with poor employment histories. It has had to face the inevitability of terminations, especially since the retention of particularly troublesome employees can have a negative effect on fellow workers. An intensive study of 20 terminations concluded that the terminations were justified, but that some could have been avoided by different policies.

A. Expansion

Wildcat's expansion from 300 to 1,400 employees dominated the year. Wildcat's rapid growth affected its organization, its employees, its projects, its policies, and its supervision in both planned and unplanned ways.

Expansion was accompanied by two events which temporarily worked against Wildcat's efforts. One was the change from locally administered Aid-to-Disabled (AD) welfare funds (which covered all Wildcat employees) to federally administered Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits. The switch caused a decrease in the number of ex-addicts eligible for employment at Wildcat. Once the welfare diversion problem was solved in April 1974, the flow of applicants increased.

The other event was the change of City administration in January 1974 which temporarily slowed the development of projects with City agencies as agency personnel changed and the new mayor, Abraham Beame, established his priorities and procedures.

The impetus for expansion came early in 1973 from the City administration. Wildcat, then six months old, was working to meet its first-year goal, employment of 300 ex-addicts and ex-offenders; and its funding came from federal grants and welfare diversion.

For a city government facing expensive and politically volatile problems of crime, drug abuse, and welfare dependency, Wildcat was a promising new investment. For Wildcat, expansion was an opportunity to serve a broader population and to test the concept of supported work on a significantly larger scale. In July 1973, the City formally agreed to finance Wildcat's expansion



from 300 to 3,000\* by the following year, using a combination of grant funds and contract income.

Expansion affected Wildcat in the following ways:

1. Hiring Practices: Because Wildcat had many more job openings in its second year, hiring practices changed. The rejection rate of applicants was lower in the second year (27 per cent) than in the first (more than 50 per cent).

2. Management Energies: To achieve the expansion goal, a large proportion of staff resources had to be committed to the demands of growth: hiring more crew members and supervisors; planning and establishing new projects. Some operational problems, therefore, received less attention than they merited. For example, no policy was developed for the organization of the Special Services staff. In all three units these staffs were largely ineffective during the year.

3. Project Development: Rather than a smooth flow of jobs and applicants, both were scarce during the winter of 1974. In the spring, when Wildcat eligibility requirements changed, and the new City administration settled into position to develop new contracts, the planning staff was overburdened, and there were more employees than jobs.

For example, the Coney Island Project, which involved the replacement of broken boards in the boardwalk, was planned under a good deal of pressure. As a consequence, Wildcat relied too much on the host agency for planning and management; failed to develop productivity standards; and did not make adequate estimates

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\* This goal was later reduced because of the changeover from AD to SSI.

of materials needed. Before the project began, it was not decided whether individual boards should be replaced, leaving some boards higher than others in the section, or whether whole areas should be replaced. In addition, since there was no system for organizing the work, time was wasted in retracing steps.

4. Supervision: The rapidly increasing number of employees meant that more crew chiefs were needed. This opportunity for internal promotion gave incentive for the best employees to stay at Wildcat, which conflicted with the program's pressure to find outside placements for those ready to work in non-supported jobs.

5. Borough Structure: Wildcat's three-unit structure cushioned some effects of rapid expansion since employees could identify with the relatively small, manageable units in which the staff was relatively accessible. It increased the opportunity for variety in operating practices; and it limited the spread of problems from one part of the corporation to another. The negative effects were that the unit's semi-independence sometimes resulted in duplication of efforts (both the Brooklyn and Bronx units developed orientation programs); gaps in efforts (none of the units developed supervisory training programs until the beginning of the third year); and conflicting policies (drinking on the job was cause for automatic termination in Brooklyn but not in the other two units).

6. Liaison with Drug Programs: Relations between Wildcat and some drug treatment programs deteriorated during expansion because changes in the welfare system caused misunderstandings about eligibility, because Wildcat staff had less time to keep in contact with drug program counselors, and because there were

more programs referring employees. The drug counselors obtained less information about their clients' progress and problems and about changes in Wildcat's policies and procedures. This lack of communication limited the programs' usefulness as a resource in helping with employees' problems, and sometimes caused hostility towards Wildcat, resulting in a decline in referrals.

7. Employee Morale: Expansion had mixed effects on employee morale. Although morale cannot be quantified, it has seemed to some observers that Wildcat lost some of its pioneering spirit and its capacity to deal on a personal level with all employees.\* But as it grew, it offered more opportunity for advancement, acquisition of skills, and diversity of projects. Also, increased media attention probably enhanced employee morale.

8. Performance: What was the effect of expansion on the performance of Wildcat workers? While the nearly five-fold increase in the number of employees in one year did not dramatically affect performance (either positively or negatively), there was a decrease in the per cent of promotions out and a minimal increase in terminations. Absenteeism did not increase with expansion.

To test whether expansion affected promotion or termination rates, the Wildcat population was divided into groups according to time of entry. Performance (measured by terminations and promotions) of the group that entered during Wildcat's first six months was compared with the performance of groups entering in subsequent six-month periods.

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\* The Ex-Offender program, employing 150 people within the Manhattan unit, boasts good morale, perhaps because its size is limited and it maintains a "personal touch" (see p. 130).

Table 35 shows that a greater proportion (four per cent) of the 202 employees hired during Wildcat's first six months were promoted to non-subsidized positions than were those hired during the last two six-month periods (two per cent). The trend continued for the periods ending twelve (12 per cent and 15 per cent to 7 per cent) and eighteen months after entry (30 per cent to 20 per cent). This decrease may reflect the increasingly tight job market as well as the growing number of employees at Wildcat.

Table 35  
*Proportion of Employees-Promoted Out and In  
 Six Month Intervals According to Time of Entry*

Time of Entry	Promotions within Six Month Time Periods after Entry:							
	Within 6 Months		Within 12 Months		Within 18 Months		Within 24 Months	
	% Out	% In	% Out	% In	% Out	% In	% Out	% In
First 6 Months of Wildcat 7/72-12/72 N=202	4	8	12	15	30	13	33	10
Second 6 Months of Wildcat 1/73-6/73 N=235	3	4	15	9	20	12		
Third 6 Months of Wildcat 7/73-12/73 N=615	2	6	7	16				
Fourth 6 Months of Wildcat 1/74-6/74 N=1185	2	9						

Termination rates were also calculated for groups of employees by time of entry at six-month intervals (Table 36). While the probability of being terminated during the first six months has fluctuated, the likelihood of being terminated without cause has increased as Wildcat has matured. This pattern also holds for termination at the end of 12 and 18 months.

Table 36

*Proportion of Employees Terminated With and Without Cause during Six Month Intervals According to Time of Entry*

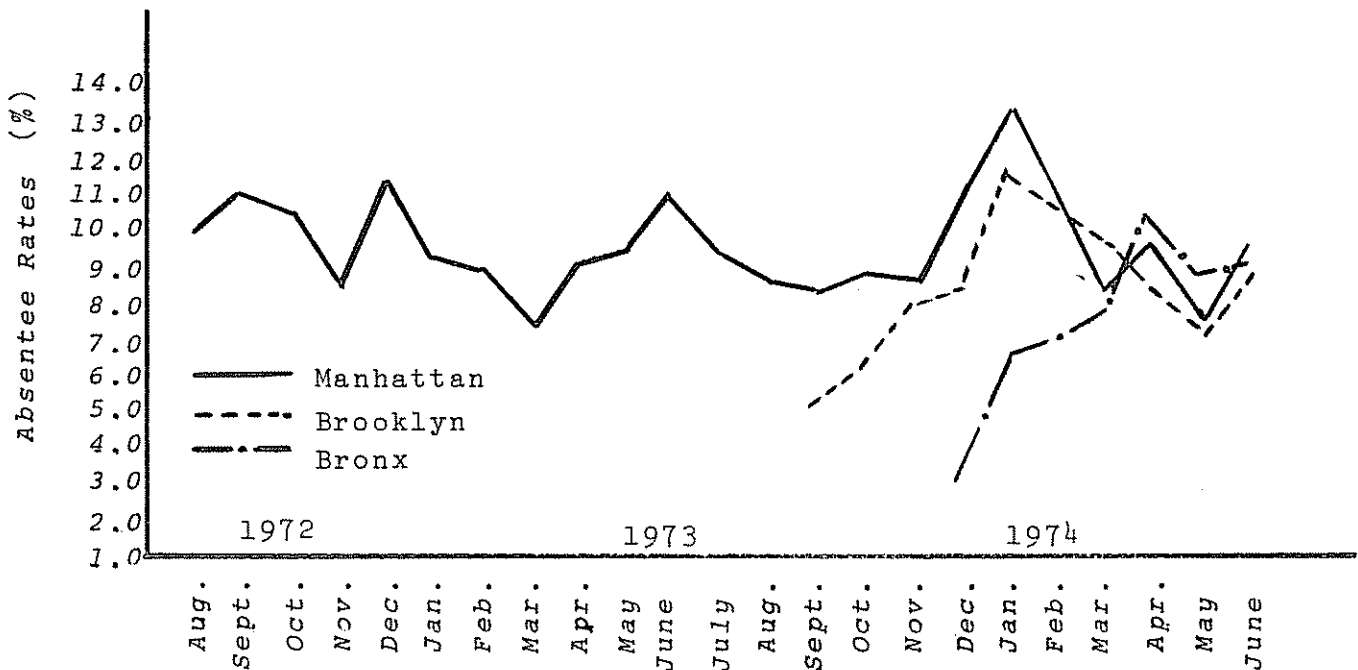
Time of Entry	Terminations at Intervals after Entry							
	After 6 Months		After 12 Months		After 18 Months		After 24 Months	
	% With	% Without	% With	% Without	% With	% Without	% With	% Without
First 6 Mos. of Wildcat 7/72-12/72 N=202	10	2	23	9	29	13	32	13
Second 6 Mos. of Wildcat 1/73-6/73 N=235	14	8	23	13	28	17		
Third 6 Mos. of Wildcat 7/73-12/73 N=615	8	5	20	17				
Fourth 6 Mos. of Wildcat 1/74-6/74 N=1185	7	12						

This probably reflects employees' knowledge about the likelihood of being terminated, as well as management policy. Employees may have learned to recognize warning signals and often resign before they are fired -- an action which has been increasingly encouraged by staff. The increase of terminations without cause during the last six months (read bottom right figure for each period) may also be attributed to the changeover from state welfare to federal SSI benefits which required firing employees who received and cashed SSI checks. Many such employees decided to resign rather than turn in the checks they had received in error.

Absenteeism has hovered around nine per cent since Wildcat began (Figure 12). Absenteeism in the Manhattan unit has fluctuated from seven to 13 per cent (peaking around Christmas both years). Absenteeism in the Brooklyn and Bronx units showed a steadily rising pattern during the first few months (from about five to nine per cent), followed by oscillation around nine per cent. Rapid growth has not had negative effects on attendance.

Figure 12

Monthly Absentee Rates Since 1972



B. Job Development

It was not until December 1973 (the middle of Wildcat's second year) that a concerted effort was undertaken to find outside jobs for Wildcat graduates.

By this time many crew members were ready for outside jobs, and some were distressed that Wildcat had "promised" them jobs but had failed to deliver on that promise. And yet the pressures of expansion continued to absorb Wildcat administrative staff. Consequently, Vera agreed to establish and run a Job Development Unit until Wildcat was ready to assume the job development function.

The Job Development Unit began full operations (and data-keeping) on January 1, 1974. During the first six months of 1974, the unit made contact with 1,635 prospective employers, most of whose names came from the Dun and Bradstreet listing of local businesses, but some from personal contacts as well. These efforts resulted in 238 meetings between job developers and prospective employers. One hundred four companies offered 204 jobs as a result of these meetings.

Of the 204 jobs offered, only 24 were filled by Wildcat workers. This sobering statistic has led the unit to analyze the job development and placement process, the demands of outside employers, and the qualifications and needs of Wildcat employees.

Although 300 employees had been classified as "job-ready" (ready for non-supported employment) by the end of June, the Job Development Unit was able to refer applicants for only half (104) the jobs offered; the rest either demanded skills that, on close examination, Wildcat workers did not possess, or they were unattractive to Wildcat employees. For the 104 jobs which seemed

attractive and appropriate, 135 interviews were arranged. (Some applicants were referred for more than one job, and some jobs were applied for by more than one Wildcat worker.)

The 135 interviews resulted in 25 hires\* (19 per cent), 63 rejections (47 per cent), 26 refusals (19 per cent) by the Wildcat applicant, and 21 pending cases (15 per cent).\*\*

Nearly half the applicants were rejected and nearly a fifth turned down the job they were offered.

Four findings stand out:

- 1) Few (6.4 per cent) employers contacted showed interest in hiring Wildcat graduates.
- 2) Although prospective employers were informed of Wildcat workers' skill levels, 50 per cent of the jobs they offered either required special skills or were unattractive (for example, low paid night work, no opportunity for advancement) to Wildcat employees.
- 3) Even when Wildcat applicants had passed Job Development's screening, 47 per cent were rejected after interviews with prospective employers.
- 4) Almost a fifth of the Wildcat applicants turned down jobs which were offered to them.

Each of these findings requires comment. The high ratio (16:1) between employers contacted (1,635) and employers evincing interest in hiring Wildcat graduates (104) can probably be attributed first to the state of the job market. The Job Development Unit began in a period of economic uncertainty and rising unemployment. Jobs, for anyone, were scarce. It is not known what proportion of the prospective employers simply did not have jobs to offer and what proportion were unwilling to hire ex-addicts, ex-offenders, or minority group members.

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\* One worker was hired on a trial basis, let go, and later re-hired by Wildcat.

\*\* The 135 interviews were for 104 job slots, which resulted in: 25 hires (24 per cent), 57 rejections (55 per cent), and 21 refusals (20 per cent).



The second finding -- Job Development referred applicants for only 50 per cent of the open jobs -- raises two questions:

- 1) Were the jobs sought the "right jobs" for Wildcat workers? It is possible that Job Development staff concentrated their efforts on businesses not accustomed to hiring untrained, uneducated workers and were thus predisposed to reject the type of job applicant Wildcat provided.
- 2) Perhaps Wildcat employees are being permitted to cherish unrealistic expectations of the 1974 job market, since they appear unwilling to accept the available jobs. Do Wildcat workers need training to qualify for jobs available in the current market? Unskilled workers are the first to be fired and the last to be hired in a tight economy, and Wildcat's premise that a good work record is more important than training may only be true in times of economic prosperity.

The third finding was that 47 per cent of Wildcat applicants were rejected. Two reasons are possible: a) Wildcat applicants, often lacking interviewing and writing skills, make a poor impression on potential employers; and b) employers may not realize until the interview that the skills they require are greater than those stipulated to Job Developers -- and greater than the applicants possess.

The Job Development Unit took some immediate steps to deal with the workers' deficits in application and job skills. First, it arranged a pilot program with Columbia Teachers College, through which a group of Wildcat workers were trained in application and interview techniques. Wildcat is now considering incorporating an ongoing career planning and preparation program using materials developed at Columbia. Next, Job Development began to search for and develop training and work/training programs in special skills.

The fourth finding was that nearly a fifth of Wildcat applicants refused to take the offered jobs, particularly when the starting salary was lower than their current Wildcat salary. All but two

of 20 Wildcat employees who turned down job offers during the first quarter of 1974 were making more at Wildcat than they would have made (to start) at their new jobs. The average difference was \$13 a week. This finding partially justifies Wildcat's present salary range, which many employees and some outsiders consider unfairly low, since outside salaries cannot be expected to be much higher.

A low starting salary was not the only reason for a job being refused. Compounding the problem were other factors:

- Wildcat was probably the first success these workers had in the "straight" world, and they were reluctant to risk failure in unknown and possibly threatening situations.
- Similarly, but more concretely, they knew that they would lose welfare eligibility if they left Wildcat for another job, which meant that they would lose all sources of income if fired from the new job. (Some would be able to reopen their welfare cases if fired, but it would take time.)
- Some workers did not appreciate the transitional nature of Wildcat compared to the long range benefits of regular jobs with opportunities for union membership, job security, raises, and pensions.
- Some believed, against information and evidence, that if they stayed at Wildcat, they would ultimately get staff jobs, which would give them both money and security.

Another problem which has affected the preparation of Wildcat employees for job interviews and their general attitude toward future jobs has been the occasional resistance of Wildcat management to the job development effort. This resistance seems to come from the problem of job preparation interfering with production demands: for example, employees taking time off for interviews and vocational training. In some instances Wildcat staff objected to the small number of placements resulting from the large number of preparatory interviews. In a few cases, staff members have become attached to individual employees and developed unrealistic

expectations about the kinds of jobs available to them. However, part of this psychological resistance to release workers stems also from a desire to keep Wildcat operations running without interruption.

To provide an incentive for placement, and to help make up for lower pay, a placement bonus system was established. Employees who take outside jobs receive a bonus of at least one week's Wildcat salary, or more if they are taking a salary cut. To ease the fears of both employers and employees, Wildcat is prepared, in some cases, to pay a worker's salary during a trial period in an outside job. If the employer finds the applicant unsatisfactory after the trial period, the applicant returns to work at Wildcat and remains on the Wildcat payroll. If the employer finds the applicant satisfactory, he is committed to him at a pre-arranged salary.

Similarly, Wildcat is willing in some cases to share training costs with employers who are willing to hire Wildcat graduates for jobs which require greater skills than the applicant possesses.

It is too soon to know how effective these incentives will be; and other approaches are indicated as well. Wildcat employees need vocational counseling to help them set realistic goals and to prepare them for the risks of moving to outside jobs. They need to be helped to take a longer view of their working lives, and to see that a job with a starting salary lower than their current Wildcat salary could offer more money within a matter of six months or a year.

And finally, Wildcat has reduced the frequency of promotions from crew to staff. It seems likely that crew members will soon

realize that, for most, it is unrealistic to expect a staff position.

Wildcat and Job Development staff have debated the advisability of placing a limit on the amount of time a crew member can work at Wildcat to reinforce the message that employment at Wildcat is transitional. Staff is reluctant to establish a limit, because cases differ and because the job market is precarious. But Wildcatters are beginning to get the message that, "you can't stay at Wildcat forever. You won't be thrown out before you're ready, but eventually you're going to have to go."

The current job market raises the question, however, of whether Wildcat should remain strictly a "transitional" employer. The program has demonstrated its ability to employ ex-addicts and ex-offenders in sustained, productive jobs. The high retention rate (76 per cent) of those who have left Wildcat for non-subsidized jobs indicates that Wildcat graduates who have been judged job ready are, in fact, able to make the transition from supported to non-supported work.

Some Wildcat workers may never be able to move on to non-supported jobs (three per cent of the present work force have been at Wildcat as crew members for 18 to 24 months); others may not be able to do so now when the demands of the job market are stringent, but they may be able to do so when the economy turns upward; and still others will be able to find jobs even now.

Ultimately, the effectiveness of the job development effort will depend on Wildcat's ability to analyze the characteristics of the local job market, and to adapt its program and goals to those characteristics, both those that change and those that do not.

C. Rehabilitation and Productivity

A question frequently asked about supported work is, "which is more important at Wildcat, rehabilitation or productivity?" The answer is not simple, for at Wildcat the prevailing sentiment is that productivity is rehabilitative.

Supported work did not begin with Wildcat. Rather, it evolved over a period of years out of Vera's experience with other projects. The Pioneer Messenger Service (1971) was Vera's first supported work project mainly for ex-addicts. Pioneer was designed to combine two rehabilitative models: rehabilitation through counseling, and rehabilitation through work. When Pioneer was set up, mandatory counseling was part of the program. It soon became apparent, however, that Pioneer's employees were interested not in therapy and counseling but in having a job. For them, counseling was associated with drug programs and prisons, and by the time these men had reached Pioneer, they had had enough of "programs"; what they wanted was work.

Pioneer staff found that the workers with the worst attendance at counseling sessions were frequently those with the best work records. The Pioneer experience suggested that, for its employees, rehabilitation through work was a more successful model than rehabilitation through counseling.

Wildcat's design reflected that finding. Wildcat was set up to provide a real work experience in a flexible atmosphere in which supported employees could acquire the work habits and experiences which would make them acceptable candidates for employment in non-

supported jobs. Although Wildcat does not offer therapy, other supports are built into the program in an effort to create a rehabilitative work environment. These supports include tolerance for behavior (such as excessive absences and lateness) normally unacceptable to regular employers during a worker's early weeks. The salary and raise structure (see p. 26), by having standards for promotions which become progressively more stringent throughout an employee's career at Wildcat, is designed to encourage improved performance.

Wildcat's reliance on rehabilitation through work is buttressed by the belief that there is nothing inherent in an ex-addict which prevents him from working and leading a productive life. The process of rehabilitation, Wildcat believes, is one of exchanging the habits of the street world for those of the work world. Without the proper habits, a person may be capable of work but unable to perform acceptably in regular (non-supported) employment.

Although an important tenet of Wildcat is that productive work is rehabilitative, employees who do not possess required skills for a specific job may be frustrated. Productivity must be demonstrated to City agencies in order to perpetuate the program. However, the rehabilitative process which demands a low-stress working environment may sometimes limit the sophistication of the tasks undertaken. The Masonry Cleaning project experienced such a conflict between rehabilitation and productivity:

### Masonry Cleaning Project

When traditional work supports are removed to enable a project to meet increased production demands, what happens to the rehabilitative aspect of the program?

The experiences of the Masonry Cleaning Project\* in the summer of 1973 help answer this question. The 18-man crew was offered the unusual challenge of cleaning the facade and colonnade of Manhattan's Municipal Building. Because of heavy vehicular and pedestrian traffic at the site, waterblasting work had to be done at night although preparation work was done during the day. A 10-man day shift worked from 7:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. and an eight-man night crew worked from 6:00 p.m. to 4:30 a.m. four days a week. The project's personnel manager worked a swing shift in order to be available to employees on both shifts.

Traditional work supports (such as time off allowed for personal problems) were removed to expedite production: 83 per cent of August's on-the-job person-hours were spent on the work sites (10 per cent higher than the project's average for comparable periods in 1972 and 1973).

Productivity and attendance, the standard performance indicators, do not reflect the stress induced when the crew undertook this job. In fact, attendance during August was increased seven per cent because, for the first time, management was demanding good attendance. Employees selected for night work received a 20 per cent bonus, but they were not permitted to miss more than one shift for the duration of the job. The day shift was advised that additional demands would be placed on them because of the night work and it was made clear that the stricter policy would be enforced. Under normal circumstances, the project's personnel policy permits a fairly high absence rate, encouraging employees to take time off when stress makes it difficult for them to function on the job. As a result of the policy shift, attendance during August increased seven per cent.

By the end of August, the stability and tranquility which had characterized the project in the early summer were markedly absent. There were disputes, sloppy work, and minor accidents. Thus, although the assignment was within the technical capacity of the project, the sacrifice of supports resulted in increased tension and disorder.

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\* The Masonry Cleaning Project was established by the Vera Institute in the spring of 1972 as an EEA project and has since been absorbed into Wildcat, operating independently of the borough units. (City EEA employees are still assigned to work with the Wildcat unit.) The project cleans building exteriors by the new method of waterblasting and does marble poulticing to clean building interiors.

The Masonry Cleaning project illustrated the necessity of using care in choosing projects. Wildcat must determine what limits it should set for individual behavior. When do an employee's problems begin to hurt fellow workers? When is a difficult employee wasting a job slot which could be better used by another? Employees should gradually be weaned off the supports of Wildcat and prepared for a non-supported environment. One employee, looking toward his future in a non-supported job, complained that Wildcat coddled too much:

Supported work as I see it here is turning out to be bullshit. You get paid bonuses for coming in on time, which you don't get at a regular job. Bonuses should be put into people's salaries, and if they don't come in they should be docked for it. Too much hand holding is not going to get anybody anywhere: this is true for both supported work and regular work.

Wildcat must continuously weigh the demands of its contract agencies against the needs of its employees, perhaps re-evaluating the balance between the work model and the therapy model. Wildcat must ask itself, at what point does more support become less? Have we come close to that point? Ought we to come closer?



D. The Crew Chief's Role

Supported work contains a structure which provides clearly delineated lines of authority. Each supported worker is assigned to a crew of about six people. At the head of each crew is a crew chief (also a supported worker) who is responsible for making his crew members' daily work assignments, for checking punctuality and attendance, and for other administrative tasks. Each crew chief reports to a supervisor (a non-supported employee) who is responsible for three to five crews. From there, the chain of command goes to the division chief (or assistant division chief, if there is one), and then to the operations officer, who reports to the unit director. Unit directors are responsible to the operations officer of Wildcat.

Crew chiefs, who provide the first level of supervision at Wildcat, are themselves former addicts who have been promoted from crew positions. They are considered "crew" or "salary pool" employees and are paid from funds earmarked for target population salaries. Crew chiefs seem to be representative of Wildcat employees. There are no differences between crew chiefs and the general Wildcat population on demographic variables including: age first addicted, number of arrests prior to employment at Wildcat, length of time in referral program, previous job training, and education.

Crew chiefs are selected on the basis of their attendance, punctuality, and performance. Hiring crew chiefs from within the Wildcat ranks not only provides supported workers with a visible avenue of advancement, but helps to insure that first-line supervisors, who have the most contact with crew members, are familiar with and sympathetic to the problems of the people they supervise.

Crew members sometimes resent taking orders from a person whom they see as no better qualified than themselves. Crew chiefs have rarely had any previous leadership experience, and their supervisory abilities are hard to predict. In addition, they are sometimes reluctant to assert themselves as leaders since they share common backgrounds and experiences with their crew members. As one former Wildcat crew member summarized, "My crew chief was a nice man, the type I could work for, but whenever you put drug addicts in charge of other addicts, there will be problems."

Many Wildcat workers know each other, not only through work, but from former days "on the streets." The problems caused by this dual relationship are illustrated in the case of a Brooklyn employee who was promoted to crew chief. This employee met the criteria (attendance, productivity, and attitude) required for promotion. He had always been judged a good worker who got along well with his peers and supervisors. After his promotion, however, it became apparent that he could not command his crew's respect. The situation was understood when Wildcat management learned that the crew chief and his crew members all lived in the same housing

project and "hung out" together after hours. In his social life, the crew chief was a follower rather than a leader. Since his associates at work were also his associates in his private life, his social role intruded on his work role: he was not a leader among his friends and thus he had difficulties leading his friends at work.

A similar problem arose in the Manhattan unit. In this case, there was a severe personality conflict between the crew chief and one of his crew members although the crew chief got along well with the rest of the crew. It emerged that before coming to Wildcat this crew chief had worked as a dope-runner for the crew member with whom he was having problems. The relationship which had existed between the two men was, in effect, reversed at Wildcat, yet the problems and feelings from the old relationship had been brought to the new.

Wildcat is taking steps to deal with such problems. A program consisting of leadership identification, crew chief training, and "apprenticeship" or trial period is now being developed. Some training sessions have already been held.

E. Terminations

In practice, Wildcat's termination policy is the product of conflicting pressures. For every supported worker whose performance is not up to standard, the reasons to terminate must be weighed carefully against the reasons not to terminate. Given the scarcity of jobs available to ex-addicts and ex-offenders on the commercial market, each supported position at Wildcat is a valuable commodity. This fact is compounded by pressure Wildcat feels to produce acceptable services for its contract agencies.

The investment of time, energy, and money which has been made for each employee acts as an incentive not to fire; but the counter-productive effects that a poor employee can have on his fellow workers acts as an opposing force.

Wildcat's criteria for raises and bonuses were articulated before its guidelines for disciplinary action and termination. Even at the close of the second year, termination policy and practice varied widely. Some staff members believed that because Wildcat was designed to help a target population beset by little or no work experience, poor work habits, and emotional difficulties, to terminate an employee for any of these problems would be self-contradictory. At the other end of the spectrum was the view that Wildcat is a program with limited resources, and therefore must concentrate on individuals who can benefit most from those efforts. Supported workers who clearly cannot "make it" should be terminated quickly so that Wildcat can direct its energies where they will do the most good.

Termination practice seems to fall between these extremes.

Lateness, absence, and poor attitude are tolerated until they begin clearly to affect the morale and performance of other employees. There is a tendency to tolerate even more serious infractions if an employee is a productive worker.

Because Wildcat lacked specific policies and procedures, a study of 20 terminations was conducted during June 1974. The study attempted to answer two main questions:

- 1) Do Wildcat's termination policies and procedures insure "fairness" and protect against arbitrary action?
- 2) What proportion of terminations is avoidable, and how might they be avoided?

In the study, no case was found in which termination was unjustifiable, but there were cases in which termination might have been avoided had Wildcat's termination policies been clearer and had the program offered supports not currently available.

Analysis of the 20 cases indicated the following:

- 1) Nine of the 20 terminees were unable to meet Wildcat's attendance and punctuality standards. Poor attitude compounded poor attendance in four of these nine cases.
- 2) Two of the 20 terminations were for drinking on the job. In one case, alcohol use led to abusive behavior which was viewed as detrimental to Wildcat's relationship with the host agency, in this case, the Police Department.
- 3) Three of the 20 terminations were for illegal activity on the job (selling marijuana, stealing agency property)-- cause for immediate termination.
- 4) The remaining six terminations involved employees who had done sufficiently well at Wildcat to be classified as job-ready, i.e., ready for non-supported employment outside of Wildcat. One of these terminees was later rehired by Wildcat, but in the other five cases it appeared that termination resulted from a combination of the employee's problems and a malfunction in the Wildcat system. All six of these terminations appeared to be justified but it is possible that they could have been avoided.

Two of the employees whose terminations might have been avoided were Ramon and Randall.

Ramon was terminated for disobeying a division chief's order forbidding him to drive a female crew employee to her school. The division chief opposed Ramon's intention because he opposed fraternization between supported workers or staff during the working day; and Ramon's wife knew of her husband's relationship with the female employee, opposed it, and had once made a visit to the office looking for the female employee. The conflict between Ramon and the division chief existed for about two weeks before the termination.

Ramon had been employed at Wildcat for seven months and had established an excellent work record. He had been promoted to crew chief five weeks earlier but had been demoted after two weeks at his new job because his poor command of English made it difficult for him to control some of his crew members.

Randall resigned from Wildcat after a disagreement with a deputy division chief. He had been working for Wildcat for seven months, was promoted to crew chief after three months, and was in charge of clerical work at his project office. The range of his authority was unclear because there was no supervisor to whom he reported, (all other Wildcat crew chiefs report directly to supervisors). In addition, there was tension between him and the deputy division chief (one step up from supervisor) because Randall felt that he had been overlooked for that job. The tension apparently had existed for three months, although there was no written record of conflict since the deputy division chief believed in handling problems himself without writing them into the record.

Randall's problems in dealing with authority were compounded by unclear lines of authority and a failure on the deputy division chief's part to report the conflict and seek advice or mediation at a higher level.

Recommendations resulting from study of these and other case studies pertained to policies and procedures for operations and terminations:

1. Promotion and Demotion

Wildcat needs promotion criteria and procedures which are more clearly thought through: a formal crew chief training program, completion of which would be a prerequisite to the position of crew chief; an apprenticeship program for crew chiefs, in addition to the formal training; an in-house English language program or an active referral program for English language courses; a recognition of the problems inherent in demotion, and an alternate means for dealing with problems among crew chiefs (for example, fines).

2. Lines of Authority

Clear lines of authority need to be determined at the start of each project: each division should designate a "personnel officer" to mediate on-the-job conflicts; orientation programs should be instituted for division chiefs and authority problems should be emphasized at these meetings.

3. Unclear Personnel Policies

Personnel policies should be made known to employees and staff, and management should develop policies on fraternization and detoxification from methadone.

4. Reporting

Management should emphasize the importance of full and accurate reporting: it is recommended that staff training at all levels include this topic; that a division staff member review all evaluations monthly and that special attention be given to employees whose evaluations are unsatisfactory; that an early warning system be developed to notify management of attendance and punctuality problems, and that special attention be paid to employees with these problems.

5. Transfers

Management should closely monitor the performance of employees for a time after they have been transferred, and training sessions should call attention to the problems of transfer.

6. Support Services

Strengthening of the support service program and clarification of its relationship with operations was recommended.

7. Meeting Schedule

There was no regular schedule of meetings in which staff members at various levels could discuss mutual interests and develop means for dealing with common problems. Regular meetings should be held between supervisors and their crews; among supervisors in each division; and among division chiefs within each unit.

The research staff also made recommendations in two main areas of termination policy.

1. Review Procedure

Management should establish a regular review procedure enabling every employee to request a hearing before a review board; the review board would write guidelines on eligibility for hearings and would have the power to recommend alternatives to termination.

2. Automatic Termination

Research staff recommended that management limit and define the range of behavior which leads to automatic or immediate termination, and that these definitions be made known to supported employees and staff.



## VII. WILDCAT FINANCING

### Overview

The following table summarizes the sources and amounts of financing to Wildcat and indicates the sources of support for Vera's Job Development and Research units. The remainder of the chapter explains how these resources have been developed and put to use.

Wildcat began operations in July 1972 with grants totaling \$1 million from the National Institute of Mental Health\* (NIMH) and \$.4 million from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

A month later, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) exercised his statutory power to set aside federally-mandated welfare regulations for research and demonstration purposes. (The laws would have prevented Wildcat employees from earning a salary while technically remaining on welfare, and would also have prevented diversion of employees' welfare benefits into the salary pool.) In addition, the employees were permitted to continue receiving Medicaid.

The corporation's goal was to employ 300 ex-addicts-in-treatment and ex-offenders in supported work projects by June 1973. The first funds for supported work came from the U. S. Department of Labor (DOL) which supported the Pioneer Messenger Service from 1971 to 1973.

At the end of its second year, Wildcat was a \$6.5 million enterprise with 1,400 supported workers, a staff of 211, and three

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\* In 1973, administration of the grant was taken over by the National Institute of Drug Abuse (NIDA) when NIMH's functions were divided among NIDA and two other new agencies.

operating units. During its third year, with a budget of \$17 million, Wildcat will continue expanding.

This third-year growth is being made possible by a substantial financial commitment from the New York City government. The City has invested in Wildcat in two ways: first, the Department of Employment (DOE), which is part of the Human Resources Administration (HRA), entered into a large contract with Wildcat; second, the Board of Estimates has passed a resolution enabling a number of City agencies to contract with Wildcat for needed public services in specified amounts without having to go to the Board of Estimates with each individual contract.

Federal grants for Wildcat (the original grants from NIMH and LEAA and a later grant from the U. S. Department of Labor) remain substantial elements of the program's financing. The diversion of participants' welfare benefits is also a continuing source of funds, although changes in the Social Security Act, effective January 1, 1974, required new authority for diversion.

Table 37

*Wildcat Service Corporation: Sources of Funds<sup>a</sup>*  
(in thousands)

	Year 1 (1972-3)	Year 2 (1973-4)	Year 3 (1974-5)
<u>Wildcat</u>			
DOL	43	401	529
NIMH	949	1029	1119
LEAA	372	849	732
New York City DOE	3	3282	8504
Welfare Diversion	151	532 <sup>b</sup>	3485
Contract Income	77	385	2677 <sup>c</sup>
Foundation Support	133	41	44
Total	1728	6519	17090
<u>Job Development</u>			
DOL	-	46 <sup>d</sup>	223
LEAA	-	27 <sup>e</sup>	-
Total		73	223
<u>Research</u>			
ASA	130	-	-
DOE	-	296	300
NIMH-NIDA	-	100	150
LEAA	-	-	30
Total	130	396	480

<sup>a</sup> Figures for year one are actual expenditures; for year two are subject to year-end audit; for year three are projected, based on first quarter actual expenditures.

<sup>b</sup> This figure is low because the rate of funds from the Department of Social Services during the first six months was lower than the SSI rate which began January 1, 1974, and because conversion from DSS to SSI delayed payments. Wildcat continues to receive retro-active checks.

<sup>c</sup> Includes materials purchased for and billable to City agencies (\$1,711).

<sup>d</sup> (12/1/73-4/30/74)

<sup>e</sup> (12/1/73-6/30/74)

A. Diverted Welfare Funds

A creative feature of Wildcat's financing is the use of welfare funds to make up part of the crew members' salaries. Wildcat receives from the Social Security Administration (SSA) a monthly check on behalf of employees eligible for Supplemental Security Income (SSI).\* The employees receive from Wildcat a weekly check which is made up of these "diverted" welfare benefits combined with funds from other sources.

For every SSI eligible employee, Wildcat receives an average of \$2,200 a year in diverted welfare benefits, about a third of the employee's annual salary. These diverted checks are expected to amount to \$3.5 million in the coming year, about one-fifth of Wildcat's operating budget.

Wildcat's welfare diversion program weathered major changes in the welfare system during the past year. Before January 1, 1974, addicts-in-treatment in New York State were eligible for Aid-to-the-Disabled (AD) benefits under Title XVI of the Social Security Act based on their being judged disabled because of addiction. The AD program was administered by the states and in New York City it was financed jointly by the City (25 per cent), the state (25 per cent), and the federal government (50 per cent).

Federal legislation enacted late in 1972 changed the administration, the financing, and the name of the AD program -- along with its eligibility criteria. As of January 1, 1974, it became a federally administered and largely federally funded program, and under the jurisdiction of the SSA was renamed the Supplemental

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\* Ex-Offenders are the only Wildcat employees who do not receive SSI benefits.

Security Income program with criteria changed so that a history of addiction per se was usually no longer sufficient to qualify an individual for benefits.

Under the new criteria, if Wildcat wanted to make continued use of diverted welfare payments, it could hire only those addicts-in-treatment already enrolled on AD at the time of the changeover, who had therefore been transferred automatically from one program to the other. The qualifying factor was being classified as AD prior to July 1, 1973.

The legislation which created the SSI program no longer included the HEW Secretary's authority to waive the requirements of that welfare program for demonstration projects. In December 1973, however, Congress voted to grant the Secretary authority to waive the requirements when necessary to continue existing demonstration projects. Wildcat applied for and received a continuation waiver in March 1974, effective through July 31, 1975. The waiver permits Wildcat earnings to be disregarded in determining eligibility for SSI benefits, and it allows Wildcat employees to become eligible for disability benefits if they have a history of drug addiction and are currently enrolled in a drug treatment program (and thus could have qualified for AD in July 1973). The waiver's effect, therefore, was to preserve the population from which Wildcat could draw its employees without sacrificing welfare diversion payments.

#### B. Contracts for Services

During its first year, Wildcat offered free labor to persuade City agencies and other organizations to try out the corporation. Therefore, Wildcat employees' salaries were being paid not by the

agencies for which Wildcat was working, but almost entirely by government grants and welfare funds channeled through the salary pool. In return, Wildcat obtained the opportunity to test and prove itself, and it usually obtained some project supervision by the agency as well as reimbursement for supplies and equipment.

In the middle of that year, Wildcat was offered its first opportunity to work under contract and to obtain partial reimbursement for its labor costs. The Transportation Administration contracted with Wildcat to re-paint the yellow no-parking strips in front of all the City's fire hydrants.

Then, in July 1973, New York City made a major financial commitment to Wildcat as a "transitional rehabilitative employment" program. Part of this commitment was a statement of intent by City agencies to contract with Wildcat for needed services. Because Wildcat was considered a training program producing public service work, the Board of Estimates passed a resolution which facilitated Wildcat's contracting with City agencies. Twelve contracts were negotiated with City agencies for a total of \$1.7 million.

Under these contracts, City agencies, which obtain Wildcat work (at subsidized rates), generally reimburse Wildcat at the rate of \$1.10 per person-hour, or about \$2,000 per person-year, plus all other-than-personnel costs.

#### C. Department of Employment Contracts

During 1973-74, the City Department of Employment committed approximately \$4.7 million of its total \$42 million manpower training budget to expand the Wildcat program.\* The DOE contract

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\* Of the \$4.7 million committed, Wildcat spent approximately \$3.34 million.

with Wildcat has been increased to \$8.5 million for the fiscal year 1974-75.

D. Direct Federal Grant Funds

The diverse sources of Wildcat's three federal grants reflect the diversity of the problems Wildcat addresses: the NIMH (NIDA) grant was made possible by federal legislation aimed at the treatment of former addicts; the LEAA grant derives from legislation aimed at crime control; and the DOL grant addresses itself to self-support through employment.

The largest of these grants for fiscal year 1973-74 comes from LEAA. Under the Federal Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, Congress appropriated funds to be used by the states for projects in the area of criminal justice. The New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services granted Wildcat \$1.5 million of these LEAA funds for Wildcat's second year operations.

The NIDA funds for \$1 million per year in 1972-73 and 1973-74 are part of a four-year \$4.5 million grant made under the Comprehensive Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963. Under this legislation, the Secretary of HEW is authorized to make grants to public or non-profit programs for narcotics addicts and other drug abusers.

Wildcat's third federal grant comes from DOL under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. That law authorized funds for public and private agencies to undertake job training and job development programs. The DOL grant for 1973-74 was \$400,000 and will be \$500,000 in 1974-75.

E. Private Funding

Over the last two years a percentage of Wildcat's funds has come from the Ford Foundation's support to Vera. Funds have been used by Wildcat for legal, planning, consultation, and other professional services.

F. Future Financing

All of Wildcat's current funding arrangements expire within the next two years. Most government commitments are made on a year-to-year basis, and most demonstration grants are available only for a limited number of years. Present LEAA and DOL grants are scheduled to expire in July 1975, as is the waiver of welfare regulations which permits diversion into the salary pool. The present DOE contract runs through June 30, 1975. Wildcat's four-year NIMH/NIDA grant is scheduled to expire in July 1976.

It is chiefly the City funds which have financed the second-year expansion, and will be crucial in the third year. Contract income is expected to play an increasingly important role in Wildcat financing. Substantial contract income from a number of City agencies and private corporations would decrease Wildcat's dependence on its other funding sources, thereby increasing the program's stability and spreading its loss. At this point, however, Wildcat does not foresee total reliance on contract income; it appears that Wildcat can survive only with some continuing grant support.



CONCLUSIONS

The first question asked about Wildcat is often how it got its name. The name is borrowed from wildcatters who drill for oil where it is not expected -- in high risk, high gain ventures. In the beginning, supported work was just such a "wildcat" venture: the concept and the target population appeared to have potential, but there was great risk involved in testing out the theory: committing extensive resources, \$26 million in three years, to an untested concept; possibility of failure for the employee, who has encountered repeated failures and may not be able to sustain another; and chance of failure as a corporation, a failure which might "prove" to an already skeptical public that ex-addicts cannot be productively employed. By means of steady monitoring and recording, structuring the work situation to minimize individual failure, and modifying the program as it grows, Wildcat has tried to limit the risk without limiting the potential.

Wildcat does not seem to depend on a charismatic leader, a specific type of work, or a specific work-setting. It has survived in different labor markets, under different political administrations, and with different welfare laws. It appears effective for drug-free ex-addicts as well as for those maintained on methadone, for individuals referred by (and living in) correctional institutions, and for individuals referred from community-based drug programs. In the coming year, the supported work concept will be tested in other cities, in rural areas, with other administrative structures, and with other populations traditionally on the periphery of the labor force.

One practical alternative to Wildcat has already been adopted by the Health Services Administration, which employs 400 ex-addicts in individual placements throughout the agency. The program is similar to supported employment in that it is transitional and provides sympathetic supervision and a work history for its employees. This type of program appears particularly suitable for implementation by large city agencies.

Wildcat was created to help ex-addicts achieve rehabilitation through employment, and to simultaneously provide public services to New York City. Wildcat employees have cleaned, plastered, and painted police precincts and courts; prepared architectural plans for microfilming; acted as interpreters for Spanish-speaking hospital patients; cleaned part of the Bronx River; driven the elderly to and from hospitals and recreation centers; and renovated burned out tenements.

The impact of supported work extends beyond the eight hour day. Supported Work has not only provided New York City with a range of important services, but it has enabled its participants to take better care of themselves and their families. It has had a small but positive effect on its employees' criminal activity, drug use, marital stability, and living situations.

Because Wildcat endeavors to change ways of thinking and acting which have developed over a lifetime, many years of which were devoted to heroin addiction and "street life," its impact is not always immediate. By itself, supported work cannot alter behavior which has been reinforced for years. nor can it eliminate the outside difficulties which continue

to influence its employees' lives. What Wildcat does seem to do is provide an outlet for the energies of those individuals who have decided to adopt new attitudes and behaviors about work, family, and life style. By offering its employees an alternative to their former lives -- employment in the straight world -- and by demonstrating its advantages -- a steady, legal income -- Wildcat provides the vehicle for change. As one employee said: "I might be in jail now if it weren't for Wildcat. If I weren't working, I'd get busted, 'cause you need money to live. I'm tired of knocking my head against the grey walls in the joint."

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GLOSSARY

Control. An ex-addict member of the research sample not offered a job in supported work.

Cost-Benefit Analysis. The process by which a social program's costs are computed in relation to its benefits.

Crew. A group of Wildcat employees working together on a project.

Crew chief. The person in charge of a crew. Crew chiefs provide the first line of supervision at Wildcat and are responsible for daily work assignments of the crew; they are supported employees and are paid from the salary pool.

Crew member. An ex-addict or Ex-Offender Wildcat employee (supported worker) paid from the salary pool.

Detoxification. The process by which a drug addict gradually withdraws from the drug to which he or she has been addicted. In this report, detoxification generally refers to withdrawal from methadone.

Drug free. A former heroin addict now withdrawn from all addictive drugs who is frequently (although not always) enrolled in a drug free treatment program.

Ex-addict. In this report, one who was formerly addicted to heroin and is now either stabilized on methadone or drug free. Ex-addict employees are referred to Wildcat by their drug treatment programs.

Ex-offender. One who has been convicted of a crime.

Ex-Offender. A member of Wildcat's Ex-Offender Project.

Ex-Offender Project. The project within Wildcat which hires only ex-offenders referred from correctional facilities. Ex-Offenders (members of the project) need not be ex-addicts, although most ex-addicts at Wildcat are also ex-offenders.

Experimental. An ex-addict member of the research sample who was offered a supported work job.

Hustling. Trying to make a dollar any way you can--generally illegally.

Job Development Unit. The placement service provided by Wildcat (run by Vera) to help Wildcat employees obtain non-supported jobs.

Job order. A job listed by a private (or public) firm, agency, etc., for which a qualified Wildcat graduate would be considered.

Job placement. The placing of a Wildcat graduate in a non-supported job.

Job ready. The term used to describe a Wildcat employee who has been evaluated by the Job Development Unit and found to be ready to leave supported work for an outside job.

Methadone maintained. A former heroin addict now stabilized on methadone--a medically administered synthetic opiate used as a substitute for heroin which blocks the psychological craving for heroin and eliminates its euphoric effects.

Person-Year. A standardized rate for one person for one year. The measure may refer to number of arrests, hospitalizations, amount of time worked, etc.

Promoted in. The term which describes a Wildcat employee who receives a promotion within the supported work structure (i.e., to a position with a higher salary, such as driver, or to crew chief).

Promoted out. The term which describes a Wildcat employee who leaves supported work to go to school or to a non-supported job.

Research Sample. A sample of 586 randomly assigned ex-addicts (288 experimentals and 298 controls) applying for supported work jobs during 1972 and 1973.

Roll-over. The process by which a Wildcat employee working at a project within a host agency is hired by that agency as a regular, non-supported employee.

Salary pool. The fund from which approximately a third of a supported worker's salary is drawn. The money in the pool comes from the diverted welfare benefits of supported employees.

Self-referral. A Wildcat graduate who obtains a non-supported job through his or her own efforts (that is, without the help of the Job Development Unit).

Supervisor. The person responsible for overseeing the work of several crews within a division. Supervisors are Wildcat staff employees.

Terminated with cause. The term for a Wildcat employee who is fired for absenteeism, drug use, poor attitude, or other negative reasons.

Terminated without cause. The term for a Wildcat employee who resigns or leaves supported employment for poor health or other non job-related reasons.

Welfare diversion. The system which allows the welfare benefits of Wildcat employees to be diverted into a salary pool.



LIST OF APPENDICES

- A. Demographic Profile of Research Sample.
- B. Wildcat Projects as of June 30, 1974.
- C. Reasons for Experimental and Control Hospitalizations.

APPENDIX A  
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESEARCH SAMPLE  
 (at Intake)

	EXPERIMENTALS (N=284)*		CONTROLS (N=279)	
	Mean	%	Mean	%
1. <u>Age</u> . . . . .	32.1		31.8	
2. <u>Veteran</u>				
1. Yes . . . . .		21		19
2. No . . . . .		79		81
3. <u>Sex</u>				
1. Male . . . . .		92		93
2. Female . . . . .		8		7
4. <u>Ethnic</u>				
1. Black . . . . .		65		60
2. White . . . . .		7		7
3. Puerto Rican . . . . .		28		33
4. Other Spanish Speaking . . . . .		(a)		(a)
5. Oriental . . . . .		(a)		0
5. <u>Grade Completed</u> . . . . .	10.4		10.3	
6. <u>Previous Training</u>				
1. Yes . . . . .		45		44
2. No . . . . .		55		56
7. <u>Number of Dependents</u> . . . . .	1.2		1.0	
8. <u>Number Addresses/Five Years</u> . . . . .	2.8		2.8	
9. <u>With Whom Are You Living?</u>				
1. Alone . . . . .		35		37
2. Spouse . . . . .		27		28
3. Children . . . . .		10		13
4. Parents . . . . .		18		18
5. Friends . . . . .		6		7
6. Relatives . . . . .		6		5
7. Residential Community . . . . .		7		4
8. Other . . . . .		1		0
		(categories may overlap)		

\* Intake data are missing for four experimentals  
 (a) Less than one per cent

	EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
	Mean	%	Mean	%
10. <u>Marital Status</u>				
1. Single . . . . .		44		46
2. Married . . . . .		20		19
3. Common Law . . . . .		17		18
4. Divorced . . . . .		4		4
5. Separated . . . . .		14		13
6. Widowed . . . . .		1		(a)
11. <u>Type of Referral</u>				
1. Drug Free . . . . .		17		11
2. Methadone . . . . .		78		86
3. Other . . . . .		5		3
12. <u>Time In Program (months)</u> . .	12.9		12.9	
13. <u>Age First Addicted</u> . . . . .	18.9		19.5	
14. <u>Last Used Heroin (# months ago)</u>	15.9		16.0	
15. <u>How Often Do You Drink?</u>				
<u>Hard Liquor</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .		4		3
2. Several Times a Week		9		9
3. Occasionally . . . . .		38		34
4. Never . . . . .		49		54
<u>Wine</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .		3		2
2. Several Times a Week		8		8
3. Occasionally . . . . .		33		32
4. Never . . . . .		56		58
<u>Beer</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .		7		5
2. Several Times a Week		9		9
3. Occasionally . . . . .		34		29
4. Never . . . . .		50		57
16. <u>How Many Days Have You Worked</u> <u>in the Last Six Months?</u> .	0.6		0.7	
17. <u>Longest Time Held Job?</u> <u>(# months)</u> . . . . .	22.4		24.6	
18. <u>Legal Status</u>				
1. Free . . . . .		80		77
2. Parole . . . . .		3		4
3. Probation . . . . .		15		16
4. Aftercare . . . . .		2		2
5. Other . . . . .		(a)		1

	EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
	Mean	%	Mean	%
19. <u>Number of Misdemeanor Convictions</u> . . . . .	3.7		3.3	
20. <u>Number of Felony Convictions</u> . . . . .	0.8		0.7	
21. <u>Place of Birth</u>				
1. New York City . . . . .		60		57
2. The South . . . . .		16		11
3. Puerto Rico . . . . .		17		23
4. Other . . . . .		7		9
22. <u>Did Your Parents Ever Separate or Divorce?</u>				
1. Yes . . . . .		52		51
2. No . . . . .		48		49
23. <u>Number of Brothers and Sisters*</u>	3.2		3.5	
24. <u>Number of Older Brothers and Sisters</u> . . . . .	1.6		1.7	
25. <u>Number of Younger Brothers and Sisters</u> . . . . .	1.8		2.1	
26. <u>How Are You Supporting Yourself?</u>				
1. Family . . . . .		6		7
2. Friends . . . . .		(a)		1
3. Welfare . . . . .		89		86
4. Medicaid . . . . .		29		33
5. Food Stamps . . . . .		18		18
6. Illegal Sources . . . . .		0		(a)
7. Other . . . . .		3		5
(categories may overlap)				
27. <u>How Many People Including Yourself Are You Supporting?</u> . . . . .	1.5		1.4	
28. <u>Number of Arrests</u> . . . . .	8.2		7.7	
29. <u>Age at First Arrest</u> . . . . .	18.3		19.4	
30. <u>Age at First Conviction</u> . . . . .	20.0		20.5	
31. <u>Number of Treatment Programs</u> . . . . .	1.4		1.4	
32. <u>Has Anyone in Your Family Used Drugs?</u>				
1. Yes . . . . .		36		32
2. No . . . . .		64		68
3. Don't Know, but Suspects . . . . .		0		(a)

\* The categories do not agree because there were different numbers of respondents.

	EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
	Mean	%	Mean	%
33. Ever Used Hallucinogens?				
1. Daily . . . . .	(a)		(a)	
2. Weekly . . . . .	(a)		1	
3. Occasionally . . . . .	1		3	
4. Seldom . . . . .	14		14	
5. Never . . . . .	83		81	
<u>Ever Used Amphetamines?</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .	3		3	
2. Weekly . . . . .	1		3	
3. Occasionally . . . . .	7		7	
4. Seldom . . . . .	10		6	
5. Never . . . . .	79		81	
<u>Ever Used Cocaine?</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .	10		10	
2. Weekly . . . . .	7		10	
3. Occasionally . . . . .	34		36	
4. Seldom . . . . .	22		18	
5. Never . . . . .	27		26	
<u>Ever Used Barbiturates?</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .	2		5	
2. Weekly . . . . .	2		2	
3. Occasionally . . . . .	8		10	
4. Seldom . . . . .	13		10	
5. Never . . . . .	75		73	
<u>Ever Used Marijuana?</u>				
1. Daily . . . . .	16		18	
2. Weekly . . . . .	21		25	
3. Occasionally . . . . .	41		39	
4. Seldom . . . . .	9		7	
5. Never . . . . .	13		11	
34. <u>Closest Friend's Drug History</u>				
1. Now Addicted to Heroin .	11		10	
2. Kicked Former Habit . . .	62		59	
3. Never Used Heroin . . . .	26		29	
4. Experimented but Never Developed Habit . . . . .	1		2	

	EXPERIMENTALS		CONTROLS	
	Mean	%	Mean	%
35. <u>Type of Dwelling</u>				
1. Apartment (walk-up) . . . .		53		60
2. Apartment (elevator) . . . .		31		21
3. Hotel or Residence Hall . . . .		13		13
4. Private House . . . . .		1		3
5. Other . . . . .		2		3
36. <u>Number of Rooms</u> . . . . .	2.7		2.7	
37. <u>Private Kitchen</u>				
1. Yes . . . . .		82		76
2. No . . . . .		18		24
38. <u>How Often Do You Watch T.V.?</u>				
1. Never . . . . .		1		6
2. Seldom . . . . .		10		12
3. Once a Week . . . . .		14		15
4. Two to Six Times a Week . . . .		(a)		1
5. Daily, average of Three Hours or Less . . . . .		36		34
6. Daily, Average More Than Three Hours . . . . .		38		32
39. <u>How Often Do You Read the     Newspaper?</u>				
1. Never . . . . .		4		3
2. Once a Month . . . . .		3		2
3. Once a Week . . . . .		7		9
4. A Few Times a Week . . . . .		11		18
5. Daily . . . . .		75		68
40. <u>Do You Have a Bank Account?</u>				
1. No . . . . .		87		94
2. Checking . . . . .		2		(a)
3. Savings . . . . .		11		6
4. Both Checking and Savings . . . .		0		0

APPENDIX B

WILDCAT PROJECTS AS OF JUNE 30, 1974

I. Maintenance

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Board of Higher Education	Hostos Community College	General Maintenance. Daily cleaning of all rooms, main entrances, stairwells.	9
Housing Development Administration.	Maintenance	Removal of Code Violations and general repairs in Reivership Buildings. Both classroom and on-the-job training are included in this project.	37
Knickerbocker Hotel	Maintenance	General clean-up of community operated hotel.	11
Municipal Services Administration	Building Maintenance	Perform general maintenance work in City buildings.	145
Police Dept.	Headquarters Maintenance	Perform general maintenance for Police Headquarters at 1 Police Plaza.	30
Wildcat	Precinct Maint.	Provide complete maintenance service at Police Precincts and Headquarters	82
	Maintenance	Maintenance of Wildcat facilities.	17

II. Clerical

# Employed  
(6/30/74)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Board of Education	Clerical/Repair	Perform general office work and offset printing. General carpentry, glazing, and fix-it work.	48
Bronx Zoo	Clerical	General office work.	1
Hospital Audiences	Clerical	Perform clerical duties for HAI which books tickets for hospital and prison performances.	8
Housing Development Administration	Clerical	General clerical duties and preparation of materials for microfilming.	46
Human Resources Administration	Case Aid	Provide clerical assistance to Special Housing Services and also will provide case aid to assist SRO Hotel coordinators.	3
Legal Aid Society	Clerical	Perform typing, filing, and general office assistance at OSHS Hqts.	3
	Verification	Verification of eligibility to receive public legal services.	11
	Case Aid	Perform various clerical duties including providing clients with information.	5
Morrisania Community Center	Clerical	Assist Senior Citizens in daily routines. Reception and light typing.	3



II. Clerical (cont'd)

# Employed  
(6/30/74)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
New York Public Library	Clerical Work	Fill a number of positions including cataloguers, desk clerks, mailroom clerks, periodical assistants.	30
Police Dept.	Inventory	Maintain inventory records and fill requisitions for supplies for police commands throughout the city.	5
Vera	Research	Interview applicants to obtain information for program evaluation and code questionnaires.	8
Wildcat	Clerical	Receive clerical training and perform general office work.	46
	Adm. Clerical	Internal Clerical work.	12
	Clerical	Clerical work training for 1/2 day and remainder of day spent doing work for Wildcat.	17
<p>III. <u>Painting/Carpentry/Construction</u></p>			
Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Botanical Gardens	Conservatory	Carpentry, renovation, and painting within the "hothouse."	5
Contract Work (Misc.)	Paint	Mobile paint crews.	37
	Carpentry	Building rehabilitation.	12

III. Painting/Carpentry/Construction (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Contract Work (Misc.) (cont'd)	Fix-It	General repair services.	29
Health and Hos- pitals Corpora- tion	Department of Real Estate - Relocation Center.	Plaster and paint buildings designed by the Department of Real Estate and other City Agencies.	19
	Sydenham Hospital Maintenance. Ins- titutional Aid.	Working in Engineering Department doing light plastering, painting, and cleaning.	5
Parks Depart- ment	Construction	Construction within City parks.	90
Police Depart- ment	Barrier Shop	Assemble, paint, letter and de- liver police barriers.	2
	Paint	Plaster and paint Dept. instal- lations.	21

IV. Service

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Ask Wildcat	Information Ser- vices	Operation of booths in public areas dispensing information on New York City sights and events.	18

IV. Service (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Health Services Administration	Pest Control	Survey buildings, provide extermination service, clean lots and conduct a community awareness campaign on rodent prevention.	53
	Ft. Greene Health Technicians	Crew will administer blood pressure tests at Ft. Greene Health Center.	4
	Escort	Escort Senior Citizens to out-patient services.	1
Human Resources Administration	Community Aid	Translation, community organization, general office work for HRD #1.	4
	D&D Research	Provide research and survey assistance to staffs of designated HRA Districts.	5
	Food Coop Survey	Provide survey teams to determine feasibility of establishing food coops in specific HRA districts.	5
	Human Resources District	Translate, community organization, general office work for Human Resources District # 1.	6
Stanley Isaacs Senior Citizens Center	Meals-On-Wheels Community Aid	Deliver food to Senior Citizens and disabled.	3
Messenger Service	Public Messenger Service	Provide messenger and mail service.	14

IV. Service (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Mt. Sinai Hospital	Translators	Spanish speaking interpreters work in the Emergency Room.	2
Operation S.T.O.P.	Operation S.T.O.P.	Transporting Senior Citizens to and from their homes to medical centers and shopping areas.	4
Whist	Escort	Escort senior citizens from the Washington Hgts. area to various cultural events and points of interest in New York.	4

V. Outdoor Maintenance/Grounds

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Botanical Gardens	Lawn Mowing	Mowing lawns in the Botanical Gardens.	8
	Grounds Keeping	Grounds keeping and litter control at the gardens.	10
	Twin Lakes	Cleaning and maintenance of Twin Lakes.	14
Broadway Malls Assoc.	Maintenance	Maintaining plants and grass strips along Broadway.	6

V. Outdoor Maintenance/Grounds (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Bronx Zoo	Bronx River Project	Beautification program for the Bronx River, including planting on the Banks.	21
Environmental Protection Adm.	Coney Island	Landscaping.	8
Parks Department	Newtown Creek	Landscaping.	10
	Parks Spruce-Up	Maintenance of malls, roadways, and park areas. Cut grass, pick-up litter, and paint benches and fences. Indoor work projects include maintenance work in several Parks Dept. buildings	67
Queens Botanical Gardens	Horticultural Training and Maintenance	Crew receives training and will assist in tree pruning, transplanting, seeding, and planting.	7
VI. <u>Miscellaneous</u>			
Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
City Planning Commission	Map and Chart Drafting	Prepare map overlays on census data and land use. Also, correlate information for a handbook to be used by community planning districts.	6
Environmental Protection Adm.	Scorecard	Rate effectiveness of Department of Sanitation street cleaning.	13

VI. Miscellaneous (cont'd)

# Employed  
(6/30/73)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/73)
Environmental Protection Administration (cont'd)	Paper Tigers	Newspaper recycling program for the West Side of Manhattan; community relations, newspaper pickup, trash basket placement and service.	10
	Inspection	Accompany inspectors on inspections and also do some clerical work.	5
	Water Register Clerical	Transcription of information from meter reading sheets to keypunch forms.	12
Fashion Capital	Information Environmental I.D.	Staff information center in the garment district. Provide trash basket maintenance service and assist police in engraving numbers on office equipment.	17
Fire Department	Multi-Service	Fire repair; clerical and custodial work for Fire Department.	7
Harlem Teams	Painting	Painting fire alarm boxes and removing graffiti from bus shelters.	15
	Self Help Community Service	Clerical, building, maintenance, comparison shopping.	11
Municipal Services Administration	City Archives Recycling	Recycle paper from city agencies in all five boroughs of New York.	6

VI. Miscellaneous (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Office of Neighborhood Government	Street Survey	Teams will review condition of road bed, curbs, and parking violation enforcement.	5
Pioneer Marine Training School- South Street Seaport Museum	Pioneer Marine School	Receive instruction in marine mechan- ics and work refurbishing ships.	84
Police Dept.	Tire Repair	Exchange and repair flat tires for four police divisions and the central repair facility.	1
Port Authority	Recycling	Administer & operate recycling pro- jects.	3
Public Messen- ger	Wildcat Public Messenger Ser- vice	Provide messenger and mail service at 42 locations for 64 City Agencies.	38
Theatre for the Forgotten	Prison Theatre Project	Full time training in Theatre arts cul- minating in performances in prisons, drug rehabilitation centers, public plazas and schools.	9

VI. Miscellaneous (cont'd)

Client	Project	Description	# Employed (6/30/74)
Transportation Administration	Fire Zone Paint	Clean and paint the curb areas around City fire hydrants.	23
Wildcat	Multi-Service Training	Clerical training and basic English and Math techniques for 1/2 day. Remainder of day work for Wildcat.	8
	Masonry Cleaning		13
	Messenger Service	Messenger for Wildcat	2
Bronx Council on the Arts	Apprentice Printing	Training in offset printing and other phases of printing work	2
Total Maintenance			331
Total Clerical			246
Total Painting/Carpentry/Construction			220
Total Service			123
Total Outdoor Maintenance/Grounds			151
Total Miscellaneous			290
			<u>1361</u>
Inactive			<u>30</u>
TOTAL EMPLOYED AS OF 6/30/74			1391



APPENDIX C

REASONS FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL HOSPITALIZATIONS

I. <u>Experimentals</u>	II. <u>Controls</u>
<p>detoxification from methadone (2) high blood pressure liver problem hypertension (2) infection accident organ dysfunction car accident (3) concussion broken ankle cat scratch fever operation on foot (hurt at work) stab wound old wound (2) mugged (2) shot ulcer (3) tests for weight loss rheumatic fever cancer pneumonia cyst eye operation tubular pregnancy hernia</p>	<p>detoxification from methadone (4) detoxification from alcohol liver problem injured in fight stabbed (2) shot (2) hernia (2) cyst asthma pneumonia</p>