



Research Publication

Employment and Education on Release: The Influence of Gaol Programs

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SUMMARY

This report examines the employment and education undertaken by 80 parolees following their release from gaol. All of the parolees had undertaken some educational courses while in gaol and at the time of the study had been released into the community for at least three months. The primary aim of the study was to investigate the relationship between programmes taken in gaol and employment and education following release.

The principal findings were:

a) Prison Education

- * On average parolees in this study had attempted 2.5 courses while in gaol, with the majority being technical certificates or trade courses.
- * Improving job prospects was the main reason given by the parolees for choosing to do the courses. The majority expected that the course would lead them straight into a job (59%) or help in setting up and running their own business (13%).
- * Over half (55%) had not looked for work in the area of their course.
- * Twenty-five parolees (31%) stated that they thought that their course had helped in some way.
- * Courses which were most frequently considered useful were: welding, carpentry, remedial English and small business management.
- * Some considered that the courses were useful for more than the specific subject matter taught. Approximately one-quarter (26%) mentioned that doing the course helped increase their confidence. Some stated that going out of the gaol to Technical College helped acclimatize them to the outside world.
- * On release a surprising percentage, 23%, continued courses they began in gaol. Only two people (3%) began any new courses.

b) Prison Work

- * Each parolee in the sample had held an average of three jobs in prison, with the average length of each being 19.5 months.
- * Only 10 parolees indicated that they had done their prison jobs either to help with courses they were doing or to gain experience and practical training for future job prospects.
- * Approximately 50% considered that they did not gain any skills from their prison job(s): because the jobs were considered too basic.
- * Some parolees, however, found that working in gaol helped them to get used to a regular job and regular hours (14%) and gain self-confidence, self-satisfaction etc.
- * Of the twenty-nine parolees who looked for work related to the jobs they had done inside, eighteen had obtained work.

c) Work Release Programme

- * Twenty-one parolees in the sample (26%) had taken part in this programme.
- * Half of these found that they did obtain some type of skills, e.g., picture framing, kitchen handwork, selling skills, machinery skills etc.
- * Of the nine (43%) who said that Work Release had helped them to obtain work on release, all of them had stayed on at their Work Release job after release.
- * The five (24%) who had attempted to find work in related areas, but had failed, claimed the problem to be a lack of work available.

d) Looking for Work and the Problems Encountered

- * The majority of parolees in this sample (81%) reported that they had wanted to work after release.

- * Surprisingly, of those who did make an active effort to seek work, one-third said that they did not encounter any problems at all. For those who did experience problems, the major problem was that of having a prison record. Two other notable problems encountered were the high level of unemployment in the community and the parolees' age.
- * Only a minority (9%) saw lack of qualifications as a problem.
- * The reason why the parolees seem to experience so few problems in looking for work may lie in the way they obtained it: many (33%) seem to have been given jobs by friends or relatives rather than looking

through the formal job seeking procedures.

- * The majority of prisoners who had to look for work (59%) obtained work fairly quickly, i.e. in less than one month after release. Within the first six months, 81% of the parolees were employed.

In examining these results it must be remembered that the present sample may be considered atypical in some respects. They were more likely to be married and have dependents than prisoners generally and hence may have been more motivated to participate in vocational training and/or to obtain employment on release.

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This study was made possible by the co-operation of a number of individuals. Specific contributions made to the research are outlined below:

- the study was designed by Angela Gorta, Helene Panaretos and Paul Wynn;
- interviews were conducted primarily by Helene Panaretos with some assistance from Clive Dickins;
- data were coded primarily by Helene Panaretos with some assistance from Shirley Robinson;
- the report was written by Angela Gorta and Helene Panaretos.

INTRODUCTION

One rationale for offering educational, and particularly vocational, programmes in gaol is that these programmes might assist the prisoner find employment on release and hence reduce recidivism.

It has been well documented elsewhere that criminal behaviour is frequently associated with a history of educational underachievement and failure (Glaser, 1964; Gorta, 1982; Harding & Gorta, 1984; Hodanish, 1976; Laycock and Griffiths, 1980; Lovejoy, 1981; Spencer, 1980; Stirling, 1974). One of the most serious consequences of such a history is the often severe lack of marketable job skills that subsequently impedes the successful reintegration of prisoners into the community. That money and employment are major concerns of released prisoners has also been well documented. Duffee and Duffee (1981) have remarked:

"Perhaps the most striking observation about offenders' needs is the similarity of findings both over time and over specific groups. Money, employment, and such other job-related needs as training are typically the most important needs reported by ex-prisoners" (p. 249).

When reviewing forty-eight studies conducted over a twenty-year span, Duffee and Clark (1985) observed that by far the most frequently recognized need is employment.

The potential relationships between vocational training, post-release employment and reduced recidivism are illustrated in Figure 1. Each of the components of this relationship has been examined in the past. Studies indicate that inmates do learn from the programmes (Linden & Perry, 1982; Lipton, Martinson & Wilks, 1975). However reviews of the literature have indicated that vocational training programmes have had little or no effect on: employment rate or employability (Jengeleski, 1984; Lipton et al, 1975); observable measures of ex-offender employment (Wiederanders, 1981); evidence of rehabilitation (Cook, 1975); or recidivism (Jengeleski, 1984; Lipton et al, 1975).

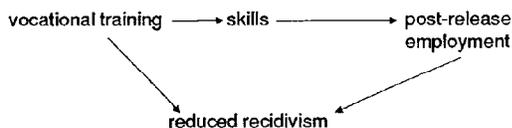


Figure 1: Hypothesized relationships between vocational training and recidivism

Lipton et al (1975) suggest that one possible reason for this lack of effect may be that these programmes were applied indiscriminately to all offenders. They advocated further research to identify the types of offenders most likely to benefit from these skill development programmes. They further suggested that the effectiveness of skill development programmes cannot be fully determined until evaluation studies are conducted that "control for prior skill level, examine and control for the effect of motivation to learn and control for the apparent enthusiasm with which subjects participate in these programmes" (p. 196). Homant (1984) has suggested that "prisonization" and "self-esteem" are two variables which, while often overlooked, are important in determining post-release adjustment. As Jengeleski has noted, the most serious limitation of past studies is the lack of data on the outcomes of programme participants, as compared with individuals who did not receive programme services.

On a more positive note, Anderson (1981) found that parolees who received vocational training had significantly fewer arrests and were employed longer on parole than those parolees who did not receive vocational training. Thorpe, MacDonald & Bala (1984) found that their sample of offenders who earned college degrees while incarcerated had a substantially lower return rate than a projected rate based on the department's overall release data. Seashore, Haberfeld, Irwin and Baker (1976) found participation in prison college programmes to be related to raised occupational aspirations and an increase in occupation levels. Also Jengeleski (1984) cited a study by Glaser in which prison education was statistically associated with greater success upon release only if the education was extensive and occurred during a prolonged confinement period.

The relationship between post-release employment and recidivism is not clear cut. Orsagh and Witte (1981) cite a review by Gillespie of pre -1975 literature in which he found three studies which asserted the existence of a statistically significant relationship between unemployment and crime, but seven studies in which no significant relationship was found.

Post-release employment has been found to be related to: parole success (Cook cited by Orsagh & Witte, 1981; Gorta, 1982); rearrest rates for minority offenders (Beck, 1981); ability of an offender to stay out of trouble after his release (Pepper, 1972) and has been found to be inversely related to crime (Greenwood, Lipsett & Norton, 1980). Glaser (1984) noted that in the hundreds of ex-offender careers which he

systematically studied, the most frequent apparent major turning point from a criminal to a legitimate way of life was the acquisition of a satisfying job.

In direct contrast Homant (1984) concluded from his examination of the literature that despite much evidence for the importance of employment in parole success, programmes that have succeeded in improving the quantity or quality of ex-offender employment have not generally been successful in reducing recidivism. Homant has argued that the relationship between employment and parole success may be spurious: relatively well-adjusted offenders, who are more likely to succeed on parole anyway, are more likely to seek out, obtain and retain employment.

Furthermore Homant has argued that such programmes have overestimated the difficulty offenders have in finding jobs. This is consistent with the findings of Cook (1975), Rossi, Berk & Lenihan (1980) and Wiederanders (1981). Cook found that the high unemployment rate suffered by parolees is largely the result of a high incidence of short spells of unemployment rather than unemployment of long duration and that this high rate of turnover is indicative of the job "shopping" typical of new entrants and re-entrants to the labour force. Some parolees quit only after arranging for a better job, but more often they leave their job with nothing new in sight. Wiederanders dismissed the proposition that a large proportion of ex-offenders have difficulty finding employment with the evidence that 95.8 per cent of his respondents had held at least one job during their first 12 months on parole; after one month on parole 64.8 per cent had found a job. Wiederanders made the distinction between the high proportion of ex-offenders who find a job and the low point-in-time employment rates, arguing that the low employment rate is due to a failure to keep jobs rather than find them. In Wiederanders'

sample 30.6% had lost their jobs due to unfavourable dismissals. The remainder had either quit or been "laid off" due to a lack of work to perform, or other neutral reason. Most common reasons given for quitting were: "didn't like the work" (19%); "couldn't tolerate bosses or co-workers" (19%); "couldn't conform to work schedule" (14.7%); or low pay (12.6%).

In summary, while it has been well documented that those released from prison experience financial and employment difficulties, the effect of vocational training on post-release employment and recidivism or the effect of post-release employment on recidivism is not clear. The use of different outcome measures make the studies difficult to compare directly. Furthermore the potential relationships depicted in Figure 1 can be influenced by a wide variety of factors including: prisoner's level of involvement in the course and peer support; self-esteem; prospects of resuming a previous satisfactory occupation; the current labour market; and the parolee's motivation to find a job rather than, say, remaining on unemployment benefits.

In addition Jengeleski (1984) has found that there is little American data on the number of prisoners who continue their education upon their release from prison. This study seeks this information from a sample of N.S.W. parolees.

The aims of the current study are:

1. To document what use a sample of N.S.W. parolees made of their prison education and gaol work experience following release from gaol;
2. To understand some of the problems parolees have in finding employment following release, from the perspective of those who have recently experienced them.

METHOD

The sample

The sample consisted of two groups of parolees: the "education" and the "comparison" group. The education group consisted of 80 parolees who had either begun or completed courses in gaol. The comparison group included 10 parolees who had not undertaken educational courses while in gaol. All subjects were on parole and had been out of gaol for at least three months. While those released on parole supervision may not be representative of all prisoners released from gaol, the sample was restricted to parolees to facilitate location in the community.

of those prisoners who had previously taken part in a course and who had been released. In order to allow for a possible high non-response rate the lists were over-sampled. From a total of 567 names on the class lists, 179 parolees were randomly selected. From the available records it was difficult to ascertain how much of the course they had done: whether the prisoners had merely enrolled in courses, had partially completed or fully completed them.

Of the original 179 parolees selected in the sample, 44 were subsequently found to be ineligible because: their parole period had expired; their parole had been revoked; although the records indicated the parolee had undertaken educational courses while in prison the parolee

Table1: Details of "Education" sample

Sample Details	Area		Total
	15 metropolitan P & P offices	9 country P & P offices	
No. in original sample	120	59	179
Ineligible:			
Parole/licence expired	8	6	14
Parole revoked	8	5	13
Stated had not done educational course in gaol	6	1	7
Moved interstate	4	2	6
No record of parolee in P & P office	2	1	3
P & P officer advised not to contact	1	0	1
TOTAL INELIGIBLE	29	15	44
Eligible subtotal	91	44	135
Non-response:			
Unable to contact/not at home/no reply	24	17	41
Hospitalised/amputee	1	1	2
Residential drug programme	2	0	2
Other	4	0	4
TOTAL NON-RESPONSE	31 (34%)	18 (41%)	49 (36%)
Refusals: Not interested	4 (4%)	2 (5%)	6 (4%)
Completed interviews	57 (63%)	23 (52%)	80 (59%)

Selecting the parolees

To obtain the "education" sample class lists were obtained from six gaols. Gaols were selected in terms of the number of vocational courses they offered and had offered in the past. The gaols selected included: Mulawa Training and Detention Centre, Cessnock Corrective Centre, Long Bay Complex, Goulburn Training Centre, Berrima Training Centre and Silverwater Work Release Centre.

Initially it was decided to obtain class lists dating between 1980 and 1983. However as there was no standard record keeping system it was possible only to obtain lists for the period that the current education officer had been at the gaol. Education officers were asked to supply names

denied this; the parolee had moved interstate or there was no record of the parolee at the Probation and Parole Office. Of the remaining 135 eligible parolees, despite repeated attempts, 49 (36%) could not be contacted. Following contact, 6 parolees (4%) did not wish to participate in the study. (See Table 1.) Thus interviews were completed with 80 parolees in the education group.

It was decided to select 25 parolees for the comparison group on the basis of having equal percentages in each sex, age and time in gaol category to those in the education group. Parole officers were randomly selected and called to ask if they were at present supervising a parolee in each category. Due to difficulties in arranging

interviews with such parolees, the comparison group consisted of only 10 parolees.

Description of sample

The vast majority of prisoners in NSW are male (95.1% at June 30, 1984 census). Eleven of the eighty parolees (14%) in the education group were women while all ten of the comparison group were men.

The percentage of parolees aged between 20 and 39 years in both groups (education 73%; comparison 80%) closely mirrored the percentage of prisoners in this age group on 30th June 1984 (79.6%). However there were fewer parolees in the education sample aged under 24 years and fewer in the comparison group aged over 30 years than would be expected by the age distribution of all prisoners. (See Table A, Appendix 1 for further details).

Like the NSW prison population as a whole (78.1% at 30.6.84) the majority of both the education group (75%) and the comparison group (80%) were Australian-born. 81% of the education group and 80% of the comparison group had English as their first language.

The marital status of the comparison group closely resembled that of the entire NSW prison population (70% comparison group and 61.7% of prisoners at 30.6.84 were unmarried). Those in the education group, however, were more likely to be married (49%) or widowed (6%). (For further details see Table B, Appendix 1.)

Two-thirds of NSW prisoners at 30.6.84 (65.6%) had been living in Sydney prior to going to gaol. However the parolees interviewed in this study were even more likely to have been living in Sydney (education group 80%; comparison group 100%) rather than dispersed around the state. (For further details see Table C, Appendix 1.)

Those in the comparison group were more likely to have no dependents (80%) than those in the education group (55%). At the time of interview, the majority of both the education group (71%) and the comparison group (70%) were paying board or rent.

Procedure

Records containing information on: parole office; parole officer; and when parolee was due to complete his/her parole, were used to locate these parolees.

Relevant probation and parole officers were contacted at 15 metropolitan and 9 country Probation and Parole offices. These officers were informed of the intended study and were asked to contact the parolee. If the parolee was

on extended (infrequent) reporting a letter was sent and it was left to the parolee to contact the interviewer.

Interviewing arrangements

Interviewing for this study commenced in the second half of 1984 and continued until the beginning of 1985. The interviewing was conducted either at the parole office or at a place nominated by the parolee, e.g., home, workplace or pub. Each interview took between one and two hours, approximately.

Initially the project was explained to the parolee emphasizing that their interview would remain anonymous. Answers were hand recorded.

Interview schedule

A standardised interview schedule was formulated in order to collect all the data. It was structured in an attempt to evaluate the aims of the Programmes Division at this time, which were:

1. to increase the range of employment skills of inmates;
2. to provide vocational guidance for inmates; and
3. to direct inmates towards vocational training programmes offered by educational institutions outside the gaol system.

Therefore the schedule included sections on: pre-gaol, gaol and post-release employment and education, vocational guidance needs and general demographic background.

RESULTS

The results are presented in six sections. The first three relate to time spent in gaol: educational courses undertaken, work performed and information provided. The fourth describes the parolees' pre-prison education and employment background as a benchmark against which to compare employment following release. The fifth concentrates on experiences following release: contrasting the parolees' expectations of what would happen with their actual experiences on release. The final section includes suggestions for improving training provided in prison, based on the experiences and perspectives of those who have left gaol and tried to find employment in the community. A brief outline of pre-gaol work and qualifications; gaol work, course(s) and qualifications; and time since release and post-gaol work for each of the 80 education parolees is provided in Appendix 2.

Table 2: Courses parolees reported they attempted and completed

Course Type	Courses				Parolees			
	No. attempted		No. completed		No. attempting each type of course		No. completing course	
	N	%	N	% of total courses attempted*	N	% of total sample	N	% of total sample
Tech. Cert.	61	30.2	28	19.6	36	45.0	19	23.8
Trade	57	28.2	21	14.7	38	47.5	16	20.0
University	7	3.5	5	3.5	7	8.8	4	5.0
Remedial	20	9.9	NA		14	17.5	NA	
Recreational	39	19.3	NA		22	27.5	NA	
Other (H.S.C., S.C., First Aid)	18	8.9	9	6.3	17	21.3	10	12.5
TOTAL	202		63	44.1				

The number of parolees who completed at least one course was 24 (30%). Total exceeds 80 as some parolees did more than one course.

** Percentages are out of 143. This number excludes those courses which do not have completion requirements.*

NA: Not applicable since recreational and remedial courses do not lead to qualifications which signify completion.

I. PRISON EDUCATION

The Programmes Division of the N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services provides a range of educational, vocational and recreational courses for prisoners. Educational courses include basic literacy and numeracy, migrant English, and Aboriginal studies. Vocational courses are aimed at improving the prisoners' work skills and include: bricklaying, painting and decorating, sheet metal work, welding, upholstery, printing, carpentry, animal husbandry, shearing, industrial machining, and office and secretarial skills. Recreational courses include general interest subjects such as cookery, drama, music, debating, arts and crafts, creative writing, photography, leatherwork, and physical fitness classes.

Prisoners may do courses either through internal (in gaol) classes, external (at technical college or university in the community) classes or by correspondence. Thus there is a wide selection of courses from which the prisoners can choose.

Statistics describing the percentage of inmates currently enrolled in prison courses were not available at the time of the study. The following information on prison education was obtained from interviews with the parolees in the education group.

i) Prison courses attempted and completed

On average parolees in this study had attempted 2.5 courses while in gaol, with the majority of them being technical certificates or

trade courses. Recreational courses were also popular, although parolees usually did these courses in combination with another course (see Tables 2 & 3).

It is interesting to note that almost half of the courses (44%) were completed by less than one-third of the parolees (30%).

The main reasons given for course

Table 3: Combination of courses attempted and completed

Course Types	No. of parolees (n = 80)
Technical Certificate only	11
Trade only	17
University only	5
Remedial only	4
Recreational only	6
Trade & Technical Certificate	8
University & Technical Certificate	1
Remedial & Technical Certificate	2
Recreational and Technical Certificate	4
Other and Technical Certificate	1
Trade and Remedial	3
Trade and Other	5
University and Other	1
Remedial and Recreational	1
Recreational and Other	1
Other combinations of 3 or more types of courses	10

non-completion was release (34%). This suggests that either prisoners with short prison sentences are taking on courses, or the prisoners are starting courses at the end of their sentence.

ii) Expectations about prison education

Improving job prospects was the main reason given by the parolees, for choosing to do the courses. Not surprisingly about one-fifth (21%) did courses in order to alleviate boredom, and others did them merely out of interest (15%) or to get away from the gaol environment (8%). A variety of other reasons were given, such as to improve education or existing qualifications and to improve parole chances.

What expectations did parolees have about the courses in gaol before being released? When asked whether they believed that the courses would help them on the outside, the majority of parolees replied that they believed that the courses they had done would help them (73%). Forty per cent thought their courses would not be helpful. (These percentages sum to more than 100 as some parolees had done more than one course.) Tables 4 and 5 present the reasons why

parolees thought the courses would and would not help them respectively.

Total number of reasons exceeds 58 as some parolees had done more than one course and therefore gave more than one reason.

The majority expected that the course would lead them straight into a job (59%) i.e. having the qualification would make it easier to get a "foot in the door", and "get him into the game to work up the experience which is needed". Quite a few parolees thought the course would help in setting up or running their own business (13%). The course could also provide general skills which would allow them to find work more easily, e.g. reading, writing and English. Parolees commented:

"If I haven't got a problem with language I could apply for jobs which require language skills and not other special skills".

Table 4: Reasons why courses would be helpful

Reasons why the course would be helpful	No. of parolees (N= 58)	% of those thinking courses would be helpful	% of total sample
The course would lead straight into a job i.e. a trade or profession.	47	81	59
Would help in own business.	10	17	13
Would provide general skills which would help get work.	5	9	6
Help revise techniques in own trade.	3	5	4
Knowing English would help get work.	2	3	3
Other			
- gave encouragement to get formal qualification	3	5	4
- the course was a pre-requisite for other courses which would provide work			
- would use it if couldn't return to old trade.			

Table 5: Reasons why the course would not be helpful

Reasons why the course would not be helpful	No. of parolees (N= 32)	% of those thinking courses would <u>not</u> be helpful	% of total sample
Only did it for recreation/interest	12	38	15
Doesn't provide experience/theory only	6	19	8
With prison record won't obtain this type of work	4	13	5
Lack of tools	2	6	3
Knew wasn't going to finish course, sentence too short	2	6	3
Other - Release seemed too far away	1	3	1
- situation outside unstable	1	3	1
- had knowledge previously	1	3	1
- no certificate, just a statement of attainment	1	3	1
- too many course interruptions	1	3	1

Table 6: Way in which course was actually helpful

How did the course help	No. of Parolees (n = 25)	%	% of Total Sample
Had direct experience	9	36	11
Right qualifications	6	24	8
Had experience indirectly related	2	8	3
Helped refresh old skills	2	8	3
Helped in the job	1	4	1
Other - one job led to other offers	1	4	1
- increased job experience	1	4	1
- had English	1	4	1
Not stated	2	8	3

"Without English I couldn't get work outside".

Courses were also considered useful as a way to brush up on techniques in an old trade since: "Things are changing so quickly I'd have to keep up with new innovations".

In contrast it is also necessary to examine why 32 parolees had expected, even before release, that 55 courses they had attempted would not help them.

Over one-third of those claiming that they knew the courses would not help had done them only for recreation or interest sake (e.g. guitar (3 parolees), art (3), pottery (2), saxophone (2)). The more interesting comments are those concerned with the specific courses. Eight people claimed that the courses do not provide the experience needed to get jobs, for example, they claimed:

"you need experience, not paper to get a job";

"It wasn't really a qualification course as you had gaol experience only".

However, this would be a complaint of students of any kind who need to gain experience before their qualifications are deemed complete. A more serious complaint is that the gaol courses do not allow prisoners to do the practical side of courses, (e.g. car detailing, electrical trades, data processing) necessary to satisfactorily complete them. For example:

"only know the theory, no practical work. Mechanics can do the course but at the end may not have seen a motor";

"Not practical as not allowed to have tools, we are so far behind others";

"Due to lack of computers I couldn't get assignments done, so couldn't really complete the course".

Overall, subtracting those twelve who only did the courses for recreational purposes, 25% thought their courses would be of no practical use in the outside world.

iii) *Utility of prison courses in the community*

Did their expectations live up to reality? All the parolees were asked whether the courses actually helped them in attaining work on release. Over half (n=44) had not looked for work in the area of their course. Eleven parolees had taken on only recreation and remedial courses, which may not be expected to help obtain work.

Of the remaining parolees, twenty-five (31%) said 'yes, it did help in some way'.

Courses which were most frequently considered useful included: welding; carpentry; remedial English and small business management. Individual prisoners reported a variety of other courses as helpful including: commerce, advertising, art, boiler attendant, fashion, photography and a science degree.

Thus 36% of these twenty-five parolees, found the courses helped them directly in obtaining work. However the courses may also have helped in an indirect way. Education has many potential benefits which may not be as obvious as the getting of a job. Each parolee was asked how the course(s) had helped him/her personally. As can be seen in Table 7, the courses were considered useful for more than the specific subject matter taught. Many comments were made as to the beneficial side effects of the education received in prison, so only the major ones will be discussed.

Many parolees mentioned that doing the course helped increase their confidence (26%). This increase in confidence was in different forms: the confidence to communicate with others effectively; confidence in their ability which gave them the impetus to go out to look for work or set up their own business; or basic confidence in themselves as a capable person. A few quotations will illustrate this:

"I am very proud of my art work. It helped me to find my good points, whereas everyone else found bad ones";

"I know now I can sit down and learn but before didn't think I could";

"(I've got) more confidence and peace of mind knowing I can achieve something, self satisfaction";

"It built my confidence. Before I thought I was a no hoper. I used to stutter but doing the course gave me confidence to realize what was wrong and to fix it".

Table 7: Indirect ways in which the courses have helped

How the course has helped personally	No. of Parolees (n = 80)	%
Increased confidence	21	26
Helped acclimatize to outside	19	24
Given general basic knowledge	10	13
Taught general household repair skills	8	10
Relaxation, fills up spare time	5	6
Helped in own business	3	4
Occupied gaol time	5	6
Kept mind alive	3	4
Reading, writing, maths skills for everyday use	3	4
English speaking skills	3	4
General living skills	5	6
Other - taught to think	1	1
- rekindled interest	1	1
- explored talents	1	1
- gave motivation to lifer	1	1
- gave an interest	1	1
- allowed to work at home independently	1	1
- self interest	1	1

Another important point, very much aside from the education itself, is the fact that going out of the gaol to Technical College helped acclimatize prisoners to the world outside gaol. Apart from

the questions asked in the basic interview, many parolees talked about how difficult it was on release from gaol: to not only get used to looking after yourself, but also to speak to other people outside of the gaol environment. Below are a few of the comments indicating how going out to courses helped bridge the gap between gaol and the outside community.

"(In gaol) you have nothing to talk about except gaol, everything revolves around this. When you're released you find it hard to relate ... (being) at Tech socializing with people you don't know rehabilitates you in a way gaol couldn't."

"Going to Tech is very important for a long term. Getting out into the world and gradually getting back into society. This is a must as he is learning a trade but also getting back into society."

A related comment was the provision of general knowledge. In the gaol, access to outside information and knowledge may be limited. As one lifer put it:

"Kept me informed. It made me aware of the economic situation. If I hadn't done the course I would have been ignorant about everything".

The preceding comments suggest that many of the benefits gained from the courses may be long term ones and perhaps affect personal development. This, of course, is only speculative but the less tangible benefits of the programme, although hard to measure, should not be ignored.

II. PRISON WORK AND WORK RELEASE

Work in gaol can serve many functions. From the institutional perspective, maintenance work performed by inmates can lessen the cost of keeping a prisoner in gaol, while production industries can earn revenue to offset the cost of running the gaol. From the prisoner's perspective it might provide useful work experience or simply provide a way of filling in time. The parolees' prison work experience is examined here in order to indicate if the prisoners did take on work related to their courses; and whether the parolees consider that the jobs offered inside gaol provide training in work skills independent of any courses.

Table 8: Type of jobs held inside prison

Unskilled	N	Semi-Skilled	N	Trade	N	Other	N
Sweeper	24	Typewriter		Plumber	3	Community	
Cafeteria	2	repairer	1	Carpentry	7	work	1
Cook/kitchen		Machinist		Layout		Techelp	2
hand	14	(including		artist	6	Metal Shop	8
Gardener	11	tailor		Fibre-		Cabinet	3
Maintenance	7	shop)	18	glassing	1	shop	3
Painter	7	Liner	2	Upholstery	1	Garage	1
Hospital		Boiler		Welder	6	Printshop	3
orderly	2	attendant	3	Bookbinding	6	Machine	
Ball & Chain	4	Camera		Picture framing	1	shop	1
Salesman		operator	1	Electrician	2	Workshop	1
Laundry	4	Furniture		Printing	2	Clerical	36
Poultry hand	1	restorer	1	Panelbeater	1		
Bush gang	1	Forklift		Blacksmith	1		
Building		driver	1	Butcher	4		
labourer	3	Hairdresser	2	Spraypainter	1		
Storeman	4			Baker	1		
Woodsawer	2						
Cleaner	3						
TOTAL	89		29		42		59
GRAND TOTAL							219

i) Prison Work

Most jobs that the parolees had inside were unskilled (41%), followed by trades (20%) and then semi-skilled jobs (13%). Those jobs with the highest employment rate were the clerical and sweeper jobs followed by the machinist and kitchen jobs (see Table 8).

Each parolee had held an average of three jobs in prison with the average length of each being less than two years ($\bar{x} = 19.5$ months, if those nine parolees holding jobs longer than four years were excluded).

Only ten of the parolees indicated that they had done their jobs either to help with the courses they were doing (two parolees) or to gain experience and practical training for future job prospects (see Table 9).

ii) Utility of prison work on release

Approximately half (46%) considered that they did not gain any skills from the jobs performed (see Table 10). The main reason for this lack of skill acquisition was that the jobs were considered too basic and inefficient, so that the prisoners could not learn anything new from them and/or did not see them as jobs worthwhile to pursue on the outside. Jobs considered the most useful were: welding (7 parolees), boiler attendant (5), machinist (4), clerical (4) and cook (4).

However, as mentioned in the prison education section, prisoners may gain indirect as well as direct benefits from their prison work. On release, parolees not only need specific job skills but also they need "employability" skills. The gaol environment takes prisoners away from the day to day routine of a regular job, which may cause a parolee trouble in re-adjusting to outside life. When asked about other indirect benefits of prison work, fifty-one per cent found they did not gain anything else from the jobs they had done. Other parolees, however, found that working helped them to get used to a regular job and regular work hours (14%) and gave them confidence and self-satisfaction (9%) (see Table 11).

In practical terms the utility of prison work experience to the parolee can be evaluated by

Table 9: Reasons for doing the jobs

Reason	No. of Parolees	% of reasons
Assigned	41	29.7
Liked the job/asked to to it	24	17.4
Had previous qualification/ experience	23	16.7
(- to get experience	1)	
(- to help with the course)	
(they were doing	2) 10	7.2
(- practical training	6)	
(- job prospects for getting)	
(out	1)	
Money, payment	9	6.5
Boredom, to keep occupied	8	5.8
Other		
- to get out of gaol	3	2.2
- to transfer to another gaol	5	3.6
- for a change	5	3.6
- other	10	7.2

The number of reasons exceeds the number of parolees (n = 80) because most parolees had had more than one job.

Table 10: Did you gain any skills from prison work

YES	No. of Parolees n = 41	%	NO	No. of Parolees n = 35	%
Welding	7		Jobs were too basic, inefficient	7	
Sewing	5		Didn't learn anything new	5	
Boiler	4		Not likely to go into that field		
Clerical	4		be it: interest or lack of money	1	
Cook	4		skill but no ticket	1	
Painting	3		Importance of related course needed to be emphasized	2	
Cleaning	3		Other	4	
Bookbinding	2				
Upholstery	2				
Carpentry	2				
Gardening	2				
Layout artist	2				
Fibreglasing	1				
Framing	1				
Bookbinding	1				
Electrician	1				
Blacksmith	1				
Plumbing	1				
Driver (got ticket)	1				
Bricklaying	1				
Laundry	1				
Greenkeeping	1				
Sheet metal worker	1				
Butcher	1				

2 said it provided the practical side of the course

Table 11: Other benefits from prison work

Benefit	No. of Parolees	%
Helped to get used to a regular job and regular hours	11	13.8
Gained confidence, self-satisfaction, etc	7	8.8
General household skills (include able to work from home)	6	7.5
Gave an incentive for inside/occupied time	5	6.3
Maintained old skills	3	3.8
Helped acclimatize to outside	2	2.5
Other		
- made him appreciate outside work	1)	
- helped improve English	1)	
- gave self discipline	1)	6.3
- gained incentive, money	1)	
- learnt to do business	1)	
Nothing	41	51.3
No answer	8	10.0

looking at how the skills were used once released. Of the twenty-nine parolees who looked for work related to the jobs they had done inside, eighteen had obtained work (see Table 12). Further the types of jobs which have been useful in obtaining work are quite varied and do not

indicate any pattern, other than the fact that the majority were trade jobs. The prison jobs, considered useful in providing practical experience, which helped in obtaining a job on release were: carpentry (2 parolees), welding (2 parolees), bricklaying, boiler attendant, painting, tailor shop, machinist, sandblasting, camera operator, wood grinding and cook. Clerical and typewriter repair work were reported to have helped with own business.

These figures are quite low. A reason for the lack of follow-up of their skills in the community is evident in the parolees' suggestions for change to the prison jobs. Some parolees thought that prison industries needed to be more commercially competitive, providing jobs which provided more skills and individual responsibility,

Table 12: Have you found your prison work experience useful on release?

Utility of prison jobs on release	No. of Parolees	%
Found prison jobs useful on release	18	22.5
Not found jobs related to their experience with prison jobs	11	13.8
Not looked for work related to prison jobs	41	51.3
No replies	10	12.5

Table 13: Suggestions for changes in prison jobs

Suggestion	No. of Parolees	%
Increase wages/ incentives	18	22.5
Have more jobs and more variety	15	18.8
Make individual jobs more serious, i.e., provide more responsibility		
Make industries commercially competitive	8	10.0
Have more industries	4	5.0
Provide more trade skills	8	10.0
Adjust working hours	6	7.5
No changes needed	12	15.0
Other	26	32.5

for example, "inside it's so artificial, you need to do work in a commercial atmosphere, if jobs were taken in more depth more experience could be gained" (see Table 13).

iii) Work Release Programme

A few parolees said a way to improve prison work was to provide more outside work, i.e., such as work release, which is part of the programme operating at the Silverwater Work Release Centre. The Work Release Programme involves prisoners, temporarily released to the community during the day, to work in a "normal" job, being required to return to the prison each evening. Twenty-one parolees (26%) of the present sample had taken part in this scheme, mainly for the sake of making money for release and providing for their families, or to help re-adjust to normal work. The average time spent in work

Table 14: Places of Work Release

1.	Picture framing shop
2.	Storeman
3.	Restaurant kitchen hand
4.	Leyland - process worker
5.	Shop manager
6.	Used car company helper
7.	Furniture Saleslady - clerical
8.	Salesman McCleod Tyres
9.	Labourer construction site
10.	Leading hand
11.	Labourer fibre containers
12.	Skin shed
13.	Aust. Hydraulics factory hand
14.	Welding - Hoxton Park
15.	Panel Beating
16.	Fidex engineering
17.	Mission work
18.	Accountant
19.	Active Hire
20.	Spray painting
21.	Wrecking yard.

release jobs was six months. (See Table 14 for the places of employment.)

iv) Utility of Work Release Programme on release

Fifty per cent of partakers found that they did obtain some type of skills. These skills included: picture framing, kitchen handwork, selling skills, machinery skills, refreshed bricklaying skills and welding skills. Of the nine (43%) who said Work Release had helped them to obtain work on release, all of them had stayed in their prison Work Release job after release. The five (24%) who had attempted to find work in related areas but had failed, claimed the problem to be a lack of work available. Five other parolees had not looked for work in the area and two did not like the work. Thus, in summary, it seems that Work Release helps in a very direct way by providing work straight after release and provides a very real adjustment period to outside work, for example: "helped put me back into society five days a week, seven hours a day".

When asked what, other than practical skills, they had gained from their Work Release experience, these parolees replied that: Work Release had helped them adjust back into society (57%); it had helped by providing money (14%); or it had not provided anything in addition to the practical skills (24%).

The major suggestions for change to the existing Work Release Programme were: to facilitate accessibility to job interviews (six parolees); reduce restrictions on suitable work (three parolees); allow more people to partake (two parolees). Individual parolees also suggested: have work more related to course; give more trust to those going out to work; and provide more incidental money. Six of the parolees who had participated on the scheme thought no changes were needed.

III. PRISON: INFORMATION AND ADVICE PROVIDED

i) Information about courses available

The most common source of information for inmates about educational programmes available in the gaol was other inmates (30%). Many just "heard it through word of mouth and then went to see the Education Officer". Notices on activities boards were another source of information. Typically the initial source of information, be it inmates or notices, encouraged the prisoners to go to see the Education Officer to apply for courses.

An Education Officer is employed in each gaol to take care of all aspects of running courses. Fifteen per cent of the parolees said that they were actually approached by an Education

Table 15: Sources of information on prison courses available

Sources of Information	No. of Parolees (n = 76)	%
Other inmates	16	21.1
plus notices	4	5.2
plus officers	3	3.9
Education Officer	10	13.2
plus notices	2	2.6
Prisoner initiative	12	15.8
Prison job	11	14.5
Notices only	8	10.5
Reception Committee	5	6.6
Others (e.g. teacher, parole officer)	5	6.6

Officer. While it may not be possible for the officers to see prisoners individually, it must be noted that the personal contact by the Education Officer was reported by the parolees as being very important.

Other inmates showed the initiative to find out the information themselves (15%). Most of these parolees' comments were quite negative, for example:

"Nobody helps you in prison. You have to help yourself."

"Got in and thought I had to find out what I can get out of this. Looked for everything I could do and went to the Education Officer."

"I found it out by writing to the various institutions. The Education Officer helped only after I showed genuine staying power."

Quite a few inmates held jobs which allowed them easy access to education information such as working in the education block or clerical work: e.g., "I worked with Education Officer so I had advice at my fingertips". Other parolees had been actually encouraged by officers in charge of their workplace to obtain qualifications. For example:

"People at printing shop told me to do it as they needed someone to work the camera".

Only five inmates remembered being told by the reception committee about the courses available. It may be that a prisoner at this stage is not receptive to much so that the reception

committee is not a very effective way of giving out such information.

ii) Advice on suitability of courses

Being aware that courses are available is the first step in the education process. The next vital step is that of providing sufficient advice and guidance to allow inmates to make the correct decision about which course would best suit their needs in gaol and on release. The parolees interviewed in this study would have already experienced difficulties on release. Therefore it is important to ask them how useful and realistic they found the advice received in prison to be and what advice should have been supplied.

The majority of parolees seemed quite satisfied with the information obtained (55%). However this is just over half and the others did make interesting complaints about the advice received. The main criticisms were aimed at the type of information actually given and the way it was distributed (see Table 16).

Many parolees felt that more information regarding the courses should have been provided (14%). Examples of comments include:

"If you wanted to do a course you had to go and find out yourself and present the facts to him";

"He didn't seem to know enough about the courses, the fundamentals, that is what was involved, what you learned";

"He could have given more information - I was only given sheets with what's available on it".

Table 16: Parolees' criticisms of course advice received

Criticism	No. of Parolees	%
Lack of information	11	14
Lack of encouragement/ support	11	14
Lack of personal contact	5	6
Information took a long time to be received	1	1
Lack of discussion about job realities	4	5
Education Officer was hard to get hold of	5	6
Due to prison restriction the Education Officer couldn't help	3	4
No appropriate comment	5	6
No criticism	44	55

A related complaint which seems quite important, although mentioned by only a few, is the lack of discussion about job realities. This would include aspects such as job possibilities, availability of appropriate jobs, and the possibility of any restrictions due to having a criminal record. For example:

"The Education Officer doesn't sit down and talk about the realities of getting a job. Many pass exams but when they go for a job they find it hard. They have no idea they can't use it outside";

"(They) don't give enough information so that a course can lead to a job. I would have preferred a job to be encouraged. You need a licence for accountancy and I started it, but stopped it because my record wouldn't allow me to get a job. Wish I'd got this advice before I started".

Parolees also felt that there was both a lack of encouragement from anyone in the gaol and a lack of personal contact. Frequent comments included: "(there was) little support, (they) didn't foster study" and "there was no encouragement at all". For instance one parolee stated: "It was hard to get to see the Education Officer. He wasn't always there and it's hard to get passes to see him as officers are not interested in crims doing courses". Further the importance of individual and personal contact is reflected in the following comments:

"I didn't take the Education Officer's advice as I felt he couldn't help as he didn't know me or what I could or could not do".

"You walk in and you pick the course. He should have sat down and talked about what courses were best".

There were many criticisms concerning what information is available and how it is distributed. A necessary question is therefore what solutions do the parolees see to the problem. Having experienced these difficulties it is probable that they themselves would be most able to see some appropriate methods that Education Officers could use to make sure all prisoners are aware of the courses offered. These suggestions are presented in Table 17.

The majority of the parolees interviewed thought that the way prisoners find out about courses could be improved. Four main types of

Table 17: Suggestions for ways information about courses could be distributed in gaol

Suggestions	No. of parolees	%*
More printed material available	15	19
Regular seminars	12	15
Use of reception committee	12	15
Individual interviews	11	14
Other	7	9
- provide more staff (2)		
- encourage Wing officers to distribute information (2)		
- allow extra phone calls (1)		
- have mandatory courses (1)		
- encourage Education Officers to provide support for prisoners		
No suggestions	5	6
No need for improvement	26	33

* Total % is greater than 100 as some parolees made more than one suggestion

suggestion were made: having regular seminars, use of the reception committee, making more printed material available and conducting individual interviews. Although inmates may have made different suggestions most of them considered that prisoners need to be encouraged to do courses. This is evident in the comments suggesting that regular seminars would encourage people to study and would be an excellent way of making sure such information was distributed. As one parolee put it so well:

"It's a complicated situation. Newsletters were OK but 60% of crims were illiterate. Many didn't know the courses. They merely couldn't understand the circulars. They should have regular seminars ... and it would establish good relationships between the Education Officer and the crims. People are daunted by education. (They) need to be pushed. (In the seminars) they will at least have contact and be made aware of outside opportunities".

Other suggestions in the same vein were to have seminars addressed by representatives from the different educational institutions so even the Education Officer could get to know what is going on. Further, as the prison population is constantly changing regular seminars would ensure that everyone was informed. It was suggested that the seminars could explain "about the outside situation and the course: what they are, how long it takes and where it gets you.

For example, many do Small Business

Management and can't get a job on the outside. This could all be explained."
Also, as another suggested:

"The guys are generally resentful and apathetic. More positive communication is needed from the inside. (In the seminars) they could get the crims who have done courses successfully to get others interested ... to encourage them";

"They won't walk up to the Education Officer by themselves. They need to be encouraged. If I hadn't been working with the Education Officer I could have stayed oblivious to what was going on."

Thus the seminars would not only be a way of providing information but also a means of contact for many prisoners who otherwise would not think of making an effort.

The most frequent suggestion was to provide more printed material as it was a convenient method of obtaining the information for prisoners. This may seem ineffective given the fact that 30% of all persons are virtually illiterate (N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services Annual Report, 1984, p.22). However it would be possible to use comprehensively illustrated as well as written material:

"Many don't want to go seeking it. They could put it up in the wings and could see it without having to go looking The majority won't want to do it as the young macho can't read or write. In each wing they could have big pamphlets put up that can easily be read and understood, telling of educational apprenticeship possibilities".

Other comments were directed more towards the provision of adequate information, for example:

"According to your sentence they can give you a booklet about what's available and what's open to you instead of seeing it on boards and chasing the Education Officer. (They) could have a booklet printed up on correspondence courses for maximum security and external courses for minimum. If they give you this at the beginning it would help to know what is going on. Many (prisoners) are timid and

don't bother to find out what is to their benefit. They have to give you incentive to be good."

Initiative for prisoners to do a course can also be encouraged through the Programme Review Committee:

"At classo ... should discuss what he can do to improve himself. As soon as they settle down give him something to strive for. Encourage him by showing what it can do for him. Should have a programme mapped out from the beginning. In the committee (you) need caring and qualified people. Ask them what skills they have and what is best suited for them and make a programme to help them as they have no confidence in themselves".

In other words what the Programme Review Committee would be doing is providing personal counselling. The need for such individual counselling is best summarized in the comment:

"Many guys have limited reading and writing skills. The Education Officer should look at his background and say 'George we've got this course and you should do this' because they (prisoners) can't see that far ahead. Show him that courses can be used to fix his car later."

It was thought that it should be compulsory to see the Education Officer so that the long term benefits and incentives could be explained to each inmate. As put crudely by one parolee: "Sit down and explain what courses are suitable but (you) have to show them dollar signs".

Other worthwhile suggestions included using wing officers to encourage inmates to do courses, to "provide more phone calls so inmates can ring the (educational) institution themselves and find out the information", and to "make everyone take a three week course just to see what he can do".

Many of the parolees' comments have been included in the previous discussion. This was considered necessary to illustrate why the parolees thought such changes were necessary. The suggestions given focussed on providing the incentive and encouragement for people who would not normally consider that they would be able to do a course, and informing them how a course could help them once they were released. Most suggestions concentrated on two issues:

Table 18: Prior work history

Occupation	Parolee's usual occupation		Parolees who had at least one job in each category in the 2 years before gaol*		Total jobs held by parolees in the 2 years before gaol	
	(n = 80)	%	(n = 80)	%	(n = 98)	%
Labourer/unskilled	33	41	37	46	55	56
Semi-skilled	5	6	4	5	7	7
Trade	18	23	16	20	19	19
Clerical	6	8	5	6	5	5
Self-employed non-professional	5	6	6	8	7	7
Professional/ Managerial	8	10	5	6	5	5
Didn't work	5	6	13	16		

* Total is greater than 80 as some parolees had more than one job.

effectively conveying information to a reluctant audience; and overcoming, by incentives and especially by personal contact and encouragement, entrenched passivity, fear and scepticism about potential gains from study.

iii) Vocational Guidance

Despite the fact that the provision of vocational guidance was one of the aims of the Programmes Division, of the present sample only 7.5% stated that they received any form of vocational guidance while in gaol. Of these six parolees, only three were satisfied with the guidance, two indicated that the advice received was inappropriate to the parolees' situation and the third considered it useless as he had not been able to get work.

IV. PRE-PRISON: EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

i) Pre-prison employment

In order to investigate any effects of the gaol educational programmes it is necessary to identify the vocational background of the parolees who took part in the courses, prior to beginning their sentences. In the present sample the majority of parolees had been involved in unskilled work, the most common types of jobs being driving, labouring and storeman (48%). However nearly one-quarter had some type of trade (23%) e.g., butcher, commercial artist, frame maker. The remaining one-quarter were fairly evenly divided between clerical, professional and managerial, and self-employed positions (see Table 18). For further detail refer also to Appendix 2.

To have a clearer picture of their pre-gaol employment each parolee was asked to describe the last two years of their working life before coming to prison. Two years was chosen as an adequate time sample as it was considered to be

the maximum period for which one could ask people to recall details accurately. Remembering the events of those two years was difficult enough for some and asking parolees to describe a longer period of time may have led to inaccuracies or fabrications. As a check on whether the two years' employment described was different to the work they usually did, the parolee's usual occupation was also noted.

The majority of the education parolees had been working during at least part of the two years prior to their last conviction. As expected the majority had been involved in unskilled or semi-skilled work (51%). As seems to be the trend, a smaller yet sizeable proportion were involved in some type of trade, with the remaining few divided fairly evenly between clerical, self-employed non-professional, and professional and managerial occupations.

The two year work history described by parolees seems to be indicative of the kind of work they are usually involved in. The percentage differences between their usual occupation and the kind of work they had in the two years before prison are quite small (see Table 18).

By far the majority of jobs (88%) held by parolees were full-time (see Table 19). The number of jobs held by parolees ranged between

Table 19: Hours worked per week

Hours worked	No. of Jobs (n = 98)	%
0-5	0	0
6-10	1	1
11-15	2	2
16-20	1	1
21-25	0	0
Full-time	86	88
Erratic	7	7

Table 20: Length of time spent in each job

Length of time	No. of Jobs (n = 98)	%
1 - 2 months	5	5
2 - 6 months	14	14
1/2 - 1 year	18	18
1 - 1 1/2 years	17	17
1 1/2 - 2 years	12	12
2+ years	27	28
Other (Indeterminable length or casual)	5	5

had never been employed in this period and a further 3% had been unemployed for at least a year. Approximately four out of every ten (43%) had been unemployed at the time of arrest. Most of them had not worked for at least six months. It must be noted that many parolees found it difficult to remember exactly what occurred in these two years so the figures should only be taken as an indication of what trends may have occurred.

Those who had been unemployed for more than eight months in the two years prior to their imprisonment were asked what they thought was the major reason for their unemployment. The arbitrary eight months was chosen as a cut off

Table 21: Length of time unemployed during the two years, by whether employed at the time of arrest.

Length of Time Unemployed	Were you employed at arrest?				Total	%
	Yes	%	No	%		
Never unemployed	34	43	-	-	34	43
Negligible - 2 months	5	6	5	6	10	13
3 - 5 months	3	4	6	8	9	11
6 - 8 months	1	1	5	6	6	8
9 - 12 months	1	1	3	4	4	5
13 - 16 months	-	-	1	1	1	1
17 - 20 months	-	-	1	1	1	1
21 - 24 months	-	-	12	15	15	15
Unknown	2	3	1	1	3	4
TOTAL	46	58	34	43	80	

Table 22: Reasons for being unemployed more than eight months

Reason	No. of Parolees (n = 18)	% of Total (n = 80)
Didn't want to work	5	6
Look after family	4	5
Lack of qualifications	2	3
Was in a detention centre	2	3
Other: health, drugs, study, retired, no suitable work	5	6

mark since the Commonwealth Government Adult Wage Subsidy scheme requires eight months unemployment before giving assistance to find work.

The reasons given for the period of unemployment were quite varied (see Table 22). What is interesting is that unemployment was only attributed to a lack of qualifications by two parolees. Many extraneous reasons were given unrelated to work skills, work experience or the present unemployment situation. The main ones were the fact they merely didn't want to work or that marriage and children prevented them from working.

ii) Pre-prison education

Most of the education parolees did continue at least to secondary school level, with nearly one-third (33%) completing the School Certificate and a further 23%, finishing their Higher School Certificate (see Table 23). Just over one-quarter (28%) did some sort of training or obtained some qualifications following leaving school and before going to prison (see Table 24). For more detail refer also to Appendix 2.

These figures are comparable to the percentage of the population with post-school qualifications (34%). The present group may be more educated than a typical sample of parolees

none and four, with the average being one. An examination of how long parolees kept each job indicates that over a third had held jobs for at least one and a half of the two years (39%) while a similar proportion had kept each job for less than a year (37%). In examining more closely those people who held jobs, each for a short period (19%), it was found that they usually had more than one casual or part-time job at the same time.

In the present sample recent experience of employment was varied (see Table 21). A sizeable proportion had worked for the entire two years (43%) and a further 12% had been out of work for less than two months. In contrast 15%

Table 23: At what grade did you leave school?

Level at which left school	No. of Parolees (n = 80)	%
Primary	6	8
Secondary School - Years 7-9	28	35
School Certificate/ Intermediate	26	33
High School Certificate/ Leaving	18	23
No answer	2	3

would be as they were selected by having involved themselves in education while in prison. Unfortunately comparative information on the educational qualifications of the general prison population is not available.

V. POST-PRISON: EXPERIENCE

The present study was conducted to evaluate the relevance of prison courses and prison work experience to post-release employment. While the NSW Department of Corrective Services has certain expectations of what courses might help the prisoners achieve, it is the parolee himself who will determine if and how he will use what he has learnt in gaol. Prisoners may attempt gaol courses for many reasons. Those who, for example, studied to develop future job prospects are likely to use their course quite differently from those who wish to merely to fill in time while serving a boring prison sentence. Thus it is to a large extent the needs and interests of the

Table 25: Did you want to find work?

Desire to work	Number of parolees (n = 80)	%
Wanted to work*	65	81
Didn't want to work (i.e. wanted to adjust to outside life)	7	9
Planned to carry on with studies	7	9
Other	1	1

* Of those who wanted to work 11% (n = 7) had pre-arranged work and 14% (n = 9) planned to stay with the job they had on Work Release.

parolees which will determine the utility of the courses. Of particular interest were: whether the parolees wanted to obtain work on release; the expectations they had of the type of work they could get; and whether their expectations of the ease of getting a job were realistic.

1) The parolees' expectations

The majority of the education parolees (81%) reported that they had wanted to work after release (see Table 25). Those who had not, were evenly divided between those who wanted to carry on with studies commenced in gaol (9%) and those who wanted to spend time readjusting to the outside world (9%). For example, some parolees commented:

"I didn't have any (plans) - was lost and angry and trying to adjust to outside life";

Table 24: Which course did you do after leaving school?

Course	N (n = 80)*	% Of total sample	% Of those who did tertiary courses (n = 23)
Tech certificate	4	5	17
Trade certificate	9	11	39
University degree	1	1	4
College of Advanced Education/Health Sciences	2	3	9
Private/Government Business	4	5	17
Internal courses	4	5	17
Other			
- army courses			
- private art school			
- apprenticeship	4	5	17
Didn't do a course	54	68	
Unknown	3	4	

*Total number of courses equals 81 as one parolee had finished two courses.

Table 26: What type of work did you want?

Type of work sought	No. of Parolees (n = 66)*	% of total sample
Unskilled, e.g. truck driver, taxi driver, labouring	25	31
Semi-skilled, e.g. boiler attendant fork lift driver, machinist	3	4
Trade, e.g. plumbing, carpentry, welding	10	13
Clerical	3	4
Self-employed non professional	9	11
Professional/management	3	4
Anything	11	14
Other (art work)	1	1
Unknown	1	1

* The total includes those parolees who wanted to find work on release, those who were already on the Work Release Programme and those who had pre-arranged work.

"I wanted to run around crazy for a while and get used to being out".

Of those who wanted work and who had not arranged work prior to release, the majority wanted to do unskilled work (31%). Further, 14% did not know what they wanted to do and were prepared to do anything (see Table 26). This may have affected the type of work they applied for and therefore limited the effect that any course they might have done inside could have had on the type of work they eventually obtained. It is surprising to find that although 84% of parolees did courses which could upgrade their work skills, nearly 50% did not expect, or perhaps did not want, to obtain skilled work.

Of those who wanted work, a substantial proportion thought they would be able to find it "fairly soon" i.e. approximately within a couple of months (44%). Only 11% thought it might "take a while" (see Table 27). This seems an

Table 27: How long did you think it would take to find work?

Time expected to find work	No. of parolees (n = 61)*	%
Immediately/fairly soon	22	27.5
A while	5	6.3
Didn't know	9	11.3
Not relevant as setting up own business or had pre-arranged work.	25	31.3

* The total excludes those parolees who didn't want work (n = 14) and those who did not answer the question (n = 5).

unrealistic time estimation given the economic situation at the time. It seems that the majority either were unaware of the outside unemployment problems or regarded their skills as being highly competitive.

ii) Dealing with reality

The next section discusses what actually happened once these parolees left prison: the type of work they did obtain and the difficulties they encountered in doing so.

All parolees interviewed had been out of prison for at least three months. This period was considered adequate for them to have had time to settle back into the outside world and begin looking for work. Only a small proportion had been out for longer than three years (2.5%). The average length of time since release was 1 year and 7 months for the education group and two years for the comparison group (see Table 28).

By the time of the interview all of the comparison group reported looking for a job and only 5% of the education group had NOT at least looked for a job since their release. These four parolees had not made any attempts at all to take

Table 28: Length of time since release

Time since release	Education group (n = 80) %	Comparison group (n = 10) %
Less than 3 months	0	0
3-6 months	18	20
7-12 months	23	0
13-18 months	14	20
19-24 months	20	30
25-30 months	10	10
31-36 months	14	0
3 years +	3	20

on work, either by actively seeking it out, staying on at pre-arranged work, accepting work when offered, or setting up their own business. It is interesting to note that of those four, one was studying and two had children to look after. Only one did not have an explanation for not having looked for work. As practically all the parolees had at least attempted to look for work it is appropriate to look at how they attempted to use their prison education on release.

Completing a course in prison does not guarantee a job on release. Other considerations include whether: the skills provided are appropriate to the needs of the labour market; and, whether a lack of other types of skills will inhibit their chances of obtaining work. Therefore the problems encountered by parolees when they were looking for work were examined in order to determine whether there were other ways in which the employment prospects of prisoners could be optimized while they were in gaol or on release. The results are summarised in Table 29.

Surprisingly, of those who did make an active effort to seek work, one-third said that they did not encounter any problems at all. For those who did experience problems, the major problem was that of having a prison record. This became a problem

at different stages of obtaining employment. For some it restricted their entry into certain jobs, for example:

"can't apply for government jobs because of record"

It affected chances of employment at the interview level:

"99% ask if you've been convicted and therefore can't get a job."

"I have problems as I tell them straight that I've been in gaol."

It may still be a problem after the selection process:

"I had to leave as people found out about my record and made it difficult".

"I only lost the job after I'd told them I'd been in prison".

Two other notable problems encountered were the high level of unemployment in the community and age (78% having this problem were over 40 years of age). However these problems are common in the present economic situation and are not specifically confined to parolees. Other problems encountered resulted directly from the fact that they had spent time in gaol. Often parolees found it difficult to contend with questions asked at interviews such as:

"Wanted to know where I had worked as a boiler attendant. Couldn't say where, and I was scared of saying I hadn't worked for 9 years".

"When you have 2 years unaccountable for, what do you say?"

A common problem faced by long-termers was:

"Haven't been for an interview for 12 years and therefore I've got no interview technique."

This leads to the problem of lack of work history and experience. The comment which sums up what most had to say is: "They always wanted someone with experience. I've got none. I went into gaol at 19." Problems in accounting for the

Table 29: What problems did you have when looking for work?

Problem	Education group	Comparison group
	(n = 68)*# %	(n = 10)*# %
No problems experienced	32	0
Prison record	27	60
High unemployment	15	20
Age	13	0
Interview problems	12	10
Lack of qualifications	9	10
Difficult to find something suitable	7	20
No experience/no work history	13	10
Other - transport problems lack of money to look for work appearance nationality health transport	15	10

*N = 68. This total excludes those people who:

1. have not looked for work;
2. are still working at jobs they had before leaving prison; and
3. those who started their own business.

Percentages add up to more than 100 as some people had experienced more than one problem.

Table 30: Who helped you look for work?

Source of help	Education group (n = 80)* %	Comparison group (n = 10) %
Friends/relatives	33	60
C.E.S.	11	10
Other -		
Parole Officer	5	0
Work Release		
Employer		
Jobfile		
Nobody helped	40	30
Haven't looked	11	0

* The total includes those parolees who haven't looked for work due to study, staying on at prearranged jobs, not wanting work or going into their own business (n = 9).

gap in their work record and the enforced lack of experience were reported by one-quarter of the parolees.

Surprisingly only a minority (9%) saw lack of qualifications as a problem. Thus, it seems that other factors may inhibit full utilisation of the skills provided by the education course. The majority of these factors are related to having been in gaol and how they had to deal with this on the outside.

The answer as to why the parolees seemed to experience so few problems in looking for work may lie in the way they obtained it. Most seemed to have obtained work through relatives or friends rather than through formal job seeking procedures (see Table 30). Further, when asked how they were helped it was found that the majority of parolees were given their jobs.

Seventy out of the eighty education parolees had worked by the time of the interview (88%). The majority of prisoners who had to look for work

Table 31: Time taken to find work

Length of time to find work	Education group (n = 46)*		Comparison group (n = 10) %
	% of education sample who had looked for work	% of total sample	
< 1 month	59	34	60
1 - 2 months	11	6	10
3 - 5 months	11	6	2
6 - 8 months	9	5	0
9 - 12 months	11	6	10

* The total excludes those who have not looked for work and those who have not worked since release.

Table 32: Types of jobs since release

Job Categories	No. of jobs (n=147)	Education % of jobs (n=147)	Comparison % of jobs (n=21)	Education parolees who had held at least one job in each category (n=80)		Comparison parolees (n=10) %
					%	
Labourer/unskilled	76	52	86	40	50	70
Semi-skilled	16	11	0	12	15	0
Trade	24	16	5	13	16	10
Clerical	5	3	5	5	6	10
Self employed -						
non-professional	9	6	5	9	11	10
Professional/manag	11	8	0	8	10	
Other, e.g. art work	6	4	0	3	4	
Crossword writer						
Councillor						
*Scattered odd jobs	4			4		

Categories will add to more than 80 as most parolees had more than one job.

*This figure is not included in the totals as the jobs were too irregular and frequent to be counted.

(59%) obtained work fairly quickly, i.e. in less than one month after release. This excludes those who: had pre-arranged work; stayed on at employment organised by the Work Release Programme; did not want to look for work; and those setting up their own business. Within the first six months 81% of the parolees were employed. The remaining parolees took between 6 months and 1 year to find work (n = 9).

Those who had not worked at all at the time of the interview had been out of gaol for an average of 14 months, allowing them plenty of time to look for work (see Table 31).

Did the parolees obtain the type of work they had desired? The next section answers this question by describing the types of jobs parolees have had since release.

At the time of the interview 65% of the education group and 40% of the comparison group were employed. The associated unemployment rates of 34% and 60% respectively are much higher than those in the community. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics figures the unemployment rate in N.S.W. was 9.7% at that time (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1985).

Table 32 indicates that since release 52% of the total number of jobs obtained by the education parolees and 87% of the jobs of the comparison group were unskilled. The most common types of unskilled work obtained were taxi driver, shop assistant, labourer and general factory hand. Semi-skilled jobs included machinist, boiler attendant, assistant printer or camera operator. The next most popular occupation types for the education parolees were the trades (16%), although the difference between the numbers going into this type of work and the former is quite large (35%). The remaining jobs were scattered between the clerical, self-employed and professional management work. Those setting up their own business included a milkman,

Table 33: Jobs held when interviewed

Occupation	Education group (n = 80)* %	Comparison group (n = 10) %
Labourer unskilled	31	30
Semi-skilled	5	10
Trade	10	0
Clerical	1	0
Services, Farm	5	0
Professional	5	0
Admin/Exec	6	0
Other	4	0
Not in workforce	34	60

*Total in workforce at time of the interview was 52.

handyman, farmers, and painter & decorator. Professional workers included a chiroprapist, managing director of a company, an accountant and a teacher.

The average number of jobs held by parolees from both groups was two. This was unrelated to how long the parolees had been out of prison (see Table 34). It is difficult to know how to interpret number of job changes since on the one hand changes can be indicative of employment in casual or temporary jobs; on the other hand moderate job mobility may indicate upgrading of employment.

Table 34: Average number of jobs held

Time since release	Average no. of jobs held
3 - 6 months	1
7 - 12 months	2
13 - 18 months	2
19 - 24 months	2
25 - 30 months	2
31 - 36 months	3
36 + months	2

Tables 35 and 36 show that the majority of jobs held by parolees from both groups were full-time and were mainly in the \$200 to \$300 per week wage bracket.

Table 35: Hours worked per week

Hours worked	Education group no. of jobs (n = 147) %	Comparison group no. of jobs (n = 21) %
0- 5	4	0
6-10	7	0
11-15	3	0
16-20	4	14
21-25	1	14
Full-time	71	76
Erratic	4	0
Other, freelance casual	3	14
Not stated	3	0

Table 37 compares the percentages working in each category of employment prior to gaol and then after release, as well as what they had intended to do before being released (see also Appendix 2). The major difference is in the number unemployed before and after gaol. This can be attributed to the fact that the post-gaol percentage was an indication of the number unemployed at a specific period of time whereas the pre-gaol percentage indicated those people

Table 36: Average weekly earnings

Average Weekly Earnings	Education group No. of jobs (n = 147) %	Comparison group No. of jobs (n = 21) %
< \$100	3	0
\$100 < \$200	11	14
\$200 < \$300	33	43
\$300 < \$400	19	10
\$400 +	15	5
Not stated and too erratic to work out	18	29

Table 37: Parolee's pre- and post-prison type of occupation

Occupation	% of Pre-Gaol Occupation	Education Group % of Pre-Release Ambitions	% of Post-Gaol Occupation
Unskilled/labourer	41	31	31
Semi-skilled	6	4	5
Trade	23	13	10
Clerical	8	4	1
Self-employed non professional	6	11	5
Professional/management	10	4	6
Anything	-	14	-
Other	-	1	4
Not in the workforce/ didn't want work	6	-	34

Table 38: Courses being completed after release

Course	No. of Parolees	% (n = 18)
University	5	28
Trade Certificate	4	22
Tech. Certificate	7	39
Remedial	1	6
Recreational	1	6

who had not been employed at all in a two year period. The trend in each type of occupation is similar for both pre- and post-gaol employment and release ambitions. The majority were involved in unskilled work. The next biggest category was skilled trades. The remaining categories were fairly uniform in size. The only difference was that more people had intended to go into their own business before release than actually did.

iii) Further Education

Another aim of the Programmes Division was to direct parolees on to further education. A

surprising percentage, 23%, had continued with courses they began in gaol (see Table 38).

Of those who did continue, most (89%) went on with vocational courses. Thus job prospects may have been the impetus behind the desire to finish. Only two people (3%) began any new courses.

VI. SUGGESTIONS IN RETROSPECT

The preceding findings may support the suggestion that there is a lack of job seeking and keeping skills for the present group of parolees. However a surprising finding was that 50% of the education parolees considered that they did not need any type of advice on release (see Table 39). Twenty-five per cent considered they had already acquired skills through the course they had done. Others were confident of their skills due to their previous work record or that they already had a job to go to. Such a reaction from the parolees is consistent with the finding that approximately 33% did not experience any problems when job hunting and another 13% had not looked for work.

Table 39: What kind of advice would you like to have received before you got out?

Advice Needed	No. of Parolees (n = 80)	%
Employment/economic situation	17	21
General information on outside changes	5	6
Vocational guidance	8	10
Where to go for a job	2	3
Didn't need advice, need help	3	4
Other		
- help for foreigners	1	1
- needed advice but didn't know what	2	3
- need advice at the beginning	2	3
- irrelevant/no comment	3	4
Didn't need any advice	40	50

Of the remaining parolees, 50% would have liked to have been told about the outside economic situation with specific reference to the difficulties of obtaining work and the added problem of what work restrictions they would face with a criminal record. As one parolee commented:

"I got out and not till then did I realise how hard it was. I got depressed and then got advice. It would have saved the upset if I knew how hard it was before".

Other comments included:

"Would have liked; four months before getting out, to get advice on employment. We are led to believe that there are great organisations handing out jobs. I came out and I was disillusioned. I thought it was like it was ten years ago."

"It must be drummed into you that you need an education to get a job outside. I would have liked to know how hard it was outside. You expect it to be easy when you get out but I had no idea that computers had taken over so much. (Need to) stress the situation is bad."

Many parolees also suggested that the Commonwealth Employment Service could be more involved with the gaol by having a direct link

between the two. Before release, the office could be contacted and the availability of work in different areas could be determined. For example:

"Should have seen CES to find out what jobs are available. Could have directed her to a local CES who could have been looking for her while she was still inside. CES should be more involved. An officer should be attached to gaols from where people are released";

"Could have checked to see what jobs are available for that person in the area they are going to live".

There was the suggestion that vocational guidance is also necessary before release, that is, parolees need advice on "avenues of employment and they could maybe steer skills into allied trades". One parolee commented:

"I would like to have received vocational guidance from a trained person. I had not worked previously and was not aware of possible avenues for my skills".

A few people suggested that this help would best be received at the beginning of a short-term sentence as well as at the end.

In summary, the majority of advice needed was regarding what jobs are available outside in general and also in particular for any newly acquired skills. There seems to be a need for prisoners to be advised about the general employment situation and how their individual skills could be used. Finally, they need help to devise strategies to deal with having been in prison and its effects on their employment history.

The present sample could be considered different to a 'typical' parolee sample merely due to the fact that they made the effort to take part in courses while in prison. Thus to obtain a more general picture of the needs of prisoners they were also asked if they considered it important that other inmates also received this advice. Practically all parolees thought it important that they did (99%). The major reason given is reflected in the comment made by one parolee:

"All the years in gaol I had no idea when I was going to get out. Living under delusion (about) outside ... (I) didn't imagine life outside changing.

Some men cop out as couldn't handle life out here. Inside it's insulated".

Another said:

"Many prisoners are simply not aware of what it is like on the outside. Many have never dealt with this before. They go in and mix with the same crowd and don't know what's available - that is, the facilities which may help them get work."

A very practical reason that such advice is needed by prisoners is to prevent recidivism:

"Many come out don't know where to go and go straight back to crime - it can lead to a lot of knockbacks, disillusionment, to crime and then back to gaol".

Thus it appears that job seeking and keeping skills need to be provided in conjunction with vocational training, in order to make parolees aware of what resources are available to them and how to go about using them.

The next step would be to train the prisoner in how to look for a job, i.e., interview and presentation skills, application writing. The majority did not receive any such training. Those who received such training were asked how it had helped. Two said that it had not and three could not say that it had helped directly as they did not consider themselves needing this training but considered it useful for others.

Wiederanders (1981) found that there was a basic discrepancy between "basic-on-the-streets needs of young ex-offenders related to finding

and keeping jobs and the topics that are usually taught in formal 'pre-release' courses". Therefore it is useful to ask these parolees, now that they had had the appropriate experience, what specific skills they would like to have been taught before release (see Table 40).

Table 40: What job search skills would you like to have been taught?

Skill	No. of parolees (n = 54)	%
Interview presentation	13	24
Application form and resume writing	11	20
All job search skills	6	11
Knowledge of facilities	6	11
Counselling for confidence	3	6
Didn't need it	16	30
Don't know	4	7

As shown in the Table 40, the major skills needed were reported to be interview presentation, the writing of application forms and resumes, and the knowledge of how to use resources available for prisoners.

Presentation at interviews includes skills such as: appearance, correct speech, how to deal with questions regarding gaol and criminal records, and general conduct in an interview. As many inmates may never have had to write application forms or resumes such skills need to be taught. One suggestion was to teach this at the beginning of a sentence when the courses are being explained as it may make them aware that they may need to do some type of training.

Although quite a high percentage (30%) did not want such training, they thought it would be very useful for others coming out of the system.

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study indicate that educational courses in prison do have some positive effects by teaching prisoners skills, which help them obtain work and build their self esteem and confidence. The data further suggest that the total education of the prisoner does not merely include the provision of an educational course. It is a whole programme of learning. The important parts of the programme would include:

- a) providing the support and guidance for prisoners to choose an appropriate course;
- b) the actual material involved in the course;
- c) before release providing advice and guidance on the opportunities for the skills to be put into practice on the outside;
- d) providing support after release to develop or use these skills.

I. PERCEIVED BENEFITS

The results of the present study indicate that the educational courses in New South Wales prisons have benefited some parolees after release, in both job specific and more general ways.

1) Job specific benefits

- a) How gaol programmes were seen to be linked to post-release employment

Nearly one-third of the sample had stated that the courses had helped directly in obtaining employment. Even more positive is the fact that nearly three-quarters thought that the course had the potential to help them obtain work, even if they had not obtained any by the time of the interview. It must be emphasised that the interviews were conducted on one day of the parolee's post-release life. The parolees would all have been released at different times and would have been at different stages of assimilation back into the community. Some may not have considered looking for course-related work by the time of the interview. Further, employment is a source of income which most parolees greatly need. Thus, the lack of differences between pre- and post-gaol employment may be an indication that the parolees had taken on any available work as a means of obtaining money, rather than that the programmes were not potentially useful to them.

The unemployment rate of those who had undertaken education programmes in gaol was less than that of the comparison group.

Of the nine parolees who said that the Work Release Programme had helped them to obtain work on release, all of them had stayed on at their prison Work Release job after release. Thus it seems that Work Release helps in a very direct

way by providing work straight after release as well as providing a pre-release adjustment period.

- b) Differences between pre- and post-gaol levels of employment

The results do not indicate any marked change in the quality of the parolee's work. Both before and after gaol, employment trends were similar: most respondents were once again involved in unskilled work. The proportions involved in the other job categories were also similar. Other indications of the quality of employment did not reveal many differences. The majority of jobs was still full-time. Job stability did not differ markedly although this is difficult to measure due to different time periods used in the pre- and post-measures.

In a more positive light, there was a decrease in the unemployment level following release compared to that at arrest, even though the percentage was still greater for parolees than for the general population.

- c) Work skills provided by the programmes

There was no set pattern as to the work skills provided by the programmes. The ways in which courses did help were relative to the types of courses which were attempted. Understandably, while most parolees used any technical and trade qualification to get work, only a few used remedial or training courses. It is difficult to be more specific as to the skills obtained due to the wide range of courses attempted. The courses mainly helped by providing the skills and qualifications necessary to obtain a particular type of job. For example, a person who had done a welding course was able to get a job because of his welding skills, and so on, for each course. Further the programmes may have helped the parolee perform on the job. For example, one parolee obtained a handyman's job, where he could put his welding skills into practice.

ii) General benefits

The courses were seen as having a positive effect on parolees over and above giving them work skills. A major task of education is not only to teach technical skills but also to "bridge the gap between custody and non-custody" (Stirling, 1974). The parolees' comments indicate that in this respect the programmes were "successful". The courses helped them gain confidence and pride in their work. Attendance at courses outside prison also helped to get parolees back into society by allowing them contact with the outside world again: the fact that prisoners could meet and speak to people who were not limited to prison jargon and had other interests was stated

to be a major contribution to the parolee's assimilation process.

The parolees taking part in the Work Release Programme also suggested that one of the programme's major contributions was to help them get used to society again. Their comments suggest that it may not be necessarily the educational course itself which helps the parolee. It may be possible to develop other programmes which may have the same positive effect. These may include community work programmes where prisoners are going out of the gaol, meeting other people and learning to deal with outside life again. Even if many prisoners do not want to take part in courses, it still may be worthwhile to try to help acclimatise prisoners by other such programmes.

II) IMPROVING THE SERVICE PROVIDED

The results suggest that parolees do have needs on release which may affect how they utilize their training. This is evident in that half of the parolees considered they needed advice on release. There was seen to be a present lack of vocational guidance in both a general or specific way. For instance the major need was for general information on the outside about the employment and economic situation and how the parolee's qualifications would be affected by this. Although nearly 50% of prisoners did a trades course, only 16% wanted to go into that area of employment. This reflects the need for guidance and counselling. It is interesting to note that only half the parolees considered they needed this help but all of them thought that other prisoners definitely did need it.

In contrast the majority of parolees seemed to want practical advice as to how to go about getting a job. Even if going out to do courses had allowed them to learn about the outside situation, this did not teach them specific job seeking skills. Further as most were given their jobs they had not had to use such skills. Perhaps the parolees' level of employment may be different if they had the skills and confidence to apply for other jobs.

An important discovery was that the low employment rates were not so much due to the failure to find jobs as to not keeping them. Most parolees had obtained work within the first few months of release. The proportion of parolees who found a job is high. However, the "point-in-time" employment rates of the parolees were low.

i) Provision of information

The parolees' comments suggest that many prisoners who could benefit from the courses did not enrol because they lack confidence or initiative. Thus encouragement seems to be vital if more prisoners are to become interested in

courses. Some form of personal contact and guidance appears essential to overcome the barriers created by low literacy, lack of confidence, and previous negative experiences with education. This could be provided through personal interviews and regular seminars. Involvement of selected prisoners to encourage and support initial enrolment and continued attendance also merits consideration.

At present some Education Officers do conduct prisoner interviews. It is suggested that this could be made standard practice for those prisoners wishing to do courses. The interviews would be used, firstly and most importantly, to provide a supportive contact between the prisoner and Education Officer, and secondly, to determine the prisoner's abilities, experiences and preferences and find which course would best satisfy all these requirements. This may be particularly important for those prisoners who have had previous negative educational experiences. While it may not be possible for the Education Officers to see prisoners individually, it should be noted that personal contact by the Education Officer was reported as being very important.

Individual interviewing would be quite a time consuming process. Thus the Education Officer could look at other resources inside and outside the gaol to conduct collective regular seminars. The speakers could include other prisoners already involved in courses, ex-prisoners who have done courses and used them on release, teachers from educational institutions, and employers from different industries. The seminars would not only provide direct information on particular job areas but also examples and encouragement for those prisoners who need it.

More discussion of job market realities was specifically requested.

ii) Pre-release education

Before release prisoners need to learn about the environment they are expected to work in and the skills they will need to readjust. In the past pre-release programmes have provided this training. A survey of the gaols indicated that many gaols do run these courses on an irregular basis without structure and consistency. However many of the parolees interviewed in this study thought that although they needed such training, they did not receive it. This could be for a number of reasons: they were not interested enough to go along to the courses; the courses did not provide the information necessary; and/or as they are not run on a regular basis many parolees may miss out.

The parolees indicated that the knowledge and skills needed were of a practical and personal nature. The practical skills included coping with problems in getting a job such as interview technique, application writing, dealing with 'having a record', knowledge of outside resources and job opportunities for different skills. Given the employment record of the parolees, it appears that training in how to keep a job would also be valuable. Some investigation of how ex-prisoners lose jobs could be useful in devising such training. Wiederanders (1981) has suggested:

"Training well spent would be in how to get along with or tolerate co-workers, how to hang on to an unexciting job long enough for promotion or better opportunities for work to present themselves, how to use informal peer networks for support or to air gripes, and how to get on-the-job or part-time training for better employment when motivation for it develops." (pp. 11-12).

The personal skills needed on release would include self esteem and assertion. Such programmes should be considered an integral part of all prisoners' education. At the time of conducting this study, a programme called "Time-Out" was being run at Emu Plains. It was to encompass all types of skills needed on release. The evaluation being conducted by the Programmes Division may indicate whether this could be used as a model for pre-release programmes at other gaols.

It is important to note is that the demand for pre-release programmes does exist.

iii) Helping ex-prisoners put their skills into practice

The results indicate that there is a gap between the training a prisoner receives in gaol and the help required on release. Therefore it is suggested that some form of post-release employment support scheme be established. Lipton et al (1975) suggested:

"Perhaps what is needed is more intensive follow-up training for the offender once he is released from the institution. This follow-up training would have to be geared to the needs of the particular individual and might take the form of teaching him how to get and keep a job under the employment conditions he is likely to confront." (p.343).

At present there are limited services available for the ex-offender looking for work. The

Commonwealth Employment Service (C.E.S.) runs a special section which caters for disadvantaged people, including ex-offenders. There are a number of educational counsellors who interview each client in order to determine any employment-related problems and subsequently match them with a job or to develop their skills by referring them to other agencies. Many employment subsidy schemes are run by the C.E.S. where the employer is given financial assistance to employ disadvantaged people for a specified time period. If the client is not ready for work they may refer him to other agencies to develop appropriate work skills. Thus the C.E.S. mainly aims at providing the client with work.

However the C.E.S. caters for approximately forty-seven categories of disadvantaged people. It does not cater specifically for the ex-offender and his problems. In discussions with C.E.S. officers it was obvious that they felt ex-offenders lacked confidence and self esteem. It may therefore be a difficult task for the ex-offender to approach such an agency if he or she is having other problems fitting back into society. A centre which is more specifically tailored to these people's needs would probably be more effective.

However the present results suggest that the problem does not so much lie in the getting of a job, but the keeping of one. Ex-offenders have many other problems besides unemployment such as: homelessness, depression and/or addiction which could affect their level of work skills and performance. Thus continued support and counselling may be necessary to improve the employment of these people. The C.E.S. does not have the facilities to provide this ongoing service for released prisoners.

Another source of help for those released to supervision is the probation and parole officer. The parole officer's duties are to supervise the parolee in all aspects of readjusting back into society. Their caseloads may be as high as sixty clients. Due to the extremely heavy workload the officer could not be expected to possess the expert knowledge on what the employment situation is nor the time to spend counselling each client specifically on lack of employment skills. They in turn need an adequate referral agency which would provide both the understanding of ex-offenders' problems and the knowledge and expertise to help them get a job.

The above problems suggest that if the N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services is to maximise the utility of prison education, a post-release employment support scheme should be set up which would:

- i) assist people who have been involved with the criminal justice system to find employment;

- ii) attempt to build up a list of prospective employers who may consider people referred to it by the service. A major problem experienced by the parolees was the reaction of employers to their record. By canvassing sympathetic companies this problem may be reduced for the parolee;
- iii) offer practical help in assisting people to gain job seeking skills in preparing for employment, for example, in the preparation of job applications and in personal presentation.
- iv) to offer guidance to people wishing to join the workforce but in need of practical skills and experience. Information could be provided regarding education courses offered throughout NSW, voluntary work and part-time work.

It would be necessary for such a service to operate in close liaison with other agencies. As the C.E.S. is already operating adequately with a large pool of resources it would be practical for both State and Federal Government agencies to combine resources and exchange information regarding jobs and ex-offender problems. It is recognised that in setting up such a programme there will be limited resources. It is therefore necessary to fit the proposed recommendations in as closely as possible with the established framework.

A main aim of the programme would be to create a supportive environment where ex-offenders would feel comfortable discussing employment problems they may have. Thus due to their post-prison experiences, it may be necessary to set up a programme which is not seen to be connected with the Department.

Since 1983 such a service has been in existence - Jobfile. This is a project of the Civil Rehabilitation Committee which is currently funded under the C.E.P. programme and employs two people full-time (cf. NSW Department of Corrective Services, 1986). It is reported to be a highly successful project. Out of a total of 169 interviews between March and September 1985, 80 clients were placed in employment and 14 clients in courses. Further life skills and literacy classes have been set up for those who wish to attend. However, due to funding restrictions the service has a limited effect. The number of clients who can be helped is limited due to a lack of counsellors. Further, in talking to parolees and Probation and Parole Officers it was obvious that Jobfile was relatively unknown.

It is recommended that the funds be sought for Jobfile to expand the services. Further a link between Jobfile and the gaols should be

developed for two reasons: 1) to publicize it within the service, and 2) to provide a feedback service to both the Programmes Division and the Education Officers. This information would be used to improve the programmes in gaols on the basis of what needs are not being met already. Further if Education Officers are to advise parolees on appropriate courses, it would be invaluable to practically monitor what these are, especially for people with a prison record.

iv) Record keeping

Observations while conducting the interviews indicated that records of the parolees' educational experiences in gaol were kept haphazardly both by the gaols and by the parole officers.

The gaols did not seem to have a standard system of keeping class lists. It is recommended that a formal system to be used by all gaols be devised and implemented. Due to the constant turnover of Education Officers a standard system is needed so that one officer would be able to follow on from the next and be able to keep a check on both the continuity of courses done by prisoners, and whether prisoners were attending classes and if not, why not.

Seashore et al (1976) noted that the longer the educational involvement the more utility it had for parolees. If this is the case the Education Officers may be able to identify problems causing prisoners to drop out of courses, help solve them, and in doing so, increase the benefits gained from the courses.

On visiting the parole officers it became obvious that most were not aware of the educational courses each parolee had completed in gaol. A time consuming search through the files was required to find out the educational background of each parolee. Parole officers have a heavy workload and could not be expected to remember this information.

Therefore it is recommended that standard procedure be to record in the front of the file, together with the other major details, the parolee's pre-gaol, prison education and post-gaol employment. If the post-release support scheme is not put into effect this would be an alternative way of ensuring support for the parolees. Knowledge of educational background would enable probation and parole officers to direct parolees onto further education and/or recommend appropriate employment or education. Furthermore, as Glaser (1964) suggested:

"Ideally, the parole supervision officer can be the prison's main source of intelligence on the effectiveness of prison programs." (p. 273).

III. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The results from this study cannot be generalised to all parolees. In examining the results it must be remembered that the present sample may be considered atypical in some respects. They were more likely to be married and have dependents than prisoners generally and hence may have been more motivated to participate in vocational training and/or to obtain employment on release. They might also differ from other parolees in being more highly educated, and having those qualities already discussed in the introduction that may determine how successful a person is on release, including initiative, self confidence and self esteem. Further they might be more interested in vocational training and employment than those who were unable to be contacted for interview.

The study is limited by the same weaknesses found in other studies reviewed in the introduction. There was a lack of an adequate comparison group. First of all the variables they were matched on were chosen for convenience. As Parole Officers were used to get into contact with the parolees it was necessary to choose variables which were easy to identify. Secondly, as parolees are sometimes difficult to contact, variables could not be too specific so that a large sample pool could be available from which to choose the sample. However, after following these procedures still only ten parolees were available for interviewing, so that adequate comparisons could not be made.

The study is taken from only one point in time. Measures such as unemployment and quality of work, may change over time.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Provision of information concerning gaol education programmes

- a.) Each gaol run regular education seminars to both motivate and inform inmates about education programmes:
 - seminars would allow the information to be disseminated to a large number of prisoners at the one time;
 - guest speakers at the seminars could include ex-prisoners who have done the courses and found them useful on release, teachers from educational institutions and/or employers from different industries; different industries;
 - these seminars be available to all inmates.
- b.) Circulate relevant sections of this report to Education Officers working in gaols to inform them of the importance of their making personal contact with the inmates, as perceived by the inmates.
- c.) Education Officers conduct personal interviews with inmates expressing interest in courses to provide:
 - assessment of prisoner's abilities,
 - advice on the usefulness of possible courses, and
 - a supportive contact.

2. Pre-Release Education

- a.) Regular pre-release courses be run at each institution from which prisoners are released which teach practical skills including: job interview techniques; application writing; knowledge of outside resources; job opportunities for different skills.
- b.) Pre-release courses should also include dis-

cussion groups focussing on different ways of dealing with 'having a record' since this was considered to be a major problem by parolees interviewed for this study.

- c.) Beside information on getting a job, listed above, pre-release courses should also provide training on how to keep a job.

3. Helping ex-prisoners put their skills into practice

- a.) Investigate possibilities for viable format for post-release employment support scheme.
- b.) Conduct publicity campaign for the employers in the community advocating employment of ex-prisoners.
- c.) Publicise existence of Jobfile within the gaols and among officers of the Probation and Parole Service.
- d.) Seek funds in order to expand Jobfile (or equivalent).
- e.) Create a mechanism so that Probation and Parole Officers can provide feedback to Education Officers concerning difficulties parolees have in making use of gaol-acquired skills.

4. Record keeping

- a.) Education Officers require a standardised system for recording programme attendance, enabling new Education Officers to maintain records of a previous Education Officer.
- b.) Parolee's pre-gaol and prison education and employment should be recorded in a standard place on his/her parole file.

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APPENDIX I

Tables giving comparison of education group, comparison group and N.S.W. prisoners at 30/6/84

Age group Years	Education group %	Comparison group %	N.S.W. Prisoners Census 30/6/84 %
	(n=80)	(n=10)	(n=3354)
18 years or less	0	0	3.3
19	0	0	4.7
20-24	19	30	29.4
25-29	24	50	25.2
30-39	30	0	24.9
40-49	24	10	8.6
50-59	4	0	2.9
60+	0	0	0.6
Unknown	0	10	0.2

	Education % (n=80)	Comparison % (n=10)	1984 Prison Census % (n=3354)
Never married	33	70	61.7
Married/living with partner	49	20	25.6
Widowed	6	0	0.8
Divorced	10	10	7.8
Separated	3	0	2.6
Unknown	0	0	1.7

Location NSW Statistical Divisions	Education Group %	Comparison group %	N.S.W. Prisoners Census 30/6/84 %
	(n=80)	(n=10)	(n=3178)
Sydney	80	100	65.6
Hunter	10	0	7.1
Murray	0	0	0.9
Far West	3	0	0.7
Central West	0	0	2.6
South Eastern	4	0	1.1
Murrumbidgee	0	0	1.6
Illawarra	3	0	3.4
North Coast	0	0	3.6
Northern	0	0	1.7
North Western	0	0	1.7
Elsewhere (not NSW)	0	0	7.1
Unknown	1	0	2.9

APPENDIX 2
Parolee's Education and Work History

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATION	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
1. Commercial Accountant	HSC	Clerk	Bachelor of Arts	-	1 year 2 months	Unemployed
2. Radio Fitter	7-9	Kitchen Sweeper	Tutor	-	8 months	1. Taxi driver 2. Furniture removalist
3. Storeman	7-9	Sweeper Painter Cook	Mechanics Prep Maths	Certificate Certificate	4 months	Salesman
4. Pressing Roof Trussells	S.C.	Carpenter Sweeper Clerk	Carpentry	Certificate	1 year	
5. Computer Technician	Electronics Certificate	Librarian Clerk	BA Dip Ed	Ba Dip Ed	1 year	Teacher
6. Plumber	Trade Certificate	Plumber Sweeper Maintenance	Bookeeping Upholstery	-	1 year 7 months	Barman, Plumbing
7. Picture Framer	HSC	Layout artist. Library Framer	Freeiance Journalism B.A.	-	5 months	Framing Partnership
8. Fitter & Turner	HS 7-9	Woodsawer Carpenter Fibreglassing Typewriter repair	Advertising Script Writing Typewriting	Certificate Certificate -	3 years	Shopfitter Self Employed (Sells carnival - equipment)
9. Bank Clerk	SC	Machinist Clerk Upholstery	Building & Construction Upholstery	-	3 months	Storeman & packer

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
10. Waitress	S.C.	Library Cook Needleroom	Pottery Silk Screening Art Saxophone Guitar	-	8 months	Clean boats, Sells T-shirts
11. Cashier	HS 7-9	Sweeper	English Maths Artex Sewing Hobbycraft	-	4 months	-
12. Clerk	Diploma Painting	Clerk Salesman at Ball & Chain	Airbrush	-	11 months	Storeman
13. Storeman	SC	Clerk	Data Processing Motor Main- tenance Taxation	Certificate Certificate Certificate	2 years	Storeman, Barman, Mechanic, Offset Printer
14. Shop Owner	SC	Cook Carpentry Kitchen work	English	-	1 year	Labour, Kitchen work
15. Solicitor	Law degree	Clerk	Commerce Degree	CM	1 year 8 months	Teaching Law
16 Driver	SC	Welder Storeman Liner Sweeper	Welding	Ticket	1 1/2 years	Welding, Courier, Shop Assistant
17. Concrete Drilling	Spray Painter	Welding Sweeper	Data processing Bookkeeping Business Management	-	6 months	Concrete Driller Labourer

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
18. Taxi Driver	HSC	-	Management Accountancy	-	1 year	-
19. Truck Driver	HS 7-9	Butcher Cleaner	Greenkeeping Butcher Cleaning & Supervision Rigging	- Certificate Certificate Certificate	2 1/2 years	Scrapmetal Worker
20. Fitter & Machinist	SC	Bookbinder Printshop Maintenance	Welding Bookbinding Business management Trumpet	Certificate Certificate Certificate	2 years	Fitter & Machinist
21. Unknown	Unknown	Clerical	Public Relations Advertising	Certificate Certificate	2 years 3 months	Business Administrator
22. Labourer	HS 7-9	Tailorshop Techhelp Gardener Sweeper	Motor Maintenance	-	4 months	<u>Labourer</u>
23. Softdrink Maker	SC	Needleroom Cleaning	Artex Saxaphone Craft Gym	-	7 months	<u>Mushroom Picking</u>
24. Station Assistant	Geriatric Nursing Certificate	Gardener Needleroom	Sewing Artex Saxaphone	Certificate	1 year	<u>Mushroom Picking</u>
25.	SC	Bookbinding	Bookkeeping SBM	-	1 year 3 months	General Hand <u>Unemployed</u>
26. Self Employed Builder	Carpentry & Joinery	Carpentry Building	Clerk & Workers	Certificate	2 years	<u>Carpenter</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
27. Car Detailer	HS 7-9	Poultry keeper Sweeper	Motor Maintenance Automatic transmission	Certificate	1 year	Gardener, Factory hand <u>Unemployed</u>
28. Unemployed (12 years)	HS 7-9	Cook	HSC Sweeper Art Leatherwork Haircare	HSC	8 months	Counsellor <u>Unemployed</u>
29. Driver	SC	Machine Shop Tailor Shop Sweeper	Transport Admin. Fitting and machinery Automotive Eng	-	3 1/2 years	Driver (X2) P Labourer (X4)
30. Assistant Telecom Technician	Army Course Plant Operator Bomb Disposal Clerk Technical	Sweeper Clerk	Electrical trades communication Guitar	- -	2 1/2 years	Command Labourer <u>Aerial Assembler</u>
31. Own Business Saleslady	SC	Laundry Clerk Liner	Commerce & bookkeeping Pottery Typewriter	-	4 years	Clerk Retail Sales Co-ordinator Data Controller <u>Furniture Import Co-ordinator</u>
32. Chiropodist	Diploma of Chiropody	Librarian Clerk	Basic book-keeping Italian Real Estate Sign Writing	Certificate	2 years 4 months	<u>Chiropodist</u>
33. Own business Import/Export	Wireless Operator Certificate	Laundry Welding Clerk	Typing English Business Administration	-	3 years 5 months	Self employed (X4) <u>Unemployed</u>
34. Taxi Driver	Machinist training	Wood Machinery Carpentry Restore furniture	Journalism Special English Guitar	-	4 months	<u>Unemployed</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
35. Bricklaying Contractor	Bricklayer Apprenticeship	Maintenance Gang Clerk Boiler Attendant Sweeper	Small Business Management	-	2 years	Brickie <u>Unemployed</u>
36. Rigger & Scaffolding	Primary School	Carpenter Tailor Cook Gardener	SC Carpentry	SC	3 years 6 months	<u>Machinery & furniture assembler (X3)</u> Carpenter
37. Linesman with Telecom	Linesman training	Bookbinder Clerk Electrician	Art	-	2 years 4 months	<u>Backdrop for play painter (X3)</u> Teacher for visual & performing arts at Aboriginal Tech.
38. Truck Driver	HS 7-9	Boiler attendant Clerk Orderly	Boiler attendant Steam engine operator Fitting & machinery	Certificate Certificate	1 year 10 months	Boiler attendant -from this he got detailing and scaffolding work
39. Truck Driver	Management Certificate Shipping Certificate	Clerk Painter Librarian Sales Assistant	Librarian	-	2 years	Driver Clerk Crossword Creator
40. Machinist	HS 7-9	Machinist	Machinist	Fashion introductory certificate	8 months	<u>Machinist (X5)</u>
41. Labourer	HS 7-9	Metal shop Painter Laundry Gardener	Welding Motor maintenance	-	3 1/2 years	Labourer (X3) <u>Factory hand</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
42. Accountant	SC	Clerk	Bookkeeping Accounting	-	4 months	<u>Despatch manager</u>
43. Labourer	HSC	Butcher Cabinet Shop Food Server	English	-	1 1/2 years	<u>Unemployed</u>
44. Driver	SC	Printer Clerk Nursery tender Sweeper	Welding	-	1 year 9 months	<u>Welder</u>
45. Mason	HS 7-9	Welding WR Boiler attendant Sweeper	Boiler attendant Welding Prep. maths Leaving maths	Ticket Certificate Certificate	1 year 3 months	Welding Truck Driver <u>Unemployed</u>
46. Demolition Worker	HS 7-9	Cleaner	Prep. English Prep. Arithmetic Guitar	-	1 year	Carnival Hand Icecream Man Newspaper deliverer <u>Council worker</u>
47. Clerk	SC	Library Tailorshop Bush Gang Gardener	HSC BA Masters Pass	HSC BA Masters Pass	2 1/2 years	Worked for Special Broadcasting Firm Studying
48. Blacksmith	Blacksmith Apprenticeship	Blacksmith Welder Painter Labourer Sweeper	Leadership skills English	Certificate	5 months	Leading Hand Managing Director of own company
49. Chef	HSC	Cook Printer Clerk Machinehand	BSC	BSC	3 years	Labouring, scattered

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
50. Layout Artist	Layout Artist Diploma	Layout Artist Camera Operator	Photo Mechanics Camera Operator Basic Photography English	Certificate	2 1/2 years	
51. Factory worker	HS 7-9	Cleaner	Clerical procedures Typing Tapestry Hairdressing Art	Certificate	1 year	<u>Unemployed</u>
52. Managing Director of own Company	HSC	Clerical Mission Work WR	Small Business Management	Certificate	8 months	Own business <u>Car Wash</u>
53. Managing Director of own company	Accountancy & Business Administration Certificate	Clerk Accounting (WR)	Small Business Management	Certificate	10 months	Accounting
54. Factory Hand	HS year 8	Stores Forklift driver Laundry Library Sweeper	Small Business Management Prep. Maths Prep. Englis Refereeing Coaching Marketing	Certificate Certificate Certificate	5 months	<u>Handyman. Odd jobs</u>
55. Taxi Driver	SC	Sweeper	Guitar Yoga	-	9 months	<u>Taxi driver</u>
56. Motor Mechanic	Brake course	Tailor Printing Clerk	HSC Motor Maintenance Farm & Agriculture Machinery Instrument Fitter	HSC Ticket	1 year 10 months	Active Hire Man Detailer <u>Assistant printer</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
57. Machine Operator	Primary School	Metal Shop	Migrant English Welding Prep. Maths Prep. English	-	3 1/2 years	Labouring Process Work Factory work <u>Unemployed</u>
58. Factory Hand	HS 7-9	Library Bookbinder Clerk	Steamboiler attendant HSC	Ticket	8 months	Council road works
59. Own Business Trucking	HS 7-9	Painter	Painting & Decorating Small Business Management Diesel Engine Operations First Aid	Ticket Certificate Ticket Certificate	2 years	Painter & Decorator
60. Motor Mechanic	SC	Maintenance	Computer Programming Art Mechanics Refresher HSC	- Finished course	2 1/2 years	<u>Mechanic (X4)</u>
61. Driver	HSC	Clerk Cook Bookbinder Carpentry	Maths English Art Pottery Small Business Management Basic Law First Aid Car Detailing Bookbinding Drama	Bookbinding Certificate	8 months	<u>Truck Driver</u>
62. Housewife	HS 7-9	Needleroom Kitchen	Machinist SC	Certificate	8 months	<u>Machinist (X2)</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
63. Labourer	HS 7-9	Head Storeroom Plumber Kitchen machinist	HSC Greenkeeping	HSC	4 months	<u>Logging Roadwork</u>
64. Cook	SC	Clerk Tailor Shop	Motor Maintenance School Certificate Garment Cutting Showcard Ticket writing Maths English	Certificate School Certificate-	2 years	<u>Factory Hand Mechanic</u>
65. Labourer	HS 7-9	Building maintenance Cabinet Shop	Carpentry & joinery	-	4 years	Steel fix, Labourer Unemployed
66. Side Show Attendant	HS 7-9	Painter Laundry Sweeper Reception Community Work	Farm Mechanics Pig raising Farm Management Laundry & Drycleaning	Certificate Certificate Certificate	6 months Certificate	<u>Painting for Council</u>
67. Tyrefitter	SC	Metal Shop	HSC Maths Engineering Geography Greenkeeping Rugby Coaching Building & Construction Welding	Certificate Certificate	1 1/2 years	<u>Tyrefitting</u>
68. Housewife	HS 7-9	Gardener Kitchen Machinist	Art	-	1 1/2 years	<u>Unemployed</u>
69. Wrecking Yard	HS 7-9	Metal Shop Clerk	Motor Maintenance Welding	-	6 months	<u>Mechanics Assistant Scattered work</u>

PRE GAOL		GAOL			POST GAOL	
WORK	QUALIFICATIONS	WORK	COURSE	QUALIFICATIONS	TIME SINCE RELEASE	WORK
70. Own Business-Carter	SC	Plumber Sweeper Baker Tailor Metal shop	Welding Farm Mechanics	Certificate	3 years	<u>Self employed</u> <u>General Handyman</u>
71. Technician	Specialised electronics course	Painting Clerk Bookbinder	Business management Vehicle Maint. Electrical Trades Painting & Drawing	Certificate Certificate - -	3 years	<u>Telecom Technician</u>
72. Bank Teller	Internal management course	Clerk Gardener Metal shop	Car retailing Real Estate Data processing	Certificate - -	1 year 2 months	<u>Own Property</u>
73. Electrical fitter	Electrical fitters cert.	Welder Kitchen	Tech. Help	-	1 year 8 months	<u>Electrical Fitter</u> <u>Plumber</u> <u>Mine Worker</u>
74. Labourer	S.C.	Welder Spray Painting	Welding H.S.C.	1st Stage Certificate	1 year 8 months	<u>Unemployed</u>
75. Welder	Primary	Work Shop	Welding	-	4 years 2 months	<u>Own Property</u>
76. Boiler Maker	Primary	Metal Shop Builder Electrical worker	Welding Kitchen	-	3 years	<u>Canvassing and welding (x4)</u> <u>Unemployed</u>
77. Carpenter's Apprentice	H.S. 7-9	Wood Machinist Cook	Commercial Cookery	Certificate	5 months	<u>Parolee Project Officer</u> <u>Cook, Unemployed</u>
78. Butcher	Butchers Cert.	Butcher Kitchen	English	-	1 year 3 months	<u>Unemployed</u>
79. Heavy Machinery Worker	Radio Engineering Certificate	Gardener Kitchen Sweeper	Art	-	2 years	<u>Unemployed</u>
80.	H.S. 7-9	Metal shop	Welding	-	1 1/2 years	<u>Labourer (X4), Plumbing</u> <u>Oxy Steel Worker</u> <u>Unemployed</u>