

The Quest for Ordinary Lives: The Integrated Post-School Vocational Functioning of 50 Workers With Significant Disabilities

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An extensive report is made of the work histories of 50 adults with significant disabilities who are served by Community Work Services, Inc., in Madison, Wisconsin. The primary purpose is to share information about the integrated vocational functioning of these adults, 90% of whom exited high school 15–24 years ago. A second purpose is to celebrate the inspiring achievements of a remarkable group of workers, their family members and the professionals who served them. A third is to affirm the validity and feasibility of integrated vocational functioning. Hopefully, by documenting what was and is operational, opportunities for and improvements in integrated services can be generated and more ordinary lives can be realized.

DESCRIPTORS: adults, intellectual disabilities, supported employment, transition, vocational services, community

Some who survive the birth process this year will be more disabled than any who did so before. More individuals with disabilities who enter and exit schools now are outliving their parents. As they age, many are presenting more longitudinal, complicated, and expensive difficulties than their chronological age peers (Bittles & Glasson, 2004). When George W. Bush became president, he asked an advisory group to address the status of special education. After over 1 year of comprehensive study, his President's Commission on Excellence in Special Education (PCESE, 2002) reported that approximately 70% of all persons with disabilities in the United

States between the ages of 18 and 64 were unemployed or grossly underemployed. Subsequently, his Committee for People with Intellectual Disabilities reported that 90% of the approximately nine million adults in the USA so labeled were unemployed (PCID, 2004). A task force established by the governor of Florida reported that approximately 85% of all adult Floridians considered to have developmental disabilities and/or cerebral palsy were unemployed (Salamone & Garcia, 2004).

Some adults with significant disabilities have productively functioned in integrated work settings for centuries and each year increasing numbers do so in more communities around the world. Nevertheless, the post-school outcomes realized by the vast majority are tragically unacceptable and wasteful of hopes, dreams, lives, and increasingly scarce tax dollars. Far too many exit school and are unnecessarily confined to segregated enclaves, workshops, and activity centers or stay at home all day with family members and/or others who are paid to be with them (Blackorby & Wagner, 1996; Brown, Farrington, Suomi, Zeigler, & Knight, 1999; Certo, Pumpian, Fisher, Storey, & Smalley, 1997; Certo et al., 2002; Horvath, Rose, & Stapleton, 2003; Hunt, 2004; Luecking & Certo, 2003; Murphy & Rogan, 1995; Wehman & Kregel, 1998). We can and must do something to change this most unfortunate state of affairs.

In the 1970s, segregated special education schools and classes were the predominant, if not the only, service delivery options offered students with significant disabilities. In addition, the standard curriculum offering was "school-only" instruction; students rarely left the school to engage in learning opportunities in community settings. A few came to realize that when instruction was confined to the physical property of schools, too many important and learnable skills could not be acquired; the performance criteria used were inappropriate, counterproductive, or even harmful if manifested in nonschool settings; even the best teachers and therapists ran out of good ideas quickly; and it was difficult to stay excited

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about teaching when the known post-school outcomes were segregation and nonproductivity.

Also in the 1970s, a small group of Madison Metropolitan School District (MMSD) teachers and administrators, parents, and University of Wisconsin students and faculty members dreamed of post-school lives that were richer, more varied, safer, interesting, challenging, respected, and otherwise more ordinary than those segregated contemporaries were experiencing. Tangibly, more ordinary meant increasing: the number of environments in which the students would participate in post-school life; the quantity and complexity of respected skills they were given opportunities to learn and perform over long periods; the number of persons with and without disabilities with whom they could interact and develop social relationships; and the choices they could make about where they went, what they did, and with whom they were with. They arranged for a few individuals labeled “trainable level retarded” and “severely emotionally disturbed” to receive authentic vocational assessment and authentic vocational instruction during school days and times (Brown, 2005a, 2005b). Authentic vocational *assessment* refers to arranging for an individual with disabilities to participate in real work and related settings and activities and then determining meaningful discrepancies between the expressed repertoire and the actual requirements of minimally acceptable participation. Authentic vocational *instruction* refers to teaching that is actually needed to meet the minimally acceptable performance standards of an employer.

In those days, authentic assessment and instructional techniques were considered by most as radical, extreme, dangerous, impractical, too costly, developmentally absurd, and generative of false hopes. Few MMSD teachers agreed to use them and few parents allowed their children to experience them. However, once some students demonstrated they could learn to participate safely and efficiently in integrated nonschool settings, teachers quickly realized they did not have enough time to teach the wonderful array of other important skills that could be acquired. They remembered how frustrating and depressing it was when instruction was confined to school grounds. That is, they realized it was better to run out of the time needed to teach important skills in many places than to be unable to think of important skills to teach in the time you had in the limited number of places in which you participated.

Unfortunately, the post-school options available to those who received authentic assessment and instruction were segregated workshops, activity centers, and staying at home. One local agency provided supportive services in integrated vocational settings. Dane County officials directed monies to this agency to serve the 1981 MMSD graduates with significant disabilities who were functioning in integrated work settings when they exited school. They reasoned that it would be counterproductive and ideologically questionable to confine those

graduates to segregated settings after school personnel prepared them for the real world of work and because their parents/guardians clearly preferred the integrated option. The agency hired a job coach who provided support to these graduates, decided to serve only a small quota of persons with significant disabilities, and shortly thereafter went out of business.

Those who continued to support segregation manifested vehement opposition to this departure from traditional funding practices. They predicted the workers would lose the integrated jobs they had when they exited school and would not be able to get others. They told parents their children would be unsafe, abused, isolated, lonely, and ridiculed in integrated settings. It was clearly communicated that if a segregated placement was rejected at school exit and parents applied for one at a later date, their children would be put on waiting lists without guarantees they would ever be accepted. They also told parents, “We are offering you a placement for life. Take it or leave it.” In short, segregationists were quite comfortable confining large numbers of persons with disabilities to one environment, allowing them to engage in an extremely limited range of tasks, arranging for them to interact only with others with disabilities and individuals who were paid to supervise them and disallowing few, if any, choices about important parts of their lives.

Community Work Services

From its inception, Community Work Services received county administered tax dollars to serve adults with significant disabilities in integrated settings who (a) were exiting the MMSD and employed in integrated work environments, (b) were exiting non-MMSD schools in Dane County and sought an integrated option, (c) wished to leave or were terminated from segregated workshops and activity centers because of challenging behaviors, or (d) moved to Dane County from large public and private institutions.

In August 2005, the endpoint of the data used for this report, Community Work Services served 70 workers, employed two co-directors (one at 100% FTE and the other at 60% FTE), an office manager (37.5% FTE), and the equivalent of 14 full-time job coaches. In 1989, Community Work Services decided to limit the number of workers served for two quality assurance reasons. First, agency leaders believed that it was extremely important to remain small enough to allow the co-directors to provide direct support services. This would afford individualized knowledge of all workers, their families, coworkers, and employers. It would also allow for the provision of meaningful training and support to both workers and job coaches. Second, the agency was committed to affording all workers individualized horizontal and vertical enhancement opportunities throughout their careers. *Horizontal enhancement* refers to increasing the number of skills in a particular difficulty range

a worker learns and performs. *Vertical enhancement* refers to increasing the complexity of the skills a worker learns and performs. Consequently, whereas the agency added 43 school graduates between 1984 and 1988, it accepted only seven school graduates between 1989 and 2005. The decision to limit capacity induced the development of similar services by other agencies. In 2005, 14 agencies in Dane County served over 700 workers with disabilities who required long-term support in integrated work and related settings.

Sources of Information and Table 1

After reviewing the records of the adults served by Community Work Services, it was decided that the 50 workers who exited high school from MMSD (47 workers) and other school districts in Dane County (3 workers) would be the focus of this report. The primary source of information was the records kept by Community Work Services. Supplementary information was secured by contacting the parents/guardians of the workers, job coaches, employers, coworkers without disabilities, government officials, school records, and residential service personnel. Confidentiality procedures were approved by the workers (or when appropriate, by their parents/guardians), as well as the co-directors and board of directors of Community Work Services. Specifically, it was agreed that the workers' names would not be used. A numbering system was developed based on the year in which the worker exited school and data were tracked through this system. It should be noted that many of the MMSD graduates have been involved in other post-school follow-up analyses (Brown et al., 1986, 1987; Piuma, 1989; Vandeventer et al., 1981).

Table 1 contains the work histories of the 50 students with significant disabilities who exited school from 1981 to 2005. The relevant experiences of one worker could easily fill a large book. When selecting the descriptive data to include in Table 1, an attempt was made to reach a balance between too little and too much. In the end, two central questions guided the decisions regarding which data to include the following:

- What are the work histories of these 50 workers, most of whom are now in their late 30s and 40s?
- What do these work histories suggest about what is important for schooling, for adult service agencies, for policy makers, and for parents/students to consider?

Answering these questions requires the sharing of a fair amount of descriptive data; hence, the length of Table 1 is considerable. In addition, summary statements, based on an analysis of Table 1, are made throughout the narrative.

Table 1 contains basic background information about the *workers*, including the year graduated, age, gender, disability labels, and residence. *Work histories* are presented for each worker beginning with a list of work

environments (arranged chronologically beginning with the 2005 environments and progressing back to the employment setting at school exit). Basic information is provided for each work environment including, (a) years and months in job, (b) work tasks, (c) hours/week (employed in a particular job), (d) hourly wage, (e) professional support, and (f) reasons for job changes.

The 50 Workers

In 2005, the 50 workers ranged from age from 23 to 45 years. Their average age was 39.4. All but four were 35 or older and had been out of school for at least 15 years. Twenty-eight of the workers were male, 22 were female. Forty-five were White, three were African American, one was Latino, and one was Asian American. The workers of concern are individuals who were considered to have significant disabilities; that is, individuals whose intellectual and adaptive behaviors represented approximately 1% of a naturally distributed general population. All experienced communication, cognitive, social, physical, behavioral, sensorimotor, and/or other challenges in kinds and degrees most would consider severely disabling. All needed substantial long-term assistance in all activities of daily living. All but one had been ascribed standardized, adapted, and/or estimated intelligence test scores of approximately 50 or below. Table 1 uses the disability label of "cognitive disabilities" (CD), a term adopted in the state of Wisconsin. Forty workers were characterized with "moderate" cognitive disabilities; nine with "severe" cognitive disabilities; and one with "mild" cognitive disabilities.

Additional disability information is presented in Table 1. This table reveals a variety of disabilities, including Down syndrome (21), cerebral palsy (7), autism (4), and Cornelia DeLange syndrome (1). Five workers had hearing impairments and three had visual impairments. Fourteen manifested seizure disorders. Nine of the workers used wheelchairs or walkers. Twelve workers needed physical assistance when eating and/or drinking and 17 needed assistance when using restrooms. Fifteen workers were nonverbal. Three workers had Diabetes and two were diagnosed with Alzheimer's Disease.

All of the 50 workers were judged eligible for long-term vocational support by Dane County officials and all were eligible for Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) and/or Supplemental Security Income (SSI). One, although eligible, did not accept SSDI or SSI because of parent preferences. All the others received medical assistance. Only one received employer provided medical benefits.

Forty-three of the 50 workers were served by Community Work Services upon exiting school and continued to receive services through this agency from the time they exited until 2005. Seven workers were supported by other agencies upon leaving school but had been with Community Work Services for at least 10 years by August 2005.

Table 1
Post-school Work Histories of 50 Individuals With Significant Disabilities (1981–2005)

Worker-year of school exit	Workers				Work history				Reasons for job changes		
	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week		Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support
#1–1981	45	M	Moderate CD, seizure disorder	Apartment–live-in support	Rocky Rocco's Pizza Restaurant–South	27 years–6 months	Filling condiments, chopping vegetables, setting up tables	15	6.95	1 check/month	No change–present job
					Meriter Hospital Volunteer Services Ovens of Brittany Restaurant–Camelot Square	9 years–10 months 2 years–5 months	Delivering faxes Assembling bakery boxes	6	Volunteer 4.85	1 check/month 1 check/month	No change–present job Business closed
#2–1982	44	M	Moderate CD	Apartment–live-in support	Madison Mutual Housing Office Hampton Inn	4 years–9 months 2 months	Vacuuming, emptying trash Shampooing carpets, vacuuming, cleaning windows, sweeping and picking up litter in parking lot	6	5.50 7.00	1 check/month 1.2	Worker wanted new job No change–present job
					Elk's Lodge	3 months	Sweeping, breaking down boxes, polishing banquet trays, wiping tables and chairs, setting up chairs and tables for banquets	6	7.00	1.2	No change–present job
#3–1982	44	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment–support lives nearby	Edgewood College	5 years–0 month	Dust mopping, emptying waste baskets, folding towels, sweeping, wet mopping	9	6.05	1.2	No change–present job
					Edgewater Hotel	14 years–8 months	Vacuuming, picking up room service trays, dusting	12.5	5.70	1.2	Laid off–decline of business
#3–1982	44	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment–support lives nearby	Pet World Warehouse	3 years–2 months	Breaking down boxes, sweeping, dust mopping, wiping tables, emptying trash	6	5.15	1.2	Moved to job where partner with disabilities was more compatible
					City of Madison–Fire Station #1	9 years–11 months	Dust mopping, emptying waste baskets, folding towels, sweeping, wet mopping	3	Volunteer	1.2	Moved to job where partner with disabilities was more compatible
#3–1982	44	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment–support lives nearby	Pizza Hut Restaurant–East Washington	1 year–9 months	Washing dishes	12.5	2.75	1 check/30 min	Management not supportive
					Madison Area Tech College–Food Service and Duplicating Center Pasqual's Salsaria & Southwestern Deli	3 years–0 month 1 year–11 months	Washing dishes, collating	15	Volunteer	1.2	Moved to paid employment
#3–1982	44	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment–support lives nearby	Bussing tables, simple food prep	13.5	6.25	1 check per month	1.2	No change–present job	
					Assembling pizza boxes, filling condiment containers, portioning food	6	6.00	1 check per 3 hr	1.2	No change–present job	

#4-1983	43	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, hearing impairment	State of WI—Department of Corrections Office	7 years—2 months	Collating, stapling, assembling packets, labeling, alphabetizing forms, entering data into computer	17.5	5.15	2 checks per week	Fired—behavioral challenges
				Boelter & Lincoln Advertising	2 years—1 month	Cutting advertisements out of newspapers	6	4.25	1 check per week	Laid off—job phased out
				State of WI—Department of Transportation Office	2 years—7 months	Filing	9	4.25	1 check per 3 hr	Worker wanted new job
				State of WI—Department of Revenue Office	1 year—0 month	Filing	15	3.71	1 check per 3 hr	Laid off—job phased out
				Monty's Blue Plate Diner	2 months	Washing dishes	12	4.25	2 checks per week	Fired—behavioral challenges
				WI Manufacturers & Commerce Association	3 years—7 months	Filing	15	3.90	1 check per 3 hr	Fired—behavioral challenges
				Oven's of Brittany Restaurant—Shorewood	3 years—2 months	Washing dishes	15	3.45	3 checks per week	Worker wanted new job
				National Conference of Bar Examiners Office	0 years—6 months	Stuffing envelopes, opening and date stamping mail, shredding confidential papers, cleaning coffee pots	7.5	5.70	1 check per week	No change—present job
				J. H. Findorff & Sons—Construction Co.	10 years—2 months	Filing checks in numerical order, opening and date stamping mail	15	7.35	2 checks per week	No change—present job
				WORT—Radio Station	2 years—0 month	Shredding confidential papers	1.5	Volunteer	1 check per 1.5 hr	No change—present job
				Madison Public Library—Central	7 months	Stamping books	2	Volunteer	1 check per 2 hr	No change—present job
				Heartland Credit Union	18 years—3 months	Filing by number, assembling informational packets, shredding confidential papers, cleaning tables in break room, picking up mail	7.5	7.00	1 check per 1 hr	Business moved—commute too far
				State of WI—Department of Justice Office	2 years—8 months	Sorting forms by type, date stamping forms, counting forms, shredding confidential papers	15	4.25	1 check per 1.5 hr	Moved to more complex job
				National Guardian Life Insurance Co.	6 years—1 month	Collating	15	4.25	1 check per 1.5 hr	Moved to more complex job
				VA Hospital—Pharmacy	5 years—6 months	Counting out pills	15	Volunteer	1 check per 3 hr	Moved to paid employment
				University of WI—McArdle Cancer Research Laboratory	23 years—7 months	Washing and putting away lab glassware, wiping down counter areas	12.5	6.00	1 check per month	No change—present job
#5-1983	43	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment—support lives nearby	9 years—10 months	Sorting checks, postage metering mail, shredding confidential papers, stuffing envelopes, labeling, folding letters	12.5	5.70	4 checks per week	No change—present job

Table 1
Continued

Workers				Work history							
Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
#6-1984	42	F	Moderate CD, nonverbal	Moved 1995	University of WI-South Hall Office	6 years-2 months	Shredding confidential papers	12.5	4.25	2 checks per month	Moved to more complex job shortly after transferring to CWS
					Pasquali's Salsaria & Southwestern Deli-Monroe St.	5 years-5 months	Sweeping and mopping dining room, setting up condiment stations, washing dishes, bussing tables	30	5.25	3 checks per week	Moved to Milwaukee-1995
					WI Mutual Insurance Co.	7 years-4 months	Folding letters, stuffing envelopes	15	3.65	1 check per 3 hr	Business moved off bus line
					Crandall's Restaurant	6 years-2 months	Wiping kitchen counters, preparing salads, setting up trays with ice water, setting up butter dishes	15	3.65	1 check per 3 hr	Worker wanted new job
#7-1984	42	F	Moderate CD, seizure disorder	Lives with parent	City of Madison-City Clerk's Office	21 years-5 months	Collating, stuffing envelopes, destapling forms to be microfilmed, counting pens for election boxes, sorting forms by polling site, checking property tax payment envelopes for missed checks, pulling locator tabs off voter registration books	15	4.24	1:6	No change-present job
					State of WI-Crime Information Bureau Office	9 years-10 months	Scanning documents, labeling	8	5.70	1 check per 2 hr	No change-present job
#8-1984	42	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Lives with parent	State of WI-Vital Records Office	5 years-0 month	Mailing requested birth certificates	8	5.70	1 check per 2 hr	No change-present job
					County of Dane-District Attorney's Office	7 years-11 months	Photocopying	8	5.15	1 check per 1.25 hr	Worker wanted a new job
					WI Mutual Insurance Co.	7 years-10 months	Folding letters, stuffing envelopes	16	3.80	1 check per 2 hr	Business moved off bus line
#9-1984	42	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, visual impairment, physical disability-uses walker	Apartment-live-in support	State of WI-Management & Technology Office	3 years-0 month	Labeling, stamping forms, folding letters, assembling packets, stuffing envelopes	22.5	5.05	1:6	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Sheriff's Department Office	11 years-11 months	Cutting mug shots, opening and date stamping mail, shredding confidential papers	6	3.68	1:5	Worker refused to come to work

#10-1984	42	F	Severe CD, cerebral palsy, physical disability—uses wheelchair	Apartment—live-in support	YMCA—Downtown City of Madison—City Clerk's Office	5 years—1 month 21 years—5 months	Cleaning exercise mats Stamping forms, shredding confidential papers	4 4	Volunteer 3.30	1 check per 2 hr 1:4	Moved to paid employment No change—present job
#11-1984	42	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, seizure disorder	Apartment—support lives nearby	County of Dane—Juvenile Reception Center Office State of WI—Crime Laboratory	15 years—3 months 13 years—11 months	Shredding confidential papers Photocopying, stocking supplies, delivering mail and faxes, collecting and shredding confidential papers, labeling crime scene photos, preparing pipettes for DNA evidence, sterilizing safety glasses, assembling case files, purging files	4 20	4.11 7.75	1:4 1 check per month	No change—present job No change—present job
#12-1984	42	F	Severe CD, nonverbal, cerebral palsy	Apartment—live-in support	Shakey's Pizza Restaurant Rocky Rocco's Pizza Restaurant—Gilman St. Burger King Restaurant—Lake St. University of WI—Natorium VA Hospital—Pharmacy County of Dane—Facilities Management	2 years—6 months 1 year—0 month 1 year—11 months 3 years—5 months 5 years—3 months 19 years—1 month	Bussing tables Bussing tables, simple food prep Bussing tables Checking out sports equipment Packaging pharmaceutical supplies Collecting paper for recycling	20 20 20 5 15 20	4.00 3.35 3.35 3.35 Volunteer 5.70	2 checks per month 2 checks per month 2 checks per month 2 checks per month 2 checks per month 1.2	Moved to more complex job Laid off—decline in business Worker wanted new job Laid off—job phased out Moved to paid employment No change—present job
#13-1984	42	F	Moderate CD, cerebral palsy, physical disability—uses wheelchair, nonverbal	Lives with parent	County of Dane—Social Services Office City of Madison—City Clerk's Office	1 year—1 month 21 years—5 months	Destapling files to be microfilmed Collating, stuffing envelopes, destapling forms to be microfilmed, counting pens for election boxes, sorting forms by polling site, checking property tax payment envelopes for missed checks, pulling locator tabs off voter registration books	20 15	Volunteer 4.04	1:2 1:6	Moved to paid employment No change—present job

Table 1
Continued

Workers				Work history							
Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
#14-1984	41	M	Moderate CD, nonverbal	Apartment- <i>live-in</i> support	City of Madison-Assessor's Office City of Madison-Public Health Office Hampton Inn	5 years-3 months 7 years-8 months 2 months	Entering data into computer Shredding confidential papers Shampooing carpets, vacuuming, cleaning windows, sweeping and picking up litter in parking lot	5 5 11.5	4.04 3.49 7.00	1:3 1:4 1 check per 2.5 hr	No change-present job Moved to more complex job No change-present job
#15-1985	41	M	Moderate CD, cerebral palsy, physical disability-uses wheelchair, seizure disorder	Apartment- <i>live-in</i> support	Edgewood College Steve's Wine Market County of Dane-Facilities Management Madison Area Tech College-Emergency Medical Services Mautz Paint Co. Avenue Bar & Restaurant	1 year-4 months 3 years-2 months 2 years-2 months 1 year-11 months 2 years-11 months 13 years-1 month	Collecting paper, bottles and cans for recycling Breaking down boxes, sweeping, mopping, shoveling snow, mowing lawn Shredding confidential papers Assembling packets, cleaning CPR mannequins Sweeping, operating trash compactor, labeling bags Washing dishes, breaking down boxes, stocking soda pop coolers Stuffing and stamping envelopes, making interoffice deliveries, operating letter folding machine	5 6 9 4 25 25 15	5.75 5.70 5.15 8.57 5.40 5.15 5.70	1 check per 2.5 hr 1 check per month 1:4 1 check per 2 hr 1 check per month 1 check per month 1.5	No change-present job No change-present job Moved to job with more variety Moved to job that allowed more support from coworkers Business closed Worker wanted new job No change-present job
#16-1985	41	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, Prader Willi syndrome	Apartment- <i>support</i> lives nearby	State of WI-Department of Regulation & Licensing Office University of WI-Waisman Center City of Madison-Public Health Office	5 months 15 years-7 months 4 years-6 months	Shredding confidential papers Delivering mail, shredding confidential papers, playing with children in daycare center Labeling, stamping forms, assembling packets	9 6 6	3.18 5.15 5.70	1 check per 45 min 1 check per 45 min 1.6	Left for health reasons Increased hours at other job No change-present job

#17-1985	41	F	Severe CD, nonverbal, cerebral palsy, microcephaly, physical disability—uses walker	Apartment— <i>live-in support</i>	County of Dane—Human Services Office	15 years—10 months	Collecting paper for recycling, destapling documents for shredding, stuffing envelopes, collating	16.5	5.70	1:3	No change—present job
					State of WI—Department of Transportation Office	1 year—3 months	Stuffing envelopes, labeling, 3 hole punching, collating	10	3.38	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to more complex job
					University of WI—Steenbock Library	3 years—10 months	Stamping books	5	Volunteer	1 check per 2.5 hr	Increased hours at paid job
					Ovens of Brittany Restaurant—Shorewood	6 years—6 months	Washing dishes	15	4.00	1 check per 1.5 hr	Moved to job with more variety
					County of Dane—Juvenile Reception Center Office	11 years—4 months	Shredding confidential papers	6	4.16	1:4	No change—present job
					High Point Church	8 months	Stuffing bulletins, restocking pews	6	Volunteer	1:2	Increased hours at paid job
					American Red Cross	7 years—2 months	Packaging empty blood donor bags, labeling blood donor bags	6	Volunteer	1:2	Moved to job with more opportunities for social interactions
					Madison Area Tech College—Library/Bookstore	4 years—6 months	Stamping books, sensor stripping books	15	Volunteer	1:2	Moved to paid employment
#18-1985	41	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, Alzheimer's, seizure disorder	Apartment— <i>support lives nearby</i>	Regent Market Grocery	7 years—2 months	Facing shelves, cleaning glass doors	9	6.00	1 check per 1 hr	No change—present job
					Flad & Associates—Architects	3 years—0 month	Putting circulation cards in books, shelving books in library	6	5.50	1 check per 1.5 hr	Worker quit
					State of WI—Department of Corrections Office	5 years—9 months	Labeling, stamping envelopes, destapling files to be microfilmed, folding letters, stuffing envelopes, stapling, alphabetizing forms by 1st letter	5.5	5.70	1:5	No change—present job
					Best Western Inn—Inntowner Hotel	18 years—2 months	Folding laundry	9	5.70	1 check per 2 hr	No change—present job
					National Guardian Life Insurance Co.	7 years—1 month	Collating, folding letters, stuffing envelopes	12	5.40	1 check per 1.5 hr	Fired—behavioral challenges
					State of WI—Department of Justice Office	8 months	Sorting forms by type, stuffing envelopes, labeling, 3 hole punching, collating, counting FBI forms	10	4.25	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to job that allowed more supervision from coworkers

Table 1
Continued

Worker-year of school exit		Workers		Work history						
Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
#19-1985	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Lives with parent	State of WI-Vital Records Office	4 years-3 months	Mailing requested birth certificates	10	5.15	1 check per 1 hr	Worker quit
				Kinko's Copy Shop-University Avenue	3 years-9 months	Washing glass doors, filling copy machines with paper, restocking copy areas	6	4.50	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to job that better matched interests
				Kid's Play Day Care Center	2 years-8 months	Playing with children, assisting children with dressing, setting up for snacks	5	Volunteer	1 check per 2.5 hr	Worker quit
				Cornucopia Grocery	3 months	Bagging and weighing bulk items	5	3.35	1 check per 2.5 hr	Laid off-decline in business
				Greenleaf Grocery	3 years-9 months	Bagging and weighing bulk items	5	1.68	1 check per 2.5 hr	Business closed
				Brat & Brau Restaurant	9 years-2 months	Setting tables, filling condiment containers, setting up salad bar	12.5	4.25	3 checks per week	Business closed
				Warner Community Center	3 years-8 months	Vacuuming	6	Volunteer	2 checks per week	No change-present job
				Jung Garden Center	6 years-4 months	Dust mopping, wet mopping, cleaning breakroom, breaking down boxes, cleaning glass doors, picking up litter in parking lot	7.5	5.70	1 check per 2.5 hr	No change-present job
				Gumby's Pizza Restaurant-Williamson St.	3 years-0 month	Assembling pizza boxes	6	5.15	1 check per 1 hr	Store closed during daytime hours
				Mound's Pet Food Warehouse	1 year-9 months	Dust mopping, breaking down boxes, bagging pet food	9	5.15	1 check per 1.5 hr	Store closed
				Old's Seed Co.	3 months	Packing seeds	5	4.25	1 check per 1.25 hr	Laid off-position phased out
				Rocky Rococo's Pizza Restaurant-Sherman Avenue	6 years-10 months	Bussing tables, washing dishes, sweeping, mopping, vacuuming	15	4.75	1 check per 1.5 hr	Fired-behavioral challenges
				Edgewater Hotel	1 year-2 months	Washing dishes	15	3.35	1 check per 1.5 hr	Fired-behavioral challenges
				Amy's Café	2 years-0 month	Sweeping, mopping, vacuuming	15	3.35	1 check per 1 hr	Broke ankle-employer needed replacement
Fess Hotel	11 months	Cleaning vegetables	15	3.35	1 check per 1 hr	Laid off-tasks were incorporated into duties of full-time employees				

#20-1985	41	M	Severe CD, hearing impairment, nonverbal, physical disability, Cornelia deLange syndrome	Apartment- <i>live-in support</i>	County of Dane-Facilities Management	19 years-1 month	Collecting paper for recycling	11	5.70	1:2	No change-present job
					City of Madison-Fire Station #1	8 years-0 month	Dust mopping, emptying waste baskets, folding towels	3	5.70	1:2	Reduced hours at fire station and started paid employment at Pet World Warehouse
					Pet World Warehouse	8 years-2 months	Breaking down boxes, sweeping, dust mopping, wiping tables, emptying trash	6	5.70	1:2	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Social Services Office	1 year-1 month	Destapling files to be microfilmed	10	Volunteer	1:2	Moved to paid employment
#21-1985	40	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment- <i>live-in support</i>	State of WI-Strategic Finance Office	19 years-2 months	Collating, stapling, stuffing envelopes, labeling, assembling informational packets	7.5	5.05	1:3	No change-present job
					City of Madison-Public Health Office	7 years-0 month	Shredding confidential papers	9	3.53	1:6	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Sheriff's Department Office	4 years-5 months	Opening mail, shredding confidential papers	5	5.70	1:5	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Juvenile Reception Center Office	7 years-5 months	Shredding confidential papers	9	2.62	1:5	Transferred to Health Department due to lack of work space
					Best Western Inn-towner Hotel	5 months	Folding laundry	9	3.80	1 check per 1 hr	Fired-poor work quality
					City of Madison-Fire Station #1	4 years-2 months	Cleaning vehicles, sweeping	9	Volunteer	1:3	Moved to paid employment
					Madison Area Tech College-Library	1 year-2 months	Sensor stripping books, stamping books	9	Volunteer	1:3	Moved to job that better matched interests
					Bauman's Deli	3 years-3 months	Setting up tables, filling condiments, bussing tables	12.5	2.50	1 check per 45 min	Moved to job that better matched abilities
#22-1985	41	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment- <i>support lives nearby</i>	State of WI-Department of Regulation & Licensing Office	12 years-8 months	Collating, stapling, stuffing envelopes, labeling, assembling informational packets	15	5.70	1 check per 3 hrs	No change-present job
					State of WI-Vital Records Office	7 years-7 months	Mailing requested birth certificates	9	5.70	1 check per 1.5 hr	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Facilities Management	6 years-1 month	Collecting paper for recycling	12	5.15	1:5	Moved to more sedentary job for health reasons

#26-1986	40	M	Mild CD, cerebral palsy, physical disability—uses wheelchair, seizure disorder, hearing impairment	Apartment—live-in support	City of Madison—Assessor's Office	11 years—11 months	Entering data into computer	7	5.70	1:4	No change—present job
#27-1986	40	M	Moderate CD, hearing impairment, seizure disorder, nonverbal	Apartment—live-in support	State of WI—Central Center Pharmacy & Mailroom County of Dane—Facilities Management	19 years—10 months 7 years—11 months	Delivering medications and mail Collecting paper for recycling	15 5	6.00 5.70	1 check per month 1:5	No change—present job No change—present job
#28-1986 [19]	40	M	Severe CD, Down syndrome, nonverbal	Apartment—live-in support	State of WI—Insurance Commissioner's Office City of Madison—Planning & Development Pizzeria Uno Chicago Bar & Grill-State St. American Red Cross Toys R Us	9 years—3 months 12 years—7 months 9 years—7 months 1 year—7 months 4 years—3 months	Collating, stuffing envelopes, labeling, folding letters, stamping forms and envelopes Collecting paper for recycling Setting tables, breaking down boxes, assembling pizza boxes, polishing brass, washing dishes Setting up chairs, cleaning chalk boards Shrink wrapping merchandise, sweeping, cleaning restrooms, breaking down boxes	9 5 6 5 5	5.70 6.61 5.70	1:4 1:5 1 check per 3 hr 1:2 1:2	No change—present job No change—present job No change—present job Moved to paid employment Changes in required work hours not compatible with worker's schedule No change—present job
#29-1986	40	M	Moderate CD, autism, nonverbal, seizure disorder	Adult family home	State of WI—Strategic Finance Office County of Dane—Facilities Management City of Madison—Fire Station #1 Badger Cab Co.	19 years—4 months 18 years—5 months 10 months 8 years—5 months	Stuffing envelopes, collating, shredding confidential papers, collecting mail, operating letter folding machine Collecting paper for recycling Cleaning vehicles Sweeping, emptying waste baskets, vacuuming, mopping	10 9 9 9	4.41 5.70 Volunteer 6.20	1:2 1:2 1:3 1:2	No change—present job Moved to paid employment and work that better matched abilities No change—present job

Table 1
Continued

Workers				Work history								
Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes	
#30-1986	40	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment- <i>live-in</i> support	City of Madison-Police Department Office State of WI-Asbestos & Lead Certification Unit Office City of Madison-Fire Station #3 Madison Area Tech College-Duplicating Center & Food Service Elk's Lodge	14 years-11 months 15 years-4 months 11 years-8 months 3 years-1 month 3 months	Destapling files, shredding confidential papers Shredding confidential papers, folding letters, stuffing envelopes Sweeping, cleaning vehicles, dust mopping, dusting Collating, bussing tables Sweeping, breaking down boxes, polishing banquet trays, wiping tables and chairs, setting up chairs and tables for banquets Destapling files to be microfilmed Folding letters, stuffing envelopes, labeling, alphabetizing by 1st letter Vacuuming, picking up room service trays, dusting Washing dishes	5 6 9 15 6	4.04 3.89 Volunteer Volunteer 7.00	1:5 1:6 1:2 1:2 1:2	No change-present job No change-present job Increased hours at paid job Moved to job that better matched interests No change-present job	
					State of WI-Financial Services Office State of WI-Insurance Commissioner's Office Edgewater Hotel Pasqual's Salsaria & Deli-Atwood Avenue Pizza Hut Restaurant-East Washington City of Madison-Fire Station #1 McKee's Restaurant State of WI-Department of Corrections Office	5 years-3 months 9 years-2 months 8 years-6 months 5 years-8 months 1 year-9 months 9 years-6 months 1 year-9 months 15 years-0 month	Destapling files to be microfilmed Folding letters, stuffing envelopes, labeling, alphabetizing by 1st letter Vacuuming, picking up room service trays, dusting Washing dishes Washing dishes Washing dishes, vacuuming Labeling, stamping envelopes, assembling packets, alphabetizing by 1st letter, stuffing envelopes, folding letters, destapling forms to be microfilmed Date stamping mail, separating computer print outs of criminal histories by name, destapling files	7.5 9 5 12.5 12.5 9 12.5 10.5 5	5.70 5.70 5.70 4.50 2.75 Volunteer 3.35 5.70 5.70	1:4 1:4 1:2 1 check per 45 min 1 check per 45 min 1:3 1:4 1:4 1:5	No change-present job No change-present job Laid off-decline in business Moved for health reasons Management not supportive Moved to paid employment Business closed No change-present job No change-present job	
#31-1986	40	F	Moderate CD, hearing impairment, Down syndrome	Lives with parent	County of Dane-Sheriff's Department Office	15 years-10 months						

#32-1986	Died 2003	M	Died 2003	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, physical disability—used walker, Alzheimer's	Madison Area Tech College—Administrative Offices State Capital Law Library Madison Club National Guardian Life Insurance Co.	2 years—9 months 3 years—3 months 2 years—0 month 5 years—7 months	Labeling, stuffing envelopes, collating, alphabetizing by 1st letter Destapling files to be microfilmed Folding laundry Collating, putting envelope flaps up in boxes, labeling	9 5 9 9	Volunteer Volunteer 2.50 5.15	1.2 1.4 1.4 1 check per 3 hr	Moved to paid employment Moved to paid employment Fired—behavioral challenges Died 2003
#33-1987	39	M	Moderate CD, autism	Apartment—live-in support	County of Dane—Sheriff's Department Office University of WI Credit Union Badger Cab Co.	9 months 7 years—10 months 8 years—5 months	Destapling files to be microfilmed Folding letters, stuffing envelopes, assembling informational packets, shredding confidential papers Sweeping, emptying waste baskets, vacuuming, mopping Stuffing envelopes, folding letters, labeling, collating, shredding confidential papers, delivering mail Sweeping, cleaning vehicles, dust mopping, dusting Collating	6 9 9	2.50 4.25 6.20	1.4 1 check per 1.5 hr 1.2	Left for health reasons Laid off—job phased out No change—present job
#34-1987	39	F	Moderate CD, visual impairment, seizure disorder	Apartment—support lives nearby	State of WI—Division of Health Office City of Madison—Fire Station #3 Madison Area Tech College—Duplicating Center State of WI—Financial Services Office County of Dane—District Attorney's Office County of Dane—Human Services Office St. Mary's Hospital Health Works County of Dane—Print Shop	8 years—4 months 2 years—4 months 1 year—6 months 5 years—7 months 11 years—4 months 11 years—4 months 6 years—10 months 1 year—9 months	Shredding confidential papers Shredding confidential papers Shredding confidential papers Folding newsletters, labeling Destapling court documents to be microfilmed	9 9 6 6 15	5.70 5.70 5.70	1.2 1.2 1.4 1.6 1.4 1.5	No change—present job No change—present job Increased hours at paid job Fired—behavioral challenges No change—present job No change—present job Moved to paid employment Transferred to District Attorney's Office due to lack of work space

Table 1
Continued

Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Workers						
					Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
#35-1987	39	M	Moderate CD	Apartment- <i>live-in</i> support	Edgewood College	3 years-3 months	Dusting, collecting paper, bottles and cans for recycling	5	2.12	1:2	Moved to job that better matched ability
					County of Dane-Court Commissioner's Office	3 years-1 month	Destapling court documents to be microfilmed	15	4.25	1:5	Office relocated workspace-no longer available
					Orvis' Deli	2 years-2 months	Slicing and buttering buns, bussing tables, filling salad containers	15	1.34	1 check per 30 min	Business closed
#36-1987	40	F	Moderate CD	Apartment- <i>support</i> lives nearby	University of WI-Kohl Center, Arena Control	5 years-0 month	Sorting and delivering mail	7.5	7.50	1 check per month	No change-present job
					University of WI-Kohl Center, Food & Beverage	2 years-0 month	Simple food prep, washing dishes	20	7.50	1 check per month	No change-present job
					Pasqual's Salsaria & Southwestern	7 years-7 months	Washing dishes, bussing tables, stocking dining stations	20	5.50	1 check per 4 hr	Moved to job with better pay and more variety
					Dell-Monroe Street Community Work Services, Inc.	2 years-0 month	Photocopying	3	5.70	1 check per 30 min	No change-present job
					St. Jame's Church	1 year-4 months	Folding bulletins, labeling and stuffing envelopes	3	Volunteer	1 check per hour	No change-present job
					Dane County ARC Office	6 months	Shredding confidential papers	3	5.70	1 check per 45 min	Laid off-not enough work
					State of WI-Environmental Health Office	13 years-3 months	Photocopying, stuffing envelopes, folding letter	12	5.15	1 check per 1 hr	Fired-poor attendance
					Madison Area Tech College-Administrative Offices	1 year-6 months	Photocopying, labeling, folding letters, stuffing envelopes	9	Volunteer	1:2	Moved to paid employment
					State of WI-Division of Health Office	16 years-3 months	Photocopying, labeling, folding letters, stuffing envelopes	10	5.15	1:2	Fired-poor attendance
					State of WI-Division of Health Office	3 years-2 months	Alphabetizing forms by 1st letter, stuffing envelopes, folding letters	6	5.70	1:6	No change-present job
#37-1987	39	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment- <i>support</i> lives nearby	Pet World Warehouse	5 years-3 months	Breaking down boxes, sweeping, dust mopping, wiping down tables, emptying trash	6	5.70	1:2	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Facilities Management	12 years-5 months	Collecting paper for recycling	7.5	5.70	1:5	No change-present job
					City of Madison-Fire Station #1	15 years-0 month	Dust mopping, emptying waste baskets, folding towels, sweeping, wet mopping, washing vehicles	3	5.70	1:2	No change-present job

#38-1988	39	F	Severe CD	Adult family home	Steve's Wine Market	7 years-6 months	Breaking down boxes, vacuuming mats, sweeping	6	5.15	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to job where more professional support was available
					Regent Market Grocery	1 year-7 months	Facing shelves, cleaning coolers, sweeping, breaking down boxes	6	5.15	1:2	Laid off-business slow
					State of WI-Department of Revenue Office Community Work Services, Inc.	11 years-0 month	Highlighting file folders, alphabetizing by 1st letter	6	3.62	1 check per 1 hr	Office moved off bus line
						2 years-7 months	Vacuuming, emptying trash	6	4.25	1 check per 30 min	Moved to job with more opportunities for social interactions
					Rocky Rocco's Pizza Restaurant-West	3 years-1 month	Setting up tables, bussing tables, washing dishes	20	2.04	1 check per 30 min	Fired-behavioral challenges
					Nature's Bakery Cooperative	1 year-1 month	Labeling bags and boxes	2.5	5.70	1:2	No change-present job
					Law Center for Children & Families Planned Parenthood	2 years-9 months	Shredding confidential papers	5	5.70	1:1	No change-present job
						4 years-2 months	Packaging condoms	5	Volunteer	1:3	No change-present job
					First United Methodist Church	7 years-3 months	Labeling and stuffing church bulletins	5	Volunteer	1:1	Moved to paid employment
					Pasqual's Restaurant Production Facility	5 years-5 months	Labeling and pricing salsa containers, labeling bags	5	5.15	1:1	Business closed
#39-1988	38	F	Moderate CD	Lives with parent	Great Harvest Bread Company	9 years-2 months	Labeling bread bags, bagging bread	2.5	5.15	1:1	Laid off-decline in business
					Wisconsin Craft Mart	1 year-0 month	Pricing merchandise with pricing gun	5	4.25	1:1	Stopped attending work due to mental health challenges
					State of WI-Department of Corrections Office	3 years-5 months	Labeling, stuffing envelopes, folding letters	7.5	4.25	1:3	Fired-behavioral challenges
					City of Madison-Police Department Office	2 years-6 months	Shredding confidential papers	5	3.80	1:3	Moved to job that better matched interests
					Madison Area Tech College-Bookstore	11 months	Stamping books, sensor stripping books	7.5	Volunteer	1:3	Moved to paid employment
					State of WI-Department of Corrections Office	3 years-10 months	Labeling, stamping envelopes, assembling packets, alphabetizing forms by 1st letter, stuffing envelopes, folding letters, destapling forms to be microfilmed, separating computer forms by county codes	5	5.70	1 check per 2 hr	No change-present job
						6 years-5 months	Stamping and labeling forms, brochures and envelopes, stuffing envelopes, shredding confidential papers	5	5.70	1:4	No change-present job
					County of Dane-Public Health Nursing Office	6 years-5 months	Stamping and labeling forms, brochures and envelopes, stuffing envelopes, shredding confidential papers	5	5.70	1:4	No change-present job

Table 1
Continued

Workers		Work history									
Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
					County of Dane—Human Services Office	10 years—1 month	Collecting paper for recycling and shredding, assembling informational packets	5	5.70	1-4	No change—present job
					Ad World	1 year—4 months	Vacuuming, sorting and labeling photos, cutting out advertisements, bundling newspapers	9	5.15	1 check per 1.5 hr	Laid off—no enough work
					Meriter Hospital Adult Services	4 years—2 months	Delivering mail, distributing ice water to patients	12	Volunteer	1 check per 1.5 hr	Moved to paid employment
					Methodist Day Care Center	2 months	Assisting teachers in day care center	5	Volunteer	1 check per 2.5 hr	Fired—behavioral challenges
					State of WI—Department of Justice Office	7 months	Sorting forms by type, stuffing envelopes, labeling, 3 hole punching, collating, counting FBI forms	15	3.42	1 check per 30 min	Fired—behavioral challenges
					Video Land	9 months	Dusting, checking in and shelving returned videotapes	5	3.85	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to job that better matched abilities
					Hardees Restaurant—Milwaukee St.	4 years—8 months	Making salads	15	3.05	1 check per 45 min	Moved to job that better matched abilities
#40-1988	38	M	Moderate CD, seizure disorder	Adult family home	State Street Brats Restaurant	15 years—4 months	Sweeping, wet mopping, cleaning bathrooms, setting up tables, taking down chairs, stocking ice bins	20	6.00	1 check per month	No change—present job
					Home Savings Bank	8 years—10 months	Microfilming checks, stamping money wrappers, sorting forms by branch, stuffing envelopes, watering plants, breaking down boxes, collecting paper for recycling, distributing paychecks, shredding confidential papers	7.5	6.00	1 check per 2.5 hr	No change—present job
					Meriter Hospital—Volunteer Services	9 years—2 months	Delivering magazines to waiting areas	1.5	Volunteer	1 check per month	No change—present job
					Madison Public Library—Central Branch	6 years—10 months	Stamping books	1.5	Volunteer	1 check per month	No change—present job
					Bay View Foundation	3 years—3 months	Vacuuming, sweeping, wet mopping	1.5	Volunteer	1 check per 1.5 hr	Worker wanted different job
					First United Methodist Church	2 years—0 month	Entering Sunday school attendance data into computer	1.5	Volunteer	1 check per 1.5 hr	Changes in job requirements were too difficult

#41-1988	38	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Adult family home	City of Madison-Fire Station #4 Washington Host Restaurant	5 years-1 month 7 months	Sweeping, wet mopping cleaning bathrooms, breaking down boxes	7.5	Volunteer	1 check per 2.5 hr 1 check per 1 hr	Moved to paid employment Business closed
				County of Dane-Job Center Office	County of Dane-Job Center Office	11 years-5 months	Collecting paper for recycling, collating, stapling, shredding confidential papers	25	5.70	1 check per 2.5 hr	No change-present job
				WI School of Electronics	WI School of Electronics	7 months	Collating, labeling, stuffing envelopes	25	3.50	1 check per 1.25 hr	Laid off-not enough work
				Wendy's Restaurant-East Washington Avenue	Wendy's Restaurant-East Washington Avenue	5 years-9 months	Toasting hamburger buns, bussing tables	25	3.80	1 check per .75 hr	Moved to job that better matched abilities
#42-1988	38	M	Moderate CD, Down syndrome, seizure disorder	Apartment-support lives nearby	State of WI-Strategic Finance Office	4 years-0 month	Shredding confidential papers	12.5	5.70	1:6	No change-present job
				County of Dane-Adult Community Services Office	County of Dane-Adult Community Services Office	12 years-1 month	Stamping and labeling forms, brochures and envelopes, stuffing	12.5	5.70	1 check per 1.25 hr	No change-present job
				State of WI-Department of Regulation & Licensing Office	State of WI-Department of Regulation & Licensing Office	7 years-11 months	Shredding confidential papers	12.5	4.27	1 check per 1.25 hr	Fired-behavioral challenges
				Wendy's Restaurant-Dempsey St.	Wendy's Restaurant-Dempsey St.	5 years-8 months	Toasting hamburger buns, setting up salad bar, washing dishes	25	3.80	1 check per 45 min	Moved to jobs that better matched abilities
#43-1988	39	M	Moderate CD, seizure disorder	Lives with parent	Monty's Blue Plate Diner	10 years-0 month	Washing dishes, stocking supplies, breaking down boxes, wiping shelves, sweeping, wet mopping	15	5.70	2 checks per month	No change-present job
				State of WI-Department of Corrections Office	State of WI-Department of Corrections Office	10 years-9 months	Folding letters, stuffing envelopes, sorting forms, shredding confidential papers	6	5.70	1 check per 2 hr	No change-present job
				WKOW-TV Station	WKOW-TV Station	6 years-0 month	Collecting paper, bottles and cans for recycling, emptying waste baskets	9	5.70	1 check per month	No change-present job
				Ovens of Brittany Restaurant-Camelot Square	Ovens of Brittany Restaurant-Camelot Square	2 years-4 months	Washing dishes, sweeping, wet mopping	15	4.85	1 check per 2.5 hr	Business closed
				Pasqual's Restaurant Production Facility	Pasqual's Restaurant Production Facility	3 years-0 month	Washing dishes	12	4.25	1 check per 1.5 hr	Business moved off bus line
				Midway Motor Lodge	Midway Motor Lodge	2 years-5 months	Cleaning hotel rooms	15	3.65	1 check per 45 min	Laid off-Hotel lost airline contract
				Trigg's Bakery	Trigg's Bakery	3 years-10 months	Washing dishes	9	2.25	1 check per 1 hr	Moved to job with more variety and opportunities for social interactions

Table 1
Continued

Workers			Work history								
Worker-year of school exit	Age	M/F	Disability labels	Residence and support	Work environment	Years and months in job	Work tasks	Hours/week	Hourly wage (\$)	Professional support	Reasons for job changes
#44-1990	36	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Moved in 2002	State of WI—Department of Corrections Office	10 years—5 months	Labeling, stamping envelopes, destapling files to be microfilmed, folding letters, stuffing envelopes, stapling, alphabetizing forms by 1st letter	25	5.15	1:4	Moved to Denmark-2002
#45-1990	36	F	Moderate CD, Down syndrome	Apartment—support lives nearby	Rocky Rococo's Pizza Restaurant—Monona Drive	3 years—6 months	Washing dishes, bussing tables	15	3.85	1 check per 1.5 hr	Moved to job with more variety and opportunities for social interactions
#46-1991	35	M	Moderate CD, autism	Lives with parent	State of WI—Human Resources Office	5 years—9 months	Alphabetizing by 1st letter, labeling, stuffing envelopes, collating, separating 3 ply timesheets, assembling informational packets	9	3.96	1:4	No change—present job
					Video Station	15 years—6 months	Dusting shelves, shelving videos	6	3.20	1 check per 2 hr	No change—present job
					Hardee's Restaurant—University Avenue	2 years—8 months	Making salads	9	2.85	1 check per 30 min	Moved to job that better matched abilities
					UBS Financial Services	4 years—2 months	Filing by name and account number	6.5	6.50	1 check per month	No change—present job
					Flad Affiliated Corp.	5 years—0 month	Filing of invoices alphabetically, stocking supplies, stuffing payroll checks, shredding confidential papers	8	8.06	1 check per 4 hr	No change—present job
					Flad & Associates—Architects	6 years—11 months	Shelving library materials, filing interior design samples, closing out library inventory on computer	7	8.06	1 check per month	No change—present job
					WI Manufacturers & Commerce Association	14 years—5 months	Assembling training packets	9	7.75	1 check per month	No change—present job

Fifty Workers

#47-2000	26	M	Severe CD, nonverbal, visual impairment, physical disability--uses wheelchair	Apartment-- <i>live-in support</i>	State of WI--Bureau of Developmental Disabilities Office	2 years--11 months	15	5.15	1 check per month	Business moved out of state
					State of WI--Bureau of Developmental Disabilities Office	4 years--1 month	2	9.57	1:1	No change--present job
					County of Dane--District Attorney's Office Movin' Out	4 years--10 months	8	5.70	1:1	No change--present job
					State of WI--Council on Developmental Disabilities Office	4 years--10 months	5	10.00	1:1	No change--present job
					State of WI--Council on Developmental Disabilities Office	9 years--4 months	7.5	6.00	1:1	No change--present job
#48-2000	27	M	Moderate CD, autism	Lives with sibling	Concourse Hotel-Laundry	8 years--11 months	17.5	6.14	1 check per month	No change--present job
#49-2000	26	M	Moderate CD, nonverbal, seizure disorder	Apartment-- <i>live-in support</i>	State of WI--Insurance Commissioner's Office	5 years--1 month	9	5.70	1:4	No change--present job
					County of Dane--Facilities Management Planned Parenthood, Inc.	1 year--10 months	5	5.15	1:4	No change--present job
					Nature's Bakery Cooperative Noodles & Co. Restaurant--Mineral Point Rd	1 year--9 months	2.5	Volunteer	1:3	No change--present job
					State of WI--Department of Corrections Office	1 year--1 month	2.5	5.70	1:2	No change--present job
					State of WI--Bureau of Developmental Disabilities Office	5 years--1 month	12.5	5.75	1 check per 45 min	Fired--work quality
#50-2003	23	M	Moderate CD, nonverbal	Lives with parent	State of WI--Department of Corrections Office	2 years--1 month	9	5.70	1:5	No change--present job
					State of WI--Bureau of Developmental Disabilities Office	2 years--2 months	10	5.70	1 check per 1 hr	No change--present job
					Border's Books, Music & Caf�	4 years--11 months	6	7.42	1 check per 1 hr	No change--present job

Residential Settings and Support

Two of the 50 workers moved away from Dane County, and two workers died prior to 2005. Of the 46 remaining, 10 lived with one or both parents, one lived with a sibling who was not disabled, and twenty lived in supported apartments with no more than one other person with disabilities and a paid person without disabilities. Eleven lived in supported apartments with one other person with disabilities; professionals who lived nearby came to them and provided assistance but did not live with them. Typically, support from professionals who lived nearby ranged from 2 to 8 hr/day; support was supplemented with electronic monitoring systems (e.g., exit alarms and motion detectors). Four lived in adult family homes (i.e., foster homes for adults). No worker lived in a setting with more than two unrelated persons with disabilities (i.e., in a group home).

A long-standing practice of segregated workshops and activity centers is to arrange for their clients to leave residences in the morning and return in the late afternoon. During these times, residential support agencies do not have to employ personnel and parents/guardians are released from direct care responsibilities. In most instances, agencies that support workers with significant disabilities in integrated vocational settings must arrange for approximately the same amounts of time out of residences. This, indeed, was the practice of Community Work Services in that most of the workers were gone for the day (8:00–3:30, for example). Table 1 and the following section provide detailed information about the hours occupied by work commitments. Following the *Work Histories* section, information is provided in the *Recreation, Lunch, and Transportation* section so that the reader can understand how these activities figured into the days of the workers.

Work Histories

Integrated Work Environments

An integrated work environment has three major characteristics. First, it is naturally proportioned. Assume approximately 1% of the general population has significant disabilities. If so, no more than approximately 1% of those who work in a general work environment can be so disabled. A hospital, which in this context is considered a general work environment, employs 500 persons. In order for it to be considered naturally proportioned, approximately five or 1% of the 500 can have significant disabilities. Even then, a superficial analysis might induce the judgment that because the hospital is naturally proportioned, the areas in which the five work are thereby acceptable. Further analysis may reveal, however, that the five workers are confined to a mobile maintenance crew or an enclave; are supervised 100% of the time by job coaches; have few, if any, opportunities for vertical or horizontal enhancement;

experience only segregated lunches and breaks; and are restricted to situations in which meaningful social interactions with coworkers and others who are not disabled are rare, if not impossible (Brown et al., 1991). Thus, although the hospital as a general work environment may be naturally proportioned, immediate work and related subenvironments are overpopulated with workers with disabilities and are de facto unacceptable. The point here is that a worker with significant disabilities must work in sight, sound, and within reasonable distance of coworkers who are not disabled. All 50 workers carried out their jobs in settings that were in reasonable accordance with these criteria.

Inspection of the work environments in Table 1 reveals that the 50 workers had jobs in 253 settings. In this context, a setting was counted more than once if more than one worker was employed in it. The number of work settings per individual worker ranged from 1 to 10. In total, there were over 150 different integrated work environments.

There were important changes in the types of integrated work environments utilized across time. In 1986, 20 food service and 22 office settings were the sites for the 40 workers served at that time (this number excludes the two workers who died and the two who moved from Dane County). In 2005, the same 40 workers were employed in only six food service environments but in 47 office settings. Concerted efforts to increase office sites were made for the following reasons. First, offices often have low turnover rates relative to food service settings. This allows for the frequent contacts and common experiences over extended periods necessary for the development of meaningful social and supportive relationships with coworkers without disabilities. Second, parents/guardians and workers often preferred office settings. Third, many office tasks were less physically and cognitively demanding than those required in food service settings. For example, clerical collating and stapling tasks required relatively few skills, discernable sequences, less stringent time constraints, and simple qualitative judgments when compared to bussing tables, washing dishes, sweeping floors, or making salads in a restaurant. Fourth, Madison contains a large number of city, county, state, federal, and private offices. Fifth, the central location and close proximity of many government office buildings allowed for convenient transportation for workers and job coaches.

Many workers were employed in two or more work environments in a day/week, primarily for the following reasons:

- At times one environment did not provide the variety of tasks that would maintain interest, willingness to perform, and physical well being.
- Multiple environments provided more opportunities for the preferred amounts and kinds of social relationships with coworkers without disabilities.

- A reasonable balance between active and sedentary tasks across a day/week was not available in one setting.
- There was an insufficient amount of work in one setting.
- Workers who presented social and behavioral challenges were often more readily accepted or tolerated if their work schedule was less than a full day/week in a particular setting.
- If someone worked in two settings and lost access to one, it was usually less disruptive for the worker and easier to arrange another part time rather than a full-time job.
- A setting may have required skills that were in the repertoire of a worker during some, but not all, parts of the work day/week. For example, one worker performed her job acceptably at a restaurant in the mornings; however, during busy lunch periods, when she could not carry out her job adequately, she worked at a nearby video rental store.

Work Tasks

A job is defined as the entire range of skills required of a worker without disabilities in order for an employer to hire or continue to employ her/him at least at the minimum wage. Some components of the jobs of coworkers without disabilities were too difficult for the workers. Answering telephones, using word processors and assisting customers, are examples. In short, a business could not succeed if it was dependent upon the productivity of only the workers with disabilities. In addition, many of the workers manifested attendance rates and behavioral challenges that would not have been tolerated by most employers, if the workers were not disabled.

If a worker with disabilities does not complete a task in accordance with the minimally acceptable standards of an employer, and as a consequence a coworker without disabilities must be paid to do so, it is considered real work. All 50 workers performed real work in accordance with this definition. In some instances, a worker with significant disabilities could complete some work tasks acceptably in the same manner as coworkers who were not disabled. In other instances, a worker could do so only if individualized adaptations were designed and utilized. An adaptation refers to something that is added to, or changed in, the setting that allows a worker with disabilities to perform his or her work in accordance with the minimally acceptable standards of an employer. These adaptations are not needed by coworkers without disabilities. Some adaptations such as paper folding devices, color-coded mail, and pictures of required performance sequences are relatively simple and inexpensive. Others are quite complex and costly. Many workers utilized a wide array of individualized adaptations throughout their careers.

From 1981 to 2005, the workers engaged in over 150 real work tasks. Efforts to provide opportunities to learn and perform a wide array of different and/or more complex tasks across days, weeks, and years were always made.

Years and Months in Work Settings and Reasons for Job Changes

The amount of time individual workers spent in particular settings ranged from 2 months to 27 years and 6 months. Job changes occurred for a range of reasons, most of which were designed to enhance opportunities and create better job matches. For example, changes were made because the array of tasks was too limited, complex, or simple. In some instances, a new job was secured because it offered better opportunities for social interactions and/or natural support. Changes were made to move someone from a volunteer experience to a paid work setting, or to a site closer to home with improved transportation options. Occasionally, a change was made so that professional support could be provided more effectively, and in some instances changes were made to accommodate a worker's medical needs or decline in stamina. Finally, like many workers, changes were made when workers became disinterested in a setting or tasks and asked for changes. "Asking for changes" took different forms, including obvious declines in performance, exhibiting challenging behaviors, and/or refusing to go to work.

Some of the job changes were due to terminations and layoffs. Between 1981 and 2005, there were 18 terminations and 18 layoffs that occurred across 21 different workers. The reasons for terminations were unacceptable social/behavioral actions (14), excessive absenteeism (2), and poor work quality (2). Social/behavioral challenges that warranted dismissal included aggression toward others, demands for attention that interfered with the functioning of coworkers and supervisors, and stealing. Pens, coffee cups, and snack foods were the items taken most frequently. Money was rarely taken. In most instances, a worker was not terminated until several problematic actions were expressed. Some employers offered continued employment; however, job coaches often judged that it was important to provide workers opportunities to learn from natural consequences—the loss of one's job. In 12 of the 18 terminations, employers agreed to hire other workers supported by Community Work Services.

Reasons for layoffs were declines in business (6), the tasks workers performed were phased out (5) or were assumed by full-time employees (2), and there was an insufficient amount of work available (5). In one instance, a worker broke his ankle outside the work setting and the employer determined it was necessary to hire a replacement. Workers who exited integrated settings were moved to other integrated settings. Community Work Services has never had a worker move from an integrated to a segregated work setting.

Hours Worked

In most instances, job coaches supervised the workers from around 8:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Mondays through Fridays. This encompasses time spent in working, in lunch and work breaks, in traveling, and in recreation activities. The number of hours spent working (including breaks) ranged from 6 to 30.5 hr/week. The average was 20.15 hr/week. Interestingly, many workers who presented social and behavioral challenges worked the most hours per week. With few exceptions, the number of hours worked per week remained relatively stable across time. This is noteworthy because as the workers aged, stamina and more serious mental and physical illnesses frequently reduced skill levels. Logically, as the competence and productivity of some workers increased, so did their earnings. However, increased earnings jeopardized some SSDI and SSI benefits and their work hours were maintained or reduced to keep them under the benefit loss threshold.

Wages

In 2005, the Wisconsin legal minimum wage for private sector employees was \$5.70 per hour. Most public sector city, county, and state positions in the Madison area offered starting wages in entry level positions of around \$10.00 per hour. The hourly wage range of the workers in 2005 was from \$3.20 to \$10.00. The average was \$5.76. Obviously, no worker could live on the wages earned. Several other points are relevant.

- The ranges and amounts of work produced were almost always less than those of coworkers without disabilities. However, the work they produced released coworkers without disabilities to focus on more complicated tasks.
- The productivity of 12 workers was documented empirically by Community Work Services personnel. These employers were eligible for and utilized deviated wage certificates that allowed subminimum wages commensurate with productivity. There were many employers, however, who were eligible for deviated wage certificates based on a worker's productivity but chose to pay the minimum wage or higher.
- Many workers received pay raises because of longevity in their positions. Increases in the legal minimum wage since 1984 also resulted in automatic pay raises.
- None of the workers worked 40 hr/week. Because of the part time nature of their work, most did not receive benefits through their employer.

In 2005, seven of the workers were in "volunteer" settings. Each of these seven also worked for wages in other settings. We believe that it is qualitatively better to work in an integrated setting as a volunteer than it is to work in a segregated setting for the amounts of money typically received. A worker was considered a volunteer if he or she had reasonable knowledge about, and

agreed to perform, the required tasks and if the setting legally used other volunteers in the same capacities.

Volunteer settings were utilized for three major reasons. First, the physical, social, logistical, and other benefits of volunteering were deemed more important than the amounts of money that could be earned elsewhere. Second, the amounts of money earned jeopardized SSDI and SSI benefits. Wisconsin allows benefit determination professionals to decide how much a worker can earn before benefits are reduced or terminated. Some could have worked more hours and/or earned more money. However, they could not earn enough money or work the number of hours that would compensate for reduced or terminated benefits. Thus, they worked fewer hours, participated in paying and volunteer roles and/or deferred raises. Third, workers realized they could make money elsewhere but clearly preferred working in certain settings as volunteers. Despite these reasons, the use of volunteer settings decreased over time. In 1986, 15 workers functioned in volunteer roles; in 2005, only seven did so.

Professional Support

None of the workers could have been successful in a workplace, residential setting, or anywhere else without the comprehensive and sustained assistance of family members, job coaches, taxpayers, coworkers without disabilities, and others. In the workplace, professional support refers to the amounts and kinds of assistance a job coach provides that would not be needed if a worker was not disabled or was less disabled. In 2005, the amounts of professional support time per individual worker ranged from approximately 15 min to 35 hr/week. The following points emerged:

- Job coaches continuously strived for safe, cost efficient, and otherwise individually meaningful balances between too much and too little support.
- Some workers performed their jobs quite well in high ratio arrangements (e.g., 1:5 or 1:6 ratios) because of their personal care, social, travel, and work repertoires. Others performed their jobs quite well in high ratio arrangements during work times but needed low ratio arrangements (e.g., 1:1 or 1:2 ratios) during relatively unstructured break and lunch times and in travel and recreation activities because of personal care and behavioral challenges.
- If tasks were within the lower end of the difficulty range of a worker, the support required to ensure acceptable work quality was often minimal. However, job coaches persistently strived to generate horizontal and vertical enhancement opportunities. When a worker was learning additional tasks in a difficulty range or more complex tasks, increases in professional assistance were almost always required.
- One day a worker could have been doing quite well with only monthly checks; however, for health, behav-

ioral, training, or other important reasons, he or she may have needed a job coach present for the entire time she was working the next day. Consequently, professional support had to be flexible and responsive to constantly changing circumstances. As the workers aged, deteriorating mental and physical health and the diminution of personal care skills often required increasing amounts and kinds of support.

The support arrangements used with each worker are presented in Table 1 and are categorized in the following manner:

- *1 to 1 or 2.* In these arrangements a job coach was in the same physical space, in sight of, and/or in extremely close proximity to one or two workers almost 100% of the time they were in their work settings. This intensity of support was deemed necessary to maintain concentration on tasks and productivity; address seizure disorders; honor court orders and strong parent/guardian preferences; manage behavioral challenges; minimize interference with the productivity of others; and attenuate safety risks.
- *1 to 3, 4, 5, or 6.* In these arrangements, job coaches were approximately 5 min away from the 3, 4, 5, or 6 workers for whom they were directly responsible. In order for these arrangements to be operative and yet to honor the criteria of an integrated work environment, settings that were in relatively close temporal and spatial proximity were used. For example, five workers' jobs were in four separate areas of a large government office building. This allowed one job coach to check each of the five every 15–20 min. When necessary, coworkers without disabilities used cell phones and pagers to contact job coaches who were rarely more than 5 min away.
- *Daily checks.* In this arrangement, job coaches typically checked workers at least once per day. However, depending on support needs, a worker was checked or monitored once every 30 min to once in 4 hr. The typical routine of a job coach in this arrangement was to rotate across workers throughout a morning or afternoon. Because workers in this arrangement needed less assistance than others, their work settings were more dispersed. However, a job coach was rarely more than 15–20 min away.
- *Weekly and monthly checks.* In these arrangements, workers were checked by a job coach 1–3 times per week or 1–2 times per month. Typically, a check lasted from 5 to 30 min. If circumstances required more support, it was provided.

Most of the support provided by job coaches in all arrangements described included the following: (a) providing systematic training and instruction, (b) verifying work was completed acceptably and that negotiated routines and schedules were followed, (c) motivating work-

ers, (d) assisting employers/supervisors to set workers up with assigned tasks, (e) monitoring behavioral challenges and following through with agreed upon interventions, (f) monitoring dress and grooming requirements, (g) facilitating social interactions and communications between workers and coworkers/supervisors (e.g., programming and updating augmentative communication devices), (h) monitoring, evaluating, and improving the effectiveness of individualized adaptations (e.g., setting timers and alarms that indicated work breaks and transition to another work site), (i) getting feedback from employers and/or coworkers about worker performance and responding constructively, (j) assisting in restroom and related activities, (k) monitoring medical conditions and dispensing medications, (l) assisting during transitions to and from work sites, lunchrooms, transportation points, etc., and (m) responding appropriately to extraordinary situations.

Work Breaks

Whereas some workers had paid breaks, others did not because they worked less than 4-hr shifts. For those who did take breaks, the range was from 10 to 30 min. The average was 15 min. Breaks were often longer than those taken by coworkers without disabilities because more time was needed drinking, eating, and using restrooms. Some took breaks on their own, some took them with coworkers without disabilities, and some took them with job coaches.

Recreation, Lunch, and Transportation

Recreation

In 2005, 18 of the workers engaged in recreation activities during portions of their work weeks. These activities included “working out at the Y,” swimming, shopping, using public libraries, and bowling. One worker swam at a “Y” approximately 5 hr/week. A job coach checked in with him about once per month. The 17 others participated in these activities with a job coach in groups of two or three. The workers spent from 2.5 to 6 hr/week in recreational activities during work weeks. The average was 4.5 hr/week.

The workers engaged in recreational activities for a number of reasons. First, as previously mentioned, it was necessary for most of the workers to be out of their residences between approximately 8:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. daily. Appropriate work tasks could not be arranged for that amount of time. Behavioral challenges, attention span difficulties, and/or limited stamina disallowed full days of work. Second, a worker and/or parents or guardians requested that some time be spent in recreational activities. When recreational experiences during nonwork days and times were analyzed, it was clear that involvement in some “fun” activities was needed. Third, health and fitness considerations led to incorporation of some physically demanding recreational activities. And, finally, recreational activities

were used as motivations for working (e.g., “in order to have money to shop, you must work”).

Lunch

Many workers needed more physical or other kinds of guidance during lunch than while working. Specifically, help was needed purchasing, opening packages, cutting foods, cleaning up, and using restrooms. Twelve workers needed physical assistance when eating and drinking.

Some workers experienced behavioral difficulties in relatively unstructured lunch periods, and in such instances a job coach ate lunch with from two to five workers in the same location. This was an unfortunate violation of natural distributions, but it was done because the personnel that would be needed to supervise in low ratio arrangements could not be afforded.

Transportation

Workers traveled to and from work using various means: walking (1), transported by parents (3), and independent use of city busses (11). The remaining workers used specialized transit or a combination of specialized transit and another means of transportation, including being transported in a job coach’s personal vehicle.

Social Integration

It is incumbent upon those who claim integration is superior to segregation to delineate important elements that are operative in the former but not the latter. One of the most important characteristics of the integrated option is the opportunity to interact with and develop a range of social relationships with coworkers and others without disabilities who are not paid to be with you. Community Work Services expends substantial energies and other resources developing a wide array of social relationships between coworkers and others without disabilities. Indeed, although the vocational achievements reported are notable, for most workers they are secondary to the social relationships experienced. These relationships could not have been realized in segregated environments.

Several important points relative to enhancing social relationships emerged. First, if employers and coworkers without disabilities were comfortable with and liked the job coach, they were more likely to develop social relationships with workers. Therefore, job coaches were encouraged to be sociable, accessible, and approachable. They were also encouraged to provide relevant information about a worker’s interests, abilities, and communication styles as ways of increasing opportunities for social interactions. Second, when job coaches initiated social contacts on behalf of a worker, coworkers were generally happy to be approached. Oftentimes they did not realize that becoming involved with a worker in social activities within or outside the workplace was appropriate and preferred. After initial contacts and connections were made by job coaches, coworkers often

continued and expanded them with minimal support. Third, in some instances meaningful social relationships developed quickly and with relative ease. However, it was more common for them to develop gradually. One particularly helpful facilitating technique was for job coaches to model desired social interactions. For example, for 2 years a job coach brought cake and gifts to the office to celebrate the birthday of a worker. In the third year, coworkers organized his birthday party without the involvement of the job coach. In 2005, all of the workers celebrated their birthdays and workplace anniversaries with coworkers and employers. Fourth, as many wonderful social relationships developed, it became apparent that the workers seemed to be receiving much more than they were giving. Thus, with the assistance of job coaches, workers began acknowledging the birthdays of coworkers and employers, inquiring about vacations, sending get well cards, and making other gestures common in reciprocal relationships. After initiating more “giving” actions, the workers became even more socially connected to coworkers and employers. Finally, although the excitement and novelty of new work settings and tasks oftentimes faded, it was quite common that social relationships with coworkers produced more satisfaction and sustained productivity.

The benefits of working in integrated settings were not restricted to the workers. Many coworkers described their work environments as being enhanced, their morale improved, and their personal and professional lives more fulfilled because they worked with persons with disabilities. Sometimes, workers did not participate in events with coworkers that were at night or on weekends because transportation could not be arranged. Nevertheless, there were many instances when workers attended gatherings at the homes of coworkers, ate with them at restaurants, and engaged in recreation activities together on weekends. The following are illustrations of such social relationships (names are pseudonyms):

Travis works at the office of the Wisconsin State Commissioner of Insurance. The director of human resources took a sign language course so she could communicate with him. She sometimes joined Travis for breaks and occasionally met him for lunch at a nearby cafeteria to “chat.” Several other coworkers learned some sign language. At his birthday parties, they all sang “happy birthday” in sign language.

In 2005, the state office building at which Brad worked was renovated. Everyone was displaced during construction. When the renovations were completed, a floor plan was posted. Brad, who used to work next to Jane, was moved to another area. Jane went to her administrator and arranged for another employee to be moved so Brad could continue to work next to her.

Martin worked in the City of Madison Assessor's Office. He entered data into a computer using a mouth stick. He also used it to ambulate in his motorized wheelchair. His supervisor, Joann, observed job coaches struggle with his outerwear during cold weather. She surprised Martin one day with a poncho she made that could be easily slipped on and off. He loves the poncho and wears it whenever weather permits.

Kevin worked at the Badger Cab Company. One morning he was trying to use his pocket talker to communicate with coworkers. It was not working and he was becoming quite frustrated. One of his coworkers learned that Kevin's insurance did not cover the \$300 for a new talker. He started a collection and in a few hours had enough. A few weeks later Kevin's coworkers arranged a cookout and surprised him with a new talker. Rick, Kevin's supervisor who organized raising the money, said, "It's hard to describe. We could have someone else do the work, but it's better having Kevin. When he's not here, I miss him."

Mike worked at the Avenue Bar and Restaurant, primarily as a dishwasher. After 15 years, he decided he wanted a new job. This was a difficult choice because he had made many friends and was especially close to Paul, his boss. Mike started working at the Mautz Paint Company, which was one block from the Avenue Bar and close enough for him to stop in to visit friends and for free lunch! After 2 years, the owner of the Mautz Paint Company announced the business was being sold and employees should expect to be laid off. When Paul heard the news, he quickly reassured Mike that he could come back to the Avenue Bar on a temporary or permanent basis. He also guaranteed that he would not have to do dishes. When Mike's job coach thanked Paul for his generous offer, his response was, "Mike is family. He is like a brother to me."

Discussion

From 1981 to 2005, the 50 workers participated in over 150 integrated work settings, performed hundreds of meaningful jobs effectively, and enjoyed hundreds of social relationships with persons without disabilities who were not paid to supervise them. Not one moved from an integrated to a segregated setting and not one instance of physical or sexual abuse in an integrated setting was reported. Vulnerable individuals are safest when they engage in meaningful activities in places with many peers without disabilities who are not paid to be with them.

Those who opposed allowing opportunities for integrated vocational experiences in the 1970s and 1980s and

predicted failure and harm were wrong. Those who oppose integration today are even more wrong because we now have an increasing body of evidence that, given authentic instruction and reasonable long-term and personalized support, individuals with significant disabilities can be engaged successfully and safely in integrated vocational settings over long periods. Specifically, it is the considered professional judgment of the authors that the number of environments to which the workers were given access, the quantity and complexity of skills they learned and performed, the social relationships they experienced, and the personal choices they were allowed to make were enhanced dramatically because they were part of integrated rather than segregated settings.

If MMSD school personnel did not provide authentic vocational assessment and instruction, it is extremely doubtful that many parents would have advocated for their children to be supported in integrated work settings after school exit; that Community Work Services would have been created; and that the workers and many others would have had opportunities to participate in integrated society for so long. Tragically, the service delivery models and curricula that have been proven effective preparing students with significant disabilities for the real world of work at school exit are being used by too few school districts. The results are waste, unemployment, disappointment, frustration, dependence, and lives with other qualities that are less than acceptable. It does not have to be this way.

Schools are time-limited means to ends. They are not ends. In the United States, students with significant disabilities typically attend school until around age 22. They are supposedly provided with specially trained teachers, a wide array of therapies, paraprofessionals, door to door travel services, low ratio instruction, special art, music and physical education, special facilities and individualized curricula. These supposedly special services cost substantially more than those offered peers without disabilities. In addition, they are much more than the monies per capita available to most post-school service agencies. The results of these well-intentioned and expensive services are unacceptable. What can educators do to produce better outcomes?

- Provide authentic vocational assessment and instruction.
- Teach skills for successful performance not only in integrated schools and classes, but also in integrated lunch and break rooms, on public busses and trains, in carpools, work sites, parks, and in a variety of other integrated settings (Brown et al., 2000).
- Teach students to do as much as possible for themselves and to use their skills as well as possible under natural supervisory conditions. The unnecessary use of 1:1 or other low ratio instructional arrangements during school careers makes it extremely difficult for individuals with disabilities to function in real work and related settings under natural supervisory

conditions and in accordance with financially viable job coach to worker ratios at school exit. The clear message to schools is to teach students to participate effectively in the highest possible personnel to student ratios (Brown, Farrington, Knight, Ross, & Ziegler, 1999; Storey & Certo, 1996).

- Teach as many students without disabilities as possible, the coworkers of the future, to provide meaningful natural support.
- Start fading out school and scheduling in experiences in integrated nonschool settings no later than age 14 (Brown et al., 1983).
- Teach students to be nice to others and to work hard.
- Take responsibility for, plan for, fight for, demand, and do all that is feasible to produce integrated outcomes or step aside and give someone else a chance. That is, if school personnel cannot or will not provide reasonable preparatory experiences, they should contract with others who can and will (Brown et al., 1984; Owens-Johnson et al., 2002).

An important common denominator of persons with significant disabilities is their need for lifetime extra support. If the workers did not need extra support for life, they would have enrolled in vocational/technical schools, community colleges, or other short-term, time-limited programs. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that short-term, time-limited services are effective for persons with significant disabilities. This was understood by the courageous and insightful elected and administrative Dane County officials who generated and maintained the critical long-term support. If not for their values, priorities and commitments, the workers would have spent their lives in segregated settings and/or at home. Instead, they are seen on public busses, hospitals, streets, laboratories, government offices, banks, and many other integrated places making positive contributions to their community and making their parents and the professionals involved proud.

Personnel to worker ratios are causally and inversely related to costs: the higher the ratio, the lower the costs; the lower the ratio, the higher the costs. This economic reality is a major obstacle for persons with disabilities who wish to work in integrated vocational settings. The more you cost, the higher are the probabilities that you will be confined to segregated settings, placed on waiting lists, and/or confined to your home. In addition, as the number of persons with disabilities who need long-term taxpayer support for vocational services increases, so does the urge to revert to less than acceptable sheltered workshops and activity centers.

Community Work Services operates with an average 1:4.5 ratio because it serves persons that need life time supports. Indeed, most of the workers are aging sooner than chronological age peers without disabilities. Dementia, mental illness, and loss of physical abilities are increasingly problematic. Nevertheless, they express a

reasonable range of skill levels, behavioral challenges, personal care repertoires, etc. Few agencies can survive financially or otherwise if they *only* serve workers with complicated personal care needs or *only* workers who have serious behavioral challenges. Balanced and heterogeneous populations allow more persons with disabilities to participate in integrated settings at reasonable costs.

Finally, if you are alive and have significant disabilities, you must be somewhere. Where should you be? You must be with someone. With whom should you be? You must be doing something. What should you be doing? You should be in respected environments with individuals without disabilities doing what they do because an integrated life is inherently better than one that is segregated. We must do all that is reasonable to prevent anyone from experiencing lives that are segregated, nonproductive, sterile, unnecessarily dependent, and costly. Conversely, we must do all that is reasonable to prepare and arrange for all citizens to live, work, and play enjoyably and productively in a safe, stimulating, and diverse integrated society; that is, to live ordinary lives.

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