Gordon, Jesse E.; Erfurt, John C.
Placement and After: A Manual for Coaches and Other Employment Workers. Program in Manpower Studies and Jobs-Now.
Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
[71]
252p.
MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
Employment Counselors; *Employment Problems; *Employment Services; Job Development; *Manpower Development; *Manuals; *Problem Solving
Jobs Now, Program in Manpower Studies
This manual systematizes the techniques and strategies that employment workers used in Jobs Now, the manpower agency which developed the coaching role that has subsequently been adopted throughout the country. It is designed both for those people with a general interest in staff-client relations and techniques and for those concerned with specific problems and problem-solving strategies and in need of a reference source containing specific helpful information. The chapters have been organized according to the major areas of client problems: need of a job or training placement; rejection of a job referral; uncooperative or resistant employer; being fired or laid off; quitting the job; in trouble with the law; and personal problems. Each chapter follows the format of: (1) stating the problem; (2) a listing of major objectives in handling the problem; (3) a discussion of strategies and techniques used to reach the objectives; and (4) a list of resources necessary or useful in carrying out the strategies. (TA)
PROGRAM IN MANPOWER STUDIES AND JOBS-NOW

PLACEMENT AND AFTER: A Manual for Coaches and Other Employment Workers

Jesse E. Gordon and John C. Erfurt

This report was prepared for the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, under Contract No. 82-24-69-47.
program in MANPOWER studies

PLACEMENT AND AFTER:
A MANUAL FOR COACHES AND
OTHER EMPLOYMENT WORKERS

This report was prepared by Jesse E. Gordon and John C Erfurt of the School of Social Work, The University of Michigan, and the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, under a contract with the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under the authority of the Manpower Development and Training Act. Organizations undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express their own judgments freely. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor.

Contract No. 82-24-69-47
PLACEMENT AND AFTER:
A MANUAL FOR COACHES AND OTHER EMPLOYMENT WORKERS

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION................................. ......................... i

CHAPTER 1. ENROLLEE NEEDS A JOB OR TRAINING PLACEMENT............1

This chapter deals with the most common problem: an enrollee who wants and needs a job or training slot and has not yet been placed or referred.

CHAPTER 2. ENROLLEE REJECTS JOB REFERRAL.........................47

The enrollee has turned up his nose at a job referral, which the team had thought was a good one, or at least the most appropriate of the jobs available, considering the enrollee's qualifications.

CHAPTER 3. UNCOOPERATIVE OR RESISTANT EMPLOYER...................90

A company is resistant to hiring enrollees, or is not trying very hard to retain the people it did hire.

CHAPTER 4. ENROLLEE HAS BEEN FIRED OR LAID OFF.....................119

An enrollee has been fired or laid off or the company wants to fire the client.

CHAPTER 5. ENROLLEE QUITTING THE JOB..............................151

An enrollee who has been placed wants to or has already quit his job.

CHAPTER 6. ENROLLEE IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW.....................186

Some enrollees are scheduled for court hearings while they are in the agency's program. Others get into legal trouble after they've been placed. Both these problems are covered in this chapter. (Past police problems are covered in Chapter 1).
CHAPTER 7. PERSONAL PROBLEMS OF ENROLLEES

The smallest significant category of problems that coaches dealt with were those in which the enrollee was in some kind of personal trouble (other than legal).

CHAPTER 8. SUMMARY

INDEX
INTRODUCTION

This Manual systematizes the techniques and strategies employment workers used in Jobs-Now--the manpower agency which developed the coaching role that has subsequently been adopted throughout the country. Since it represents the experience acquired by workers on the job, it often directly quotes those who participated in the project.

HOW THE MANUAL WAS WRITTEN

The main method used in preparing this Manual was the "Critical Incident" technique. Experienced workers in the agency were asked to describe five examples each of effective and ineffective actions they had taken. For each incident, they wrote what had led up to the situation, what they had done, how it turned out, and--in the case of the failures--what they should have done.

It should be noted at the outset that there is no way of knowing whether an incident as described happened exactly that way. In fact, because each "incident" is a written summary, none of them are really "exactly" what happened. Nevertheless, the summaries do point out some essential truths about techniques as workers have experienced them.

These critical incidents were analyzed by trained coders. They were sorted and scored by type of enrollee problem, the worker's objective, outcome, and a number of other factors (such as whether the incidents took place within or outside the agency offices). Client problems were then sorted into related groups. Each chapter of the Manual covers a different problem group.
For each problem group, the critical incidents were scored for the objectives used in dealing with the problem and for the strategies used to reach these objectives. These are listed in order of their frequency within the Manual. Thus, the Manual is based more on actual experience than on principles or theories: employment workers describe critical incidents in their own words--the researchers only organized the material.

Researchers did supplement the Manual with suggestions based on their knowledge of manpower programs throughout the country; psychology; methods of influence; and sociology. These ideas are in the sections which discuss the problems, objectives and techniques. The aim of including some of these discussions is to pass on to the reader some of the whys of the techniques and of client behavior to supplement the what. That is, this Manual tries to train and to teach.

THE AGENCY STUDIED

The main feature of Jobs-Now--a private, non-profit agency sponsored by the Metropolitan YM-YWCA (Chicago)--was that it was staffed and managed almost entirely by indigenous (black) paraprofessionals. While there were coaches, counselors, job developers, orientation group leaders and team coordinators, none were professionally trained for such roles. Their status was determined by their position in the agency hierarchy and by their experience and competence. It was not determined by their professional credentials or titles.
A second feature was the great amount of flexibility despite the organization of the job coaches, developers and counselors into teams. Each team was under a coordinator and had specific companies to work with. It worked only with enrollees placed in these companies. However, supervision was loose and coaches were encouraged to take whatever steps they felt were appropriate. They were not required to get clearances or permission from supervisors, although they were encouraged to coordinate with other team members. There were few rules or limitations placed on them and they were not treated as aides or subordinates. Because it was coaches who did almost all the direct work with the clients in Jobs-Now, the critical incidents on which this Manual is based were obtained mainly from them.

A final feature of the agency was its main objective: placement and retention of the client. After a two-week orientation cycle, the team tried to place the enrollee and coaches provided follow-up once he had been placed. Although coaches sometimes participated informally in orientation, most of their activities took place after an enrollee went through the orientation-assessment cycle.

In Jobs-Now, coaches did almost all direct one-to-one contact work with enrollees, taking over when the team either: (a) decided which open job order to refer the client to; or (b) left the client at the end of the 2 week orientation and assessment cycle without a referral. In the latter case, it was up to the coach to try to get a job referral for "his" enrollees. When either the team referred a client during the cycle (as in a) or it was left to the coach to do (as in b), the general theory was the same--match the enrollee's skills and aptitudes with the available
jobs. However, that turned out to be the case only in theory. In fact, the jobs available had almost no skill components in them (except typing jobs) and the enrollees had so little specialized skill achievement, that job matching was primarily on the basis of minimum qualifications (for example: "Here's an opening at the steel mill- stock handler. Collins is a male, young and strong, so let's refer him there"). Other experience in Concentrated Employment Programs and Work Incentive Programs shows essentially the same thing—that there is almost no matching of aptitudes, interests, and qualifications to jobs—or to training slots. Slot-filling is the rule; "differential assignment" and job matching is the exception. That is why there are almost no examples in this Manual of incidents having to do with job matching or with vocational counseling aimed at trying to help an enrollee identify his work interests and skills. In other words, this Manual has more to do with placement and post-placement problem-solving than it does with pre-placement vocational guidance and counseling. Lack of coverage of pre-placement counseling and guidance does not mean that there is no role for counselors; rather, it means that there was relatively little pre-placement counseling activity done in Jobs-Now and that whatever post-cycle counseling took place was done by the job coaches.

Therefore this Manual emphasizes post-cycle problems, where coaches are usually the main figures, and has relatively less to report about the pre-placement problems with which counselors are typically concerned. In that sense, the Manual is not a complete portrait of all the tasks that get done by the various kinds of manpower workers who deal with enrollees.
For the tasks it does emphasize, it makes relatively little difference whether in one agency the person who carries out a particular strategy is described as a coach, a counselor, an aide, interviewer, or employer relations specialist.

The Manual describes the strategies used, not the job titles of those who used them in Jobs-Now, or who might use them in a different manpower agency. Therefore, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, the Manual talks about "employment workers" or "agency staff members" and "coaches" without meaning to imply any particular job title or status.

WHO SHOULD USE THIS MANUAL

In other agencies where coaches may have more specialized roles and less independence, the strategies in this Manual may not apply only to them. Some might be used by counselors, others by job developers and some by work training specialists or placement interviewers. It must be stressed that this Manual is aimed at those people working directly with applicants in manpower agencies--or in any agency which attempts to deal with employment problems of its clients or enrollees. It is less important whether they are used by people in any particular job category. In other words, wherever the Manual describes a coaching action, the reader should feel free to apply it to job development or counselor roles as well. In Jobs-Now, where the data were collected, the techniques described were used by coaches. Therefore, the Manual describes the things that were done by coaches; it does not mean that only coaches can or should use these techniques.
Thus, supervisors and managers could also find this Manual useful. Of particular interest would be its use in determining strategies, performance objectives and evaluations for various employment workers. A supervisor could use this listing of strategies as a guide for setting standards of job performance. He could also use it to suggest ways to improve staff skills. Finally, he could use it to develop the necessary organizational structures and resources.

Not every worker in Jobs-Now used all the techniques described in this Manual. But almost all employment workers are faced with problems like those presented here, and could use all the strategies. Therefore, this book of techniques can be thought of as a detailed job description for manpower workers with the disadvantaged.

PARTICIPANTS IN THIS PROJECT

There are no individual "authors" of this Manual as such. It really is a joint product of the staffs of Jobs-Now and the Program in Manpower Studies, The University of Michigan. The university staff collected the data after working in Jobs-Now as participant-observers. They went through the program as enrollees and served as understudies and assistants to coaches. The coaches produced the data out of their experiences and are as much the authors of this Manual as those who compiled it. This is a unique arrangement and represents the conviction of the Program in Manpower Studies and Jobs-Now that one must go to those who do the job to find out how it is done. We believe that those who do the coaching, counseling, placement and job development are the real experts--and this Manual is one way to recognize their authority and expertise.
It is in this spirit that the following "authors" of this Manual are listed:

John Battle  J-N*  Robert Hurd  J-N
Nathaniel Baylis  "  Harold Joseph  "
Barbara Bell  "  Gover Kelly  "
Gwen Berghalter  "  Joyce McDonald  "
Christine Blanchard  "  Patricia Monroe  "
Michael Blanchard  "  Roger Osbourne  "
San Bullocks  "  Raymond Penn  "
William Burns  "  Aaron Pleasance  "
LaReese Collins  PMS**  Thomas Revis  "
Cassandra Crawford  J-N  John Steward  "
Robert East  "  Patricia Strach  PMS
Jack Erfurt  PMS  Clotee Taylor  J-N
Ivory Fisher  J-N  Jesse Taylor  "
Gwen Fleming  "  Harold Wallace  "
William Goldsmith  "  Donald Washington  "
Jesse E. Gordon  PMS  Susan Wineberg  PMS
Jackie Hearns  J-N  Wardell Wright  J-N
John Zellars  "

HOW TO READ AND USE THIS MANUAL

A. MANUAL DESIGNED FOR MULTIPLE PURPOSES: This Manual is organized to facilitate the use of its contents by people working in manpower programs or agencies. It is designed for a range of potential users--for those with a general interest in staff-client relations and techniques as well as persons concerned with specific problems and problem-solving strategies, and in need of a reference source containing specific helpful information.

*JOBS-NOW

**Program in Manpower Studies
B. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS:

The chapters of the Manual have been organized according to the major areas of client problems. Each chapter deals with a different problem area, and each chapter title is a brief description of the problem area covered. The Manual's Table of Contents provides an overview of problem areas discussed in the various chapters and the page location for each chapter. The reader does not have to read each chapter in order. He can go directly to the information contained in any particular chapter—and it should be understandable and useful without having to read the preceding chapters.

The order of the chapters is according to the usual sequence of events from placement through the problems of keeping enrollees on the job. Then there are two chapters that deal with problems that can come up at any time in the sequence—before, during and after placement. The last chapter is a summary, followed by an index which can be used to locate topics that appear in various chapters.

C. THE DETAILED OUTLINE PRECEDING EACH CHAPTER:

At the beginning of each chapter is a detailed table of its contents. This table provides brief descriptions of the material covered in the four basic sections of the chapter together with page locations of the sections and subsections.
Basic Chapter Format: All chapters follow the same general organizational format, with the following sequence of sections:

- **PROBLEM #**: A general statement of the problem is presented along with examples from the actual experience of manpower workers. (The number assigned to the problem is the same as the chapter number).

- **OBJECTIVE**: Discussion and examples of the major objective or alternative objectives in dealing with the problem.

- **STRATEGY**: Accounts of the strategies and techniques used to reach the objectives. The different strategies are listed and discussed in order of their frequency. Additional comments and suggestions are supplied by PMS researchers.

- **RESOURCES**: This section suggests structures and resources that would be necessary or useful to line staff and their supervisors and administrators in carrying out these strategies.

The Meaning of this Format:

The format is based on the principles of a problem-solving approach:

- a. Define the problem.
- b. Consider the range of alternative solutions or objectives for dealing with the problem, and evaluate them.
- c. Choose a solution or objective (or list the priorities among the potential objectives).
- d. Consider the range of techniques or strategies that might be used to achieve the objective and evaluate them.
- e. Select the strategy or series of actions to be used.
- f. Identify the kinds of resources required to carry out the strategy.
- g. Do it.
- h. Evaluate the results.
(3) Using the Actual Experiences of Employment Workers as EXAMPLES of Problems, Objectives and Strategies:

To preserve authenticity and reality, most of the examples presented throughout the Manual are based on the actual experience of Jobs-Now coaches described in their own words. Direct quotations from the written critical incidents are printed in "script" typeface (simulated handwriting).

The coaches had been asked specifically not to concern themselves with such things as grammar or spelling. A greater emphasis was placed on the free flow of their recollections and feelings. We have made minimal grammatical and spelling changes in the originals. Otherwise, they stand basically as they were submitted to us, since we feel that technical imperfections in the writing do not interfere with communicating the "feel" of working with enrollees in manpower agencies.

D. THE SUMMARIZING DIAGRAM AT THE TOP OF EACH PAGE:

The diagrams along the top of the pages follow the chapter format. The diagram on the first page of each chapter looks like this:

The largest box in the diagram indicates the section of the chapter that is being discussed on that page. The words under the box identify the subsection being discussed on that page. Once a section has
been presented, a summary of the main points is put under the box. Thus, at the end of each chapter, it is the last box (Resources) which is largest, and all the boxes before it have key word summaries under them.

The arrows represent the nature of operations in an agency. An agency's resources make it possible to use certain strategies in order to achieve particular objectives to solve a problem. Thus the arrows go from Resources backward through the problem-solving steps to the Problem.

Each diagram therefore serves as a summary of the material presented up to that point in the chapter. The reader can also use the diagram as a "Locator" to help him see what point he has reached in the sequence of sections and subsections within the chapter.
CHAPTER 1

ENROLLEE NEEDS A JOB OR TRAINING PLACEMENT

PROBLEM #1: An enrollee wants and needs a job or training slot, and has not yet been placed or referred.

EXAMPLES OF THIS PROBLEM: ........................................... 2

OBJECTIVE: Get the enrollee into a job or training slot.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVE: ........................................... 4
EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE: ................................. 4
EVALUATING THE RISKS INVOLVED: ......................... 9
WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISKS: .......................... 11

STRATEGY: Coaches used five general strategies.

1. SEARCH FOR A JOB OPENING OR TRAINING SLOT THAT FITS THE ENROLLEE'S BILL........... 15
2. GET THE ENROLLEE TO ACCEPT AN AVAILABLE OPENING THAT IS DIFFERENT FROM WHAT HE HAD IN MIND.............. 19
3. PREPARE THE ENROLLEE SO HE LOOKS GOOD TO THE EMPLOYER................................. 24
4. INTERVENE WITH THE EMPLOYER SO THAT HE WILL ACCEPT THE ENROLLEE.................. 31
5. GET BOTH THE ENROLLEE AND THE COMPANY TO MAKE CHANGES FOR EACH OTHER............. 35
6. DROP THE ENROLLEE IF OTHER STRATEGIES FAIL........................................... 37

RESOURCES: Coaches need four kinds of resources.

1. AN EMPLOYER INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.............................................. 41
2. ACCESS TO LEGAL EXPERTISE.................................................... 43
3. JOB SEARCH WORKSHOP.......................................................... 44
4. EFFECTIVE TEAM STRUCTURE...................................................... 45
PROBLEM #1:
Enrollee needs a job or placement

EXAMPLES

A client or enrollee tells a coach that he wants or needs a placement. In working with the enrollee and talking to him, the worker may find that there are also other problems or difficulties, or that the enrollee has particular needs or desires about the kind of placement he is hoping for. EXAMPLES:

(a) A very distraught and nervous young man approached me regarding employment. However, he stated emphatically that he wanted some kind of training. In talking with this client, it was apparent that he also needed some type of psychiatric counseling. However, the client clearly indicated that he did not want any type of professional treatment.

(b) A young man of 17 came to us for employment, although he stated he wanted to return to school (evenings). But he did need money to maintain his keep because he had a court date pending.

(c) A young lady came to me seeking employment. She was 21 years of age with two children and no husband, and at times would take to the bottle, but she was not an alcoholic.

(d) A client has repeated unsuccessful attempts at finding the right job, and he lacked confidence in himself.

(e) A client had worked as a maid all her life. Now she was 42 years old and wished to change to a factory. She had been in (city) for three months and was greatly overweight for a factory.

(f) Client was referred to several jobs but never kept his appointments. He was always tardy during the two week cycle. I called client during my monthly follow-up to see if he was employed as yet. Client stated that he was not yet employed, but really needed one.
PROBLEM #1:
Enrollee needs a job or placement

EXAMPLES

A coach was in need of employment because of ineffective management and husband's salary was not adequate.

(g) A friend of coach was in need of employment because of ineffective management and husband's salary was not adequate.
In these and similar cases, the coaches decided that the most important thing was to get the client placed on a job or in a training slot. The coach accepted the enrollee's objective and worked on it (although sometimes, when the enrollee did not follow through, the coach decided that he didn't really want a job or training). In other words, the worker gave higher priority to getting the enrollee placed than to other problems such as obesity, pending court dates, drinking, poor money management, etc.

Some examples showed that some enrollees who said they wanted a job acted as if they didn't. When workers tried to get the enrollee placed, and then the enrollee did not show up for interviews, or rejected the possible placements, the workers got the idea that the enrollee really did not want a placement.** Examples:**

(a) An enrollee played dumb by doing very poorly on tests, so that he would not be referred. In that example, the coach was able to talk the client into trying for a job, once the coach got onto the client's game.

(b) One enrollee expressed very negative attitudes about the agency and the jobs to which she was referred. She tried to talk other enrollees into rejecting the jobs too, by knocking the jobs to other clients.

(c) The enrollee called the coach at home in the evenings and at night, seeming to want to talk about getting a job, but really in order to try to develop a sexual relationship with the coach; the enrollee never followed through on any of the referrals the worker made.
STRATEGY I

PROBLEM #1

Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE:
Place enrollee on a job or in training

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

When workers had this kind of experience, they sometimes seemed to get angry at such enrollees, and decided that they didn't want to work. Coaches said that these clients came on as if they wanted jobs either because people at home were putting pressure on them, or because they were program-hopping (some coaches called them 'program pimps'), getting stipends from one program after another when they needed cash. Below are some other reasons why enrollees might appear and act 'unmotivated' when they really do want a job.

FEAR VS. LACK OF MOTIVATION

Because they are afraid of a placement, enrollees sometimes act as if they are " unmotivated." They program-hop at least partly with the idea that they will find a job placement that they will be comfortable in. Instead of showing that they are afraid of a placement, they act angry or independent, or say that they don't like this or that job possibility, or just fail to show up for job interviews. Some say that they can make more money and have more fun and excitement hustling on the streets. But they know that hustling is a dangerous and unsteady job; it looks more attractive to them because regular work is so unattractive. Part of that unattractiveness is that they expect to be uncomfortable in a strange and possible hostile workplace, and are afraid of messing up. The enrollee feels less of a failure if he doesn't try at all, than if he tries and still fails. For these reasons, a worker can be wrong when he jumps to the conclusion that an enrollee is exploiting the program and really doesn't want to work.
LACK OF INCENTIVE VS. LACK OF "MOTIVATION"

It is frustrating for a worker to find out, after trying to place a client, that he doesn't want to work (for whatever reason). There is a risk of waiting to find out until after the enrollee has turned down jobs, accepted one and then failed to show up, or messed up on the job right away. The risk is that:

(a) the enrollee gets himself into a situation where he makes himself fail again, and
(b) the company becomes more distrustful of referrals from the agency.

Before taking the risk, agencies think that it would be better to test the enrollee's "motivation" in advance. Some workers check the enrollee's record of lateness to the orientation program, or makes guesses from the way the client talks about jobs he wants or has worked on. If he has quit jobs in the past and gave the worker a weak reason, he might doubt the enrollee's "motivation" for work. If the worker then believed that the client was one of those who really don't want a job, he decided not to place him, or referred him to training instead of a job. When he did that, the worker made a guess about the enrollee come true, by not helping the enrollee achieve a job.

But enrollees sometimes look "unmotivated" even when they are not fearful, when there is nothing to be motivated toward, or when the jobs aren't worth it. They may quit jobs that looked good to the agency because they couldn't handle the hassling they experienced on the job (they might give a different reason because they can't admit they let the hassling get to them). Or, an enrollee might come late to
the program because he doesn't believe that what goes on in the program will do him any good. In other words, the enrollees may play it cool when they don't believe there is a chance of getting into something worth being turned on about. This makes the agency think he is "unmotivated." The agency won't place him and then his disbelief comes true and he can justify his coming late. But lateness to the program does not have to mean that he would also go to work late.

These two situations are examples of some general psychological principles that apply to all people.

**GENERAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES**

(1) When someone is far from his goal (or thinks he is), he can see the desirable parts of the goal more clearly than the undesirable. Still he is not likely to be highly motivated toward it because it seems so far away. That is why he may act "unmotivated" even when he says he wants a job. He thinks that getting one is too far in the very uncertain and distant future.

(2) When he is far from the goal, he will get motivated to take only those steps that seem to him most likely to move him closer to the goal. If he can't see the relevance of some part of the program, he will not be "motivated" to get involved in it.

(3) The closer he gets to the goal, the more he becomes aware of its undesirable or fearful aspects. The thought of a job makes his fear grow faster than the positive interest. If the fear gets stronger than the interest, his "motivation" can switch from being toward the goal to going away from it and avoiding it. That is why some enrollees are very positive about a job in the future, but may not keep their appointments, start coming late or be absent from the orientation program when they are referred to a specific job. That means that the enrollee's real desire for a job is becoming overwhelmed by fear.
OBJECTIVE:

Place enrollee on a job or in training

PROBLEM #1

Enrollee needs a placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

(4) It is better to reduce fear than try to increase the positive "motivation."

(5) All these principles mean that the behavior of enrollees is very much affected by the situations they are in, and where they are in relation to their goals. Behavior is easier to change by changing the situation rather than by trying to change attitudes and personality.

SUMMARY

In summary, when an enrollee says that he wants or needs a job, any one of the following could be the case:

(A) He wants a job and is ready to accept a placement.
(B) He wants a job but is afraid of a placement.
(C) He wants a job but acts unmotivated because the incentives aren't there.
(D) He really does not want to work.
As indicated above, there are risks in trying to place an enrollee when he is afraid of a placement, or does not want to work. But there are also risks in deciding that the enrollee does not want to work, when it may be one of the other cases described. The risk is that an enrollee who really does want and need a job will be treated as if he doesn't, and therefore will not get the kind of help from the agency that he came for. He might just continue to drift with his fear, and confirm a drifting way of life. Or he may be put in the position of having to try to prove to the agency that he wants a job, and get angry at the agency's delaying tactics or efforts to "test" his motivation before sending him out. The agency will have to compare the risks and decide which is greater: the risk of increasing an employer's mistrust by referring an enrollee who messes up on the referral; or the risk of trying to screen enrollees in advance, making wrong judgments, and thus not giving the service that the enrollee who wants to work came for.

There is no general rule about how to evaluate the risks, because there are so many different levels of how sure one can be, and how damaging it would be to make a wrong decision. Coaches usually took the enrollee's side and tried him out on one or more placements before deciding that he didn't really want to work. Job developers, on the other hand, were the ones whose work got hurt. When an enrollee messed up on a placement attempt, other enrollees suffered because job orders were used up on enrollees who wasted them.
PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE:
Place enrollee on a job or in training

WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISKS

If there isn't open discussion of the risks and a clear decision, there can be argument and bad feeling among the agency staff, especially if someone on the team feels that he has to pay the price of a wrong decision made by others.

Since there cannot be any general rules for deciding, coaches and other members of the team have to meet more or less informally in order to discuss the evidence in the problem cases. Everyone whose work is affected by it can participate in the decision, take steps like those described below to reduce the risks as much as possible, and make compromises and trade-offs so that no one member of the team feels that his job is always the one that is made harder.
WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISKS:

Most enrollees who say they want a job do want a job, so the team can accept the enrollee's objective and go ahead by using the strategies described in the rest of this chapter. Most enrollees are not afraid of a new job, especially if they have had a couple of jobs that lasted for more than a few weeks. But when the team decides that an enrollee is afraid, and the risks of trying him out on some placements are too high, there are some things that can be done to reduce the risks.

FEAR OF PLACEMENT

When the enrollee seems to be avoiding placements, there are two general principles that can be followed:

1. Try to set up a placement where the enrollee knows in advance that he will be successful and that he won't be uncomfortable or nervous. The agency worker can:
   
   (a) Put the enrollee on a temporary job that he knows will end on a certain date. This will prevent him from feeling pressure to succeed. When the job is over, he knows that it is not because he was fired. Then make sure that he gets lots of positive feedback from both the agency staff and his supervisor or foreman so that he thinks he can be successful.
   
   (b) Place the enrollee in a job where a trusted friend works, and get him to help the enrollee adjust. The friend can also give him reassurance.
   
   (c) Place two enrollees together and get them to help each other.
(d) Place the enrollee in a job where he will be working close to others of the same racial/ethnic group as himself, especially if he is uptight about being surrounded by WASPs.

(e) Place the enrollee in a job where the immediate work supervisor or foreman is of the same racial/ethnic group as the enrollee.

(f) Don't give the enrollee the impression that his placement is a 'test' to see if he can make it. Let him know that there can be lots of reasons if the job doesn't last.

(g) Give the enrollee a convincing promise (with examples of other enrollees) that if he does lose the job, another one can probably be found for him.

2. Ease the enrollee into work situations through small doses of experience. He will get used to new situations gradually, and/or find out that they are not as frightening as he thought.

(a) Place him on a temporary or short-term job, or part-time job for a short while, as in (a) above.

(b) Give him some practice in successfully handling the situations that make him nervous. See Role Modeling and Role Playing for various ways of doing this.*

I PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE:
Place enrollee on a job or in training

WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISKS

1. Refer the enrollee to a "safe" employer—one who is less likely to blame the agency or the disadvantaged if the referral doesn't work out. Such "safe" employers are also likely to be those whose jobs are low-level and low in pay. So make a deal with the enrollee that if he sticks it out on the job for a certain amount of time (say one, two or three months), then you will do everything you can to get him into a higher level job.

2. Make sure the enrollee knows he doesn't have to take a referral he doesn't want. Then he won't act as if he is accepting it and then not show up. Let him know you will not get angry or disappointed if he doesn't accept the placement, and that you will keep trying to get him
PROBLEM #1

Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE:
Place enrollee on a job or in training

WAYS OF REDUCING THE RISKS

- a more satisfactory one. If he cannot or does not want to even try the placement, then tell him that you will try to get him a different job. Also tell him that it might be closer to his interests, but not be at a higher level. However, if he stays on the job, you are in a better position to get him a higher level job.
STRATEGY #1: SEARCH FOR A JOB OR TRAINING SLOT THAT FITS ENROLLEE'S BILL

With this problem and objective in mind, the thing that most workers do first is search for a job that accommodates the enrollee. They look for jobs where the employer is likely to accept the enrollee as he is. The worker also tries to get a job without either him or the enrollee having to go through a lot of changes. EXAMPLES:

(a) Another slot was open in X Company's Training School for TV repair. This person seemed to measure up appearance wise and personality wise to pass the stiff interview board at the company. The written test was given and client passed. Coach prepared the client before interview with X's board. Coach told client to be as relaxed as possible while being interviewed—not to enter interview with fixed attitude, etc.

(b) I could not find a job for him on my team. So I didn't stop at my team. I went to some of the other teams and asked for a job for him because I couldn't service him. As a result of checking with other teams, I found him a job where he is presently still employed happily.

(c) I contacted Company A because it is one of the few companies which I service that will hire 17 year old males with a court date pending. Talked with personnel manager and explained this client's problem—age and pending court date. Had had the young man tested at our agency (clerical aptitude) which I also related to personnel in Company A. The client was hired and worked there one month prior to his court date. The outcome of his court appearance—sentenced to one month in the House of Correction. Talked with his parents as well as personnel in Company A and it was decided that the client would remain with the company.
**PROBLEM #1**
Enrollee needs a placement

**OBJECTIVE**
Place the enrollee

**STRATEGY #1:**
Search for a slot that fits enrollee's bill

**EXAMPLES**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>I was able to find a job that I felt was suitable for him. I did this because he lacked confidence in himself. The client worked out fine on the job and began feeling that he was worth something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>Client needed a job that would pay well and she could be home with the smaller children. Client was interviewed and hired as a ward clerk and worked in evenings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>I worked with some of the job developers in order to retain a job for him after the sixty-day jail sentence was served. When he came out, he was slotted the next day after the time served at $2.59/hour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Enrollee needs a placement

STRATEGY #1:
Search for a slot that fits enrollee's bill

COMMENTS

1.1 PLACE NOW--
When an enrollee needed or wanted a job, and had other problems such as those described in the examples, the first objective was getting the enrollee placed. Sometimes the placement was one that fit the enrollee's bill so that the other things were no longer problems. Sometimes the placement simply eliminated the other problems altogether (financial problems, potential parole violations, family problems solved when the enrollee could bring home some money or had enough to support himself outside the family). In these cases, follow-up checking to find out if the other problems were taken care of may be all the coach needed to do. And wish that most enrollees were that easy to help.

1.2 CURE LATER--
But in some cases, the other factors continued to be problems that either got worse or prevented the enrollee from keeping his job. For these enrollees, getting placed was only the first step in getting the pressure off and developing reasons to trust the employment worker and the agency. It cannot be the last step if the enrollee is to avoid another failure.

Therefore, employment workers need to divide their time. Even though there are always new enrollees who need a first placement, there are those already placed who need continued attention if they are not to become enrollees again. When someone becomes an enrollee again, he is often more difficult to help because of the increased burden of failure. He has a
more cynical outlook, and less hope or feeling about keeping a job. In that case, not providing follow-up to an enrollee who was placed, but whose problems continue, is as much a waste as providing follow-up to enrollees who don't need it (because their problems have been solved).
PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE
Place the enrollee

STRATEGY #2:
Get enrollee to accept an available opening

EXAMPLES

STRATEGY #2: GET THE ENROLLEE TO ACCEPT AN AVAILABLE OPENING

The second most frequent kind of staff activity in trying to get an enrollee placed was to get the enrollee or client to change his requirements for a placement. This was so that he would accept what was available. This usually was done by talking with the enrollee, describing an available opening and emphasizing its advantages. EXAMPLES:

(a) I spoke with her and explained to her that it might be hard getting a factory job because of her weight and lack of experience. I had a Maid Supervisor position open and they were a high support company (had agreed to make special arrangements to hire and retain disadvantaged workers). She showed interest and it was twice as much money as she had ever earned. She accepted and is now in training for the supervisor position.

(b) However, they had an opening for Janitor and I had a client that needed a job but didn’t want to work as a janitor, but would accept it. This client was given the job opening.

(c) He stated emphatically that he wanted some kind of training. After exhausting the different training programs available to this organization, it was decided by myself that this young man needed a job because I felt that a training program of more than a few weeks would only bore him. Company A was contacted...The client was hired and according to personnel he has proven to be a responsible worker.
STRATEGY #2:

Get enrollee to accept an available opening

PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE
Place the enrollee

RESOURCES

EXAMPLES

(d) The stipulation was that he cut his hair down some as it was about five or six inches all around. He didn't want to as he couldn't see what the length of his hair had to do with anything. I told him for the kind of money he would be making it should be worth it to cut his hair down some, plus he would be working around food and the customers would probably beef. Long hair and food don't seem to go together. He cut it down, got the job, and is doing swell at this time and can now appreciate my words to him. The hair grew back and he keeps it at a respectable length.

(d) Client took the Wonderlic Test and made only 2 on the test. After interviewing client I realized that he could have done better on the test. What transpired was that he wanted to go from program to program creating the impression that he was mentally retarded. Client later admitted that he was not retarded. (This seems to be what happened: coach confronted client by telling him he was brighter than he showed, told him he was "on" to the client's case, and that he couldn't hop from program to program anymore because he wouldn't get any more MDTA stipends for a long time, and then told the advantages of the job the coach could refer him to). Client did exceptionally well. Client is now working in a machine shop learning how to read blueprints and operate various machines.
2.1 REPLACING A CLIENT IN FOLLOW-UP

When Strategy #1 is used, the enrollee is placed on a job that fits his bill, and other problems are taken care of, the coach can do minimum follow-up. But if he uses Strategy #2, there is another question about how much follow-up to do. Sometimes an enrollee gets into a job that was not quite what he wanted. But once he gets into it and gets to like it, he begins to feel it has more advantages than he thought at first. This is more likely to happen after some time on the job, rather than right away. The advantages may not show up to the enrollee until after the tense and confusing first few weeks. When that happens, the enrollee doesn't need further close follow-up.

However, it may be hard for the coach to find out if the enrollee has come to like the job. Enrollees do not always tell employment workers how they feel about a job if they don't know or don't like what the worker might do. Enrollees are more likely to say they like the job when they really don't, rather than say they don't like it when they really do.

The worker who uses Strategy #2 would be safest to assume the enrollee wants a job more like the kind he originally wanted. If the agency finds him such a job, but the enrollee is satisfied with the one he is on, he will refuse to quit and there is no harm done. In other words, the agency should keep on looking for the kind of job the enrollee originally wanted, and be willing to contact him and refer him to it when he does find one.
PROBLEM #1  
Enrollee needs a placement  

OBJECTIVE  
Place the enrollee  

STRATEGY #2:  
Get enrollee to accept an available opening  

RESOURCES  

COMMENTS

Doing this has several advantages:

(1) It gets the enrollee a job he is more likely to stay on.
(2) It increases confidence in the employment worker and the agency.
(3) Since it is easier to place someone who is currently employed, the worker is more likely to make a successful placement with a fussy employer if he refers an already placed enrollee rather than a new one.
(4) The agency will be able to set up an entry job for a new enrollee (provided the employer does not get upset at the loss of the employee).
(5) If the enrollee has real proof that the agency makes good on its promises, it is easier to get him to accept a job that is different from what he originally wanted.

When a coach contacts a worker during follow-up to see if he wants to switch to a job like what he originally wanted, he should make sure the enrollee doesn't quit his current job until the new employer has really hired him. He should also not endanger his current job by taking off during work hours to go to a job interview. He can call in sick in order to find time to apply for the better job. And if he does get a better job, he might stay on the first job for a while, until he is sure he likes the new job and can make it there. One way to do this is to take whatever vacation or sick time he has coming and use that time to start work on the new job. But the coach should also make sure that when that time is used up, the enrollee notifies the former employer that he won't return. If he just doesn't show up, the employer may become more prejudiced against the disadvantaged and other referrals from
the agency. Best of all would be for the enrollee to stay on for a few days to coach a new referral from the agency into the job he is leaving; some employers will be less upset, more understanding of the situation, and more willing to accept another referral from the agency.

Once the enrollee has been offered a better job, and likes it enough to accept it, he should give his current employer the opportunity to match the offer by a raise or promotion. The enrollee might decide that he'd be better off getting a raise and staying with a familiar employer. The employer might figure that it is cheaper to give the raise than to recruit, hire and train a replacement.

2.2 KEEPING TABS ON PLACED ENROLLEES

When an employment worker makes placements that require this kind of careful and extensive follow-up, he has to keep some kind of record so that he doesn't forget about an enrollee. It can be very damaging to the worker and the agency's reputation in the community if he doesn't even try to do the follow-up things he promised. And it is easy for successfully placed enrollees to be forgotten when the worker is very busy or has not had time to go through all his records to see if anything was left hanging. The worker could mark a future date on his calendar so that he is reminded that he has some unfinished business to take care of.
STRATEGY #3: PREPARE THE ENROLLEE SO THAT HE LOOKS GOOD TO THE EMPLOYER

Coaches used this strategy as often as they did #2, although not necessarily with the same enrollees. In this strategy, if the coach thought a potential employer was not likely to accept the enrollee as he was, he prepared the enrollee so that he came on well.

EXAMPLES:

(a) Knowing my client would be screened very closely by the interview board, I prepared him. I made him aware of what to look out for while being questioned and the kind of disposition he should display to interviewer. Client was accepted into the training program.

(b) I explained to client what time he was to report to work and what time I expected him to meet me to accompany him to the job interview. I waited on this client for three hours and he did not show up. The outcome was that I telephoned the contact person in the company and set up another appointment. I did not wait this time for the client to come into the center. I picked the client up at home, and it resulted in the client being employed in the company.

(c) The client was interested in clerical work. She was interviewed at this particular company and was hired the same day. Before the interview I drilled the client with clerical aptitude tests and gave her a few tips on clerical procedure and short-cuts in typing. Client is presently employed at this company (10 months employed). She has received three raises since employment and her employer is very pleased with her and her work performance.
(d) The coach with the help of the client created a false work history.* The client had not held a job in the last 15 years. The coach had selected a bank to refer client to. Bank interviewers need and want only to see individual's Personal Information file. Not too much checking is done on PI files. Clients being considered for jobs must show recent work history on PI file or no consideration is given. Client was mature in years and the position available needed a mature person. This client was placed in a decision-making position of deciding whether to discard old money or continue to circulate it. Client can work as much overtime as possible; this she takes advantage of.

(e) These two clients were released from prison to the Drug Abuse Program and were given to this coach to job develop for them. The two clients were taken to a job referral. The history of these two clients, having a drug abuse record, was not given to the employer. The employer would not have considered hiring these clients if this knowledge were known. Clients were hired by the company. Because of their drug abuse history they were to continue taking shots daily. Their quitting time was a half hour before shots were to be given. The clients did not work too far from the university (where the shots were being given) and they had no problem continuing shots. The report from the employer states that the clients were good employees.

*Falsification is contrary to the policy of the U.S. Department of Labor. This strategy can therefore not be used in publicly sponsored programs.
3.1 SUGGESTIONS VERSUS PRACTICE

In Strategy #3, the enrollee is prepared so that he looks as good as possible to a potential employer. In many cases, this preparation is done by giving the enrollee hints or suggestions on how to act in the interview, or giving him instruction on how to fill out an application or take an employment test. Many enrollees can take suggestions, but there are many who blow their cool. When actually in the interview, they get so nervous they clam up and don't follow through on the suggestions. Also, some preparation is too complicated. For example, instructions do not help very much if they do not apply to the particular employer's application form or interview style. And they don't help in getting better scores on employment tests--especially aptitude, intelligence and achievement tests.

Where instructions are not likely to help--either because of the situation or because the enrollee freezes up or can't follow them--it is helpful to give him full-scale rehearsals. This is so that you can see how he actually performs, and then coach him about improving his performance. See Role Modeling and Role Playing for instructions on how to do this.

It takes a great amount of practice to increase scores on most employment tests. Sometimes an enrollee gets low scores on a test because he isn't familiar with tests like it, and/or because he is nervous. Some practice helps with this kinds of problem, especially if the practice is on the same or similar tests to those the employer uses. But enrollees who don't know math or who have poor English are not likely to be helped much by anything less than a great deal of extended
practice. Just a few hours of practice will only make the enrollee more nervous about his failure, more frustrated and more bored by the program.

Practice and rehearsal take time and test practice takes a great deal of it. The agency may decide that the time is worth it because it increases the enrollee's own ability to take care of himself. He will then be less dependent on the agency in future job-hunting. But there are some circumstances in which the agency does not have the time. **EXAMPLES:**

(a) The enrollee is in a rush to get a job, and can't afford the time.
(b) The enrollee thinks that the practice is a put-off, even after you have tried to show him that there are some better ways to do things.
(c) The practice would simply take more time than it would be worth. Too little practice would be like none at all.

If the team has decided that one of these is the case, the worker can switch to other strategies, such as the following:

(a) Intervene directly with the employer so that the enrollee does not have to sell himself.
(b) Try to get the employer to use the agency's test results instead of using his own. Then give the enrollee specific practice on the agency's test before he takes it "for keeps." When he takes it for keeps be sure that the atmosphere is secure, comfortable and relaxed.
(c) Try to get the employer to use a work try-out instead of a test or interview.
(d) Refer the enrollee to a different employer who does not make demands that the enrollee cannot meet without a lot of preparation.
3.2 SHOULD THE TRUTH BE TOLD TO AN EMPLOYER?

Some of the strategies described in the examples involved falsifying job histories or not telling the truth to a potential employer about an enrollee's drug problem or police record. In other examples, the agency used exactly the opposite strategy: the whole story was told in an effort to get sympathetic but realistic interest. Both strategies have their advantages and risks, as far as this objective—getting the client placed—is concerned. The objective would be defeated in cases where an employer who knew the full story would refuse to consider the enrollee. On the other side, if the employer remains ignorant of the risks he is taking for his organization and eventually learns the truth, his understanding of the problems of the disadvantaged will be kept low and his trust in the agency damaged. However, if the enrollee has worked out well on the job learning the truth is not such a disaster. Nevertheless, actual falsification of reports to employers is contrary to public policy. The following discussion is intended to present the reality complications which would be entailed, if there were no moral or ethical considerations involved. Adherence to the ethical principle of truthfulness enables the worker to avoid such complications. However, ethical considerations also imply that the agency may not give personal or background information that it might have about an enrollee to others—including employers—without the enrollee's permission. There may be grounds for legal action against an agency or worker who gives confidential information to unauthorized persons, and if the information can be proved to be damaging to the enrollee, there could be a damage suit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #1</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee needs a placement</td>
<td>Place the enrollee</td>
<td>STRATEGY #3: Prepare enrollee so he looks good to employer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some employers will continue to be angry at the agency for not telling the truth, but others can be convinced that the drug problem or arrest record wasn't important. When that happens, the employment worker has a good chance of getting the employer to change his hiring policies in general. He will be more willing to accept other referrals with records and it won't be necessary to keep the truth from him.

(A) COMPARING THE RISKS

How does the agency compare the risks of telling versus not telling the truth? One factor has to do with how well the agency knows the employer. If the employer doesn't usually check the accuracy of the information on the employment application, the coach and client may be able to get away with it, provided the client can be trusted not to do anything that would let the truth out. Another factor has to do with the agency's guess about how a particular employer would act if he did learn the truth. Both of these considerations require extensive knowledge of the particular employer.

Second best would be knowledge of the usual practices of employers in that industry. For example, there are certain legal rules governing banks that make them treat applicants with police records differently from the way a machine shop might handle it. If a worker is to obtain this kind of knowledge about an employer, he needs two things: (1) time to get out into the community, visit the employer, talk to people who know the employer and collect information; and (2) a lot of contact with others in the agency so that he knows who else in the agency had experience with that employer, and what that experience was.

(B) THE TEAM HAS TO DECIDE

As with decisions about whether to refer an enrollee who may not really want a job, a decision on the risks involved in telling or not telling a potential employer about an enrollee needs to be a team decision. There are others in
the agency whose work might be hurt by a wrong decision (for example, the employer relations representative, or the job developer). They need to be involved in the decisions, so that they will support it and help take the steps needed to reduce the risks as much as possible. The most important person to be included in the decision is the enrollee, because he is the one who takes the greatest risk: he has the most to win or lose.

(C) AVOIDING THE PROBLEM

In some cases, there is a way around the whole issue. Some records can be expunged (erased) legally, and some records, such as juvenile arrests, do not legally have to be reported in some states. The worker will have to know the legal rights of his clients according to the law in his state, and the possibilities for getting a record expunged or set aside, how to do it, how to get an enrollee's driver's license back, etc. Of course, an employment worker can't know everything about the law, so it would be very helpful if the agency had a lawyer available.

Still another alternative is to refer the enrollee to a less fussy employer. Once the enrollee has worked out well there, it is easier to upgrade him to a better job with an employer who otherwise gets nervous about police records.
STRATEGY #4: INTERVENE WITH THE EMPLOYER SO THAT HE WILL ACCEPT THE ENROLLEE

Less often than the other strategies described, coaches contacted the hiring authority in the company directly, in order to get the company to change its usual policy at least for a particular enrollee. The coach did this when he thought that the company was not likely to accept the enrollee as he was, and when for one reason or another he didn't think it would be reasonable or effective to try to prepare the enrollee to fit the company or the requirements of the jobs available.

EXAMPLES:

(a) ...and at times would take to the bottle, but she was not an alcoholic. It was my intention to send this young lady to Company E and I discussed this with a co-worker who was very negative about the idea, mainly because she didn't want to take a chance with this lady who might upset the apple cart at this company. I called Company E and was quite honest with personnel. However, they were very reluctant about hiring this young lady. After talking with personnel for nearly an hour, and stressing our high support concept and what it means to the client, the company agreed to try this client out on a trial basis for a few weeks. The client was hired and has very few problems. She has received a promotion after four months.

(b) Company A was contacted and the gentleman in personnel was given the full scoop regarding this particular client. The client was hired and according to personnel he has proven to be a responsible worker. Regarding his emotional problem, I told him when his moments of anxiety overcome him, to call and talk to me or someone on my team. Thus far (after seven months) this has proven to be quite successful.
PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE
Place the enrollee

STRATEGY #4:
Intervene with employer so he'll accept enrollee

RESOURCES

EXAMPLES

(c) His physical examination at the company indicated client had sugar in his urine. The client got upset saying this was not true. We had our doctor run the test over on the client and results were negative. The client went back to the company with the result, but had the wrong result. The client created a disturbance. I called the company for a disposition on the client. They would have hired him had he not created such a disturbance. I told the company I would deliver the correct laboratory result if the client would be reconsidered. I told the client to cool it, that I would get him hired. The client was hired and is still working.
4.1 **USING HONESTY**

Many coaches report that using honesty with the hiring authority is successful, especially if the employer realizes that many whom he might hire off the street have the same problems as the enrollee being referred (except that the off-street hires don't tell him about it). Many employers expect applicants referred from agencies that serve the disadvantaged to have problems, and if they don't hear about the problems, they get suspicious of the agency and imagine that the problems are worse than they are. If the employer has heard about "the disadvantaged" and about all "their" problems, and if he knows that your agency deals with such people, it might be better to use honesty as the approach.

4.2 **OFFER AN INDUCEMENT**

Talking the employer into a decision different from what he might otherwise make is sometimes easier if the agency can offer some inducement. Follow-up coaching is one such inducement that some employers like, but there are also some who don't want follow-up and would see it as interfering with their affairs. Telling the employer about other companies like his own with whom you have placed enrollees can also help if the other companies aren't much bigger than his. Otherwise, the employer can say he can't afford to do the kinds of things that the big ones do. It would be best to mention a company in the same general class as his, and to put him in contact with the personnel man there so he can learn about their experience (if it was a good one).
4.3 WORK TRY-OUT

In companies whose union rules permit, the worker can ask for a work try-out of the enrollee. But be sure that the try-out is long enough so that the enrollee can get over his initial tension and confusion to do his best work. There is no point in asking for a work try-out in a company where union rules and insurance requirements don't permit anyone to work who is not a regular employee. But the worker can ask the employer for his ideas about how the enrollee who can't take tests or interviews can show the employer that he can do the work.

4.4 KNOW THE EMPLOYER

There are great differences among employers in how far they will go, which direction they will go in and which they won't, and what it takes to get them to make an exception for your enrollee. There is no substitute for knowing the employer, his practices, what he has done in similar cases and what his current situation is. Before intervening with an employer, the worker should get in touch with others in the agency who might have dealt with that employer before. Or else he should try to reach enrollees who have already been placed there, for a clearer picture and strategy suggestions.
Once in a while coaches used a combination of both changing the enrollee and intervening with the employer. In this strategy, the coach convinced the enrollee to change by saying the company would give him a break if he did. Then the worker used the same argument with the hiring authority in the company—that if it would give the enrollee a break, the worker would get the enrollee to meet company demands.

EXAMPLES:

(a) In this incident is a client with a very bad police record, with three convictions. He was tired of going to jail and wanted to get a steady job but did not want his police record known, which was bad such as armed robbery, pushing done, etc. The man did not want to tell the employer the truth, but his past record for fear of being turned down or denied a chance to work. Before taking the client to the job I contacted the employer and informed him or the client's past police record, and also the way the client felt about not wanting to tell of his past and needing a chance to prove himself as being ready to go straight and work for a living. He agreed to see my client. The next thing I did was to talk to the client and have him tell the employer about his record at the first interview and express his feelings to the employer, to let him know that he had a desire to work and earn an honest living. He finally agreed that it would be the best thing to do, rather than go in and fill out a phoney application by trying to lie about his past. The man was hired. So far so good. But with this man, I keep a very close relationship with him. Also the employer. I'm also keeping my fingers crossed.
STRATEGY #5: Get both enrollee & employer to make changes

EXAMPLES

(b) The interviewer really liked the client and upon completion of the interview hired him. (This was in a company that had never used the agency before. The coach had seen a "Help Wanted" sign on the door, talked to the manager, and then searched his files for a former client whose job experience was close to what the company said it wanted). After one day of work the company called and said they would have to release the client because he falsified his application, saying he had a driver's license and could drive. I rushed over to the company and pleaded with them not to release the client, that I would have him driving in a week. Which I did, and the client salvaged the job.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #1</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee needs a placement</td>
<td>Place the enrollee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**STRATEGY #6: DROPPING THE ENROLLEE**

In a few cases, when one or another of these strategies didn't work, the coaches simply dropped enrollees they couldn't do anything about. Sometimes the coach dropped the enrollee officially, by transferring him to someone else or terminating him from the program; sometimes the enrollee was "dropped" when the coach just stopped working on his case. Sometimes this informal dropping was done by providing a minimum service to the enrollee and then letting him sink or swim on his own.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) I told him that I could continue to look (for a job) for him and if he had any problems to call me at home or on the job. I gave him both my telephone numbers (home and office). The client called me at home at 4 A.M. and that following Saturday. After talking with the client it was found out that he did not want a job at all but only wanted to stay to me (courting). I transferred the client to another coach who was a male. My reason for this was that if the client really wanted to work the male coach could provide the same service that I could (since we were on the same team), and also because the male coach could handle this person better than I. The client called me the next week and I told him that he had a new coach that would be of any service that the client might need in obtaining a job. The new coach talked with the client and found out also that the client did not really want to work. The new coach referred the client to several positions but the client never reported to any.
PROBLEM #1
Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE
Place the enrollee

STRATEGY #6:
Drop enrollee if other strategies fail

RESOURCES

EXAMPLES

(b) After talking with this female client, I found that she had a very negative attitude about our agency and its staff as a whole. She was reluctant about taking any job that was offered. I proceeded to take her into this particular company for an interview. After talking with personnel she still had an attitude. In order to keep this client from keeping others from taking a job with this company, I talked with her right away about her intentions after completing the (orientation) cycle. The outcome was that this client was placed at another job and was terminated on the third day of employment because of tardiness.

(c) This client was never referred out. The two week cycle was over, and we didn't come up with any job to suit her. She said she would try to find a job on her own. She went to Company G and was hired on her own as a laborer at $2.56/hour.
6.1 ENROLLEES CHANGE

Not every enrollee is going to be placed successfully. Sometimes it is because the enrollee doesn't want a job; sometimes it's because his special needs cannot be fit into any job that the agency has available. And sometimes, it's simply because there is no job available. But all of these things can change in time. An enrollee who didn't really want a job may change his mind, or get into a family situation where he needs a reliable income. Problems may have taken care of themselves. New or different jobs become available. Workers often assume that what an enrollee is like when he's in the program is what he'll be like in the future or in a different situation. That is a wrong assumption. The coach should stay in touch periodically with enrollees he could not place. And he should give them a chance to show different attitudes or feelings.

6.2 THE LAST RESORT

If an enrollee is to be dropped, put into "holding" or reserved for only occasional attempts to contact him, that decision should be a conscious one, instead of just letting the enrollee slide gradually out of attention. When it is made, there is one more strategy the coach can try: he (or the agency) can frankly tell the client that it cannot place him now and that while he is waiting he can look for his own job. Then the agency can put the enrollee into a job-finding program in which he learns how to search and apply for jobs on his own. See Job Seeking Skills* for instructions on how to

*Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center, 1900 Chicago Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn. 55404
PROBLEM #1:  Enrollee needs a placement

OBJECTIVE:  Place the enrollee

STRATEGY #6:  Drop enrollee if other strategies fail

RESOURCES

conduct such a program effectively. If the agency cannot help the enrollee, this program will leave him with something that will help him to help himself.

SUMMARY

Obviously, the best strategy is to try to find a job that fits the enrollee's bill. If the agency doesn't have access to such jobs, intervening with employers who have the right kind of jobs, but who are resistant to hiring the enrollee, is a logical next step. If that isn't enough, then it may be necessary to prepare the enrollee so that he looks good to the employer. Finally, the strategy of trying to get the enrollee to accept an available opening that is different from what he wanted can be used. When none of these work, the enrollee can be given help in searching and applying for jobs on his own.
Carrying out these strategies requires that the agency worker have certain resources available to him. Some of these strategies require him to know in detail the hiring policies and practices of particular employers. He also needs to know something about the law and legal rights. He needs free access to job orders and to potential employers who may not yet have job orders on file. He needs to be able to meet with hiring authorities in companies. He needs a great deal of informal contact with others in the agency so that joint decision-making on the strategies to be used for a particular enrollee can be carried out. He needs to keep records that will be useful in reminding him to take care of unfinished business. Finally, while he needs the time and freedom (and transportation) to get out into the field, he also needs to be in the office so that enrollees can tell him their desires for a placement and can be prepared for placement.

Four kinds of resources are needed in particular: (1) an intelligence system regarding employers; (2) access to legal expertise; (3) a job search workshop; and (4) an effective team structure.

**RESOURCE #1: AN EMPLOYER INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM**

In agencies which regularly place enrollees with a specific group of employers, the agency is likely to acquire lots of information about the employers' hiring policies. This is especially true if each coach regularly has his own group of employers with whom he is in more or less continuous contact (for example, Jobs-Now).
In small communities with a limited number of major employers, it helps to give workers opportunities for visiting employers in the community, interviewing workers, foremen, personnel officials, etc. However, in metropolitan areas where major employers are spread over a large area and where there is a good deal of individual job development, it isn't possible for a single local office, or a single team, to know all the information it could use.

It would be possible for some central administrative agency in a metropolitan area, such as the CAMPS organization or the mayor's manpower commissioner or the area employment service organization, to operate an information bank in which the names of employment service staff who have had contact with any employer in the area are entered and stored. When a worker in a local office needs information about a certain employer, he could call in for the names of people in the city who have had contact with that employer. He could get in touch with them and use whatever information they had to guide decision-making in the case. In addition, the information could be pooled and reviewed periodically. This way the gaps could be discovered.

Individuals could then be designated to collect the kind of intelligence that is missing and that would be useful. In this context, "intelligence" doesn't mean simply a list of what the employer says his wishes and requirements are. The most useful information is likely to be the kind that comes from informal sources, such as the actual experience of employment workers who have had contact with the employer; the experience of enrollees who were placed in the company; and the views of the company in the community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #1</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee needs a placement</td>
<td>Place the enrollee</td>
<td>Five kinds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RESOURCE #2: ACCESS TO LEGAL EXPERTISE**

Local offices would find it useful to be able to call upon a legal expert for information and advice regarding enrollees' rights. In a large metropolitan area, with a number of manpower service agencies, some central authority could provide services to local units. Most contacts between a staff member and legal expert could be by telephone. It might not be appropriate or possible to actually give legal aid to the enrollee. The main function would be as a resource for information which the staff member could use to protect his client. This would require in-service training of staff so that they could intervene more effectively on the enrollee's behalf when they go to a court hearing, have contact with his parole officer or try to get his driver's license back.
Enrollee needs a placement

PLACE THE ENROLLEE

FIVE KINDS

RESOURCE #3: JOB SEARCH WORKSHOP

Not every enrollee needs instruction on how to go about finding and applying for jobs. Many have done this successfully before and their unemployment isn't because they can't find and get jobs. Sometimes it's because they can't keep the job, sometimes it's because of general economic conditions, and sometimes it's because of other problems that put potential employers out of reach--racism among employers, lack of transportation, medical problems, etc.

But when the agency has been unsuccessful in locating a job for a particular enrollee, it can hope to stretch its success rate by increasing the enrollees' skills in getting their own jobs. Unfortunately, much of the advice given to enrollees by agency personnel is ill-informed, unrealistic, and just plain wrong. Further, some enrollees may have a great deal of difficulty in using advice--in turning a suggestion into an action they can take and feel comfortable with. Brief job search workshops, conducted periodically (i.e., whenever the agency has 10 or 12 enrollees it can't place and who could use such help), such as those developed by the San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center, or the Minneapolis Vocational Rehabilitation Center,* would be useful. In both of these programs, members of the group pool their knowledge and their own experience, provide each other with encouragement and emotional support, and get involved in actually carrying out job search operations. This helps keep the information and advice relevant and realistic.

*Reports of these projects may be obtained from the Division of Utilization, Manpower Administration, Washington, D.C.
RESOURCE #4: EFFECTIVE TEAM STRUCTURE

A most crucial resource for employment workers is a team structure that makes it easy and rewarding to exchange information and share in the decision-making process. This is particularly important in cases of dispute. There are many times when a strategy which works toward an objective held by a coach may interfere with an objective held by the job developer (for example, to retain the confidence of an employer) or by an administrator (for example, to serve more enrollees, or preserve the agency's image with influential people). There are bound to be trade-offs and compromises in individual cases. Since each case is different, rules cannot be written to cover all the possibilities; there would be so many rules that each one would hardly be used.

For example, the choice of strategy depends on consideration of how much an employer can be convinced to change his usual practices, what the nature of the available job orders are, etc. It is essential that the decision-making process doesn't make the enrollee a pawn in power struggles among team members. Decisions should be made cooperatively, so that all members of the team who are affected will understand the relationship of their part to the other parts. This means that decisions have to be made on the basis of the particular situation, rather than on the basis of the rank or status of the people advocating one side or another. In other words, effective service to enrollees requires equality of power in the team, and frequent exchanges of views about particular enrollees. When the decision about a case is more difficult, these contacts have to move from informal discussions around the
Enrollee needs a placement

Place the enrollee

Five kinds

Effective Team Structure

Office toward a full-scale conference. Here, information and ideas can be systematically pooled and a decision made by consensus.
CHAPTER 2
ENROLLEE REJECTS THE JOB REFERRAL

**PROBLEM #2:** The enrollee has turned up his nose at a job referral which the team had thought was a good one.

**EXAMPLES:**

Although the overall objective is to get the enrollee a job, **Objective A** is to try to get the enrollee to keep the first referral. **Objective B** is to try to find a different placement to fit the enrollee's bill more closely.

**EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVES:**

50

**REDUCING THE RISKS:**

61

**STRATEGY:**

Four strategies were used by coaches to achieve the above objectives.

1. **ONE-TO-ONE COUNSELING.**
2. **PERSUASION.**
3. **PROVE SINCERITY AND COMMITMENT.**
4. **CHANGE THE REFERRAL.**

**RESOURCES:**

Five kinds of resources are discussed in relation to this problem.

1. **FEEDBACK, SUPERVISION AND APPROPRIATE EVALUATION.**
2. **ORGANIZATIONAL CONSENSUS.**
3. **ACCESS TO JOB ORDERS.**
4. **GRIEVANCE MACHINERY FOR ENROLLEES.**
5. **THE STATUS OF MINORITIES AND COACHES WITHIN THE AGENCY.**
PROBLEM #2:  

Enrollee rejects job referral

EXAMPLES

PROBLEM #2:  
The enrollee has turned up his nose at a job referral, which the team had thought was a good one, or at least the most appropriate of the jobs available, considering the enrollee's qualifications.

EXAMPLES:

(a) This young man was unhappy with the placement. He was referred to Steel for the MA program. He was dissatisfied with the pay.

(b) A female client was interviewed and I felt she met all the qualifications for a clerical opening except that she was extremely shy. She had not participated in group discussions and had made no friends at Jobs-Now. In the interview she expressed an inability to communicate with other people, especially new acquaintances, and feared new situations. She brightened up hearing about the job. It was working as a figure clerk and she enjoyed math. An appointment was made for her and I told her I would go with her on the interview the following morning. She did not show up until that afternoon and said she changed her mind about the job and she would like a factory since her mother worked as an assembler. She felt she was not good enough to work in an office and though overqualified for factory work, it was a more comfortable setting because her mother told her so!

(c) This particular client refused all kinds of employment. I would take him on an interview and he would turn everything down. Or he would accept a job but would not take the physical.

(d) I was trying to place a client 17 years of age who needed employment badly to help with family bills. 17 year-olds are extremely difficult to place in employment at a decent wage. Fortunately I had found a position in a supermarket at $2.50/hour and I was sure he would be very happy to receive this chance to work. When I confronted him with the job offer, he to my surprise turned it down.
PROBLEM #2:
Enrollee rejects job referral

EXAMPLES

(e) I had to place a client into employment on a salary that she disliked which was $1.70 per hour. The reason for this was because that was the only available position she qualified for and she was in bad need of a job because her home had been bombed destroying everything they had, and killing three children.
### PROBLEM #2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #2</th>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee rejects job referral</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### OBJECTIVE:

A: convince enrollee to take first referral  
B: find another placement

### EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

Although two objectives can be stated, the overall objective was to get the enrollee a job. Objective A, the most common, was to try to get the enrollee to keep his first referral. But sometimes the coach found it necessary to use Objective B, which was to find a different placement that fit the enrollee's bill more closely.

Perhaps the agency should not try to make enrollees take jobs they don't want (especially when the job is low paying and uninteresting). On the other hand, the enrollees come to the agency for jobs and these are the jobs most often available. So the agency has to decide whether Objective A or Objective B is more consistent with the enrollee's objectives. The worker can talk to the enrollee to find out his reasons for turning down a referral. This can help in making a decision about which objective is more appropriate.

### REASONS FOR REFUSING A REFERRAL

There can be two kinds of reasons for turning down a job referral. One can be called economic and depends on the number of benefits to be gained from a particular job. The enrollee may decide the job isn't worth his labor because of the pay and working conditions or because he doesn't like the kind of work involved.
PROBLEM #2
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE:
A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

The other reason can be called psychological. That is, the enrollee may have many feelings that get involved in a job choice. For example, the young woman who wanted to reject a figure clerk job in favor of working in a factory may have been responding to a huge swamp of complicated pressures. She may have been anxious about being where she felt she didn't belong (that is, fear of being an "uppity nigger"). She may have feared she didn't have the ability to do the work. Or her mother might have influenced her decision for several reasons. She might have wanted to protect her daughter from disappointment and hurt by encouraging her to take a factory job where she wouldn't risk failure and racism. At the same time, she might also have resented or envied her daughter's chance to do more high class (white-collar) work than she does, challenging her prestige and power in the family. Her mother might also have been afraid that she would lose the enrollee's affection if the enrollee began to move around in the white-collar world.

SOME REASONS ARE GIVEN MORE CONSIDERATION THAN OTHERS

Both the economic and psychological reasons are usually present when an enrollee decides about a job, although how important each is varies from one enrollee to another. However, manpower agency workers usually do not consider the psychological factors to be as important as the economic ones.

This happens for many reasons:
-the psychological factors are personal and emotional, so enrollees don't talk about them as easily as they talk about the economic ones.
The agency "atmosphere" makes it seem more legitimate, mature or "objective" to decide to take or reject a job for economic reasons rather than psychological ones.

It takes a fair amount of prying and sensitivity to bring out the psychological feelings involved; manpower agency workers are not always equipped to do this, do not have the time, and often do not like to get too personal with enrollees.

Nevertheless, the enrollee's personal feelings and relationships—whether with his family or friends— influence his decisions. So will the image of the job, its "status," the dangers of failure if it is challenging, the lack of self-fulfillment if it is not, the exposure to racism, and the anxiety of learning the ropes in a new work place, the loss of freedom to control one's time, etc.

But most agencies and enrollees try to act as if accepting a job referral was strictly an economic decision, even in Jobs-Now where sensitivity training and discussions of feelings were stressed.

**HOW MANPOWER AGENCIES DECIDE WHAT THE "REAL" REASONS ARE**

A major problem in evaluating the objective is to figure out whether the referral is rejected for economic or psychological reasons. Since the economic reasons seem more "legitimate," enrollees usually justify their rejection on the grounds of pay, working conditions or job interest, even when the psychological factors are more important.
PROBLEM #2 +
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE:
A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

Of course, the atmosphere in the agency that makes the economic factors seem more legitimate does not stop enrollees from having personal reactions to the job referrals, or from acting on the basis of their feelings. Despite this atmosphere, they will still reject job referrals (sometimes, as in one of the examples, by simply not showing up for the job interview) for personal or psychological reasons. The main effect of this atmosphere is to prevent the enrollees from saying honestly what is on their minds. In other words, the atmosphere makes it more difficult for employment workers to do their job.

Coaching is even more difficult when enrollees do not want the agency to get into personal affairs. Many feel it is none of the agency's business, and they are offended by the implication that they can't take care of their own minds and their family and friendship relations by themselves. Because they want the agency to get them a good job, they may not directly tell the worker to stick his nose out of their affairs, so they may simply play dumb or be "non-verbal" or put the worker off the track by giving him a minor or even a fake emotional issue to deal with, to give the impression of cooperating. When enrollees run these games, it means they feel game-playing is necessary to achieve their own objectives as customers of the agency.

Experience and research suggest that manpower agencies make decisions according to the following pattern:

- If the enrollee's economic objections are reasonable, and if the agency has access to job orders that both come closer to the enrollee's wishes and also seem reasonable,
OBJECTIVE:
A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

then the agency accepts the referral rejection and switches to an objective of getting him a different one.

-But if the enrollee's objections do not seem reasonable or he rejects the 2nd and 3rd referrals, then the agency assumes there are psychological reasons for the rejection.

Once the agency suspects that psychological hangups are behind the enrollee's rejection of the referral, the enrollee is usually given intensive counseling with the coach or a counselor. The objective of counseling is to work through the hangups so the enrollee will accept the referral. In other words, the agency keeps its original objective of getting the enrollee to accept the referral and the psychological factors are usually not considered a "legitimate" basis for rejection. The agency tries to change the enrollee's feelings rather than change the referral.

COUNSELING TO MAINTAIN THE SYSTEM

A major problem is how it is decided whether an enrollee's objections are reasonable or whether his job requirements are appropriate. This is where many prejudices and biases about "appropriate" work can influence what the agency does.

For example, a young woman who told one manpower agency that she wanted to work on an automobile assembly-line was immediately referred to counseling because her preference was "inappropriate," (even though sex discrimination is illegal; there is no reason why some kinds of work cannot be done by women and the woman seemed strong enough for the job). The
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE:

A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

agency made its decision on the basis of social stereotypes (which operate against women and minorities) even though it had available slots at the auto plant.

In that case, the function of counseling was to try to make the enrollee conform to the social stereotype. That is, counseling served as a buffer between the enrollee's desires and the refusal of the agency to accept or respond to her desires. Counseling protected the status quo by defining the problem as a psychological one in the enrollee rather than in the agency which had stereotyped ideas about the kinds of service it was willing to provide. When counseling is used this way, it is called "mystification" of the client.

THE EFFECT OF COACHES' STATUS ON "PSYCHOLOGIZING" THE CLIENT

It is easy to protect the agency by defining the problem as psychological. It puts the burden back on the enrollee and allows the agency to believe that its objectives are better for the enrollee than his or her own objectives. This is the same process that keeps blacks in menial and low-status jobs when the agency concludes that a black enrollee's aspirations are "inappropriate."

Many coaches suspect that their agencies maintain cultural stereotypes (here racist ones) even if it isn't intended. Because of this, they have conflicts and tensions about working in these agencies. When minority coaches are blamed for "over-identifying" with enrollees, it is often precisely because they believe that the agency's idea of what is an "appropriate" job
PROBLEM #2
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE:
A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

referral is really a factor that maintains racism in employment. The coach's position—at the bottom of the ladder as a black or Chicano non-professional—makes him even more suspicious. He believes that the only way the agency can prove that it is not racist is to upgrade his job in the hierarchy. This adds a social/political dimension to the obvious personal benefits the coach would get from upgrading.

Research indicates that coaches are often asked to "take over" enrollees with hangups because professional counselors prefer to concentrate on vocational matters. Thus, coaches tend to get deeply involved, as part of their job, in situations which magnify those conflicts about whether psychologizing the enrollee is really a cool-out mechanism (i.e., mystification). And because they find themselves dealing with enrollees' personal affairs, the coaches feel justified in thinking that their positions in the agency should be upgraded to match the level of skill and sensitivity required for dealing with matters so delicate that even professional counselors don't handle them.

PSYCHOLOGIZING KEEPS THE AGENCY WORKING FOR THE ENROLLEE

Since psychological problems almost always exist (people do have feelings about their work and life in general) the agency can always find some "psychological" problem in the enrollee which they use to explain his rejection of a referral or placement. When the worker finds "psychological factors" it often seems easier and more legitimate to help the enrollee with
his personal problems than to get him the kind of job he wants. However, if certain other factors are noticed by the agency or worker, they may be more willing to find a suitable referral rather than solve the personal problems. These factors are as follows:

1. If the agency cannot change the enrollee's feelings about the referral;
2. the feelings seem reasonable;
3. these feelings get sympathy and understanding from the worker or agency.

Shy, nervous or frightened enrollees are more likely to get sympathy than those whose anxiety is hidden behind a mask of masculinity or street hardness. Sometimes when they are dealing with "tough" enrollees, workers try to "break down" their defenses (often dangerous for the enrollees) as if it were not legitimate to get them jobs until they admitted their weaknesses.

When the agency cannot find psychological reasons for turning down a referral because the enrollee refuses to make his hangups public, or because probing is unsuccessful, the agency often concludes that he is simply being immature or unreasonable--or that he really doesn't want to work.

SUMMARY

When the worker cannot explain an enrollee's rejection for economic reasons he tries to find a psychological one. If he finds such a basis, he tries to change the feelings because they are not considered "legitimate" reasons for trying to get the enrollee a different referral. And if he cannot find such
Problem #2

Enrollee rejects job referral

Objective:

A: convince enrollee to take first referral
B: find another placement

Evaluating the Objective

a basis, he then concludes the enrollee doesn't want to work--and that gets the agency off the hook by putting the blame back on the enrollee. At that point, the agency stops trying to work with the enrollee, or refers him to work experience training, such as NYC or Mainstream.

In other words, one value of getting the enrollee to talk about his feelings is that it helps to maintain the agency's motivation to work for him. Many enrollees know this and an experienced one often secretly tells those less experienced that it's better to talk about personal problems because the counselor will then be more likely to get them job referrals. That's when the enrollee is likely to run the game of giving the counselor a phony problem to work on. If the enrollee does not cooperate in this way, the agency's motivation fails, and is likely to conclude that the enrollee is unmotivated.

How to find out which objective is right

Sometimes, the psychologizing of the enrollee works--he accepts the referral that he previously rejected. Is he doing that to get the worker off his back, has he really resolved his hangup, or has he simply become convinced that his stated desires for a better job were "wrong?" That is, how can the agency tell if its objective was right, or whether counseling was only a way of manipulating the enrollee into accepting a referral he really didn't want? There are several clues that can be used, though none of them is foolproof:
The objective was probably wrong if:

- the enrollee doesn't stay on the job for very long, especially if he quits (or arranges to get fired) before he has another job lined up.

- the enrollee avoids further contact with the worker because it makes him feel bad about himself, or emotionally stirred up, when he discusses his feelings with the worker.

- the enrollee sticks on the job, but in spite of his initial dislike for it, and becomes a passive, accepting, unambitious plodder, resigned to a work life that has no self-fulfillment in it.

- the enrollee expresses cynical or negative attitudes about the agency in the community, feels that the agency promised more than it delivered, or that the agency is part of a system designed to keep the disadvantaged down in jobs that whites don't take.

Unfortunately, all of these clues come too late, after the damage has been done. Nevertheless, follow-up can be done so that the agency can evaluate its own record and find out if it has "psychologized" the problems too often, and "mystified" enrollees.

There are some clues the agency can use before it is too late, but they are "weak" clues that cannot be used without lots of good judgment:

- if the enrollee is vague about what he wants in a job, says that he'll take anything, would accept a job paying as little as $2.50/hour, but then rejects referrals because of low pay or because he doesn't like the work. then it may be a matter of psychological conflict.
Objectives:

A: Convince enrollee to take first referral
B: Find another placement

Evaluating the Objective

- If the enrollee seems to get less and less involved in the agency program, avoids discussions about jobs and working, begins to come late or skip, or fails to keep placement appointments, it may be that he has personal or family problems.

- If the enrollee participated in selecting the referral from the list of jobs available, without pressure to select the one the agency thought best, and he then rejected it when the time came for the employment interview, there may be psychological problems involved.

- If the enrollee turns down a job referral in favor of another one that is not as good according to his own criteria, then there may be psychological hangups. But keep in mind that agency workers, as white-collar people, tend to place more value on the social status of a job than some enrollees do. A worker who tries to talk an enrollee into taking a job as a bank clerk instead of a higher paying job as an assembler in a factory may be imposing his own values on the enrollee, which lead him to interpret the enrollee's preference as evidence of psychological or personal problems.

- But if the enrollee rejects a job referral for specific reasons, has a reasonable alternative that he would prefer, or has a stable job history that is consistent with his preference, then his rejection of the referral may not be a psychological hangup.
Finally, the agency could take the position that psychological reasons for rejecting a referral are just as legitimate as economic ones. If they are legitimate, then they don't have to be changed in order for the agency to try to do its placement work. The agency can change its objective to that of finding a different referral that fits the enrollee's bill. That makes it unnecessary to probe for psychological problems, to risk humiliating the enrollee, to run the danger of using psychology to cool-out the enrollee, and of making the enrollee feel that his rejection of a referral shows that there is something wrong with him.

That puts it up to the enrollee. If the agency simply cannot find a job that the enrollee wants, then he can decide whether or not he wants to use counseling to work on changing his feelings about the jobs that are available.
Coaches usually talked a lot with enrollees about their rejection of the referral. In Jobs-Now these counseling sessions aimed at: (1) exploring the enrollee's reasons; and sometimes (2) persuading the enrollee that his reasons were wrong.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) In a one-to-one he felt that it would be slow upgrading in a steel mill and he wanted to go to a company that paid more and had dealings in the car industry and faster upgrading.

(b) We spent some time talking about a variety of subjects before she felt comfortable enough to discuss the figure clerk position...

(c) Unfortunately the young man had received false information from his fellow clients about the abundance of jobs that were available for young people his age and with no work experience. When I confronted him with the job offer, he to my surprise turned it down. I asked him why and he told me because of what he had heard. Immediately I began trying to inform him that this was false information, but it was evident that he had more confidence in the other clients than in myself.
1.1 BUY TIME

Time is crucial when a job order is being held for an enrollee. Workers are reluctant to pass up the job order before they've found out why the enrollee rejected it and had a chance to change his mind. Therefore, in several cases of rejections, the first thing the coaches did, even before the counseling, was to call the employer and try to postpone the date for the enrollee's job interview. Of course, if the enrollee has rejected the referral by not showing up for an appointed interview, the coach has the added problem of trying to apologize to the employer while still getting him to hold the job open for the enrollee. If the enrollee has rejected the referral by directly rejecting a job offer from the employer, then it is too late to do anything about it.

Thus the easiest job for the worker is to get a simple postponement of the job interview, and that means that enrollees should be encouraged to reject the referral before the interview if they are going to reject it at all. That doesn't mean that if he doesn't reject the referral, he must take the job later. The actual interview (or in some cases the first day on the job) may reveal some things about the job that neither the worker nor the enrollee had suspected. So the enrollee should still feel free to reject it later. Nevertheless, it's better to give him as much opportunity as possible to reject the referral before going to the interview.
1.2 TRYING TO PLEASE THE COACH

One of the things that keeps some enrollees from rejecting a job referral is that they don't want to displease the coach. It is easier to reject someone when he isn't around because you don't want him to feel bad, and you don't want him to dislike you. That makes an enrollee pretend to accept the referral and then reject it later when he is away from the worker, by not showing up for the interview, turning down the job offer from the employer, or accepting the job and then not showing up for work [although other chapters of this Manual show that when an enrollee does not come to work on the first day it does not necessarily mean he doesn't want the job!].

In any case, it makes the worker's job easier if the enrollee rejects the job in his presence so that he has a chance to do the counseling. But that means that he should not act as if the rejection of the referral is a rejection of himself or the agency. Unfortunately, many manpower workers get quite upset when an enrollee turns down their efforts. That's why they often dig their heels in and try to convince the enrollee to take the job and interpret his rejection as evidence of psychological problems. If enrollees suspect this, they will not reject the referrals until they are away from the worker.
1.3 A REFERRAL IS NOT A PERSONAL GIFT FROM THE WORKER

One way to avoid this kind of problem is to avoid giving enrollees the impression that the job referral is a personal favor. If the enrollee thinks of it as a 'favor,' he may try to hide his rejection from the worker.

But that doesn't mean that the worker should act as if it is just a part of his job and that he has no personal interest in the enrollee. The worker should try to show that his job of getting referrals for people gives him the pleasure of being able to get this one for this enrollee. This shows personal interest, puts the job in a positive light, but still lets the enrollee know that it is the worker's job--rather than a personal favor--that led him to get the referral.

The worker can reinforce this impression by telling the enrollee that if he doesn't want the job, it is OK to reject the referral. This helps demonstrate the worker's personal and real interest in the enrollee.

In other words, the worker can save himself some trouble if he doesn't act ego-involved in the particular job referral, but shows his interest in the process of getting the enrollee a job.

1.4 EVERY REFERRAL DOES NOT HAVE TO RESULT IN A PLACEMENT

An agency should not measure performance by the number of successful referrals made by each worker. This puts pressure on the worker and in turn puts pressure on the enrollee to accept the referral. If the worker's supervisor does not penalize him for unsuccessful referrals, then the worker can encourage enrollees to reject referrals they don't like.
It would also be better if the worker felt free to pass on the job order to another worker in the agency. Then the staff would be less jealous and secretive about job orders and the agency would still be able to maintain its record of placements.
When coaches used this strategy, they stressed the advantages of the job that the enrollee wanted to reject. Less frequently, they also talked about the disadvantages of the job that the enrollee preferred (if he had a particular job in mind as an alternative). Sometimes this persuasion implied threats.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) Though I had a factory position, I talked about the factory situation, pointing out all the negative aspects her mother never mentioned, and we discussed the positives of the office situation. I told her to think it over and let me know her decision the next day, well aware that she would discuss it with her mother. The following day she was in early to say she had discussed it with her mother and had decided to think for herself and take the office job, though her mother objected. She was hired and has been very effective on the job for almost two years.

(b) I explained to the client she had to accept the job because of what had happened to her home. Also I explained to her that she could soon make as much as $3.00/hour because her job was doing piece work. In about four months my client had brought her salary up to $2.64/hour but she had to take a leave of absence in October because she is seven months pregnant. She is due to return to her job some time in March. My client ended liking and maintaining her job and was liked very much by her supervisor.

(c) So I got him one more job interview and let him know this was the very last time. He sensed I was not kidding and I haven't had another problem with him.
2.1 ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE

In Chapter One, some reasons were presented for emphasizing the positive aspects and avoiding negative ones when discussing different placements. Unpleasant and threatening ideas make people uncomfortable and anxious. Therefore, it's dangerous sometimes for the worker to emphasize the negative aspects of the job the enrollee prefers, because this might drive the enrollee away. Worse yet, the worker might not be able to convince the enrollee to accept the referral he wants to reject. But he might convince him not to go after the job he wants and as a result he rejects both kinds of jobs!

2.2 GIVE THE ENROLLEE TIME--IF HE CAN AFFORD IT

In one of the examples, the coach gave the enrollee a day to think over her decision. That is a wise move and has at least two advantages: (1) it lets enrollees know that the decision is their own and that the worker is willing to accept it whether or not he personally favored one particular alternative. (2) Secondly, it means the enrollees have a chance to make their own choice. At first, it was the worker's decision, but that kind of decision doesn't stick until the enrollee makes it his own. Time also gives the enrollee a chance to check out the worker's arguments with others, and to test them to see if they stand up. This way the enrollee comes to agree with the worker because the arguments are good ones, not because of the worker's personality and salesmanship.
2.3 SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

A. Did the enrollee really "think for herself" or did she just switch from accepting her mother's opinions to accepting the coach's? Did the coach end up by coming between the enrollee and her mother and interfering with their affectionate relationship? We'll never know.

B. If the enrollee sticks it out on the job, does that mean that the coach was right in getting him to accept the referral? Maybe yes, maybe no. Suppose that for some reason the enrollee took a job he didn't want or like. It sometimes happens that he changes his attitudes toward the job because of a psychological mechanism called "post-decision certainty" (also explained as "dissonance reduction").

Post-decision certainty refers to the fact that after a person has made up his mind, no matter how close the balance of positive and negative elements, he tends to become more sure that he was right in his decision. He forgets about the negative elements and convinces himself that the positive elements were right. And other things turn up on the job that make it unexpectedly satisfying, such as a particularly good supervisor or a friendship with a co-worker.
Dissonance reduction means that when people's attitudes don't match their actions, they tend to change their attitudes. So if someone does accept a job toward which he had negative attitudes, he tends to change those attitudes into positive ones so that they are consistent with the fact that he took the job.

Both mechanisms operate most strongly when the enrollee feels that it was his own decision, rather than one imposed on him by others or by circumstances. The point is that an enrollee who later says he likes the job is not always saying that the worker was right in talking him into it. He might have felt the same way about any job he had decided to take.

2.4 THE WORKER HAS TO ACT EVEN THOUGH HE DOESN'T HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS

With the present state of knowledge about jobs and human behavior, it is impossible to get clear answers to questions like these, but still the worker has to do something one way or the other. One way to guide his decisions is to be clear about the priorities among the agency's objectives--and the enrollee's.

If the objective is to get an enrollee on a job, then as far as this objective is concerned it doesn't matter whether the job is the best one for the enrollee, or satisfying to him, as long as he stays there (and many people do stick with jobs that are not satisfying).

But if the objective includes giving the enrollee a satisfying or career-oriented job, that is a different story. And if another objective of the agency is to get a reputation in the community for meeting the needs of enrollees as
define them, that adds another consideration. The worker and his team can make decisions and take actions once they are clear with themselves and with their enrollees about how important the various objectives are.

A periodic review of past cases could be used to analyze the decisions that were made by the team and to look at alternative decisions that might have been made. This can help keep the staff thinking about alternatives so that they don't get in a rut. This doesn't have to be done with every case, but cases that have something in common (for example, a group of cases where the problem fits Problem #1 in this Manual) could be discussed at one meeting, cases which fit Problem #2 at another, and so forth. The whole staff or team could explore the alternatives, discuss whether different strategies might have been more effective, raise embarrassing questions and decide on priorities among objectives and strategies.

Without reviews of objectives and strategies like these, the coach is often put into an impossible position by his job: he has to act in the absence of sufficient knowledge, he is expected to be effective, and yet because it is assumed that as a coach he can do things that others in the agency cannot do because of their race, professionalism, or lack of connection with the enrollees and their community, he and others in the agency feel that there is little they can teach the coach that will help him to be effective. The coach is aware that his performance is being evaluated, but the criteria are unclear, both to him and to his supervisors, because there has been no explicit statement of objectives, and no consensus on strategies.
PROBLEM #2
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE
Two types

STRATEGY #2:
Persuasion

RESOURCES

Since answers to questions like those above are lacking, the coach needs some consensus from his colleagues and supervisors that tells him he is evaluating his effectiveness according to the same criteria and the same objectives that they are. Without this, there can be no adequate evaluation. And when there is no evaluation, the coach cannot get the kind of feedback he needs to grow and develop on the job. It is the enrollee who suffers from that, in the long run.
**STRATEGY #3: PROVE SINCERITY AND COMMITMENT**

In the interview and by other special efforts, coaches tried to prove their sincerity and make the enrollee believe they had the enrollee's best interests in mind. This strategy covers efforts to close the "credibility gap" between the agency and the enrollee.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) "...but it was evident that he had more confidence in the other clients than in myself. When I saw I couldn't convince him I immediately called the manager and moved the interview up a couple of days. This would give me time to prove to my client that it is almost impossible to find good or meaningful employment for an individual his age. I gave him the complete job list and asked him to choose six positions that he might like to occupy. After the choices were made I immediately got on the phone and set up three of the interviews for the next day and three for the day after. I knew that he would be turned down on all six positions, but the point was to prove to him that I had done my very best to secure the type of position he preferred. When he was refused employment at all six interviews he began to realize that I had been completely honest with him. At this point he decided to go on the original interview. The result was he was hired at the supermarket and is now working and going to school in the evenings."

(b) "I knew that my client had to have sufficient clothing in order to go back and forth to work. So I decided to have staff donate whatever clothing and money they could for my client and her family. I explained to my client she had to accept the job because of what had happened to her home."

(c) "We spent some time talking about a variety of subjects before she felt comfortable enough to discuss the figure clerk position."
COMMENTS: I

PROBLEM #2

Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE

Two types

STRATEGY #3:

Prove sincerity and commitment

RESOURCES

COMMENTS

3.1 WHO IS OBLIGATED TO WHOM?

The purpose of this technique is to close the credibility gap. It is an effort to show that the agency really is thinking of the enrollee's best interests. But a show of commitment can also have the opposite effect. Some enrollees may feel obligated to the coach or agency because of "all they have done for him," and then take a job because they would feel guilty rejecting it. In other words, showing commitment can be a way of manipulating the enrollee psychologically so that he does what the agency wants him to do.

In the Comments on Strategy #1, it was stressed that one danger of this technique is that the enrollee might agree with the worker and then fail to follow through on the referral. Using guilt works the same way.

If using guilt works and it gets the enrollee a job (if that is the main objective), then it is OK. But it might not work or it might make the enrollee feel miserable, either because he doesn't like the work he's doing or because he feels that he's being ungrateful if he refuses the referral. Guilt, and the feelings of worthlessness that go along with it can increase the need to escape through alcohol, pills and smack.
PROBLEM #2
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE
Two types

STRATEGY #4:
Change the referral

RESOURCES

EXAMPLES

STRATEGY #4: CHANGE THE REFERRAL

In some cases, coaches changed the job referral for the enrollee. Sometimes this was done because the enrollee convinced the coach that he had legitimate reasons for rejecting the referral.

EXAMPLE:

(a) In a one-to-one he felt that it would be slow upgrading in a steel mill and he wanted to go to a company that paid more and had dealings in the car industry and faster upgrading. I referred him to ____. Working on the assembly line then he would be up for promotion depending on attendance and productivity. In making my decision on this I was trying to get what he wanted—pay and upgrading. He is still employed for ____ and is continuing school.

Sometimes it was done because the coach wanted to give the enrollee another chance after he turned down a job which was therefore no longer available.

EXAMPLE:

(b) I would take him on an interview and he would turn everything down. He would accept a job but would not take the physical. After talking and talking to this client he still refused to cooperate. I finally gave up on him but decided to try again. So I got him one more job interview and let him know this was the very last time. He sensed I was not kidding and I haven't had another problem with him.

Sometimes the coach got the enrollee other referrals to show him that the one he wanted to reject was the best thing available for him.

EXAMPLE:
PROBLEM #2 + OBJECTIVE + STRATEGY #4: + RESOURCES

Enrollee rejects job referral

Two types

EXAMPLES

(c) I gave him the complete job list and asked him to choose six positions that he might like to occupy...I knew that he would be turned down on all six positions, but the point was to prove to him that I had done my very best to secure the type of position he preferred...

And finally, the referral could be "changed" by getting the employer to change the aspect of the job that the enrollee didn't like, so that the enrollee would accept the referral.

EXAMPLE:

(d) I contacted Company D and I explained the feeling of the client. He felt that he was not hired for that particular job, and really afraid that this would be a permanent position for him. (After having been hired as an accounting clerk, the client had found that he was being given just a series of odd jobs; the client had complained to the coach and said that he wanted to refuse the job). I also expressed that I felt that this individual would be an asset to the company. The client did return to Company D, and has now been there for 5 months.
4.1 WORKERS NEED ACCESS TO JOB ORDERS

Obviously, this strategy depends on having other job orders available. Manpower agencies usually do not control their access to job orders, and they often are prohibited from developing their own and making them available within the agency. The tightness of control over orders has increased with the computer-based job banks, which is the exact opposite of what was intended. This scarcity of orders forces the workers to try to make their clients accept the original referral.

Manpower agencies also have no control over the state of the local economy. When the economy is down, it tends to hurt those who are at the end of the job line—the young, the disadvantaged and the minorities. But there is a tendency for agencies to use the state of the economy as an excuse for ineffective efforts.

For example, when inner city unemployment went up by only a few percentage points, some agencies explained a 90% drop in their job orders as the fault of the economy, rather than as a failure of job development or job finding efforts.

Nevertheless, manpower agencies are directly affected by the local economy and measuring effectiveness by the number of placements forces them to shoehorn their enrollees into any available position.

Under such circumstances, it is important for agencies to make it clear that the enrollee could be placed if there were more jobs open. Agencies sometimes give the impression that continued unemployment is the enrollee's fault because they want to "motivate" the enrollee to take part in the agency's
PROBLEM #2
Enrollee rejects job referral

OBJECTIVE
Two types

STRATEGY #4:
Change the referral

RESOURCES

COMMENTS

program, and because they are reluctant to admit they don't have job orders. Since, historically, getting job orders has been the main function of manpower agencies, few are ready to admit it when they are not successful.

Also, today there is the growing belief that the drop in job orders is a result of manpower agencies' efforts to concentrate on services to the disadvantaged. Thus the agency's inability to get orders is blamed on the enrollees! When employers avoid manpower agencies because the enrollees referred to them are "disadvantaged," this can be the fault of the ineffectiveness of the agency's work with its enrollees, as well as a lack of effectiveness in job development.

If more on-the-job coaching were done, it is possible that employers would be more willing to place job orders with the agency. In other words, the agency should blame its own efforts—in job development and in working with enrollees—rather than blame the characteristics of the enrollee population. The agency can do something about the former.

4.2 COORDINATE THE AGENCY'S MESSAGES TO THE ENROLLEE

One of the things that confuses enrollees is that they sometimes get different messages from different sections of the agency. When he is being recruited to the agency, or getting talked into participating in the orientation or pre-vocational training program, he is led to believe that if he participates and cooperates, he will be rewarded with a job. This implies that the agency has enough job orders.

But later, when he is sent to the placement department, he is likely to be told that jobs are scarce, and there's not much the agency can do except help him get a low-wage job.
When the enrollee gets these messages, he may decide that both are right. That is, he may think the agency does have access to jobs but that it will not refer him to good ones— that the agency is holding out on him. This suspicion can lead him to reject referrals because he thinks the agency has better ones it is "saving" for more favored enrollees or for staff's relatives.

Or, he thinks both are right—that there are decent jobs but he can't get one of them—because he is a personal failure and doesn't have what it takes. In that case, he blames himself entirely for a failure that is at least partly a failure of the economy; the agency has mystified the true situation.

It seems the best way to avoid these wrong impressions is to be completely honest with the enrollee all along the way about both the numbers and types of jobs the agency can refer him to. However, since the staff in various sections of the agency process have different needs and perspectives (job developers whose main function is to get job orders are more impressed with how difficult that is than are orientation leaders who try to give incentives for active participation), each member is still likely to give a different story to the enrollee, even if he tries to be honest and realistic. To prevent this, agency staffs of the various components should meet together periodically so they can get their heads straight and then give the enrollees a clear consistent picture.
4.3 DON'T LET THE ENROLLEE BAIL OUT WITHOUT A RIP-CORD

If the agency sends the client on job interviews that will reject him (just to prove to the enrollee that the original referral was the best he could hope for), there is a danger that these failures can be emotionally very damaging to the enrollee, and can lead him to stop trying to find employment. It can give the enrollee the impression that job hunting is a waste of time, and cause him to become dependent on the agency.

One way to prevent this is to let him know in advance that the original job referral is waiting for him, so that he still has a chance for success after failing on all the jobs that he picked. And then it is important to go over the failures with him to help him select prospective jobs more wisely and more appropriately in the future, so that he can still do his own job hunting, if he has to.
The strategies in this chapter fall heavily in the area of counseling, which involves a great deal of interpersonal sensitivity, judgment, and self-awareness combined with a clear idea of what it is that is to be accomplished by the counseling. Ordinarily, counseling is seen as a private relationship and unrelated to organizational structure. Nevertheless, as the discussions in this chapter suggest, there are many organizational factors that influence what goes on in counseling. Its objectives, the ability to sense what is going on with the enrollee, and to act on that sensitivity are all influenced by organizational factors, such as agency objectives, status hierarchy, agency resources, distance between workers in various sections of the agency, etc.

This chapter suggests five organizational resources that can contribute to these counseling strategies. A system for providing (1) feedback, supervision and appropriate evaluation is one resource for helping staff improve their judgments and decisions. (2) Organizational consensus on both objectives and on coordination of messages to enrollees is another resource. Workers need (3) access to job orders in sufficient range and variety so they are under less pressure to get enrollees to accept the first job referral. Enrollees need (4) access to some kind of grievance machinery which can impartially evaluate their suspicions that they are not being referred to better jobs. Finally, (5) the status of minority coaches and other minority staff can affect counseling-related decisions.
PROBLEM #2  +  OBJECTIVE  +  STRATEGY  +  
Enrollee rejects job referral  

RESOURCE #1: FEEDBACK, SUPERVISION, AND EVALUATION

A system of regularly scheduled case reviews, based on follow-up information and records of decisions and strategies used with enrollees having similar problems is a useful resource. This can be a way of continuously monitoring the kinds of decisions and judgments described in this chapter. Such reviews can serve a number of purposes:

a. they can provide the staff with the support of their colleagues and with consensus on strategies to be used.

b. they can agree on objectives and modifications of priorities among objectives as time and circumstances change. Then this will prevent inconsistencies between strategies and objectives from developing to such an extent that it takes a morale crisis to get the agency to realign policies.

c. The staff can be made conscious of decisions they make automatically and of the range of alternative techniques that can be used.

d. Coaches can have a basis for evaluating their performance in relation to the standards and ideas of others in the agency.

e. Supervision which would help staff work better rather than enforce rules and punish violations could be provided by such periodic case reviews.

If simply the number of placements has been a criterion of effectiveness, then a different way of evaluating effectiveness needs to be developed because this pressures the worker to make enrollees take any available jobs. One way of evaluating would
**PROBLEM #2**  
Enrollee rejects job referral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two types</td>
<td>Four kinds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RESOURCE #1:**  
Feedback, Supervision & Evaluation

be to match the evaluation criteria with the objectives of each individual case. Effectiveness could be measured by noting how often the worker achieved the particular objectives chosen for the various enrollees in his caseload.

If this method is used, the staff are free to use strategies more appropriate to the enrollees' needs. It also reduces the pressures of organizational constraints on how objectives are established. In the long run that means more individualized service to enrollees within a system which can monitor staff performance.
There is no way agency rules can coordinate the messages implicitly given by various staff members (scarcity vs. abundance of job orders; counseling will be helpful vs. you have to see the counselor because that is the rule in the agency, etc.). These rules would have to be so specific that the agency might as well use tape recorders and give up trying to respond to individual enrollee situations. If rules are insufficient to achieve such coordination, then the alternative is to get it through face-to-face staff interaction around the issues where coordination is needed.

Thus it would be helpful to have staff meetings in which people working in different roles and divisions of the agency get together to talk about areas of overlap and contact between them. And if the various views of staff members are to be publicly expressed so that conflicting perceptions and disagreements can be resolved, then these meetings will have to be informal and led by someone who can achieve consensus rather than simply impose authority. Otherwise, conflicting views will go underground and only be hinted at rather than resolved.

Such meetings are very likely to discuss the objectives of the organization as a whole. This would give individual staff members a chance to see whether the objectives they work on with individual clients matches the objectives and priorities of the total agency. This naturally leads to self-assessment of the agency's effectiveness in achieving its objectives.
Obviously, manpower agencies need to have job orders. Less obviously, workers need access to those orders so they can respond with an alternative when an enrollee rejects an initial referral. There is a lot of conflicting opinion (none of which has much factual basis other than isolated examples) about the supposed "danger" of losing job orders because of too many contacts between agency personnel and the employer. Employers complain more about the slowness of manpower agencies than they do about having too many people referring enrollees for the same job. Other evidence shows if there are more contacts between several different people in the agency and the employer, the employer will be more likely to use the agency to hire the disadvantaged. In addition, there is a danger of damaging an enrollee by hoarding job orders or restricting workers' access to potential placements.

When less job placements are available because of a slowdown in the economy, the agency could re-evaluate its placement objectives. For example, the agency could change its objective to unbiasing the employment in the community. That is, the effectiveness of the manpower program in the community could be measured not by the number of placements, but by the extent to which the agency has been able to spread the existing unemployment more evenly between whites and minority groups or between males and females.
Thus the overall measure of effectiveness would be the periodic statistics on the rate of unemployment by various population subgroups: blacks, chicanos, orientals, Puerto Ricans, youth, older workers, veterans, males, females, etc. That would make it clear that the objective of manpower service delivery systems is not employment per se, but equal opportunity to be employed. Total amount of employment is really out of the hands of local service delivery agencies anyway. It is much more a matter of economics at the regional, state, and national levels and there is not much the agency can do about that.
Although coaches have traditionally been seen as advocates of enrollees, some of the examples indicate that coaches have certain limits on the extent to which they will take the enrollee's side. They are part of the agency system, and want to be positively evaluated. They don't want to spend excessive amounts of time with demanding enrollees or "problem cases"--remember the example in which the coach wrote "He hasn't been a problem to me since." In fact, they can often be a part of the enrollee's problem--instead of the solution. This means that if an enrollee is to be protected from being steamrolled by a coach (or anyone in the agency), he needs to know there is somewhere he can take his case.

Such a grievance procedure needs to be routine and not like going before the Supreme Court. Local managers often settle grievances, but that is not an adequate mechanism. Enrollees see them as defenders of the agency (and they do tend to defend the agency while also trying to get the enrollees off their backs). Managers are seen as too important to deal with small matters (and too unavailable without a lot of effort). And enrollees are not informed that they have the right to use the manager in grievance disputes.

Finally, having the top authority handle grievances makes staff members scared. And when they are scared of their enrollees, they become very conservative in what they do.
It might therefore be more effective for the agency to compose a grievance board of workers from various sections of the agency with alternates so that no enrollee has to try to prove his case to someone about whom he is complaining. The credibility of the board would be increased if an effort were made to round up one or two current enrollees to participate in the discussion and decision-making. The board could make periodic reports to the manager and the total staff about the complaints which appear most often. To make sure the information is confidential, the enrollee names or the names of staff members complained about would not be reported. Then action can be taken to reduce such problems across the board. Most important, all enrollees should be told in advance that they can make complaints to the grievance board.
In the section on "Evaluating the Objectives," the coaches' views of their own positions in the agency (and of the positions of other minorities in the status hierarchy) and the role of "psychologizing" the enrollee to maintain cultural stereotypes was described. It was pointed out that indigenous coaches are often sensitive to the gap between the difficulty of the tasks assigned to them and their low position in the agency. This gap makes them especially sensitive to signs that counseling and psychologizing the enrollee may be cool-out mechanisms to keep minorities disadvantaged.

This attitude influences and confuses the judgments that have to be made about whether to pursue Objective A or B. The main point is that since such judgments are difficult to make, other factors (such as the position of minorities in the agency hierarchy) can enter the picture and influence the decision.

These factors should not be affecting decisions. Decisions about enrollee objectives should be made on the basis of the enrollee's position, not the coach's. Therefore, attention has to be paid to the way in which interpersonal and power factors in the agency organization distort decision-making about enrollees.

Clearly, this problem can be avoided if the agency is obviously not racist and makes sure that coaches have the status and income appropriate to the complexity of their jobs, and that minority staff members are not concentrated in the low status-low pay positions.
CHAPTER 3
UNCOOPERATIVE OR RESISTANT EMPLOYER

**PROBLEM #3:** The potential employer is uncooperative or resistant to hiring disadvantaged enrollees.

**EXAMPLES:**

---

**OBJECTIVE:** Get the Company to hire and retain minority enrollees.

---

**STRATEGY:** Four strategies were used by agency staff members to achieve the above objective.

1. GET THE COMPANY INVOLVED IN THE AGENCY'S PROGRAM.
2. ARRANGE A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCE FOR THE EMPLOYER.
3. GET THE COMPANY TO CHANGE ITS PEOPLE.
4. BECOME LEGALISTIC.

---

**RESOURCES:** Four resources are discussed in relation to this problem.

1. PLANNING FOR EMPLOYER INVOLVEMENT.
2. EMPLOYER FOLLOW-UP.
3. EMPLOYER RELATIONS AND JOB DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES.
4. TRAINING IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LAW.
A company is resistant to hiring enrollees, or is not trying very hard to retain the people it did hire. Sometimes this seemed to be a matter of company policy. In other cases it was because of the attitudes of a few crucial people, such as foremen or personnel interviewers.

EXAMPLES:

(a) A help wanted ad was placed in a paper by a company that had been approached for job openings and supposedly didn’t have any.

(b) At one of the factories that participates with Jobs-Now there was an interviewer who felt that my position was above his and he resented that, so consequently he hired none of the people I sent him.

(c) X company placed one of their employees in a new personnel position as an interviewer for all Jobs-Now clients. This new interviewer had some idea as to what Jobs-Now was about because he had been working along with the company in relating to Jobs-Now. Many of the clients we referred to the company were not being hired, the reasons being the interviewer felt they didn’t want to work because of the lack of interest, their appearance, or their attitudes during the interview.

(d) I was interviewing two clients for positions as apprentices for a building trade. It was on a Friday and a deadline. I realized that the union involved did not want to hire Black people, but I wanted to get these two clients in the program because they had a great deal going for them and this was what they wanted. Because it was the weekend and a deadline, the union officials assumed they could misplace the test scores, or someone in the office deliberately misplaced them. And by doing this, the clients were not able to register that week and their names were crossed off the list.
PROBLEM #3: Uncooperative or resistant employer

EXAMPLES

(e) Upon being notified by the clients of a very poor relationship between five clients and supervisors in a particular company, I contacted the personnel manager. The personnel manager informed me that he was aware of the existing problem and hadn't contacted me because he was trying to let the situation work itself out. I explained to him that I had been involved in these situations before and that they usually got much worse than better. Then he admitted to me that he really didn't know what action to take to correct the situation. He couldn't afford to lose the supervisors who had been with the company for years and he didn't want to release the five clients.
The most immediate objective in these situations was to resolve the specific impasse. For example, agency staff tried to get the company to hire the particular enrollee the agency referred, or to retain the particular enrollees already hired. Most often, there was an effort to work it out in a way that would prevent the problem from coming up again with the same employer.

But some strategies that work for the immediate objective could work against a longer range solution. For example, in one case the employer used a phony excuse to avoid hiring some black applicants. When the worker discovered the phoniness of the excuse and had evidence, the company had to hire the particular applicants. But that strategy isn't likely to make the company receptive to the agency in the future.

By and large, the problems in these cases had to do with race and ethnicity of enrollees—not with their behavior. In only 25% of the cases was there anything in the enrollees' job behavior that employers could object to (usually lateness and stealing). That is why these problems are different from those grouped into Chapter 4, where some of the strategies involve getting employers to do some things differently so that enrollees could keep their jobs. In that chapter, employers fired (or wanted to fire) enrollees because of some unacceptable behaviors of the enrollees (although prejudice was sometimes involved in the employers' responses to the enrollees' behaviors). The objective in Chapter 4 is to keep the enrollee on the job; but in the cases here the objective...
is to get the company to hire and retain enrollees. That is, in this chapter the focus is on employers rather than on enrollees because the coaches defined the situations as problems in the behavior of employers rather than in the behavior of enrollees.

Because most of the problems here had to do with prejudice against enrollees, there wasn't much the agency could do to change its enrollees so that they would be more acceptable to the company. Therefore the objective involved getting the company to change its feelings about the enrollees. And even in the 25% of the cases where there were things in enrollees' behavior that made problems for the employers, the attempt was to get the employer to accept new or changed policies that were more favorable to the disadvantaged.

In going from the immediate objective to a longer range objective, workers subtly slid over from a specific case to a general principle. They would get the employer to hire a particular applicant (when the employer had never hired a black before) or change a particular supervisor's attitudes, and then follow that up to make it a permanent or general habit. In other words, they used the "foot in the door" technique, where getting the foot in was the immediate objective, and getting all the way in was the longer range objective.

This meant that "frontal assaults" had to be avoided. Instead of attacking an interviewer for his prejudice, situations were arranged so that he'd get the idea that there were ways of doing things that were different and better than the way he was doing them. That is, conflict was usually avoided, and "growth experiences" for the employer were encouraged.
| PROBLEM #3 | + | OBJECTIVE | + | RESOURCES |
|------------|+|-------------|+|-----------|
| Uncooperative or resistant employer | + | Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees | + | COMMENTS |

**STRATEGY #1: GET THE COMPANY INVOLVED IN THE AGENCY'S PROGRAM**

In this strategy an attempt was made to get the problem people in the company committed to the agency's program. Some of the principles of sensitivity training were used to make the company personnel more sympathetic. For example, the company was helped to understand how the agency's enrollees saw the problems that the company had been making. **EXAMPLES:**

(a) I asked the interviewer to visit Jobs-Now so he could see us in action and talk to some of the clients in our program in a group setting. During the tour I took him to visit CTI (Chicago Training Institute, a division of Jobs-Now devoted to training manpower workers in Jobs-Now’s techniques) and explained to him aspects of human relations (e.g., how the guy in personnel identifies with his company and therefore sometimes cannot relate to the people he is interviewing). I did this because I didn’t want to attack the interviewer because he would then become harder to relate to. I thought by him visiting the program and talking with the clients he would understand that lack of interest (so he perceived) didn’t mean the person wasn’t interested in working. After the tour of the program the interviewer began to hire almost everyone he interviewed from Jobs-Now. As a result of this some of the clients he hired who didn’t seem like they were interested in the job worked out fine and those who had poor appearance, after getting the job were able to keep their clothes clean and appearance improved.
(b) I explained to him that in our office we had a program to deal with these kinds of problems in a company existing between supervisors and clients. We conducted sensitivity sessions designed for white supervisors who seemed to have a great deal of difficulty dealing with our clientele. The personnel manager was very happy to hear this and agreed to refer supervisors having difficulty adjusting to the new program in the company. He even agreed to attend the sessions himself. The arrangements were made and they attended the sessions. After the sessions the supervisors and personnel manager felt as though they had a much broader understanding of the black worker and his feelings and needs. They agreed that they had developed a different attitude toward the black man in general and they felt confident they could go back to the job and deal with the situations in a much more effective way. The final outcome was retention of all clients and a much smoother relationship between the two conflicting elements.
1.1 ON THE AGENCY'S TURF

There are some advantages in getting company personnel to relate to the agency's objectives in the agency office:

a) The discomfort they experience in entering the ghetto world increases willingness to help enrollees get out of that world.

b) Agency personnel are more confident of themselves and so impress company personnel with their own competence when they are on their own turf. If the agency personnel are the same race/ethnicity as the enrollees, the more positive view will generalize to include enrollees.

c) Seeing all the activity will impress company personnel with the agency's hard work and commitment.

d) The visit usually has some social elements to it (lunch with agency staff, informal conversations with enrollees) which can help the company see the agency and its enrollees as human beings rather than just "salesmen" or "employees."

e) Many people like to feel that they are connected with "where the action is." There is a certain glamor and excitement in being associated with organizations that are part of The Movement. Company people will therefore get some kicks out of getting familiar with the agency, its staff, and clients and as a result may try to keep up the relationships (at a distance) by being more cooperative.

However, there are also some dangers:

a) If the company personnel see only a mostly empty office, signs that there is little use ever made of the office space or a scattering of a few sleepy enrollees, they will have their suspicions of "government boondoggle" confirmed.
b) If the staff seems huge, but busy shuffling paper rather than working directly with enrollees, company people could come away with a poor impression of the agency. A certain amount of office hubbub, with clients actively involved, creates the best impression.

c) If agency staff or enrollees use the visit to release some of their pent-up anger and resentment, so that company personnel feel that they've been attacked, they will defend themselves and justify their racist behavior (at least to themselves) by emphasizing the "deficiencies" of the agency's enrollees, and so become even more resistant.

1.2 **INSENSITIVE SENSITIVITY**

Amateurish "sensitivity training" is almost always ineffective. There is very little evidence that even very good sensitivity training has much payoff in reaching the objectives described in this chapter. In general it seems that if sensitivity sessions are focused more on a clear set of goals (e.g., how supervisors can be more effective in relating to disadvantaged enrollees), they will be more effective. If they are only motivated by vague and general notions such as making the participants admit guilt or become more loving people or emphasizing the spontaneous warmth of the minority group against the coldness, defensiveness, and lonely isolated fearfulness of WASP culture, they will not be as successful.
### Problem #3
Uncooperative or resistant employer

### Objective
Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

### Strategy #1:
Get company involved in agency's program

### Resources

#### Examples

Sensitivity training works against the objectives when people feel forced (or embarrassed) into participating, and/or when "sensitivity" is used to try to fool the participants into accepting an objective of the sessions that they would not accept if the objective were clearly identified. Sensitivity does not grow in an atmosphere of distrust of participants or of those sponsoring the sessions.

1.3 **Get company and agency people personally involved**

There is a great advantage in providing opportunities for company, enrollees, and agency personnel to interact with each other informally about the agency's program. When a company representative visits the agency, the manpower worker can show him around, engage him in conversation, and gradually invite one or two others--staff and enrollees--to join the conversation, letting the small group shift in membership throughout the visit. The main contact person can function as both host and group leader and prevent bad scenes by heading off an enrollee's or a staff member's efforts to use the conversation to grind his own axe.

This kind of informal visit can be more effective than a formal presentation of the agency program to groups of visitors. They usually see formal presentations as government propaganda, become suspicious at once, and take everything they hear with a grain of salt. On the other hand, important points are easy to forget or overlook in informal visits, and the agency may never
notice that it didn't communicate some important idea to the visitor. It would therefore be well for the host to make up a list of points he wants to cover during the visit, and then check them off as they come up in the informal give and take.

1.4 WHO SHOULD SERVE AS HOST

Too often, visits to the agency by important people (anyone who controls some resources that the agency needs, such as money or job orders, is an important person) are hosted and dominated entirely by the agency manager. He is usually the person in the agency with the least direct knowledge of the agency's enrollees, and their problems and desires. He usually has the least contact with enrollees and least knowledge of what actually goes on between enrollees and staff, and between enrollees and employers. He will try to impress the visitor with things managers care about such as numbers of enrollees, staff size, budget, efficiency, physical facilities, his need for more staff, space, etc.

But these are not the things which will get the visitor to hire and retain more disadvantaged enrollees. Of course, the visitor should meet the manager and get some attention from him (so he feels that his visit is important to the agency) but it would be better if he spent most of his time with line workers and enrollees. Then he can get interested and involved in the agency's objectives, instead of being shown the agency's life as a public institution or organization. The more time the
PROBLEM #3
Uncooperative or resistant employer

+ OBJECTIVE
Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

+ RESOURCES

STRATEGY #1:
Get company involved in agency's program

EXAMPLES

visitor spends in the manager's office, the less likely the objective will be achieved (unless things are so dead outside the manager's office that it would be better that the visitor not see what is going on).
STRATEGY #2: ARRANGE A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCE FOR THE EMPLOYER

The agency tries to make sure that once it has a foot in the door, the employer will be receptive to further hiring and retention programs. This is done either by carefully selecting the first enrollee to be placed in a company, or by extra coaching attention to the enrollees placed there.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) Most of the clients when first starting into this particular W3 program were usually tardy or didn't show up at all that day for work because they overslept. As a result they almost lost their jobs. I began to call the clients every morning so that they would get to work on time until they had received a check, so they could purchase an alarm clock. This way they were on time for work and the company began to get another impression of the clients and didn't terminate them from the job. The clients get to work on time and this worked for the other groups of clients when first starting on the job. As a result the company volunteered to call some of the clients in the morning too.

(b) When interviewing the clients for this particular company I would explain the different kinds of merchandise people normally stole from the company and the many ways the company's security department had to catch them in the act of stealing merchandise. I thought this might discourage them from stealing. Fewer of these clients stole anything after, and made the company willing to take a chance with clients who had police records for stealing.

(c) A strong appeal and patient waiting for an interview for the purpose of conveying to the supervisor the particular abilities of the qualified client I had applying for the position advertised in the paper. After appeal was granted, the producing of the client was then necessary and accomplished, client was interviewed, screened and tested. After passing all phases of the interview the client was reluctantly hired and went on to a commendable job for the company, thereby paving the way for another hiree (client) in the somewhat hostile company.
PROBLEM #3
Uncooperative or resistant employer

OBJECTIVE
Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

STRATEGY #2:
Arrange a successful experience for employer

RESOURCES

COMMENTS

2.1 OPENING THE DOOR WIDER
This strategy is a good one for following up on the first strategy of getting the potential employer involved in the agency's program. If the first is a foot in the door, this is getting the door opened wider. But it depends on getting the first break--on getting the employer to agree to accept the first enrollee. Then the agency can go all out to make that first experience a success. Once a pattern of success has been produced, the agency can de-escalate its efforts gradually.

But getting the first break is still a problem. All we know from the examples is that it takes persistence and patience. There is probably a great deal more to be known about ways of getting companies to take that first step. A project which would focus on the techniques and strategies used by job developers would be a worthwhile one, if it could produce sets of strategies to get around employer resistances. Meanwhile, job developers in the agency could construct their own Manual of techniques based on their own experience and the successful and unsuccessful strategies they have used.

2.2 CREAMING
Manpower agencies are very sensitive about creaming, i.e., providing the best services to those who are least disadvantaged. But this strategy only uses creaming to refer the best enrollee to the first placement in a company. Once the employer is hooked on the agency as a source of referrals, it is not creaming if later the agency follows up a success with more typical disadvantaged enrollees. It's the follow-through that makes the difference.
2.3 GET THE EMPLOYER TO TAKE OVER

Once the employer has gotten used to the agency and its enrollees, he sometimes can be convinced to take responsibility for some of the preventive coaching activities that helped make the program successful. In one of the examples above, the employer volunteered to call enrollees and wake them up, once he found out that lateness and absence could be cut down that way.

Similarly, other parts of the agency's post-placement supportive service program could be spun-off to employers (experience suggests that such activities are more effective when done by the company than when done by agencies not connected with the company). Employers could run their own orientation, supportive services, follow-up coaching, and supervisory training programs once their value and methods had been demonstrated by the agency. And once the agency has spun-off these activities it can direct its energies to other employers.

2.4 THE PIONEER'S BURDEN

Another reason for 'creaming' for the first placement in a company is that being first places a large burden on the enrollee. If the agency has had little or no previous experience with the company, there is little it can do to coach this enrollee about what to expect or look out for on the job. If he knows that he is a test case, that the employer's eye is going to be on him, and that his performance can determine whether more disadvantaged workers will be hired, he must be able to bear this kind of burden and strain. In one way, such a burden on the enrollee is unfair.
PROBLEM #3  
Uncooperative or resistant employer

OBJECTIVE  
Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

STRATEGY #2:  
Arrange a successful experience for employer

RESOURCES

But it is also an opportunity for him to feel that he's making an important contribution and may help him do his best. But with all that, the agency should be reasonably sure that he can support the burden, respond well to the opportunity and get along without the preparation and forewarnings that later enrollees can receive.

Again, follow-up is required so that the experiences of the first enrollee in the company can be used with other enrollees. Careful follow-up contacts with the pioneer can be very useful in helping him cope with the extra burden, and in getting his experience fed back to the agency for future use.
STRATEGY #3: GET THE COMPANY TO CHANGE ITS PEOPLE

There is a go-for-broke strategy available if it's impossible to break through the resistance of company personnel. This is to get a higher authority in the company to crack down.

EXAMPLE:

(a) So I went to the director of personnel and told him about the type of resistance I was up against and how unjust I felt it was to the enrollees and to me and what I stood for. Well, with constant pressure being put on him he was forced to resign.
3.1 WHEN TO "GO FOR BROKE"

This is a dangerous strategy because if it doesn't work, the agency will lose all possibility of working with the company again. It is therefore a "last resort" strategy. Even then, it is more likely to work when the resistant individual in the company is low on the totem pole, does not have support from co-workers, and higher-ups want their company to cooperate with the agency.

3.2 GET COMMITMENT FROM TOP MANAGEMENT

If he wants to use this strategy, the agency worker must know that higher-ups in the company are in support of the agency's objectives. This is what makes it important to get commitment from the top. If such a commitment had been passed down the line, the interviewer who finally was forced to resign might not have been so resistant in the first place.

3.3 IN CASE OF FAILURE

If this strategy fails, the manpower worker who tried it loses his ability to work with the company. But that doesn't mean that the company is lost to the agency. The company can be reassigned to a different agency staff member, whose first step might be to try to convince the company that the failed strategy was "unofficial" and was an error of the previous worker. In other words, try to draw a distinction between the worker who used the strategy and the agency, so that another worker can try to save the situation.
But it should be clearly understood inside the agency that this tactic is called for by the agency's objective, and is not simply a back-biting competition among agency staff. This is a high-risk strategy, expected to fail, and the staff member who uses it shouldn't take it personally if another worker has to criticize him (when he deals with the company) in order to retrieve the situation.
PROBLEM #3

Uncooperative or resistant employer

OBJECTIVE

Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

STRATEGY #4: BECOME LEGALISTIC

When all else has failed and the placement is important enough to fight for, the agency can use the law to get a company to offer a placement despite the company's racist intent. In order to do this, the agency has to take care of the legal evidence well enough so that the company cannot weasel out.

EXAMPLE:

(a) Because it was a weekend and a deadline, the union officials assumed they could misplace the test scores, or someone in the office deliberately misplaced them... But I had xeroxed the two applications with the date, and had talked the test clerk into witnessing their taking the test. So the two were able to retake the test, and passing it, they were registered the following week. And now they are successfully in the (apprenticeship) program, doing very well.
4.1 THE LAST RESORT

This is clearly a last resort strategy, because the agency worker is unlikely to ever have a decent working relationship with an employer he's had to bludgeon with a threat of legal action. And the company will probably grab the first opportunity to bounce the enrollees placed there. So it will take constant vigilance in follow-up as well as thick-skinned enrollees. Nevertheless, if the pay-off can be the breaking down of barriers in an entire industry, it is worth it. And because it is a last resort doesn't mean that it should never be tried. There is a great deal of illegal discrimination going on, and manpower agencies do not use the law as often as they could (and should, if they are to be advocates for their enrollees).

4.2 MINIMIZE THE RISKS

Manpower agencies are in a delicate position because they have two constituencies: employers and enrollees. They need good will and acceptance from both in order to operate, yet these two can also conflict with each other. If the agency advocates too strongly for its enrollees, it gains credibility in the client community, but loses its ability to get placements for its enrollees. More frequently, agencies go too far in the other direction and rely heavily on their near monopoly of manpower services to keep the enrollees coming. This happens even when enrollees mistrust the agency because of its history of doing more to protect employers than serving disadvantaged enrollees.
But bringing legal suit against an employer for illegal discrimination can make employers very reluctant to expose themselves to attack by having relationships with manpower agencies. And even if a particular employer has not been threatened with legal action, his knowledge that others have been threatened may make him reluctant to let the agency have contact with him. The word spreads through the business community, and racism has been so much the rule in the past that even the well-intentioned employer may feel vulnerable.

So a manpower agency usually wants to avoid legal action and the worker is well-advised to avoid threats if the agency is not going to back him up. An implied threat, however, is less dangerous and may be effective enough. Just presenting the employer with proof, as in the example, can be sufficient to imply a threat of legal action.

There is the least risk of all if the agency can arrange for someone else to take the legal action (e.g., a civil rights group, or an equal opportunity enforcement agency or even the enrollee himself) with the agency's own role kept minimal or at least not publicized in the employer community.

4.3 TURN THE THREAT TO GOOD ACCOUNT

If employers in the community are nervous about being exposed to legal action for discrimination in employment, the agency could take the position that a high degree of cooperation with the agency's program and objectives might be an effective way for employers to be able to avoid legal action and prove their lack of racism. This isn't blackmail; it's true.
4.4 KNOW THE LAW

In order to use this strategy at appropriate times, the agency staff will need to know just what the law is regarding evidence of discrimination in employment. This law changes as new court cases come up and new principles established. There is also a developing body of principles that state and local enforcement agencies use in establishing evidence. Agency staff will need to keep up on these things if they are going to get the kind of evidence that will convince an employer that there's a potential case against him if he continues to be resistant. Keeping the staff up to date on the legal issues is a task for in-service training.
There are four kinds of "support systems" which agency managers can develop to enable staff to use the strategies in this chapter. If workers are going to try to get uncooperative or resistant employers to develop greater enthusiasm for the agency's objectives by getting them involved in the agency program, there needs to be (1) planning for employer involvement with staff and enrollees.

Getting such involvement is part of a foot-in-the-door strategy. It doesn't make sense unless there is (2) follow-up in developing the employer's program and participation. Thus, a system for making sure that such follow-up is done by the agency staff is needed.

These strategies are all based on at least some minimal level of contact and cooperation from the potential employer. He has to open the door at least enough to get a foot in. Agency staff could be helped by having at hand a set of (3) techniques for dealing with typical employer resistances that come up during this early stage of employer relations. The agency could get those staff who are in contact with employers as part of their job to develop a set of strategies based on their experiences, perhaps similar to this Manual.

Finally, agency staff can function more effectively as client advocates if they know more about anti-discrimination law, enforcement practices, and mechanisms for gaining compliance. A continuous program of (4) in-service training in equal opportunity law is needed.
RESOURCE #1: PLANNING FOR EMPLOYER INVOLVEMENT

In order to profit from the visit of an employer to the agency (and to avoid the potential dangers) management should see to it that the staff becomes familiar with the general pattern and reasons for these visits. It would probably be wise to experiment first with "safe" employers and get feedback from them, before using this approach with an important potential employer.

In addition to visits to the agency, there are other ways in which employers can be co-opted into developing a commitment to the agency program. One way is to follow up on an agency visit by asking the employer to make some visits to other potential employers. He can accompany a job developer on his rounds. Later the employer could be asked to arrange contacts for job development with other employers he knows.

Agencies sometimes invite employers to talk to enrollees in orientation and assessment programs. This can be a valuable experience for both enrollee and employer, but often the objectives of such a visit conflict with those described in this chapter. The employers an agency invites to visit in order to get them involved are likely to be those who have not been cooperative. They are probably ignorant or naïve about black people, if not outright hostile. If such a visit is also used as part of the orientation program in order to kill two birds with one stone, the orientation program and the enrollees in it could be damaged. It is unfair to enrollees to subject them to
an employer who may do little more than arouse their antagonisms, resentment, and feelings of despair about ever making it in the world of employment. It also defeats the objectives of orientation and assessment.

The agency should select the employers it wants to participate in the orientation program in terms of the objectives of such participation. The criteria for such selection are likely to be quite different from those used in deciding to invite an uncooperative employer to visit the agency for informal contacts with staff and a few enrollees.
PROBLEM #3
Uncooperative or resistant employer

OBJECTIVE
Get company to hire & retain minority enrollees

STRATEGY
Four kinds

RESOURCE #2:
Employer Follow-up

RESOURCE #2: EMPLOYER FOLLOW-UP

Most agency follow-up is built around enrollee progress after placement. But the strategies in this chapter are directed at developing the employer's program from resistance and racism toward cooperation in hiring and retaining the disadvantaged. These strategies call for a graded series of employer experiences going from foot-in-the-door to an agency visit, to placement of a highly qualified "pioneer" enrollee, to a de-escalation of services and enrollee preparation as the employer takes over more and more of these functions. Employer progress along this path should be charted, just as enrollee progress is monitored. That means employer follow-up, case conferences about employer relations strategies, and a system for being sure that timely next steps are put on the calendar of the staff member responsible for carrying out the strategy.
RESOURCE #3: EMPLOYER RELATIONS AND JOB DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

An excellent resource document on job development and employer relations is Job Development for the Hard-to-Employ, by Louis A. Ferman (available from the Manpower Administration). This book, however, describes broad battle plans but doesn't describe detailed strategies which could handle specific employer resistances and problems.

Yet the experience on which to base a manual of techniques and strategies does exist within manpower agencies. What is needed is for manpower workers to organize and put together their experiences with various strategies into a form like this Manual. Then it could be used by new staff, the techniques could be studied and their use could be more carefully planned. Getting the agency staff to put together such a manual would also serve as an excellent in-service training experience, because it would lead staff members to become more self-conscious and critical about the things they do with employers.
RESOURCE #4: TRAINING IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LAW

The final resource which agency management can organize to help staff use the strategies outlined in this chapter is a training program on equal opportunity law. Representatives of watch-dog agencies and compliance enforcement groups could periodically bring the staff up-to-date on where the teeth of the law are, and the kinds of evidence used and accepted by enforcement agencies. Such a training program should be accompanied by the development of agency policy regarding the extent and nature of its participation in activities designed to achieve equal opportunity for the disadvantaged and minorities. Incidentally, calling on representatives of enforcement agencies is a good way of developing the kinds of links which would enable the manpower agency to contribute to enforcement while keeping a low profile in the employer community.
CHAPTER 4

ENROLLEE HAS BEEN FIRED OR LAID OFF

PROBLEM #4: An enrollee has been fired or laid off or the company wants to fire the enrollee.

EXAMPLES OF THIS PROBLEM...........................................120

OBJECTIVE: Keep the enrollee on the job.

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE...........................................123

STRATEGY: There were four strategies coaches used to achieve the above objective.

1. CHECK OUT NATURE OF PROBLEM..................................126
2. NEGOTIATE WITH THE COMPANY.................................134
3. NEGOTIATE WITH THE ENROLLEE...............................139
4. MAKE A PLAN AND CARRY IT OUT..............................141

RESOURCES: Five resources would be useful in dealing with this problem.

1. RACIAL/ETHNIC STAFF MIXTURE.................................142
2. FLEXIBLE ORIENTATION...........................................145
3. ACCESS TO EMPLOYERS...........................................146
4. ACCESS TO SUPPORTIVE SERVICES..............................147
5. ADEQUATE RECORDS................................................149
PROBLEM #4: Enrollee has been fired or laid off

EXAMPLES

PROBLEM 4: An enrollee has been fired or laid off or the company wants to fire the client. Despite agreements to consult with the agency before an enrollee is let go, in 80% of the cases, the enrollee had already been fired before the coach found out there was trouble. However, in about half the cases, the coach at least found out about the situation directly from the company (especially if the enrollee was in a company training program such as a NAB-JOBS program).

EXAMPLES:

(a) This client was very talkative and playful during the training part of the program. The company was hesitant about placing this client into permanent employment because they felt he wouldn't work out on the job. They also felt most of his playing around in the program was a result of him being very young, and they were considering not hiring any more young (17 year old) clients.

(b) Personnel at one of the oil companies involved with Jobs-Now felt that one of my clients was not interested in working in their company, because he was being very withdrawn in the training sections of remedial classes, and they wanted to terminate him. But I felt that they should not terminate him for that reason.

(c) I received a call from a department supervisor concerning this particular client. The supervisor complained that the client was daydreaming on the job and if I couldn't get the client to shape up they would have to let the client go. The supervisor and I agreed that I should talk with the client before he took any definite action on releasing the client.

(d) A supervisor wanted me to come in and see him. The client was fired because she dressed too flashy and the men on the job paid more attention to her than their work.
(e) Actually, this was a misunderstanding. The client, as are so many clients, was not familiar with the everyday code of ethics by which the working class is governed. Due to a death in his family, client proceeded without hesitation to follow his own intuition by leaving town for the funeral. He had made no effort to inform myself or the company at which he worked of his departure. Well, by the time I learned of this, he had been fired. I couldn't do anything until he came back, because I wasn't sure if he was coming back.

(g) Company called to tell me that one of my clients had fell out on the job. They thought he had epilepsy (and terminated his employment).

(g) There was a question on the application about arrest records and both clients stated no previous serious arrest records. The applications were checked, they were interviewed and hired. After three days of working I received a call from personnel. Arrest records had been revealed on both clients. One was a convicted murderer and the other a convicted rapist. Personnel in the meantime notified the clients that they would be dismissed for falsification of the application.

In only about one quarter of the cases did the coach find out about the problem directly from the enrollee. EXAMPLES:

(h) This client had baby-sitting problems. She had used a baby sitter at one time, but the sitter had problems. Then she tried a day care center without bus service, and had difficulty taking the child. Her last resort was (of course) relatives, who are always more demanding. All this was a problem with her job and her supervisor had threatened several times of her dismissal. She was temporarily laid off to try and alleviate the problem. She phoned me and had asked me to help.
PROBLEM #4: Enrollee has been fired or laid off

EXAMPLES

(i) Client called from home and told me he had been fired because he and his foreman had a misunderstanding. He said the foreman wanted him to mop the floor around his machine...he said he didn't want to do it because he wasn't a janitor.

(j) The client was working. He left town, went back to the company for his job—he didn't have it. The client called the coach to explain the case (later it turned out to be a death in the family).
In all of these cases, including those where the enrollee had already been fired, the coach's ultimate objective was to keep the enrollee on the job. Often this involved shorter-term objectives, such as finding out why the firing took place. Once this was known, he then tried to eliminate the problem.

Coaches had varying views about who was to blame. In a few cases, they saw the employer as being in the wrong. In others, they blamed the enrollee. But in most cases, they understood the logic of both positions. Despite this, the coach took the role of enrollee advocate, no matter who was at "fault." Even when the worker felt the enrollee was clearly responsible for messing up on the job, he took the position that the company was taking advantage of the situation:

This was really no one's fault but the client's. This fellow had a fairly decent job but his friends just outweighed his job. After work one day, the inevitable happened. His friends were busted, and he just happened to be with them. Well, the rap wasn't too heavy, but he had been on the job just long enough to blow a good record. He was fired, of course. But...he got off short (and) it gave me a chance to talk to him about his job. This worked out favorably. The next problem was to persuade his employers to reconsider him. Well, I had to start at the top and work down. It's rough working with white folks who at the least incident will gladly dismiss a brother.
PROBLEM #4

Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE:

Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY

RESOURCES

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

CAUSES OF FIRING

In half the cases, enrollees were fired because their behavior on the job was considered inappropriate, uncooperative or in some way objectionable. In only one case was the actual quality of the enrollee's work at issue.

In 20% of the cases, the firing was a consequence of legal problems. In one of these, the clients had not reported previous convictions on their work applications. In the others, the enrollees were arrested and jailed while employed (see also Chapter 6). About 25% of the cases involved lateness and absenteeism. One of these was a baby-sitting problem. Two were situations in which the enrollees simply left town to attend funerals of relatives without calling in to explain. And in one case, the enrollee lived alone and often overslept without hearing the alarm clock.

In short, almost all the examples concern issues other than inability to perform the work. Each situation is different, so it's very difficult to expect that all, or even a significant number of enrollees, will have similar problems.

EXAMPLES:

(a) In one case, the client refused to mop up around his machine, interpreting the foreman's order as degrading. It turned out that the foreman thought the oil spill was dangerously slippery for the worker, and that all machine operators are supposed to clean up around their machines as a safety measure. The foreman also said that the client had a "good understanding of the machines" and was therefore a good worker.
OBJECTIVE:
Keep employee on the job

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

(b) One client had what seemed to be an epileptic attack, which later turned out to be a result of having taken the wrong medication for a headache.

(c) A trainee in a company program seemed uninterested in the remedial classes and bored, because he was too bright for the remediation.

(d) A young trainee played around during training, and didn’t seem mature and serious enough to the company.

(e) A client’s flashy dressing distracted men on the job.

(f) A female client made many mistakes in her work, because of anxiety over family problems and vision difficulty which she could not afford to correct with glasses.

(g) Money disappeared from people’s desks, and the client was fired because of suspicion, although there was no evidence to suggest that she had stolen.

(h) A unionized company placed two clients in rated jobs without having first posted them. The union complained, and required that the two be fired.

(i) Another client worked slowly, not turning out as much work as expected, although the work he did was of good quality. The company thought he was daydreaming. The problem was that his wife and child were both ill, and he didn’t have enough money to pay for medical care, as he had not yet received his first pay from the company.
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

**OBJECTIVE**

Keep enrollee on the job

**STRATEGY #1:**

Check out nature of problem

**EXAMPLES**

In dealing with this problem coaches always used more than one strategy. Unlike earlier chapters, the strategies that follow are listed both by how often they were used and the order in which they were used.

**STRATEGY #1: CHECK OUT THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM**

When a coach heard about a firing, the first step was to check it out to see what was going on. If the notification came from the company, the coach most often checked it out with the enrollee.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) I went to the client's house to find out why he hadn't been to work. He said that he had been arrested and he didn't want to tell the people in personnel.

(b) Well, by the time I learned of this, he had been fired. I couldn't do anything until he came back, because I wasn't sure he was coming back. But he did. He also apologized to me for not telling anyone, and said he wanted to return to work but knew he had been fired.

(c) The supervisor had explained to me that there was nothing wrong with the quality of his work, only the quantity, but he agreed that I could talk with the client before any definite action was taken. I arranged for an appointment with the client the very same day. The client knew nothing of the existing possibility that he was probably going to be released. I explained to the client that according to the feedback that I had received, everyone was pleased with the quality of his work but he just wasn't doing the amount of work he should and that it seemed that he tried to skate by as much as possible. The client explained to
me that he had some family problems. He explained that his wife and child were very ill and he hadn't been working long enough to receive his first check and didn't have the money to send them to the doctor. He was so worried about the situation that he really couldn't keep his mind on his work. He didn't tell his supervisor because he was a white man and he thought he wouldn't understand.

(d) I made arrangements to visit the client on the job. During my visit she informed me why she was making mistakes constantly and how she was afraid to relate her personal family problem to her white supervisor. She also informed me that she was having difficulty with her vision and that she needed glasses but was unable to afford the expense.

Sometimes when notified by the company, the coach checked his own knowledge of the enrollee, and usually backed that up by checking the agency's records.

(a) So by my having compiled data on him involving the amount of frustration on various job situations, I came back to my office to get this information to prove to them that he was capable of performing any work task that posed a challenge. (The company had complained that the client was withdrawn and uninterested in the remedial classes during training).

(b) I went to our records to check his medical forms; there were no indications of epilepsy. I went to his home to talk with him. He said that he had taken some pills his mother had given to him. His mother told me the doctor had prescribed them for her headache. The pills were too strong for him. This was the only way I could get to the truth.
### Problem #4

**Enrollee has been fired or laid off**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY #1:</th>
<th>Check out nature of problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVE</td>
<td>Keep enrollee on the job</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples**

| (c) | They called me and I immediately went out to talk with personnel about the falsification of the arrest record to try and salvage the clients' jobs. After I discussed their records, the report from their probation officer which was favorable, and their performance at Jobs-Now, personnel let the clients keep their jobs on a trial basis. |
| (d) | They also felt most of his playing around in the program was a result of him being very young and were considering not hiring any more young (17 year old) clients. I told the company that yes, this client did talk and play too much, but talking was a part of his character and that I didn't think this would keep him from performing on the job. |

In only one case, the coach didn't go further than checking the complaint out with the company itself:

| (e) | I went over and talked to the personnel manager. I told him that since he had not seen the client take any money so really you are not supposed to fire someone on suspicion. The outcome was that the client was rehired and is still employed at that company. |

When the coach was told by the enrollee, he sometimes checked it out with the company before taking any steps to solve the problem:

| (f) | I called the company and talked to the foreman. The reason I went directly to the foreman instead of through personnel was to establish a workable relationship with him because he would have personal contact with the client every day. He told me the reason why he asked the client to mop the floor was that it was very dangerous because of oil and scrap metal. He said when he told the client, the client said he didn't want to do it because he said he wasn't a janitor. I asked him if I could get the client to understand this, would it be OK if the client came back. He said yes, because the client had a very good understanding of machines. The only thing wrong was that he needed a change in attitude. |
However, in most cases like this, the coach checked up with the company during the process of trying to get the enrollee's job back. These negotiations are presented as Strategy #2 (below).
1.1 STICK TO THE OBJECTIVE

In some cases, the enrollee's employment difficulties were affected by racial prejudice among the employers. The company may not have been as quick to fire someone they suspected of stealing--without any evidence--if he were white. A competent enrollee may not have been automatically put into a remedial program if he were white or didn't come from a program for the "disadvantaged." A foreman may not have assumed that an enrollee who was upset by family problems was lazy, if he thought of the enrollee as a responsible family man with problems like his own. The enrollee who was ordered to mop up around his machine might have been more cooperative if the order had been given in a different tone--a tone that did not imply he "needed a change in attitude."

These are some of the ways new workers in a company, especially if they are black, continue to be the last hired and the first fired. They are always "new men" in the shop. As such, they are usually treated with more suspicion and less understanding than long-term employees. These are some of the subtle ways in which the functions of employment situations maintain poverty and disadvantage among minority groups.

But the significant thing is that the coaches who deal with these situations nevertheless stuck to the objective of keeping the enrollee on the job. And that meant they either withheld judgment about employer racism, or chose to help the enrollee keep the job instead of trying to change racist attitudes in some employers. The coaches reasoned that even if a particular employer had prejudicial attitudes, they might not prevent the enrollee from getting his job back.
1.2 REDUCE RACE ANXIETIES IN ENROLLEES

Another problem described in the incidents came from racial anxieties in some enrollees. For example, there were several cases in which enrollees said that they couldn't tell their foremen about the personal problems that were bugging them because they felt that the foremen, being white, would not understand. As it turned out, the foremen were more understanding of problems caused by personal worries than of those they felt were due to laziness or stupidity. If the enrollee had felt free to explain his special sensitivity about being treated like a janitor, the foreman wouldn't have been so quick to think of him as having a bad attitude. Thus in some cases, the failure of communication between worker and foreman resulted from false expectations on both sides.

This kind of anxiety is fairly common. Psychological research has shown that many minority group people become inhibited when they deal with people they see as more powerful, having higher status or as potential enforcers of "keeping the niggers in their place." Under such circumstances, many clam up. But they are much more likely to clam up around topics that are personal. This means that the worker can't assume that because an enrollee raps well in the agency he will also be able to deal with a foreman about personal issues.

The worker can check out whether the client responds differently to whites and blacks in the agency. For example, the coach should notice whether the enrollee responds more easily to him (because he is black) than to a white counselor or job developer.
PROBLEM #4
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE
Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY #1:
Check out nature of problem

RESOURCES

If he does, that is a clue that he might be inhibited in dealing with a foreman. And this can result in poor communication which can endanger his job.

An alternative way to check it out is through role-playing practice with the enrollees during orientation. The worker can find out how they would respond to someone in the role of supervisor, and then help them handle these kinds of everyday interactions. However, it would be a mistake to make all enrollees go through this kind of training, because only a minority are likely to have problems like this. It would be a waste of time, a put down and boring for those who don't need it.

Once the worker has determined that a particular enrollee gets anxious when dealing with foremen, he can:

1. Place the enrollee in a job where his supervisor is the same race or ethnicity as the enrollee.

2. Keep close tabs on the enrollee after placement so that he can talk with the man for him, or at least lend support if the enrollee has to talk about a problem to his supervisor.

3. Give the enrollee practice in advance, through role-playing and simulation.*

The least effective method is for the coach or agency to talk to the enrollee about "attitudes." It is the enrollee's behavior in crucial situations that is important. If the enrollee can handle these situations, the attitudes will take care of themselves.

*See references on page 12 for instructional materials on role-playing and simulation.
1.3 GET SUPERVISORS AND EMPLOYERS TO CHANGE

An enrollee's anxieties about talking to foremen come from several sources. They come from the whole history of minority groups vs. members of the dominant society. They come from the individual's past experiences. And they come from clues he picks up that lead him to expect someone to act in a racist way. In a sense, it's like "making the victim pay" to put all the burden of change and adjustment on the enrollee, especially when foremen are in a much better position to change. The agency could try to help supervisors respond to minority employees so that adequate communication and accurate perceptions of each other are possible. The same kinds of techniques used with the enrollees—role-playing, simulation, rehearsals of common situations—are applicable to supervisors as well. Coaches might be involved in such a program, but it is more likely that programs of this sort will be handled by other sections of the agency. Some strategies for changing employers that coaches might use are presented in Chapter 5, but that chapter does not present a comprehensive set of employer relations techniques. Nevertheless, although the center of the coaching role is to deal with individual enrollees, such efforts are only half the job of the agency.
STRATEGY #2: NEGOTIATE WITH THE COMPANY

Once the coach had a sense of what was going on, his next step was to negotiate with companies. These were of two types. In the more common kind, the coach spoke (or advocated) for the enrollee directly with the company.

EXAMPLES:

(a) I related this information (obtained from the client and his mother to indicate that he did not have epilepsy, but had simply taken the wrong pills) to the company and they were willing to take him back.

(b) So by my having compiled data on him involving the amount of frustration in various job situations (that he had been able to handle in the past), they all agreed that he was very comprehending of any work situation. And they decided that he should be taken out of the remedial classes and placed in a more challenging training section. As a result, he graduated from the class and was placed on a meaningful job, where he is presently working.

(c) They called me and I immediately went out to talk with personnel about the falsification of the arrest record to try to salvage the clients' jobs. After I discussed their records and reports from their probation officer, which was favorable, and their performance at Jobs-Now, personnel let the clients keep their jobs on a trial basis. It should be mentioned that it was pointed out to personnel that the clients were not brought to the company as ex-convicts but as conscientious workers. They successfully passed the probation period, which was 30 days, and developed into model employees. One man has now been promoted and the other, from experience received at this particular company, changed to another company at the same task at a much higher pay level. Both are satisfied employees and doing well.
PROBLEM #4
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE
Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY #2:
Negotiate with the company

RESOURCES

(d) I went over and talked to the personnel manager. I told him that since he had not seen the client take any money, so really you are not supposed to fire someone on suspicion. The outcome was that the client was rehired and is still employed at that company.

(e) A meeting by me, the union, and the personnel manager brought back the two clients (who had been laid off because they had been placed in jobs without posting, in violation of the union contract) and they were placed as full union members and their time (in grade) was still effective.

(f) That's when I had to come out of my "high support" bag all the way to the Vice-President, because no one else would listen. He was rather nice about the whole thing, and wrote a letter of referral to the manager of employment for me. And thus the company gave both myself and the client that ultimate second chance. Everything turned out pretty well. The fellow is still working there (as far as I know). And I haven't heard any screams from the company yet.

In the second kind of negotiation, the coach set the stage for the enrollee to communicate directly with the company. Usually the coach was there as his ally. EXAMPLES:

(a) Client was employed but was terminated because of absenteeism. I visited the company and had a conference with the line foreman and personnel manager. The client explained why he was absent so much: he lived by himself, there was no one there to wake him up in the morning, he didn't hear the clock and overslept. The company gave him another chance.

(b) The client was working. He left town, and when he went back to the company for his job, he didn't have it. The client called the coach to explain the case. Coach and job developer went to the company with the client, and
**PROBLEM #4** + **OBJECTIVE** + **RESOURCES**

Enrollee has been fired or laid off

Keep enrollee on the job

Negotiate with the company

**EXAMPLES**

had a conference with the personnel manager and line supervisor. After the conference the client told the personnel manager that he had a death in his family and had to go out of town. After a waiting period, he was reinstated.

(c) He didn't tell his supervisor because he was a white man and he thought he couldn't understand. I explained to the client that he was being unreasonable about the whole thing. At this point I took him directly to the supervisor and the three of us discussed the existing problem. The supervisor understood right away, and arranged for the client to get an advance on his check and explained to the client that he was very sorry about the whole situation and if he had only come to him earlier the problem could have been long since eliminated. The client thanked us both and agreed to accept the help offered and I saw what was a very poor relationship develop into a very good one. Since then the client has not failed to present his problems to his supervisor.

(d) I went to the client's house to find out why he hadn't been to work. He said that he had been arrested and he didn't want to tell the personnel people. So I told him to call and talk with his foreman and tell him why he was off. He called and his foreman told him to come in the next day.
2.1 ENROLLEE ADVOCACY

Coaches act as advocates for their enrollees in these negotiations even when they feel it is the enrollee's fault. It is easier for the worker to go directly to the employer and negotiate for the client. However, in the long run it is more effective for the worker to set up the situation so that the enrollee can advocate for himself. When the coach acted, the crisis was avoided and that was the main objective of the negotiations. However, it is important for the worker to include the enrollee in the negotiations so that the objective of getting the enrollee to negotiate on his own behalf can be achieved.

Even if the enrollee is just there and does not participate, the coach's handling of the situation can serve as a model for the client. And the enrollee is more likely to accept the worker as a relevant model for himself and confide in him if the worker is of the same race or ethnic group.

2.2 WHO TO NEGOTIATE WITH

In the examples, coaches sometimes intervened by going to the foreman, the personnel department and sometimes even higher in the company. While there is no firm rule—a lot depends on who the coach has had relationships with in the past—there are some general rules that can apply:

a. Negotiate with the supervisor when the problem can be solved by an administrative decision which the supervisor is allowed to make.
PROBLEM #4 + OBJECTIVE + STRATEGY #2: Negotiate with the company + RESOURCES
Enrollee has been fired or laid off
Keep enrollee on the job

EXAMPLES

b. Go to a higher authority (usually personnel) if the solution involves a change in company policy (or at least a temporary suspension of the policy).

c. Start at the lowest level and keep going to higher levels until you get a positive response.

d. No matter how high up you have to escalate, keep involving the enrollee's foreman, because he's the one who has to deal with the situation once a decision has been obtained.

e. In negotiating, start with a presentation of the facts. Often that is enough. If more is needed, use logical argument. Save emotional appeal as a last resort and don't use it too often or you'll wear out your welcome. Emotional appeals make people feel guilty and it's easier to avoid a coach who makes you feel guilty than to reduce the guilt by keeping the enrollee on the job or taking him back after he's been fired.
If the problem was caused by the behavior of the enrollee, the coach had to negotiate with him and get him to change. Often, it came down to making a deal. If the company agreed to take the enrollee back or keep him, the enrollee agreed to act differently.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) Client was fired because she dressed too flashy and the men on the job paid more attention to her than their work. She was off for two weeks and both the client and myself talked about the dress. Supervisor gave her another chance. She has been working well with no dress problems at all.

(b) I told the company that yes this client did talk and play too much, but talking was part of his character and that I didn't think this would keep him from performing on the job with a little counseling and that with counseling perhaps he wouldn't play around on the job. So I used the counseling method on an adult-to-adult level and we talked about being too talkative and playful on the job. This was done because I didn't want the client to lose his job or for the company to stop hiring young clients. This client is still employed at this company and has had two promotions and never any complaints that he talks too much or plays around a lot.

(c) I went to the client's house to talk with him. I told him that his foreman wasn't asking him to do anything that he didn't ask of the other workers and that he was only thinking of his safety. I told him that he only had to mop a six foot area. He finally gave in and agreed. I told him to report to work the next day. Now he has been with the company for six months.
STRATEGY #3: Negotiate with the enrollee

Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE

Keep enrollee on the job

 PROBLEM #4

COMMENTS

I

3.1 TAKING THE EMPLOYER'S SIDE

In each of these examples, the coach found himself taking the side of the employer in getting one enrollee not to dress so flashy, getting another to do less playing around and a third to mop up around his machine. There is a danger here that the enrollee will see the coach as being on the employer's side. That danger is even greater if the coach is white middle-class.

However, there are some things the coach can point out to avoid giving the impression that he is siding with the company:

a. He can point out that he has also negotiated with the company and gotten them to do something for the enrollee (i.e., keep him on the job), so he shows that he is clearly on the enrollee's side.

b. He can point out that he is dealing with a reality situation and is telling the enrollee the least he has to do to keep the job. He isn't making decisions about right and wrong, or saying how an employee should act towards his employers.

Besides these methods, many coaches can also use symbolic actions to identify themselves with the enrollees--such as ghetto slang, using the rhetoric of The Movement, special in-group handshakes, etc.
PROBLEM #4

Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE

Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY #4: MAKE A PLAN AND CARRY IT OUT

In some cases, negotiation was not enough. Some kinds of problem-solving actions had to be taken and the enrollee couldn't take them alone. In these cases, the coach developed some plan to solve the problem and sometimes was the person who had to carry it out.

EXAMPLES:

(a) The client explained why he was absent so much: he lived by himself and no one was there to wake him up in the morning. He didn't hear the clock and overslept. The company gave him another chance, if we could get him to work for two weeks. The coach was asked to call every day and get him up.

(b) Well I didn't know too much about such problems (babysitting for the child of an employed client) and still don't. But I tried to arrange the situation the only way I could. I talked her employer into hiring a female friend of hers on another shift, who also had a child. By them working two separate shifts they knew each other well and could take care of each other's child. It worked beautifully for a while, but her buddy began having problems with the people on the second shift--prejudice. So they both decided to quit and stay home to take care of their children.

(c) She also informed me that she was having difficulty with her vision and that she needed glasses but was unable to afford the expense...The supervisor and I arranged for her to see an optometrist and be fitted for glasses.
PROBLEM #4
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE
Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY
Four kinds

RESOURCES:

In order to carry out these strategies the worker must be able to do certain things. He must be in close touch with employers and enrollees so that he can deal with problems before it's too late. He needs to be able to meet with employers at all levels in the company and needs information about enrollees to use as back-up in negotiations. He needs to be someone enrollees feel free to confide in. He needs help in getting appropriate supportive services for his clients. And finally, his work would be easier if some of the common problems discussed in this chapter could be prevented--or at least anticipated. Agency staffing patterns and the design of the agency's orientation and assessment program can help in dealing with some anticipated problems. These needs are described below as five kinds of resources: (1) racial/ethnic staff mixture; (2) flexible orientation; (3) access to employers; (4) access to supportive services; and (5) adequate records.

RESOURCE #1: RACIAL/ETHNIC STAFF MIXTURE

In several of the incidents, communication got lost between white supervisors and black workers. The fact that the coach was black enabled clients to tell him things they hadn't told their supervisors. The fact that the coach officially represented the agency enabled him to deal with the company directly. It's clear that black enrollees who are likely to be inhibited in talking to white supervisors need a black worker, and the same is probably true of other racial/ethnic minority groups.
But in order for the agency to be able to predict that an enrollee may have difficulties with white authorities, it needs to be able to observe the enrollee interacting with whites before he is sent to a placement. This is especially true when the rhetoric of "coping with Charley" makes enrollees put on a front of self-confidence in their rapping with other blacks or their black coaches. Thus, the agency needs to have some whites on the staff and some situations in which the enrollees must interact with them.

One problem with this should be mentioned. When whites and blacks discuss their interactions with the same enrollee, they should not feel as if they were competing to prove which of them can "really" communicate or understand. The result of such competition is likely to be a false impression of the enrollee and his problems. The white staff members may try to pretend that an enrollee doesn't have any problems relating to them, when in fact he does have difficulty saying personal things to whites. This can lead to false expectations about the problems the enrollee will have on the job. This means that the white in this particular strategy, should be an example of whites in general—not a white that a normally inhibited black could deal with in the agency setting.

An absence of competition between staff blacks and whites would require a structure in which differences in status were not based on differences in race. In other words, the advantages of having black coaches would be lost if it meant that all the whites in the organization had higher status than the
PROBLEM #4
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

OBJECTIVE
Keep enrollee on the job

STRATEGY
Four kinds

RESOURCE #1:
Racial/Ethnic Staff Mixture

coaches. The advantages can also be lost if the staff cannot feel free to openly discuss such questions as the impact of race on a particular client.
Once the agency can anticipate a particular enrollee may have difficulty in dealing with supervisors, it needs to be in a position to do something about it. However, only a minority of the enrollees will have such difficulties. It would be wasteful and damaging to put all enrollees into the same bag just because they are labelled "disadvantaged." It would also be a mistake to put such problem enrollees in long-term work adjustment or work-training programs simply because they might have problems with their supervisors.

The problem can be handled more easily through such things as practice role-playing or small group discussions where enrollees can practice saying certain "sensitive" things to whites in real situations. For example, an enrollee can try to register a complaint with a white supervisor in a local department store and then bring his experience back to the group for discussion.

But the orientation and assessment program has to be flexible enough so that all enrollees are not put into the same lock-step program. Once the needs of the enrollees have been identified, it should be possible to split them off into special sets of activities (such as those suggested above) to deal with the specific problems directly.
Clearly, the coach must have the freedom to meet and negotiate with employers. If the agency has rules which prohibit or limit such contacts, the implementation of these strategies becomes more difficult. This can happen in agencies which require specific advance permission for each employer contact.

On the other hand, the coach who acts as a totally free agent in dealing with employers is likely sooner or later to step on the toes of job developers whose objectives include maintaining good relationships with companies. Thus, there needs to be coordination—and a shared basis of trust—between coaches and job developers.

One mechanism for resolving disputes between coaches and job developers could be an impartial arbitrator accepted by both parties. Another could be a collegial team structure with occasional joint activities in which each could learn something of the other’s problems and activities. Both of these can help build a foundation of common objectives and trust between the coaches and job developers.
The particular problems some enrollees experience on a job are quite varied: there are family problems, money problems, baby-sitting problems, legal, medical, optometric and transportation problems. Many manpower agencies have relations with groups in the community which can provide help. But simply telling enrollees of the availability of such help is usually not enough. Many enrollees don't think they will need this kind of help, and don't pay attention to lists of possible resources. Even those who do have such problems may not admit it because they're afraid it would hurt their chances for getting a job.

For example, if an agency has a policy of not accepting applicants with court cases pending (a policy which functions for the agency as a way of indicating the need to get legal aid to the applicant at once), the applicant may conceal the fact in order to get admitted to the agency's program.

Employed clients are in a difficult position. They endanger their jobs and lose needed pay if they take the day off to sit in the waiting room of some public institution or the supportive services unit at the agency.

The coach is the person in the agency who is most likely to notice a client's need for special help, especially if the need arises after he has been placed on a job. But the needs for supportive services require a great deal of expertise to find effective solutions. This means that agencies should have a staff specialist, because coaches have enough to do and can't be expected to be experts on community resources.
This specialist could serve as a resource to the coach and as a facilitator of referrals and other arrangements for the enrollees. In this arrangement, the supportive service expert could specialize in "collecting" resources and in making them available to coaches to use on a case-by-case basis. The coach would take the responsibility for seeing that this help got to the enrollee.
PROBLEM #4 + OBJECTIVE + STRATEGY
Enrollee has been fired or laid off
Keep enrollee on the job
Four kinds

RESOURCE #5: ADEQUATE RECORDS

Manpower agencies are long on records but short on useful information about enrollees. What would be useful to know about an enrollee placed on a job is often not recorded. Yet the examples show that knowledge about a particular enrollee is quite useful to workers. It is difficult to specify in advance just what item of information—or what impression of the enrollee—will be needed later. In most cases, there is no later need at all. Therefore, it would not be wise to collect huge amounts of personal information from every enrollee "just in case."

An agency can find some compromise between too much and too little information by studying the post-placement problems its enrollees have actually encountered. It could then use its own experience to decide what to record about its enrollees. For example, lateness to work and absence because of health problems are fairly frequent post-placement problems. Thus, it would be useful for the agency to have a record of the enrollee's health status or his attendance record in orientation or on his most recent job. If the record is good, it can strengthen the agency's position in negotiating with an employer if the problem does arise. And if the record is a poor one, the agency can take special care and try to prevent a repetition of the problem.

One reason why such records don't exist is that no systematic effort is made to check matters that are not required for official forms. If an enrollee mentions something on his own, it may be included in a note in his
Enrollee has been fired or laid off

Keep enrollee on the job

Four kinds

folder. If he doesn't bring it up, the topic may not be covered. Once an agency knows the type of information it would need for later problem-solving, it needs to develop a systematic way of making sure that the information is obtained and recorded. A check-sheet summarizing the categories of information recorded in the file could be one way. However, it's not always good to try to get that kind of information from enrollees before placement. They are likely to think the questioning concerns their eligibility for the agency's program or as bearing on the kind of job they will be referred to.

Thus, many enrollees use two different strategies: they make themselves look bad to the intake staff so they can qualify for service as "disadvantaged." Then, once in the program, they try to make themselves look good so they will be referred to the better jobs or training programs. Questioning the enrollee about some aspects of his past performance on jobs (i.e., his record of lateness or absence) is therefore likely to receive biased answers if done before job referral.

This happens despite the interviewer's attempts to convince the enrollee that the information is being collected for his own good and will not be used against him. This kind of information should therefore be obtained from the client after he has gotten a job. This still leaves enough time to warn the coach of potential post-placement problems.

In short, systematically get the kind of information that is actually going to be used, but get it only at the point where it will be used, and when it is least subject to bias.
CHAPTER 5
ENROLLEE QUITTING THE JOB

PROBLEM #2: This chapter deals with enrollees who want to or have already quit their jobs.

EXAMPLES OF THIS PROBLEM................................. 152

OBJECTIVES: Three objectives were seen to apply to this problem. The first was to get the enrollee to stay on his job. If this did not work, he was placed on a different job or sent back to school or placed in a training program. If enrollees were placed as a group, the third objective was to prevent others from following a dissatisfied enrollee's lead.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES.................................... 156
EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVES................................. 157

STRATEGY: There were six strategies coaches used to achieve the above objectives:

1. HELP HIM ACHIEVE INCENTIVES.......................... 162
2. SHOW THE DISADVANTAGES OF QUITTING.............. 165
3. ENCOURAGE THE ENROLLEE TO HANG ON UNTIL HE HAS SOMETHING BETTER................................. 169
4. HELP HIM WITH HIS PERSONAL PROBLEMS............ 171
5. REFER THE ENROLLEE TO A DIFFERENT JOB.......... 173
6. TAKE THE ENROLLEE OUT OF THE JOB MARKET....... 174

RESOURCES: Six resources would be useful in dealing with this problem:

1. LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS WITH EMPLOYERS........ 178
2. TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN JOB DESCRIPTION AND PERFORMANCE STANDARDS.............................. 179
3. RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE ENROLLEES' FAMILIES...... 180
4. FLEXIBILITY IN WORKING WITH ENROLLEES............. 182
5. CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE SUCCESS OF COACHING.. 183
6. SUITABLE SCHOOLS FOR DROP-OUTS AND ADULTS...... 185
A PROBLEM #5: Enrollee quitting the job

EXAMPLES

An enrollee who has been placed wants to or has already quit his job. In about one-third of the cases, the coach found out that the client was dissatisfied only after he had already quit. EXAMPLES:

(a) Here is a client that had good potential. She was hired at one of my companies and quit soon afterwards, because she said she was interested in going to school. Only I had doubts about it.

(b) Client called me up and told me she had quit her job. She had worked for six months and she had not received a raise as she was told.

(c) Two clients called me and told me that they had quit their job. They worked for three months and had not received the raise the clients had been told about.

Some enrollees would quit by being late or simply not showing up for work. Here too, in about one-third of the cases, the coach didn't find out the enrollee was dissatisfied until the employer called and told him that the enrollee was being late or not coming to work. EXAMPLES:

(d) I took a client on a job that has a training program that paid very low wages during the training period, which would expand over a period of 3 months. The client agreed to accept the job but after a first paycheck he became disgusted with the pay and the job, and being dissatisfied, his attendance record became very bad. He also showed up late almost daily. I was called by his foreman.
(e) Company called and told me that my client had been absent two days and hadn't called in.

(6) Client was hired by one of my companies as a figure clerk. The next day the personnel department called me to say that the client had not reported to work. I called the client that evening and she said she was sick that day but would report to work the next day. The client reported to work the next day but was late. Two weeks later I was called by the personnel department who said that the client had quit. I called M at home and her mother said she was at work. I then left a message for the client to call me. Client called me that evening and said that she had not quit and was still working there. I had a long talk with the client to see why there was so much confusion.

(g) After being employed on a job for about two months a client began to have consistent absences and tardiness which eventually led to lack of interest for the job. After talking with the client I find that working wasn't his thing--he wanted to go back to school.

Sometimes, the enrollee didn't take any action about quitting his job, but told someone--a member of his family, his employer or the coach--that he was dissatisfied with his job. EXAMPLES:

(h) Client A was employed at one of my companies as an entry-level trainee. He had been employed about eight months. During this time he had been after me to get him another job because he was not pleased with the salary or the job. I kept telling him to stay on the job because it was a nice job and had chance for promotions. Client A didn't see things my way and persisted in bugging me about a different job.
PROBLEM #5:
Enrollee quitting the job

OBJECTIVE + STRATEGY + RESOURCES

EXAMPLES

(i) One of my clients had been on a job with a company for eleven months without a raise. He then brought his case to the lady that hired him. The personnel lady then contacted me because she could not communicate with the client on this issue.

(j) I was called at my home by my client's aunt. She informed me that he was thinking of quitting his job for no reason at all. She was worried about this because he is the type that will get into trouble with the police if not employed.

(k) A client of mine was placed on a job and was doing fine for three weeks, but suddenly decided that he could make money hustling on the street through illegal means. I contacted his supervisor and he informed me that the client was a very good worker but he was afraid that they might lose him because they were unable to give him a raise in salary until after the first ninety days.

In a few cases, it was hard to tell whether the enrollee was fired or quit—just as it is hard to tell sometimes whether someone is a school drop-out or a 'push-out.'

EXAMPLES:

(l) I had a client who just would not keep a job, and was always coming back for another. The problem was lack of responsibility. I continued to find him job after job because I knew he was a good kid, but he didn't have anyone behind him. After visiting his home and talking to his family, I knew why. His parents just did not care. I also found out he was expecting a child.
PROBLEM #5:
Enrollee quitting the job

EXAMPLES

(m) The client was involved in a gang. He had dropped out of school and didn't have a job. I got him at least 3 different jobs which he did not stay on.
OBJECTIVE A: The most common objective coaches had for dealing with this problem was to keep the enrollee on his job. This objective applied when the enrollee had specific complaints about the job and was threatening to (or already had) quit. Coaches also worked toward this objective when the enrollee was thought to be 'flighty' and irresponsible.

OBJECTIVE B: The second most common objective was to get the enrollee a different placement or send him back to school. Most often the enrollee was placed in school or a training program, but sometimes he was placed on another job. This objective was used mostly for enrollees who had simply stopped going to work (although they didn't have specific complaints about the job), or for those who seemed flighty or immature.

OBJECTIVE C: The third objective was not used often—only when an enrollee was placed as part of a group. Then the coach tried to prevent others from following the dissatisfied enrollee's lead.
A. KEEP THE ENROLLEE ON THE JOB

Most of the time, the complaints were about low pay or the unfulfilled promise of a raise. Most enrollees want a good paying job. Therefore, job turnover is a large and important issue because they are continually trying to get better salaries. The lower the pay, the higher the rate of turnover will be. Since most of the placements were on low-wage jobs, a major coaching task was to get them to stay on them. This was practically the entire purpose of follow-up.

Sometimes the worker was able to get jobs back even after the enrollee had quit, because the employer would rather take back a familiar employee than go to the trouble of hiring someone he doesn't know as well. But some employers may tell the worker they won't take the enrollee back. If the worker tells the employer he knows what the problem is, has talked it over with the enrollee, and that it can be solved by the promise of a raise for good performance, the employer may be willing to take another chance.

If the coach talks to the enrollee first, it helps prove to him that the coach is willing to go to bat for him. It therefore increases the enrollee's confidence in the coach (even if the employer doesn't give in). But the coach should not promise more than he can deliver. The best he can do is promise to try.
B. GET THE ENROLLEE A DIFFERENT PLACEMENT

There were certain situations where the worker had to place the client elsewhere, rather than counsel him to stay at his present job.

GET HIM A DIFFERENT JOB

When it is clearly more than just a matter of money and the employer won't make adjustments, or when the enrollee raises his standards for satisfying work, the worker should try to get him another placement.

Once an enrollee has a steady income, he can be more particular about the kind of work he wants. This usually happens with younger enrollees who have a need to develop a work identity--a sense of status, worth and self-fulfillment--through their jobs.

The coach might think he can prevent quitting by trying to satisfy the enrollee's vocational interests in the first place. But this doesn't usually work with disadvantaged enrollees, who are broke and will take any kind of job. As one enrollee put it, "I've chopped cotton, pulled stumps, driven trucks, driven tractors, and worked in white folks' houses. Now you tell me what kinds of jobs you got, and I'll tell you what I'm interested in."

In other words, for most enrollees, the first placement will be for bread. Often that means more coaching will be needed later to get the enrollee a job that can become a career.
PROBLEM #5
Enrollee quitting the job

OBJECTIVE B:
Get the enrollee a different placement

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

PUT HIM IN SCHOOL OR A TRAINING PROGRAM

When the enrollee's dissatisfaction was non-specific and his behavior suggested he was "immature" or "irresponsible," the coach tried to place him in school or a training program.

These enrollees often expressed their dissatisfaction by lateness and unexplained absences from work. They tended to be younger people who were not used to working regularly and not ready to accept an adult role with work responsibilities. But they have usually been burned by school and have also enjoyed the independence of adulthood—and some cash in the pocket—and find it difficult to be a student again.

In light of this, the objective is only realistic when there is a school in the community which can accommodate the life-styles and desires of these young adults.

It is almost a reflex to recommend returning to school. It is just as much a reflex for critics to reject school as meaningless and irrelevant. Both groups don't take into account another purpose of school. School can give people time and experiences to find out where their heads are at. It's a place where you can experiment and test yourself in different roles and situations. Later, these experiences might help in finding a suitable work role.

Therefore, some people need to be out of the job market for a while, not only to acquire more job skills, but to help them develop an identity they can live and work with for the rest of their lives.
C. PREVENT THE SPREAD OF DISSATISFACTION

This was used when a group of enrollees was placed together. The importance of this objective depended on how dissatisfied the client was, how obvious he was about it, and on how nervous the coach was about the harm he might do the others in the group.

EXAMPLE:

A client, young and irresponsible, had just been hired into a new program at one of the banks and he was among the first group of people going into this program. On the very first day he was absent. I was called by the director of training and asked what he should do. I replied by telling him to terminate the young man, because I felt he was jeopardizing the outlook on the whole group and future developments within that company. He was terminated and as a result of his termination the others in the group realized that the program was not to be abused.

In this example, the objective of preserving an opportunity for a group of people had higher priority than keeping one enrollee on the job. This is a painful choice for a coach to make, and it can also work the wrong way. If the others in the group found out the coach got a man fired, they might avoid being honest with him about their problems and complaints.

On the other hand, both objectives can be achieved—preserving the opportunity for the group and keeping the absent client on a job—by other methods. For example, the worker can call the group together and discuss absence and the need to make the bank program a success. If necessary, the absent enrollee can be terminated with the promise that the agency will find him another job. Then he and the group will see the
seriousness of the problem. The enrollee will be placed and the worker won't be put into the position of a punishing boss. Of course, doing all that takes time, and it might not even be possible for the worker to meet with others as a group. So workers still have to make difficult choices.
STRATEGY #1: HELP ENROLLEE ACHIEVE INCENTIVES

When an enrollee was dissatisfied because he had not received a raise that he was promised, the coach talked with the supervisor or personnel (sometimes with the enrollee present) to find out why the enrollee had not gotten the raise. Then he made a deal with the enrollee to shape up, and used the promise of a raise as the incentive.

EXAMPLES:

(a) I had her meet me at the company (after she had already quit her job) and we talked with the supervisor. He said she did not obtain her raise because of her attendance. Client went back to work and she worked for the next two months without being absent. She was given her raise. She has much better attendance and no problems around attendance.

(b) The personnel lady told me that only until the client proved to be efficient would she get a promotion or a raise, and that a raise would most likely come about soon. The client was promoted to a better paying job and everything's OK now.

(c) I contacted his supervisor and he informed me that the client was a very good worker but he was afraid they might lose him because they were unable to give him a raise in salary until after the first ninety days. The supervisor was hoping that I could change the client's mind. I arranged for the client and myself to have a meeting on his job. At this time the client told me that he had already given his notice of resignation. At this point I really began to rap to him in the language he understood.
PROBLEM #5
Enrollee quitting the job

OBJECTIVE
Three kinds

STRATEGY #1:
Help enrollee achieve incentives

COMMENTS

1.1 MAKE INCENTIVES CLEAR AND CONNECTED WITH THE ENROLLEE'S PERFORMANCE

The problem often resulted from sloppiness in coaching at the time the placement was made. It was not made clear to the enrollee then what to expect as far as salary and raises were concerned. Often coaches left it to the employer to lay out the conditions of employment. But sometimes this was in a language the enrollee couldn't understand. And sometimes if the enrollee was nervous and uptight about getting the job, he couldn't keep everything that was said in his head. This even happened when the coach explained everything right after the interview. So after he has been on the job for a few days and is less nervous, the coach should go over the same information with him.

In all fairness, many employers don't make it clear what the enrollee can expect because they don't have clear ideas themselves of the criteria they use in giving raises. Complete job coaching would include working with the employer to help him clarify his own policies.

The most important thing, however, is to tell the enrollee that the raise depends on his performance. Then he knows that he can control whether or not he gets the raise. Getting straight about this is particularly important for minority enrollees who expect employers to be prejudiced. Some of them use this prejudice as an excuse. One way to avoid jumping to conclusions about prejudice is to clearly state the conditions for raises and promotions when the enrollee is hired.
1.2 USING THE COACH'S POSITION

Often the employers said they hadn't given raises because the enrollees didn't perform up to standard. You can expect most employers to say that, even when they really are just trying to hold off giving raises for as long as possible. But sometimes, after the coach talked to the employer, the employer gave the raise even when there wasn't any change in the enrollee's performance. What it took was the coach's interest in the case. It let the employer know that others were looking out for the enrollee and cared about what happened to him.

If the employer is concerned about his reputation, or about his relationship with the coach and the agency, he will agree to the raise. There is no reason to accuse the employer of exploitation. The coach should accept the employer's explanation, and then pay close attention to other enrollees placed with the employer to be sure that the "oversight" is not repeated. And he should make sure that his enrollees don't think it was their fault that they hadn't gotten the raise when it was clearly a case of attempted exploitation rather than poor job performance.
Enrollee quitting the job

STRATEGY #2: Show the disadvantages of quitting

Even when the enrollee is dissatisfied with his pay, he can be convinced to stay on his job if he gets a clear picture of the alternatives.

EXAMPLES:

(a) I told him that he and I both knew if he returned to his old way of life that he would end up right back in the clink again, and at least he would be able to stay out of jail if he continued to work. He would have a regular salary coming in, he could get credit, etc. I tried to make him aware of all the benefits he could enjoy with regular employment and I asked him to think about that awful jail cell and to please reconsider the whole thing. I think he had forgotten that there were more negative points than positive ones in the life he had just left. After he heard me rap about the dark scene he really began to think it over. After we sat there and relived those dark days of the past life together, he looked at me and said, "You know, baby, I'd be crazy to space back to that. I think I'll stick it out a little longer and maybe I might just adjust after all. I wonder if they'll forget my resignation?" I told him I'm sure they will, let me take care of that for you, now space on back to the gig.

(b) Client A did not see things my way and persisted in bugging me about a different job. I contacted one of the job developers and told him of A's problem and asked him if he could talk to him about a training program that he was active in. Later that week, the job developer, myself and client A had lunch together to talk about possible entry in the training program. The job developer explained the benefits of the program and qualifications. I then talked to client A to weigh the advantages as well as the disadvantages of leaving his present job. Client A weighed the advantages and disadvantages. He is now working at the same job without
Enrollee quitting the job

**STRATEGY #2:**
Show the disadvantages of quitting

**EXAMPLES**

even once asking me about another job. Instead he is talking about asking for a promotion in his present job. The outcome of this incident to me is that this made the client take a good look at his present job and try to move up there.

(c) I went out to the company to see the client. We had a long talk. The most effective way I found in dealing with this client was to lie to him, for example, "Say man, do you know that we are having a lot of trouble getting people jobs? You know what I think--Jobs-Now is going out of business. I've been thinking about getting a job here myself. The last cycle at Jobs-Now very few people got jobs. Things are really looking bad. Christmas is coming up soon, don't know what I'm going to do. I'll probably lose my woman--you know I won't have any bread to give her, don't think I'll be able to buy a new vine (suit). So why don't you just quit? Give some other cat a chance. Things are really tight out there baby. What was the outcome? My lying to the client helped. He thought about Christmas, money and his girl and the fact that he didn't want to give his job to some other guy. The result—he is still working, showing up on time and not missing any days.
2.1 DRAMATIZE THE DISADVANTAGES

As discussed in Chapter 1, when someone is far from a goal, the desirable aspects are stronger than the undesirable ones. That principle also applies to this strategy. The worker has to make the enrollee think about the unpleasant things—things he usually doesn't want to think about. Since he doesn't like to think about it, you must make it dramatic and get him to relive his bad experiences. Then he will see the unpleasant reality of the alternatives to his present situation.

2.2 BUT DON'T OVERDO IT

However, this can increase the desire to stop thinking about it as soon as the enrollee gets away from the situation. If he is really upset, he may take a few drinks, or try to avoid seeing the worker. When the situation is so unpleasant, the worker becomes someone the client doesn't want to deal with.

It is better in the long run to emphasize the positive sides of staying on the job, than to rub someone's nose in the bad side of the alternatives. Because it is easier to think of the positive things, the enrollee will think about them more often and will be influenced by them longer. In short, when a worker emphasizes the negative, he will have to keep close tabs on the enrollee afterwards, to make sure that the rap "sticks."
2.3 SHOULD THE WORKER EXAGGERATE OR LIE TO THE ENROLLEE?

In one example, the coach said that he lied to the enrollee. Actually, he only exaggerated—and not much at that. Jobs-Now did go out of business and the coach did have to find another job. Exaggeration can be used if the worker is really doing it for the enrollee’s benefit and not just trying to get every enrollee to stay on his job. If the enrollee couldn’t do much better, then it is not lying for the worker to convince him that the alternatives are bad. However, where there is a chance that the enrollee could be better off in a different job, then the worker can use the next strategy.
STRATEGY #3: ENCOURAGE THE ENROLLEE TO HANG ON UNTIL HE HAS SOMETHING BETTER

Sometimes, by trying to get the enrollee to keep his job and encouraging him, the client stayed until something better turned up. **EXAMPLE:**

(a) I had a long talk with the client to see why there was so much confusion. The client expressed to me that she did not know what the confusion was, but she herself was not pleased with the job. I told her to try and stick it out, because she was a new employee and sometimes it is hard to adjust to new situations. I told her if she would try to stay on and things didn't work out, we would discuss the matter again. Three days later M called me and said she could not work at that company because it was a prejudiced place. I told her if the job affected her that much I would talk to personnel about some of its policies, etc. I talked to personnel but they were not aware of what the client had said was going on. The client called me that evening and said she had been called for another job. I told her to take it since she was unhappy with her present placement. The client is still employed at the company and is happy.
3.1 SEQUENCE THE STRATEGIES

The last example shows a sequence of steps that the coach took. First the coach tried to talk the enrollee into staying on her job, probably thinking that the dissatisfaction was temporary, and that once she got the hang of it, she would feel more comfortable. When that didn't work, the coach then took the complaints seriously and tried to do something about them at the company. When that didn't work either, the enrollee found herself a new job before she quit the one she was at. If she had not, the coach would have had to take a next step: change the objective and get the enrollee a different placement.
**STRATEGY #4:** HELP HIM WITH HIS PERSONAL PROBLEMS

This strategy was used almost as much as Strategy #1 (Help Him Achieve Incentives). Strategy #1 was used when the enrollee was dissatisfied with pay. This one was used when he had many personal problems and had no one taking any interest in him. These enrollees had not actually quit, but seemed to be in the process of dropping out by lateness and absence.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) Client was constantly being late, absent, and refused to do the work assigned to him. I went in to talk to him and his supervisor, and the personnel officer. Upon talking to these people I found out that no one tried to know the client or his problems. After finding out about his problems, a lot of reasons were cleared up, and his job is no longer a problem.

(b) We sat down and really talked, about four hours. I found him another job, plus I explained to his employer about his situation. After he took the job and his girlfriend had the baby, he began to settle down. Just taking an interest was all that was needed.

(c) We talked things over about his job and also his personal problems away from his job. Some people just need more than just a phone call. Some clients need to be coached or given more attention than others. By this, I mean go a little out of your way to help them, like making a home visit or going to the local pool hall with him, gain his confidence, give him the feeling that you are more than just for business. I think this man would feel that he would let me down if he did not give his best on his job, let alone quit.
4.1 THE PERSONAL SIDE OF COACHING

In these examples, the coach took an interest in the personal lives of the enrollees—not as a routine procedure "to assess the family situation"—but out of a sense of sympathy for the enrollees' problems. These were enrollees whose erratic behavior showed there was something else bothering them besides the job. These were problems in their abilities to deal with dissatisfying situations, rather than just difficult external situations.

In these cases, coaches were most importantly friends. They spent time with the enrollee and in places associated with friendship rather than business. They went to the enrollees' homes and places of recreation.

In two of the examples, this friendship was an incentive. For example, in the last case, the coach felt that the enrollee wouldn't want to let him down, and therefore would try to do well. But this kind of loyalty is not the best reason for an enrollee to want to succeed at his job. It would be better if it were a matter of not letting himself down, rather than not letting the coach down. Therefore, if the coach used the loyalty to get the immediate problem solved, and then helped the enrollee to handle more things on his own, he would head off future dependency.

However, most enrollees don't want the coach to be a source of friendship and emotional support. They have friends and families, and confidence in their own abilities to deal with situations. Therefore, this strategy is one which isn't likely to be used often, even though enrollees' friendship can be very heartwarming to a coach.
STRATEGY #5: REFER THE ENROLLEE TO A DIFFERENT JOB

In one of the examples already described, the coach found the enrollee another job while he also helped him work out his personal and family problems. And in another, the enrollee found a new job before quitting the old one. All the strategies described in Chapter 1 for dealing with enrollees who need a placement are applicable here.

5.1 WHEN TO REFER TO A DIFFERENT JOB

Following is a summary of points made in various places in the Manual that apply to this strategy. Coaches referred enrollees who had quit or wanted to quit to different jobs when:

a. the job cannot be retrieved.
b. the enrollee has developed new standards for a good job.
c. the enrollee is ready for job upgrading.
d. the enrollee has been successful on an initial placement and is easier to place on a better job.
e. the enrollee's present employer cannot or will not resolve the enrollee's specific complaints about promotions, raises, or working conditions.
f. getting a different job will help the coach work on the enrollee's personal problems.
g. the coach is sure the enrollee has not burned his bridges by quitting the job before he has a new one.
STRATEGY #6: TAKE THE ENROLLEE OUT OF THE JOB MARKET

When the enrollee's job behavior was more a matter of youth and not being ready to settle down and spend all his time on the kinds of jobs available, the coach tried to take the enrollee out of the job market for a while by placing him in school or a training program. **EXAMPLES:**

[a] I got him at least three different jobs which he did not stay on. I got him enrolled in school at Central plus a part-time job. He finished high school and consequently did not have time to participate in the gang. Now he has gone on to college, cut his process off, and he is doing fine.

[b] Client worked at this company for three months and quit because there was no increase in salary. After counseling the client and talking with his mother and personnel staff, the client returned to work three days later. Client returned with permission from the company to work part-time and go to school. This had never been done at this particular company. Client had difficulties in attempting to return back to day classes. After finding that he could not enter day classes, I counseled him to start working full-time again so he could work days and attend evening classes. During the process of returning to full-time employment and his desire to attend YMCA high school which required tuition, the client's needs changed. He quit the job, with the reason that he hadn't received a salary increment after three months. The program in which he enrolled and completed was a GED program. He received his diploma and now is employed making very good salary.
PROBLEM #5
Enrollee quitting the job

OBJECTIVE
Three kinds

RESOURCES
Take enrollee out of the job market

COMMENTS

(c) Client was 17 years old and a female. She was placed at one of my assigned companies that employed 17-year olds. Talked with the client and found that she was interested in a training program of returning back to school. Client was in need of some money so we decided that she would work until she could be placed into a training program or return to school. Client is presently attending her last year of high school and making plans to go to college.

(d) She was hired at one of my companies and quit soon afterwards, because she said she was interested in going to school. Only I had my doubts about it. Client is only 17 years old. She enrolled into Central V High and get a part-time job at a drug store, $1.60 an hour, and is still attending.

(e) After talking with the client I found that working wasn't his thing--he wanted to go back to school. So I was able to get him a scholarship at Central V (a high school program for adults). He was quite successful in his studies and he was doing something he liked.
6.1 PART-TIME WORK

As several of the examples indicate, many enrollees need part-time jobs in order to return to school. These jobs help the enrollee maintain his connection with the world of work and give him a sense of independence. Even when the income is not always needed, having a job helps reduce the fear about returning to school.

6.2 MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT SCHOOL

Enrollees often have confused feelings about school. Despite popular opinion, disadvantaged drop-outs do value education and enjoy many parts of the school experience. On the other hand, they have often had very discouraging and negative experiences in schools. And they doubt that schooling can help them in a racist employment market.

There is another source of mixed feelings. School has been such a political issue that a suggestion to return may not be effective, even when an enrollee is interested in the possibility. Many hear the suggestion as a signal of the political and social beliefs of the person who gives it—that he is a conservative or a radical. Some are turned off by the whole discussion, and feel the controversy is just one more example of others using their lives for their own political purposes. Others respond by taking one side or the other. But when this happens, the enrollee is not helped to decide about school in terms of his own desires, interests, experience and anxiety. In other words, when returning to
school was discussed in abstract or political terms, and when opinions were forced on enrollees, they didn't think of school as a serious alternative.

This meant that the source of the suggestion is important in determining how much the enrollee considers the idea. If it is someone he trusts, and the worker clearly isn't using him as part of his own socio-political program, the enrollee is able to make his own decision instead of going along with what others are saying. He is more likely to follow through on his own decision than he is on the jive he uses to get along.

6.3 A REFERRAL TO SCHOOL TAKES WORK

It is not always easy for an enrollee to return to school. The bureaucratic administrative procedures in some schools are complicated and discouraging, even when the school itself is welcoming and accommodating. Return to school needs to be handled with as much care as a job referral. The coach should help the client through the processes of being re-admitted to school.
Six resources would be useful when dealing with this problem: (1) a long-term relationship with employers; (2) access to technical expertise in preparing job descriptions and performance standards; (3) relationships with enrollees' families; (4) flexibility in working with enrollees; (5) appropriate criteria for judging the success of coaching; and (6) school programs suitable for adults and drop-outs.

**RESOURCE #1: LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS WITH EMPLOYERS**

Employers were more likely to take an enrollee back, or make deals about wage increases and promotions if they had a successful long-term association with the coach. An employer will be influenced more by someone he knows keeps his promises and delivers services.

Seeing the employer once a year is not enough to build up such a relationship. Even when a coach doesn't have any specific business, occasional visits to the employer to offer services or review the results of past placements can be useful. Coaches should keep a record of the dates they saw each employer. Then they can look at the record periodically and remember to renew the relationship (even if no enrollee problems have been reported for a long time).

This suggests that a coach should have his own "pool" of employers, chosen by area or type of industry. An area basis would cut down travel time (especially in big cities), but an industry basis would give the coach more of an opportunity to know the specific needs, problems and practices of his employers.
RESOURCE #2: TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN JOB DESCRIPTION AND PERFORMANCE STANDARDS

Large companies usually have experts to make job descriptions and performance standards, so they don't need the manpower agency for help. But small employers can't do it themselves and usually rely on traditions in their industry which are often very ineffective. When a conflict arises about a raise or promotion, it can be resolved by getting a clear agreement about what good job performance is. But special skill is required to write complete and accurate job descriptions, as well as criteria for effective performance.

Thus, it would help if the coach could call on a division in his agency which had such expertise, and which could send someone to work with him and the employer to write the job description based on a good job analysis.

Experience in business does not automatically qualify someone to write a job description. This is really a complicated science and overlaps other fields such as industrial engineering, industrial psychology, systems development and technical writing. Usually, employment workers are just not qualified in all these areas and should not attempt to write job descriptions. It would be worse to offer poor services to the employer than none at all. Poor services would dis-credit the agency and make the employers less willing to take future referrals.
As some of the examples indicate, enrollee's families are sometimes more a part of the problem than a resource for help. Because of the widespread belief that the families of disadvantaged people are problematical, many coaches ignore the families, or don't use them as sources of help. This belief is false. Most families are not messed up. What might look that way to a middle-class worker is not necessarily bad as a potential source of help. For example, in one of the cases described, it was the enrollee's aunt who told the coach about her nephew's job problems.

Therefore, if a coach suspects that a particular enrollee may have problems on the job after he has been placed, he should try to develop some contact with members of his family. Some enrollees don't want this because it means that the coach doesn't trust him, expects problems and complicates his relationships with his family.

One way to handle this would be to start a relationship with the family by making a home visit to the enrollee, as part of follow-up, during which the coach could take the opportunity to meet other members of the family. He can later leave his telephone number and offer to help if they need him for anything. In most situations, it's better to have the enrollee there when you meet his family, especially if you are making suggestions about things the family could do to help the enrollee adjust to work.
Problem #5
Enrollee quitting the job

Objective
Three kinds

Strategy
Six kinds

Resource #3:
Relationships with Enrollee's Families

It's a little dangerous for an outsider to get mixed up in family problems and feuds. So a coach has to be careful about taking sides. The best thing would be for the agency to deal only with the part of family events that directly involves the enrollee's work. The agency could then try to get a family service worker to help with the other parts.
Earlier, examples were presented in which the coach met with enrollees for lunch, at their homes or at neighborhood recreation centers. Coaches often received calls at night or made home visits in the evening when the enrollees' family could be contacted. Obviously such strategies require a lot of flexibility in time scheduling by coaches.

But this is often made difficult by local offices and management. They often require justification for any activities out of the ordinary, or want detailed accountings for such items as mileage on the agency car, requests for lunch money reimbursements, etc.

Yet, the coach's performance has to be judged by some standards. When supervision is done through formal rules about such things as working hours, time spent in the office, etc., the worker's job performance will be judged in terms of them, rather than in terms of the way he deals with enrollees. When this happens, workers think these are the only things that matter to supervisors or administrators. Actually, it's because these supervisors have little technical advice to offer and therefore are not in a position to judge the performance of the worker. Few supervisors have been coaches or counselors.

These kinds of developments are the result of the particular pattern of agency organization, rather than conscious biases among administrators. They need to develop a more informal agency structure in which interest in the content and quality of services to enrollees is developed between both workers and supervisors. Then supervisors will be seen as people who can help and as sources of advice.
RESOURCE #5: CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE SUCCESS OF COACHING

But a less formal structure is not likely to emerge until criteria for good job performance are developed. If this is lacking or when outcome criteria such as the number of placements, retention rate, and the like cannot be applied (because they are affected by local economic conditions), agencies tend to rely on "process" criteria. That is, they rate the effectiveness of workers by how much they conform to standardized ways of doing things. The result is that there is more concern about how something is done than there is for the outcome. But until there is some way of evaluating the outcome, the "process" criteria are all the agency has for evaluating its services.

In order for outcome criteria to be useful, they must match the objectives. For example, rate of job retention is a valid criterion when the objective is to get the enrollee to keep his job. But this criterion interferes with changing the objective and getting the enrollee a different job or putting him into school. The rate of job retention could not measure a worker's effectiveness in achieving either of these objectives.

Therefore, the use of appropriate strategies would be helped if the worker stated the specific objective he was using for each case. Then his supervisor could evaluate his effectiveness by the number of times he achieved case objectives. How the worker achieved the objective is useful to help workers do better, expand their knowledge of
techniques, and know what kinds of resources and arrangements are needed. But it is not useful information for evaluation if the supervisor can keep tabs on the outcomes of efforts on an enrollee-by-enrollee basis.

This is a rather different role for supervisors than that of rule-enforcer. Administrators who are held responsible for the enforcement of rules cannot then also act as consulting experts to their operational staff. In short, flexibility in coaching would be helped by fairly large-scale changes in the organizational structure of the manpower agency system. This would allow administrators to be less concerned with rules about how things are to be done, and more concerned about what gets accomplished.
A return to school would be helped if there were a community school program suitable for those who have outgrown and no longer will tolerate the roles that pupils are put into in public schools. The more that the school program for adults is run like a program for children, the more likely it will fail. Communities should try to develop special school programs, and manpower agencies in the community should help.

However, if such a program is known as a place only for drop-outs, dummies and trouble-makers, it will not attract enrollees considering a return to school. It would be better if the school were not run only for the disadvantaged (unless enough pride and prestige in the disadvantaged community can be developed for the school to counteract a negative image; and this kind of pride doesn't usually occur in programs run by bureaucratic agencies).

As an alternative, the school could be kept open to all adults in the community--not only for the poor, the disadvantaged or the uneducated. Then it would serve the community at-large and help the vocational and recreational needs of the entire adult population.
CHAPTER 6
ENROLLEE IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW

PROBLEM #6: Some enrollees are scheduled for court hearings while they're in the agency program, or get into legal trouble after they're placed on a job.

EXAMPLES OF THIS PROBLEM............................................. 187

OBJECTIVES: Objective #1 was to free the enrollee. Objective #2 was to save the enrollee's job.

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE............................................ 190

STRATEGY: Seven strategies were used by agency staff to achieve these objectives.

1. ADVOCATE FOR THE ENROLLEE................................... 191
2. GIVE EVIDENCE FOR THE ENROLLEE............................. 195
3. GET LEGAL RESOURCES.............................................. 197
4. GET THE CHARGES DROPPED........................................ 200
5. GIVE EMOTIONAL SUPPORT TO THE ENROLLEE AND HIS FAMILY..................................................... 202
6. ADVOCATE TO THE EMPLOYER..................................... 204
7. LINE UP A JOB FOR AFTER JAIL................................... 206

RESOURCES: Three kinds of resources are discussed in relation to this problem:

1. IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF AGENCY PERSONNEL............. 208
2. A SPECIALIZED COURT UNIT....................................... 209
3. LINKAGES TO SOURCES OF LEGAL AID.......................... 210
Some enrollees are scheduled for court hearings while they are in the agency's program. Others get into legal trouble after they've been placed and thus get into trouble with their employers. Both of these kinds of problems are covered in this chapter. (Past police records that enrollees already have when they come to the agency, and which cause difficulties in finding job placements, are dealt with in Chapter 1.)

EXAMPLES:

(a) Client was enrolled in the orientation cycle. During the time this person got into trouble with police, it seemed that during the hours he was supposed to be in class he was involved in a crime.

(b) Client was in an orientation cycle, and had a court case pending, in which he received a 60 day jail sentence. I talked to his mother, and visited him at the county jail.

(c) A young man of 17 came to Jobs-Now for employment, although he stated that he wanted to return to school (evenings) but he did need money to maintain his keep because he had a court date pending.

(d) To keep him from returning to hustling I referred him to another job. He was expected but on the day that he was due to start work he did not report. During my one-to-one with him I learned that he had gotten himself into a great deal of trouble and had a court date pending. I know that it was important for him to have a job when going to court....

(e) Client was hired at the bank but prior to his being hired there he had been picked up and put in jail for a misdemeanor which was a civil and federal offense. He did not know how to explain this case to the bank.
(6) I was called by the personnel manager one weekend about one of my clients who had struck a passenger on the El and then sent to jail. I told her that I would take care of the incident on that following Monday.

(8) Police called Personnel--they had picked up my client. Personnel called the coach and informed him client was picked up for shoplifting and contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Personnel wanted client to be terminated from their employ (bank).
OBJECTIVES:

A: FREE THE ENROLLEE

The first objective for both kinds of legal problems was to get the enrollee off, the sentence reduced or at least the judgment arranged so that it does the least damage to the enrollee's employment possibilities.

B: SAVE THE ENROLLEE'S JOB

For those enrollees who were placed and then got into trouble, a second objective was to save the placement. Of course, getting the enrollee off was the best way to do this, so anything that works for Objective A also works for B. However, there are other things that can be done to achieve Objective B that don't have anything to do with getting the enrollee off.
PROBLEM #6
Enrollee in trouble with the law

OBJECTIVE:
#1: free the enrollee
#2: save enrollee's job

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

Whether the agency worker thought the enrollee was guilty or innocent didn't influence his efforts. The important thing was to get the enrollee on the track of working for a living and keep him on it. Agency staff acted on the assumption that matters of justice were the business of the court and not theirs to decide.

The two objective above can be used in various combinations, depending on the enrollee's situation. For example, getting the enrollee off (Objective A) sometimes required getting legal help and bail money. If the enrollee was employed, agency staff members sometimes tried to get the employer to provide such resources (banks and insurance companies usually have lawyers on their staffs). That way the agency worker got the company committed to keep the enrollee if their lawyer was successful (Objective B).
PROBLEM #6

Enrollee in trouble with the law

OBJECTIVE

Two kinds

STRATEGY #1: ADVOCATE FOR THE ENROLLEE

The most frequent strategy was for the agency worker to go to court and speak for the client either in the pre-trial hearing, in court or privately to the judge in his chambers.

EXAMPLES:

(a) I had a client going to court for strong-arm robbery against a soldier. I thought all avenues had not been followed by the defense attorney because there was conflicting evidence. The judge called a recess and I went into his chambers along with the two lawyers. The judge asked me my opinion and what should he do behind the evidence already in. I told him it might be just as advantageous for my client to stay on the street rather than become possibly hardened by doing a bit. The judge let my client go and put him on probation as a result of my intervention.

(b) I had a client who was going to court on a strong-arm robbery beef. He said he was innocent. He had gotten several continuances already. It was my first time having to go to trial with anyone so I was trying to get someone to go with me since it was right around the corner. Nobody would go with me but everyone had $1000 worth of advice as to what to do once I got to court. I eventually got angry after about 4 or 5 refusals to go so I told the client let's go and we would do the best we could by ourselves. We went to court and I stood up with my client and told the judge that the defendant was sort of under my wing and I had been giving special attention and was at the time trying to secure him a meaningful job. He subsequently was turned loose and he told me that he felt better going up there in front of the judge with me rather than the two people he had been dealing with previously. He said that they were acting like this was just a job with them whereas I seemed more involved since I had gotten really hot under the collar in his behalf.
PROBLEM #6  +  OBJECTIVE  +  STRATEGY #1:  +  RESOURCES
Enrollee in trouble with the law  Two kinds  Advocate for the enrollee  Examples

(c) I immediately called the client's mother to see when the court date was set. I met the client in court on the date specified. The client was charged with a $200 fine or one year in jail. I talked with the judge about Jobs-Now and the client in question. The judge reduced the fine to $100 that had to be paid the next month. He was released and immediate counseling took place. On every payday the client gave me $25 toward his fine. A month later we went back to the court and presented the judge with the fine.
PROBLEM #6
Enrollee in trouble with the law

OBJECTIVE
Two kinds

STRATEGY #1:
Advocate for the enrollee

RESOURCES

COMMENTS

1.1 KNOW COURT PROCEDURES

Courts can be very intimidating to those who are not familiar with them. Thus, new agency workers would feel more confident if they were taught about court procedures and rules and watched some hearings and trials. Also, a more experienced staff worker could accompany a new one on his first visits to court on behalf of enrollees.

1.2 ESTABLISH CREDIBILITY WITH THE COURT

The agency staff member can try to build a good reputation with a judge by making sure he keeps his promises on time (see Example C above). Such a demonstration of reliability can make a judge more willing to go along in the future.

A specialized unit for dealing with the courts could be set up in manpower agencies. The unit could build the agency's reputation with the courts so that in the long run, advocating for the enrollees would take less time and be less disruptive of the staff schedules.

However, one danger in having a specialized unit is that it might not have credibility with the enrollee because after a while it would tend to treat court cases as more or less routine, and the enrollee would not have gotten to know and trust the people in the court unit beforehand. An attitude of routineness might help reduce some of the enrollee's fears and be reassuring, but it might also lead him to think that he can always get off easily.
PROBLEM #6
Enrollee in trouble with the law

OBJECTIVE
Two kinds

STRATEGY #1:
Advocate for the enrollee

RESOURCES

COMMENTS

The best approach would be to have a court unit familiar with court procedures and having credibility with the judge, but closely linked with the enrollee's coach or counselor. The enrollee's advocate and a member of this court unit could work together with the enrollee when he has a court date. This kind of arrangement has both the advantages of specialized expertise and of familiarity with the enrollee.
STRATEGY #2: Give evidence for the enrollee

In Strategy #1, the agency worker spoke for the enrollee in general terms. He stressed efforts to get the enrollee onto a job, the agency's support for the enrollee, his willingness to take responsibility for the enrollee's welfare, the benefits to the enrollee of not going to jail, and so forth. Less frequently, it was possible for the staff member to give specific evidence in the enrollee's defense or to get others to serve as character witnesses for the enrollee.

EXAMPLES:

(a) The client was enrolled in the orientation cycle at Jobs-Now. The time he was in our cycle he was working part-time and got in trouble with the police. I attended the trial the following week. I presented the attendance sheet which stated the client was in our classroom at the time. The client was released and cleared of all charges.

(b) It seemed that during the hours he was supposed to be in class he was involved in a crime. The counselor and myself attended the trial which was the following day. We presented the attendance book which stated that the client was marked present at that particular time that the crime was committed. We went to court because the client was in class at that time. The outcome was that the client was released and cleared in the trial and resumed his stay at Jobs-Now.

(c) The client did not know how to explain this case to the bank (his employer). Therefore I talked to the vice-president and the personnel manager and also the job developer and asked them to be character witnesses at this client's trial. The client was released and found not guilty. Therefore he returned to the job the same day.
2.1 AGENCY ATTENDANCE RECORDS

Although staff used agency attendance records as evidence (Examples (a) and (b) above), experience in manpower agencies shows that these records are highly unreliable. Attendance is not always taken, enrollees are permitted to sign in for others, etc. If an unreliable record were given as evidence and then later found to be wrong, the agency would lose its credibility with the court. The point is clear: if the agency is going to use its records in court, it has to make sure they are accurate.

2.2 THE EMPLOYER AS WITNESS

The employer is a more influential witness for the enrollee than the agency worker, who is sometimes seen as a "bleeding heart do-gooder." However, it is likely to be difficult for the enrollee to ask his boss to appear in court for him. The agency worker can ask the employer to testify and kill two birds with one stone. He can get the enrollee off and also have the employer develop a more intense commitment to that enrollee. The theory of "dissonance reduction" (described in Chapter 2) shows that when an employer says positive things about an enrollee, especially in public, he is likely to make his behavior match his statements. He becomes more positive toward an enrollee as a result of testifying for him.
PROBLEM #6: Enrollee in trouble with the law

OBJECTIVE: Two kinds

STRATEGY #3: Get legal resources

If an enrollee is charged with a felony, the court is required to provide him with an attorney if he cannot afford one. But if the charge is a misdemeanor, the enrollee is not always provided with help in his defense. But even a misdemeanor can cost him his job. It can cost more money than he can afford to pay and give him a record that makes future employment more difficult to get. The agency can help by getting legal aid for him, including bail bond.

EXAMPLE:

(a) Personnel wanted the client to be terminated from their employ (bank). The coach's position was that the client had not been proven guilty of any charge, and until these charges were proven or disproved the client's job status should remain the same. The client was bailed out after bail had been lowered. Jobs-Now stood responsible for this client. Because the coach was aware of the FICA ruling and the firm commitment of Jobs-Now behind this client, the bank extended legal services toward his defense. The client was found not guilty of said crime, and his job was kept intact, because he was permitted to continue working until the trial date.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #6</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee in trouble with the law</td>
<td>Two kinds</td>
<td>Get legal resources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXAMPLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMENTS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**3.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF BAIL**

Getting bail for an enrollee or placing him in the custody of his parents, the agency or on his own recognizance, can preserve the enrollee's job. If after finally getting a job, the enrollee lost it because of an arrest (even before his guilt could be judged) the tendency to ascribe job success or failure to "luck" or "the breaks" instead of to one's own efforts would be further strengthened. In fact, most people who come to trial are found not guilty. And most of those found guilty don't actually go to jail. So the enrollee who has been arrested has an excellent chance of being able to stay free to work until the trial, and after.

**3.2 LEGAL AID**

It may seem outlandish to ask an employer to provide legal aid to an enrollee working for him, but an increasing number of employers (especially large companies) in fact do provide counsel. There is no harm in asking and much to be gained for the enrollee. If the company can help, it is to the enrollee's immediate benefit. And if the company does not provide such help, the request might help the employer become aware of the need, and might stimulate him to develop plans for providing legal assistance.
Of course, it is necessary to distinguish between a serious request and a demand, and to use whichever tactic is more likely to be effective in the particular circumstances. As a matter of policy, official agencies cannot make such a demand on an employer and agency staff need to be clear on this limitation if they are not to be embroiled in needless hassles. But staff members can make the employer aware of the possible consequences of his decisions. They can show how it might hurt the company's reputation in the community. However, staff must remain aware of the possible consequences for their future effectiveness if they violate the employer's confidentiality.
STRATEGY #4: GET THE CHARGES DROPPED

For relatively minor offenses, it is sometimes possible to get the complainant to drop the charges. In the following example, the person bringing charges against the enrollee was not personally harmed by the crime. He was charging the client for an offense committed against a company. However, it may also be possible to get an individual complainant not to press charges if he is generous and the staff member is persuasive. EXAMPLE:

(a) One of my participants that was employed at a bank, was picked up for shoplifting. Her mother called me and told me what the situation was, she also said she had called the bank and told personnel that her daughter was sick and could not come in. She was afraid that if she had told the truth her daughter might lose her job. But it just so happened that the young lady was already on probation and her probation officer had come to see if she was at work because she had her name off of some of the reports but she didn't know if it was the same girl.

I proceeded to call the bank and talk to my contact person. I told him what the mother's reason was for telling the lie. I asked him to take into consideration that these are the people we are trying to help. He told me he would think about it and call me back in a day or two. He called me back the next day and asked me if he could arrange to have the matter overlooked, could I help her get out of trouble and have her back on the job within a few days. I told him I would try. I went to the store and talked to the security officer and told him what the situation was, he didn't want her to lose her job but he didn't know what he could do. I asked him to give her a break, I would even pay for the garment that they said she had stolen. He said your trying to help the young lady so
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #6</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee in trouble with the law</td>
<td>Get the charges dropped</td>
<td>STRATEGY #4:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two kinds</td>
<td>EXAMPLES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

much I won't press charges. But I want you to call me and let me know what she's doing. I want to know if I made the right decision. By letting people know that they can be helpful to someone, motivates them to become helpful.

The charges were dropped and the young lady returned to work and is doing very well, she's had two promotions. The security officer at the store was very happy about his decision.
STRATEGY #5: GIVE EMOTIONAL SUPPORT TO THE ENROLLEE AND HIS FAMILY

An arrest and a trial—to say nothing of a conviction—are major emotional crises. Agency personnel frequently responded to such crises by providing emotional support to both the enrollee and his family.

EXAMPLES:

(a) ...he received a 60 day jail sentence. I talked to his mother, and visited him at the county jail. I worked with some of the job developers to retain a job for him after the 60 day jail sentence was served. When he came out, he was slotted the next day at $2.59/hour.

(b) ...the outcome of his court appearance—sentenced to one month in the House of Correction. Talked with his parents as well as personnel in Company A and it was decided that the client would remain with the company.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM #6</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>STRATEGY #5:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee in trouble with the law</td>
<td>Two kinds</td>
<td>Give emotional support to enrollee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTS**

5.1 TIME AND ATTENTION ARE SUPPORTIVE

When an enrollee is arrested, he and his family feel as if the official world of government has turned against them. That is made even more frightening by the feeling that the official world has a long memory—that once it is against you, it never forgets or forgives. Thus, the entire future seems at stake. When the staff member as an official representative of the agency gives sympathetic attention to the enrollee and continues to work on his behalf, he is reducing such fears by showing that not all of government's representatives are against him.

The trust which may develop in response to the staff member's demonstration of interest and commitment may be invaluable to the enrollee. And through him, the agency's reputation in the disadvantaged community can be greatly helped.
Even when an enrollee had to serve a sentence, coaches convinced some employers to take the enrollee back. Some examples of this have already been presented.

6.1 WHEN WILL IT WORK?

Although not much is known about the type of employer most likely to take the enrollee back, the following clues seem reasonable:

a. If the sentence is short, the employer will be more likely to rehire the enrollee.

b. Larger companies are more likely to agree to rehire the enrollee since they can hire someone else in the meantime and still be pretty sure that they will have a slot open when the enrollee gets out.

c. Companies that employ people with prison records are more likely to agree.

d. If the enrollee was employed for a long time before the conviction, the company will be more likely to agree.

6.2 GET IT IN WRITING

If the company doesn't make some kind of public commitment, it would be easy for it to back out later. This could be a profound blow to an enrollee who has been counting on having a job when he is released from jail. It would therefore help if the agency worker could get the company to make a written promise.
But no company will write a legally binding guarantee of re-employment. Therefore, the agency worker should at least try to get something in writing that leaves the company with an out. This could be a letter which states that unless there are unforeseen circumstances, the company hopes and intends to rehire the enrollee. This doesn't bind the company, but it does make it awkward for the company to back out.

One way to get a written statement from the company is to first get a verbal promise. Then the agency worker can write to the company summarizing the "promise" (with the escape clause suggested above). This letter might appear to be a "thank you" note which describes the "promise" made by the company. The end of the letter could then ask the company to send a letter confirming the correctness of the "promise" described—for the agency records. The letter the company sends in response can then be used as a non-binding record of the company's promise to rehire the enrollee.

6.3 SHORTEN THE ENROLLEE'S TERM

The agency worker might use this letter from the company for another purpose. He could show it to the court to help the enrollee get an early parole or early release.
If an enrollee wasn't employed when he went to court or jail, or if the employer would not agree to retain him, then the agency worker tried to line up a new placement for the enrollee. **EXAMPLES:**

(a) I knew that it was important for him to have a job when going to court...I explained to him the importance of his getting a job and maintaining it. Instead of a job he was placed into a (training) program. We appeared in court with him. His case was suspended and he is currently working satisfactorily.

(b) I worked with some of the job developers in order to retain a job for him after the 60 day jail sentence was served. When he came out, he was slotted the next day at $2.59/hour.
STRATEGY #7: Line up a job for after jail

COMMENTS

7.1 A JOB OR TRAINING

A job is better than training because it is more persuasive to the court and the parole board and usually more desirable for the enrollee. The hitch is that the agency has little control over the job market and can't always be successful in lining up a job.

But it does have control over training programs. It can hold a slot in a program which is scheduled to begin about the time the enrollee is supposed to leave jail. This is the reasonable thing for the agency to do if it can't get the enrollee a job placement.

7.2 MAINTAIN THE EMPLOYER'S COMMITMENT

It's fairly easy for an employer to make a vague promise to consider the enrollee for employment when he gets out. The enrollee may exaggerate this promise in his mind so much that his disappointment (and bitterness) is great if the job does not come through.

So the agency worker shouldn't make any firmer promises to the enrollee than he can keep. But there are some things the agency worker can do to strengthen the promise:

1. he can get the employer to write his promise (with a suitable escape clause) in a letter and send a carbon copy to the enrollee; and

2. he can maintain the employer's interest and commitment by giving him occasional messages about how the enrollee is getting along, how well he is doing in prison activities, etc. Such messages will remind the employer of his promise and help keep up his interest in the enrollee's welfare.
This chapter describes two important steps that manpower agencies can take to increase their effectiveness in responding to enrollee legal problems: (1) in-service training of agency staff; and (2) a specialized unit for dealing with law enforcement and criminal justice officials. A third resource would also be useful: (3) linkages with sources of legal aid that would be available to enrollees, such as free neighborhood legal aid centers.

It was pointed out that agency staff are sometimes called upon to advocate for enrollees with the police and with courts, either informally or as witnesses on the stand. However, agency staff from the same community as the enrollee might be just as intimidated by the court, and just as unfamiliar with court ritual and etiquette. Yet it is important to know this ritual and to use it to gain the court’s confidence. It would therefore be very helpful if agencies provided new staff members with in-service training in how to deal with the legal system, and some early exposure to actual courtroom situations. In their first few dealings with court, they should be accompanied and helped by a more experienced staff member who can teach them the ropes.
Enrollee in trouble with the law

Two kinds

Seven kinds

Obviously a specialized court unit can build up more experience and expertise and a more persuasive relationship to legal authorities and courts, than can agency staff as individuals. Such a unit doesn't have to be highly specialized. In some agencies, the court units could be small groups of manpower workers who have been assigned to handle legal matters and learn what they can from available resources. Such a unit could serve two particular purposes: (1) it could help enrollees locate effective legal aid when they need it; and (2) it could advocate for the enrollees to court officials. Of course, such a unit cannot practice law and cannot offer legal advice to enrollees.

Because a specialized unit is not as likely to personally know the individual enrollees who need their services, (and aren't likely to be as passionately committed to the enrollee as the agency worker) it would be wise to include the enrollee's coach as a member of the unit whenever the unit is working with or for the coach's enrollee.
Enrollee in trouble with the law

**OBJECTIVE**
Two kinds

**STRATEGY**
Seven kinds

**RESOURCE #3: Linkages to Sources of Legal Aid**

There are increasing numbers of legal resources both inside and outside the Establishment which can be helpful in particular cases. Civil rights, civil liberties and ethnic organizations can provide legal aid, as can women's liberation, gay liberation groups, neighborhood legal aid centers, consumer protection societies, welfare rights organizations, etc. Any of these could be effective in particular cases (effectiveness is the important element, not how "radical" the group is). But individual staff members can hardly be expected to have knowledge of or access to all the resources available. This is another argument in favor of a specialized legal unit. The unit would make it its business to know about all these resources, and develop at least informal relations with them so that they would respond when an enrollee was referred to them.
CHAPTER 7

ENROLLEE'S PERSONAL WELFARE IN DANGER

**PROBLEM #7:** The enrollee has personal problems which do not require legal advice or aid.

EXAMPLES OF THIS PROBLEM: 212

**OBJECTIVE:** The objective here is to protect, restore or increase the enrollee's health and welfare.

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE: 214

**STRATEGY:** There were three strategies used to achieve this objective.

1. ADVISE THE ENROLLEE: 219
2. CHANGE THE ENROLLEE'S EXPERIENCE: 223
3. ACT FOR THE ENROLLEE: 226

**RESOURCES:** Two resources are suggested in order to deal with this problem.

1. MENTAL HEALTH CONSULTATION: 229
2. ACCESS TO DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAMS: 231
PROBLEM #7: ENROLLEE'S PERSONAL WELFARE IN DANGER

The smallest significant category of problems that coaches dealt with were those in which the enrollee was in some kind of personal trouble (other than legal). Most of these were health-related and family problems. In some of the cases, the enrollee told the worker about his troubles. **EXAMPLES:**

(a) After client had completed (orientation) cycle he was assigned to me. At this time he didn't accept the jobs we offered him due to his addiction to narcotics. He had withheld this information from the counselor for he felt funny relating this to a woman. (But he told the male coach).

(b) Female client stated that she was having trouble with her husband due to her working at night. Husband wanted her to work days. She liked the job and wanted to work nights.

(c) Client called me about his job. He was beaten up and his eyes were all swollen. He could only see out of one eye and the other one was swollen.

In other cases, it was the agency worker rather than the enrollee who defined the situation as a problem. **EXAMPLES:**

(d) Client assigned to coach to be placed in employment. Discovered during interview with client she had a serious problem aside from not being employed. She was living with a group of prostitutes. Client informed me she had not yet become involved in prostituting or using dope.
PROBLEM #7:
Personal problems of enrollees

OBJECTIVE

EXAMPLES

STRATEGY

RESOURCES

(e) I was doing follow-up on a client and she told me she was contemplating getting married. She was 17 and the fellow was 18. She said he worked but she didn't know where. He was supposedly working downtown making over $3.00 an hour.

(f) This young lady seemed to think that no one liked her because of her physical appearance. So she just wanted to go through the program but did not want to go on a job.

(g) A young lady was pregnant...She told me she wanted the baby but by not having any money she was going to get rid of it her way.
The primary objective in these cases was to protect, restore or increase the enrollee's health and welfare. In these situations, saving the enrollee's job or getting him placed took a back seat to this main objective.

Chapter 1 also deals with personal problems of enrollees, but in those cases the agency staff put placement first. In this chapter employment is a second consideration, even though most of the problems came to the coach's attention because they interfered with employment. Interference with employment is the big difference between the problems in Chapter 1 and those here.

Generally coaches were conservative in setting this objective. That is, the tendency was to treat most enrollees as Problem #1 cases, and to try to get them placed—the health and welfare problems came first only in a small number of cases. There seemed to be three factors staff considered when deciding to choose this latter objective over the Problem #1 objective:

a) if the problem clearly made placement or job retention impossible, this objective might be used.

b) if the worker felt strongly that prospects for satisfactory placement would be dim if something weren't done to solve the problem at once, he might have this objective.

c) if the enrollee requested help on the problem, this objective could be used.
SOME REQUESTS ARE DISGUISED

Enrollees don't always directly ask for help on a problem. Sometimes they are embarrassed to admit they need help, even when they know they are floundering and would accept assistance if it came their way. Sometimes they don't ask because--surprisingly--they think that their personal problems are not what employment counselors want or are willing to deal with. And some don't ask because they think they are supposed to take whatever the worker gives them, answer his questions, and do only what the staff member tells him. They think that it is the employment worker who is supposed to decide what is important to talk about, so if the worker doesn't raise the issue, the enrollee is not supposed to. Such passivity is quite common among disadvantaged people when they are involved in bureaucratic agencies. In school they've gotten the message that they're best off keeping in "their place" and not letting their individuality come to the attention of people in official positions.

However, enrollees sometimes ask for help in indirect ways. They'll "mention" a situation in passing, say during an interview or informal conversation, and hope that the coach or counselor will pick up on it. Or they'll mention it and wait to see the coach's reaction so they can tell whether it's safe to say more. Or they'll talk about it to another enrollee, especially one who might tell the employment worker about it.
These enrollees might even make a weak denial that the situation they "mentioned" is a serious or bothersome one. They are still testing the worker to see if it's safe to say more. But a little encouragement from the worker can make the enrollee reveal that he is concerned and upset and would welcome help.

MAKE IT EASY FOR ENROLLEES TO DEAL WITH PERSONAL PROBLEMS

Sympathetic listening and encouragement to talk about the situation is often all that is needed for the enrollee to blurt everything out. If, after some minor hesitation, there is a flood of details, words, and tension, you know that the enrollee really was indirectly asking for help. But if the story comes out in a matter-of-fact way, or the enrollee continues to not want to deal with it, it may not be as much a problem as the worker thinks, or the enrollee may quite sincerely feel that it's none of the agency's business and that he'll handle it himself, somehow or other. He has that right; no one has to talk about his private life in order to get service from a public agency. The worker can check it out simply be telling the enrollee that he's more than willing to work with the enrollee on the problem if the enrollee wants to work on it now. If not, he can tell the enrollee that they can work on it another time if the enrollee ever changes his mind. But don't be too soupy about it.
There is another thing the agency can do to assist enrollees who don't ask but really want help. Since many don't know that it's OK—it's part of the client role—to ask for help, there are ways the agency can show the enrollee what he can (and should) do in his role as an enrollee, and what the worker does in his role. Several experiments demonstrate that if you show new enrollees a film or videotape of other enrollees being counseled, the new enrollees make better use of their time with the worker. This has been demonstrated for both group and individual programs. One manpower agency even made its own 15 minute videotape to show to new enrollees. This was done by inviting former enrollees back for a group session to tell employment workers what their experiences in counseling had been. This session was videotaped and then edited down.

If you don't have a suitable film or can't find a film clip from any of the training films that are available to the agency and can't make a videotape, then an employment worker (for example, the interviewer) can tell new enrollees that it is OK to bring up personal problems. But agency workers are often not as effective as the audio-visual presentation because many disadvantaged enrollees readily interpret those kinds of messages from staff members as sales propaganda.
I STRATEGY I

PROBLEM

Personal problems of enrollees

OBJECTIVE:

- protect or increase enrollee's health or welfare

EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVE

BUT DON'T OVERDO IT

Don't get too insistent that enrollees talk about their personal problems. Some will resent the notion that they are so messed up that they need to get help from an agency. Others will get the idea that the best way to keep the staff happy and interested is to make up a bunch of "problems" or some gory adventure stories. You'll get many more "problems" than there really are, and it may be hard to tell the real ones from the jive. See Chapter 2 for a more extended discussion of "psychologizing" the enrollee. The important thing is to get the right message across: that the agency wants to help on personal problems, but that it also recognizes that for most enrollees help in employment is what they came for, and they don't have to have hang-ups in order to get good, personal attention and help in getting a job.
Personal problems of enrollees  

**OBJECTIVE**  
Promote enrollees' health & welfare  

**STRATEGY #1:**  
Advise the enrollee

**EXAMPLES**

The basic strategy coaches used—especially if they defined the situation as a problem (instead of the enrollee asking for help)—was to counsel the enrollee. This counseling consisted of exploring the enrollee's feelings, advising and urging him.

**EXAMPLES:**

(a) I advised her to think about this move a little longer because she had told me her intended's character was a bit flaky. She mostly wanted to get away from her home conditions, which were very bad and not conducive to bringing up a healthy, normal young lady. She subsequently gave the matter some further thought after we had had considerable one-to-one type conversations. She got herself a job and found out later her fella wasn't working at all because he was trying to get money from her. She's doing much better now and has more of an insight on the types of young fellows out there who are basically trying to use others.

(b) I told her repeatedly that she should not harm herself and to have the baby—and put it in an orphanage until she is about to support herself. With reluctance she had the baby—soon after a member of her family said they'll keep the baby until she's able to have the responsibility.
1.1 THE PROS AND CONS OF GIVING ADVICE

Professional counselors usually do not favor giving advice for good reason. There are many examples of "good advice" going wrong. Enrollees come to the agency expecting to get advice, and assume that anyone employed by the agency knows what he's talking about. And if the advice turns into urging, the enrollee is pressured to feel that he must obey in order to get a job. The enrollee is the one who pays the price if the advice is bad, even though the responsibility for the advice lies with the worker. Once more the disadvantaged are messed over by having others tell them how to run their lives. But there is another side. Advice can be helpful. No one knows how many people have been helped by good advice, compared to the number who have been hurt by poor advice, so there's no way of estimating the benefits compared to the costs.

It is known that disadvantaged people are more likely to expect advice than are middle class clients because they believe that's the purpose of having counselors, interviewers, coaches, etc. There is a great deal of psychological research which shows that people do better when situations match their expectations. If you can't change the enrollees' expectations (i.e., by showing a film of people being counseled) then it's better to try to live up to their expectations. Otherwise, many enrollees will think that you are not interested enough in them to want to help (as they define help), that you don't want to do what they want, and only want to do what you want. They may interpret long explanations about nondirective counseling and the importance of not giving advice as a snow job, because if you can't give advice, they can't imagine what you can do that would be of any real help.
Many enrollees don’t have the patience or practice in exploring their feelings and they want something to do about the situation. Many people (especially poor people) see their problems as external rather than as being caused by themselves. Of course, they are often quite right about that, so they see no sense in just exploring their feelings without getting advice on what actions to take.

Research and experience show that when the agency worker’s behavior comes closer to what the enrollee expects, the enrollee gets more out of it. If that means giving suggestions, then give them. And it can even mean urging the enrollee to take advice because some enrollees really want this kind of emotional support. This will help enrollees feel more comfortable about doing something they want to do but which they feel inhibited about doing on their own without someone else backing them up.

To summarize the pro and con:

a. Pro
   1. many people expect advice and do better when workers match their expectations.
   2. many enrollees need advice and want it.

b. Con
   1. advice can turn out bad and can land the enrollee in worse trouble.
   2. following the advice may be seen by the enrollee as a requirement for continued service and a job referral.
1.2 ADVICE ON ADVICE

Here are some suggestions to help resolve the question of advice:

a. Give reasonable alternative suggestions, and let the enrollee choose what seems best for him.

b. Follow-up closely.

c. Let the enrollee know that you will back him in switching to a different alternative if his first choice doesn't work out after a fair trial.

d. After giving a suggestion, ask the enrollee if it seems reasonable to him, and if he wants to do it. Ask him to outline the pros and cons of the alternatives, so that you and he know that he has made his own choice instead of blindly following what he thinks you prefer.

e. Honesty demands that you state your preference, if the enrollee cares enough to ask your opinion. But respect for the enrollee demands that you let him know that your preference may not fit him as well as some other alternative, so he must decide.
STRATEGY #2: CHANGE THE ENROLLEE'S EXPERIENCE

When advice and verbal support aren't enough, coaches tried to give enrollees some experiences that would change their attitudes or feelings. This strategy was particularly appropriate when the problem appeared to be a result of the enrollee's feelings and attitudes (rather than an external situation). **EXAMPLE:**

(a) I explained to this young lady that beauty is only skin deep and that ugliness is to the bone. I even went so far as to escort her to several places where they were eating while in the (orientation) cycle. After she met some of the people I knew and they treated her like any other human being her mind began to change. She found out that the people who were talking about her appearance were stupid and selfish. She realized that all people aren't that way. So her mood changed, she got her job, and is doing well.
2.1 PRECAUTIONS

A successful experience can help a person develop a more hopeful outlook. But experience alone is usually not enough. The young woman in the example probably had many experiences with people who didn't reject her because of her physical appearance, but she probably didn't even notice they were accepting her because her expectation of being rejected was so strong. So it needed someone (the coach in this case) to point out to her that the experience was successful and that the people at lunch did not reject her.

But only a few experiences like this are usually not enough to make a complete change of attitude and expectation. It takes many new experiences to add up to all the damaging past ones. Manpower workers don't have the time or resources to carefully plan a long series of corrective experiences. More importantly, there are dangers involved.

A long series of corrective experiences which go close to the heart of a person's fears and emotions about himself usually leads him to develop very intense feelings about the person he shares those experiences with. When people go through thick and thin together, they often develop a close emotional bond. The result is that the enrollee can become very emotional about the coach and dependent on him. The coach's position can't support such a relationship and sooner or later the enrollee is going to be disappointed, hurt and right back where he started from (or even worse).
Another danger is that a very anxious person can be thrown into an emotional panic if he's forced into an experience he can't handle and which arouses intense fears about himself. With enrollees like this, some mild experiences that are not very threatening can be helpful in the short run. They can be enough to push the enrollee over the line into taking some step, like accepting a job, that will lead to better experiences in the future. But if the enrollee is really anxious and if it would take some heavy experience to break across the line, he should be referred to expert psychological help.

It is sometimes difficult to know where to draw the line between heavy coaching or counseling and psychological treatment. It would help if the agency had a mental health consultant available who would make recommendations in the gray areas where judgment is difficult.
There are several examples of cases in which coaches took over for enrollees and acted for them when the enrollee felt that going it alone wasn't possible.

(a) I learned of one aunt living in Chicago during the interview. I felt that the most important step was to remove client from her present environment. And secondly to place her in meaningful employment. Client felt aunt would reject the idea of her staying with her, because she had no job. Client agreed to let me speak to her aunt. I contacted aunt, made her aware of the existing problem. Aunt agreed to let client stay with her providing she had a job. I assured aunt client would be placed in employment. Next day client moved in with her aunt.

(b) I referred him to the drug abuse program. I took him over there personally where he and I and the head of the program sat down and talked about his problems. This was done for the client's own good because he had expressed the need for help. The outcome was that the client, after enrolling in the drug abuse program, overcame his fears of narcotics. He is now working and doing fine.

(c) I went to my client's job and talked to his supervisor about him getting treated. They had an eye clinic. We saw the doctor and found out that he could only see out of one eye before his accident. He had only worked at the company for two months and he did not have insurance. We made arrangements with the doctors to operate on his eye after his insurance became in effect. Client was operated on successfully at the hospital. He is still well liked by patients as well as doctors and nurses. His wife was expecting a baby and the nurses on the floor gave her a shower. She also had her baby at the same place where her husband worked.
OBJECTIVE

PROBLEM #7
Personal problems of enrollees

STRATEGY #3:
Act for the enrollee

COMMENTS

3.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ALLY

The impressive thing about these examples is the supportive warmth provided by the coaches by just being there when the enrollees had to deal with the outside world (a drug abuse program, a hospital employer). Of course, the things that the worker did were also important beyond just being there, especially when the enrollee felt he couldn't handle the situation alone.

3.2 ENROLLEE DEPENDENCE

These were all examples in which the enrollee asked the coach (directly or indirectly) to be an ally and to act for the enrollee. Each example was a crisis; and was not the time to counsel the enrollee to be independent and to feel that he could handle his own affairs. Since most people don't have such crises very often in their lifetimes, there is no reason to feel that helping them deal with these crises would make them dependent for the rest of their lives. It is probably safe to assume that once over these crises, enrollees could and would handle their own affairs with reasonable self-confidence--and with the feeling that if they did need outside help again, they could get it.

3.3 NOT ALL ENROLLEES WANT HELP

The coach did not force himself on the enrollees in these examples and didn't act for them without their permission. That is important because most enrollees say they don't want workers to interfere in their personal lives.
or handle things they can take care of themselves. It is OK for a worker to offer to help--and he should do it without making it seem that the enrollee would be considered an immature kid if he needs and accepts such help. But it is up to the enrollee to decide if he wants the worker to step in and do things for him.
This chapter suggests two resources which many manpower agencies are finding useful: (1) mental health consultation; and (2) access to drug treatment programs.

**RESOURCE #1: MENTAL HEALTH CONSULTATION**

As manpower agencies become more and more comprehensive in their services, there is a greater need for consultation with experts who can help agency workers draw the line between coaching/counseling and psychological treatment. A mental health professional can help do this. Consultations, coordinated with in-service staff training and/or case conferences could probably be arranged with public clinics (such as mental hygiene clinics or psychiatric out-patient hospital clinics).

However, the agency must be careful since many professional experts have a tendency to define all situations as ones which require professional handling. This tendency seems to be especially strong among mental health professionals. It results in excessive psychologizing of what are really social and economic problems (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of psychologizing the enrollee). Further, the experience and techniques of professional mental health workers are usually centered on middle class patients and do not always apply to the disadvantaged.

It is therefore important that the manpower agency select its consultant carefully. Ideally, it would be best if the consultant came from a community-based center which specialized in working with the disadvantaged. Further, it would be helpful to distinguish between an expert and an authority. An expert...
Personal problems of enrollees

Protect enrollees' health & welfare

Three kinds

RESOURCE #1:
Mental Health Consultation

offers his judgments and his reasons, which the agency can integrate with its own specialized expertise. An authority is someone who must be obeyed. Manpower workers do have a specialized knowledge of the unemployed and of the world of work. The recommendations and judgments of a mental health consultant should be evaluated in the light of the agency's knowledge and judgment. In short, a mental health consultant is a resource, not a supervisor.
In the past, many public agencies tried to ignore drug addiction. They avoided providing services to addicts and tried to "overlook" drug usage among their clients. Many workers are afraid of drugs, and feel that people with drug problems are too "heavy" to handle. Drug usage becomes like a dirty secret that no one wants to mention.

But ignoring the problem and not providing services to drug users did not make the problem go away. Instead, it has gotten worse. Since manpower agencies inevitably deal with people who use drugs, it would be well to know the differences between marijuana, pills, and hard drugs and between use and addiction. This way they can make appropriate responses to very different kinds of enrollee situations.

More important, services to enrollees would be improved and would be more realistic if agency workers were willing and able to accept drug usage as a fact. Then it would be possible for enrollees to deal openly and frankly with drug situations that constitute powerful influences on their lives and work careers.

Finally, manpower agencies need links with drug treatment programs so that enrollees may be appropriately referred. Staff of local drug programs can be used by the agency for in-service training of manpower workers to familiarize them with the drug scene. Through joint participation in such in-service training, working relationships between the manpower and the drug treatment agencies could be strengthened.
## CHAPTER 8:
### SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEMS</th>
<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
<th>STRATEGIES</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Enrollee needs a job or training placement. | To place the enrollee on a job or in training. | 1. Search for a slot that fits the enrollee's bill.  
2. Get enrollee to accept an available opening.  
3. Prepare enrollee so he looks good to employer.  
4. Intervene with employer so he'll accept enrollee.  
5. Get both enrollee and employer to make some changes. | 1. An employer intelligence system  
2. Access to legal expertise  
3. Job search workshop  
4. Effective team structure |
| 2. Enrollee rejects job referral. | A. Convince enrollee to take the first referral.  
B. Find another placement. | 1. One-to-one counseling.  
2. Persuasion  
3. Prove sincerity and commitment.  
4. Change the referral. | 1. Feedback, supervision and appropriate evaluation  
2. Organizational consensus  
3. Access to job orders  
4. Grievance machinery for enrollees  
5. Status of minorities and coaches within the agency |
| 3. Uncooperative or resistant employer. | Get company to hire and retain minority employees. | 1. Get company involved in agency's program.  
2. Arrange a successful experience for the employer.  
3. Get company to change its people.  
4. Become legalistic. | 1. Planning for employer involvement  
2. Employer follow-up  
3. Employer relations and job development strategies.  
4. Training in equal opportunity law |
| 4. Enrollee has been fired or laid off. | Keep the enrollee on the job. | 1. Check out nature of the problem.  
2. Negotiate with the company.  
3. Negotiate with the enrollee.  
4. Make a plan and carry it out. | 1. Racial/ethnic staff mixture  
2. Flexible orientation  
3. Access to employers  
4. Access to supportive services  
5. Adequate records |
### SUMMARY (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEMS</th>
<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
<th>STRATEGIES</th>
<th>RESOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5. Enrollee quitting the job. | A. Keep the enrollee on the job.  
B. Get the enrollee a different placement.  
C. Prevent the spread of dissatisfaction. | 1. Help him achieve incentives.  
2. Show the disadvantages of quitting.  
3. Encourage enrollee to stay at job until something better turns up.  
5. Refer enrollee to a different job.  
6. Take enrollee out of the job market. | 1. Long term relationship with employers.  
3. Relationships with enrollees' families.  
4. Flexibility in working with enrollees.  
6. Suitable schools for dropouts and adults |
| 6. Enrollee in trouble with the law | A. Free the enrollee.  
B. Save the enrollee's job. | 1. Advocate for the enrollee to the court.  
2. Give evidence for the enrollee.  
3. Get legal resources.  
4. Get the charges dropped.  
5. Give emotional support to the enrollee.  
6. Advocate to the employer.  
7. Line up a job for after jail. | 1. In-service legal training  
2. Specialized court unit  
3. Linkages to sources of legal aid. |
2. Change the enrollee's experience.  
3. Act for the enrollee. | 1. Mental health consultation  
2. Access to drug treatment programs |
INDEX

advice, 219-222
advocacy for clients, 110, 113, 118, 123, 134-138, 140, 157, 164, 191-194, 204-205, 208
ally, (coach as), 227; see also advocacy; educational support; friend (coach as)
anger, 5, 9, 98, 115
anxiety, see fear
arrest records, 25, 28-29, 35, 102, 121, 128. See also legal problems
atmosphere of agency, 52-53, 182
attitude (change), 8, 70, 94, 95, 130, 132, 223-225
authors, vii
baby-sitting, 121, 141
bail, 190, 197-198
CAMPS, 42
case conferences, 71, 82-83, 116
certainty (lack of), 2, 16
confidentiality, 28, 199
consensus, organization, See coordination
coordination, 79, 81, 82, 84, 146
counseling, 54-55, 56-58, 61, 62-72, 81, 84, 89, 139, 212-231.
court, 191-194, 195, 208
court unit, 193, 209-210
creaming, 103, 104
credibility, 73-74, 79, 110-111
criteria, See evaluation.
critical incident, i-ii
dependence, 80, 227
diagram, See summarizing diagram
discrimination, see sexism; racism
dissonance reduction, 69-70, 196
drinking, 2, 31
drugs, 25, 28-29, 212, 226, 231.
effectiveness, See evaluation
emotional disturbance, 2, 31, 225
emotional support, 172, 202-203, 221, 227.
employer intelligence system, 41
employer relations, 178; See also job
development; follow-up; involvement
of employers.
enforcement, 110-111, 113, 118
epilepsy, 121, 125, 134
evaluation (of staff performance), 81, 82-83, 182-184
evidence, 195-196
expectancies, 217-218, 220-221, 224
exploitation by employers, 163-164
expunging records, 30
falsification, 25, 28-30, 36, 121, 124, 128, 134, 166, 168. See also honesty
family problems, 126-127, 130, 180-181, 212-230
family visits, 180-181, 182, 203
fear, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 48, 51, 193, 203, 224-225. Racial anxieties, 131-133, 136.
feedback to enrollees, 11, 13; to staff, 81, 82-83, 105
flexibility, 145, 182. See also orientation.
"flighty" enrollees, 156, 159, 160, 174-175.
foremen, See supervisors
format explained, viii-xi
friend (coach as), 172. See also emotional support

Index page
job description, 179
job developers, 9, 30, 45, 79, 103, 114, 146
job development strategies, 103, 113, 117
job orders, 77-78, 81, 84, 85-86
job matching (in Jobs-Now), iii-iv
Jobs-Now (description), ii, 41
job search skills, 39, 44
jobs, temporary or part-time, 11, 12, 176

lateness, 2, 6-7, 60, 93, 102, 112, 124, 149, 152-153, 159, 171
legal action, See legal rights; enforcement
legal problems, 2, 15, 16, 124, 126, 136, 147, 186-211
legal rights of enrollees, 30, 43, 113, 118
legal expertise, 43, 112, 190, 197-199, 208-210

manager (of agency), 87, 100-101
Manpower Science Service, 12, 26
medical problems, 32, 44, 211-231
mental health consultation, 225, 229-230
Minneapolis Vocational Rehabilitation Center, 44
modeling, See role modeling
motivation (and lack of), 4-8, 9, 13, 57-58, 77, 91, 95, 125
mystification, 55-56, 59, 79

obesity, See overweight
objectives of agency, 70-71, 81, 82, 84, 85-86, 183
orientation programs, 114-115, 132, 145
outcome (process criteria), 183-184
overweight (example), 2, 19

performance standards, 179
personal problems, 171-172, 173;
See also family problems
planning for employer involvement, 113, 114-115
post-decision certainty, 69
practice, 12, 26-27
principles (psychological), 7

process (vs. outcome criteria), 183-184
prison record, See arrest record;
legal problems
problem-solving, ix, 141
program hopping, 5, 20
program pimps, 5
psychological reasons for refusal,
51-60
psychological (see principles)
psychologizing, 55-61, 64, 74, 89, 128, 229

quitting the job, 6, 22, 152-185

race/ethnicity (of staff), 55, 81, 89, 97, 137, 140, 142-144; of enrollees
12, 93, 96, 114, 123, 130-133, 137
142-144, 163
raises, See salary
records, 23, 116, 127, 149-150, 178, 195-196; See also follow-up.
replacing the enrollee, 12, 13-14, 21-23, 156, 158-159, 173
role modeling, 12, 137
role playing, 12, 25, 132, 133, 145

salary, 152, 154, 157, 162-164, 179
San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center, 44
school placement, 159, 174-177, 185
sensitivity training, 95, 96, 98-99
sexism, 54, 85-86
simulation, 12, 133
slot-filling, iv
social stereotypes, 55
status (of coaches), 55-56, 81, 89, 143-144; (of jobs) 60, 158
stealing, 102, 112, 125, 128, 130, 135
summarizing diagram, x-xi
supervision (of manpower workers), iii, 81, 82, 83, 182, 183, 184
supervisors (of enrollees), 12, 92, 94, 95, 198, 120-122, 124-125, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134-36, 137-138
supportive services, 147-181, 197-199, 209-210, 229-231.
teams, iii, 10, 45-46, 146
termination, 37-40
testimony, 191-196, 208-209
tests (employment and aptitude), 15, 20, 24, 26-27, 109
training, in-service, 112, 117, 118, 208, 231; See also case conferences
transportation, 44

withdrawn enrollee, 120
work try-out, 27, 31, 34, 134

YM-YWCA (Chicago), ii