This description of "coaching" in a 4-year federally funded special manpower demonstration project, JOBS NOW, is intended especially for program administrators, industrial personnel, and guidance counselors. The project was designed to train and employ previously unemployable, disadvantaged, young black adults, provide manpower systems to pre-selected companies, and coordinate special support programs among business, industry, and social service agencies. The six topical sections deal with: (1) a conceptual background of coaching, (2) selection of coaches, (3) training and upgrading of coaches, (4) coach supervision, (5) the coach-client relationship, and (6) in-the-company coaching hints. Subtopics are briefly summarized, noting the importance of the coaches' empathy with the clients, job development and supervision for coaches, ways to prevent or solve employment problems, and other related aspects of human and industrial relations. Major program recommendations and conclusions are presented. A 3-year statistical comparison of the project participants' enrollment and employment levels is appended. (AG)
COACHING IN A MANPOWER PROJECT

Based on the experiences of the JOBS NOW Project

From September 1966 to January 1970
COACHING IN A MANPOWER PROJECT

Based on the experiences of the JOBS NOW Project, a multiple-component special demonstration project designed to orient and employ disadvantaged, hitherto unemployable young adults, provide employer manpower systems to pre-selected companies, and to coordinate special support programs among business, industry, and social service agencies.

From September 1966 to January 1970

To the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor

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From: Jackie P. Hearns, Vice President of Community Employment and Training Programs, YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago

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D.J.R.
C.S.

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A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF COACHING

Basic Assumptions

Much of the JOBS NOW thinking about coaching was based on a "double-world" assumption. The ghetto was a world seriously different from the world of employment -- a steady job, saving money, advancing. The two summer disturbances of 1966 had painfully dramatized the extent of this division to the program's planners. Another assumption was that the majority of ghetto youth, although sometimes anti-social when measured against middle-class norms, actually preferred middle-class values and goals to the street code by which they had learned to live. The riots were expressions of anger at denial and enforced disadvantage.

Fundamental to JOBS NOW was working with those youth to better facilitate their realization of acceptable, middle-class goals and values through finding a job for them and assisting them in adjusting to the new world of work. The intent was not to coerce youth into assuming those values, yet the values were prevalent in the program's thinking and the assumption was strong that these same values were held by the youth, however unexpressed or camouflaged.
The analogy of the coach to an athletic adviser, a baseball coach, was made because the JOBS NOW coach too, was to work with a person who had disorganized or misdirected potential which if redirected and guided with vigilance and concern, could result in progressively higher levels of performance. Other terms which were associated with the job-title of coach throughout the program's early period were "buddy" and "big brother." The coach was seen as a catalyst in moving the disadvantaged, street-oriented and poorly work-skilled and educated youth from the ghetto to steady employment. It was most important that the coach contribute the concern and interest of a quasi-relative or friend while offering constructive suggestions. He was to add a strong personal support to the ordinarily difficult and impersonal process of job hunting and work adjustment. It was envisioned that the coach more than any other member of project staff would assume the advocacy of the client.

The coach's presence, both in the program and company, to some extent, was intended to be the client's in proxy. Thus, empathy, suggested by the program as "the most important single quality for
anyone working with the hard-core”, was a major criterion in selecting a coach. Similarity of background to the client's and proximity in age were also considered very important although there were some notable exceptions. JOBS NOW preferred coaches to be males in their twenties. However, at the end of the first year and one-half of the program, one-third of the coaches were women and some of the male coaches were in their thirties and forties. Work experience in business and industry or socially-oriented work was also preferred, as was a high school education. A fairly common practice was to waive other criteria in favor of an empathic person. This characteristic was supported by the project's emphasizing the value of the work coaches were to do to help people about whom coaches already felt deeply. The dignity, individual importance, and positive capabilities and potentialities of disadvantaged clients were stressed to coaches in staff orientation and training and in printed material circulated through the project.

A tone of constructive representation of the black, disadvantaged job-seeker remained a very strong influence on coaches throughout the three years. The project and its staff were seen as contributing in a limited but important way to the solution of some of the following
Young Blacks are asking not for token integration, but for total inclusion in American society. Young Blacks are saying, "I have experienced the school system and for the most part I have experienced failure." They are saying, "I have experienced the army, and for the most part that experience has been bad." They say, "I have experienced looking for a job, and for the most part that has been bad." They say, "I have had experience with the police force, and that experience has been bad." They are saying now, "I want some of the greatness of this country. I want my part in it." And in asking for that opportunity to share, they are asking to participate. They are saying, "I don't want the job of sweeping up, of cleaning the dishes. I want the job that offers me some status and respect as a man."*

At times the objective of the program, interpreted by some coaches as "ramming black people into jobs," became a source of conflict and had an important bearing on performance and morale.

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Those few coaches perceived the accelerated two week orientation-job placement process -- including more than 2500 young people a year -- as prohibitive of the more intensive and extensive attention which they felt was required for proper servicing. They felt that the project was engaged in a "numbers game" which sacrificed quality to quantity. Some worked well in spite of their feelings; others did not overcome their resistance and either quit or were eventually terminated.

The Coach And The Buddy

Although new to the field of manpower development for the disadvantaged, coaching was somewhat similar to the "buddy" system which had a history in business and industry dating back to the 1940's. It was common practice for companies to have someone already performing the job show the new worker how it was done. The "buddy" telescoped his insights and experiences and passed them on to the new worker. As a senior worker, the buddy had accrued a wealth of information. By transmitting even a portion of it, he saved the new worker time, effort, and mistakes. He helped anticipate problems, avoid them, and assisted in solving them when they occurred.
In addition to teaching the new worker the actual job, the buddy helped broaden the social horizons of the new worker within the company setting. This was an "intangible" but important product of the relationship. The buddy provided emotional support to the worker during a time when the worker was particularly sensitive to making mistakes or failing. To some extent he took the new employee's point of view and in doing so helped ease him into the new work situation. The buddy introduced the worker to the obvious and subtle "ins and outs" of the company and to his fellow workers.

Certain important features of JOBS NOW coaching were different from the "buddy" system as it had been used by private employers.

Generally, Jobs Now coaching:

(1) Was performed by someone of the same race as the employee.

(2) Was performed by someone who was not an employee of the company.

(3) Included working with the employee in the community. (The goal of the company buddy was to help someone who was already employed; the coach was to suggest and/or find alternatives to unemployment. By the end of the three years, approximately two-thirds of all the clients coaches worked with were unemployed.)
(4) Did not normally involve providing specific job performance instruction or assistance (such as how to operate a lathe or solder a wire).

The older buddy system was predicated on the confidence that the company already employed a person who could readily transmit job and job-related knowledge to the new worker. It also assumed a certain basic level of proficiency and middle-class "socialization" on the part of the worker. This often allowed the buddy to put merely the finishing touches (the company "style") on the skill and attributes which the worker already possessed and brought to the job. The project coach, however, could not assume this about the client with whom he was to work.

The Coach And "High Support"

A basic feature of JOBS NOW was to encourage hiring companies to institute special provisions for the disadvantaged youth the project helped place into employment. A verbal agreement was to be made with employers that the project would initially orient and follow-up on placements while the company would institute "high support" provisions for hiring, orienting, and supervising clients within the company. It was felt that these extra efforts would help reduce rates of turnover among the companies' disadvantaged work forces.
Companies began to hire people they would not have hired before. They were racially and culturally different and usually did not possess the kinds of formal credentials normally required to fill the jobs they were getting. Approximately 99% of JOBS NOW enrollees were black; only about 11% had graduated from high school, and 28% had arrest records (38.2% of the men had police records and 8.7% of the women).

It was conceived initially that the coach would work with the participant outside the work setting, in the home and the community. The coach was not intended to assume the responsibilities of the "buddy" within the company. This was changed very soon after actual operations began. The external-to-the-work-situation coach concept failed to consider the periodic need to solve problems which were occurring in the company, problems which sometimes were in progress when the coach was telephoned for assistance. In a broader way, the concept of coaching was designed to combat the loneliness which it was strongly felt placed participants were feeling on the job. The factor of participant loneliness remained an important one for the project throughout its three years. Clients were generally young, black, and accustomed to being with friends who were also young, black, and unemployed. A job changed this very suddenly.
It was felt that to some extent the new disadvantaged worker needed and was looking for a job situation that offered legitimate substitute values for those he was giving up to take the job. Among those values were acceptance and understanding. One project administrator thought that more important than particular high support provisions was a "trusting problem-solving attitude," particularly between the worker and his immediate supervisor. He felt that this attitude, present in some companies and absent in most, was based on the assumption "that what this person is telling me is the truth." He felt that if there was a company with continually bad experiences in employing the disadvantaged, that company would also be found not to trust its workers. "A blatantly suspicious employer will not have any luck with our clients, no matter what kind of elaborate training program he develops to keep clients on the job."

Yet it was felt that frequently the new worker and his supervisor or company-appointed buddy (usually the buddy and supervisor role were carried out by one individual) resisted each other. Age and racial differences between supervisors and clients were important factors, but there were others.
The buddy relationship was founded on the willingness and ability of individuals to communicate favorably and to participate positively in each others feelings. Yet, in fact, negative feelings were sometimes high on both sides. When black clients were placed into jobs formerly held by and supervised by white people it was felt that other employees' needs were given preference. Although some client-supervisor and older employee relationships were good, statements like the following made by placed clients about supervisors and senior workers were not uncommon.

"Most of them were impatient. It depended on what mood they were in."

"They were prejudiced."

"I can't stand white supervisors. I'm quick tempered. I always have it out with them."

"You know how white people are."

Management reported that similar statements were made by supervisors and other workers about participants. In one company a former client was beaten by other workers; another client was shot and wounded while leaving work. In view of these kinds of problems, it was not particularly difficult to seal companies which did little else to support the disadvantaged workers to permit coaching. Overall, employers and clients were similar in their

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reactions to coaching -- some actively liked and promoted it; some merely tolerated it.

Broadening the Coach Concept

The blanket assumption that all companies and clients needed coaching was never seriously challenged on the project's administrative level. Coaches, however, seemed to make the distinction between those who needed it and those who did not. It became mandatory then, that coaches work with participants both in the company and in the community. Some coaches were "company" coaches and others were "community" coaches. In addition to being a friend to the client, the company coach was to be a kind of interpreter who could communicate in understandable terms what the client or supervisor (and sometimes personnel officers) wanted said to the other. This was true, of course, only where for some reason the supervisor-client communication channels were damaged. The coach had to help resolve the conflict. In a sense the coach had to be bi-lingual. He had to be able to use the language of the streets and the jargon of management. This was recognized early in the project and became an important criterion in the selection of coaches. Indeed, the ability to use language well became a common characteristic among the majority of staff, although some had difficulty understanding "business language". It also became of major
importance when promoting a coach to the position of job program developer.

The project made coaching services available to 11 disadvantaged clients who enrolled in the program. Once the client's name appeared on the orientation register (completed the first day or two of orientation), he was the responsibility of a coach. This included people who enrolled and dropped out of orientation, those who were not hired, those employed, and those who later left employment. The period of follow-up was ordinarily conducted from the time of the person's enrollment to the end of the calendar year. This meant that those participants enrolled in January received one year's follow-up, but those enrolled in December received one month's follow-up. December 31 was the cut-off date, after which the process was begun anew. No solution to the problem of reconciling annual work loads with the follow-up needs of participants was found.

Another early modification of coaching was to make each coach responsible for both community and company follow-up. Again, at the very earliest stages, the project felt the need for a coach who handled participant follow-up inside the company and another who handled his follow-up outside the company. Having a different person
for each of these duties did not provide a continuity of service. This method represented an artificial separation of problems at home and at work. Since the problems overlapped so recognizably in the participant's life, it made no practical sense to divide efforts to solve them into two roles. The division of duties between the follow-up coach and the company coach tacitly placed the burden of responsibility on the follow-up coach for those clients who were unemployed. The follow-up coach tended to feel the failure of his clients as his own failure. This had a debilitating effect on his continued performance and morale. On the other hand, the success of employed clients was seen as the success of company coaches. The discrepancy between the high morale of company coaches and the low morale of follow-up coaches was also an argument for combining the roles in an attempt to balance the successes and failures of these staff. Communication problems between coaches handling the same participant and the feeling that the participants resented so many people "messing with them" were also important considerations.

A Shift In Emphasis

The first year shift in coaching from an exclusively in-community function to an increasingly close relationship of the coach
with the company was an important positive innovation, but also a source of confusion and disorientation to coaches themselves, a situation which followed the program and seemed to increase each year. There is some evidence to indicate that the close in-company relationship to a certain extent intimidated some coaches. Follow-up which was intended to be both in-community and in-company involvement frequently became synonymous with in-company follow-up alone. Problems centering around this noticeable shift in emphasis from a client-focus to a company-focus reflected the program's increasing concern with treating the employment problems of the disadvantaged worker by affecting the employment process within the company.
SELECTION OF COACHES

Previous Work Experience

When hiring coaches, the project looked for people who had experience working with people, especially with inner-city youth. All original eighteen (18) coaches came from the JOBS PROJECT* where they had worked as group-workers, a sub-professional position similar to that of a coach. Formal training sessions were provided on a regular schedule for all coaches during the first 18 months of the program. All new coaches hired after the first six months went through a two week training and on the job training period prior to being assigned clients. A Coaches Handbook was developed and given to all coaches for the second year of the project.

* JOBS (Job Opportunities through Better Skills) Project, first funded in 1963 by the Department of Labor in cooperation with the Chicago Boys Clubs, The Chicago Youth Centers, and the YMCA, was one of the first major programs in the country for recruiting, training and placing "hard core" youth in employment. The six month program provided extended vocational and basic educational training along with post-hire support to its participants. This experience led to the development of the 'hire now, train later' approach of JOBS NOW in 1966.
Some of the jobs coaches held before coming to the project were:

Male: cab driver, mail carrier, sales manager, chemical clerk, barber, packer, nature specialist, and salesman

Females: secretary, clerk-typist, and cashier

Generally, coaches with previous experience in socially-oriented fields such as teachers and community youth workers tended to be more amenable to carrying out program goals. But others with experience in companies were also effective. At the program outset the core professional group was composed of former public school teachers. However, successful coaches have come from a great variety of work backgrounds. It was almost impossible to predict who would make a good coach from previous work experience alone.

In hiring coaches, the interviewer should look for the applicant's empathic qualities, his goals, his desire to help others, and his knowledge of the difficulties of sustained employment and of the com-
munity from which the clients he will be coaching will come.

Race

During the first year of operation, JOBS NOW had several white coaches. They exhibited varying degrees of success. One in particular seemed to interact well with black clients. He was promoted to the position of human relations counselor. In the past year, all coaches were black and dealt with a black participant population. It is considered important that coaches match the ethnic or racial background of the population with which they are to work. Similarity of race tended to provide a basis on which to establish rapport and identity that are so vital to the attainment of project objectives. This is certainly not to say that instant rapport between coach and client was forthcoming.

Nevertheless, there was general agreement in the project that similarity of race between coach and client was advantageous. This had to do with broad philosophical questions combined with the practical concerns of daily work. In the words of the coaches themselves,
"There are enough obstacles for the coaches to overcome besides race." "White coaches?" said a black coach shaking his head, "Out of the question. Too dangerous. He could never do follow-up in the community. There are some neighborhoods I wouldn't go into." Although a white coach tends to represent an authority figure which young blacks will often resist, he may still be effective in a company setting, at least from the point of view of employers.

Age and Sex

Some female participants preferred female coaches because they could talk to them about women's problems. When male participants seemed concerned about succeeding in employment, the fact that the coach happened to be a woman was not important. About as many team associates and administrators thought that women were better coaches as thought men were. The idea that "women think a man should work, have a steady job, and advance, so they keep pushing for employment," was expressed by another team associate.
Because of age, some of the younger coaches were having difficulty themselves resolving the questions of the value of steady employment. This ambivalence made it difficult for the coach to always paint a positive picture of employment. These coaches often either became disillusioned with the project and left or were terminated.

Although women coaches were felt to be generally better accepted by company personnel than many of the male coaches, this did not mean they were more effective in companies than male coaches. There was some indication that women coaches were less likely to make demands of companies for their clients, and that this accounted at least partially for the companies preferring them to males who were sometimes more forceful in supporting clients. The extent to which coaches (together with job program developers) could make demands on companies was not well defined by the project, and therefore few attempts were made to reorient the less forceful female coach to make her more forceful in making demands.

Male coaches seemed to be able to handle neighborhood and home visitation far better than women coaches. Indeed, many of the females were afraid of going into the ghetto and limited their activities to the orientation center and the company, thereby neglecting an important aspect of the coaching role. Some women
coaches would ask a male coach to accompany them there. This prompted one administrator to remark, "True it's unsafe in the neighborhood, particularly for a woman. But we don't want to send two coaches to do a job. Coaches should be male." Nevertheless, some female coaches did not hesitate to go into the community during the day or night.

The heavy concentration of coaches in the 24 - 27 age group stemmed from the desire to hire coaches old enough to promote respect but young enough for clients to identify with while avoiding a "generation gap." A few single men in this category tended to over-identify with clients. Though they related well with clients and were well liked, many of the younger male coaches often had problems similar to those of clients and had difficulties pointing out positive choices of action.

TRAINING OF COACHES

During the early stages of JOBS NOW, coaches and other staff received informal training in the form of human relations sessions designed to encourage staff to converse with each other under circumstances that transcended their relationships on the job.

Techniques used in those sessions included word association, problem census, and problem-solving games. These helped to get people familiar with each other and to begin to see how the activities of each were important to other staff. Discussions of operational plans, philosophies, and methods of service were more successful.
after lines of communications between staff had opened.

Coaches were the first to recognize their need for work-keyed training. Some skill training was given, but randomly. Trainers felt that while coaches thought they were not receiving skill training, they actually were, though it was not in-depth. "Coaches feel pretty unsure of what they are to do. But no one can tell them what exactly it is to be a coach. A trainer can only lay the basic foundation. After that its up to the coach to work out his own ways of working," said one trainer. Another broader reason for its neglect was the tendency of the project to concentrate on actual day-to-day service rather than on the activities (training, reporting, analysis) ancillary to them.

New coaches were assigned to coaches with varying amounts of experience. The experienced coach was to show the new recruit the ropes during a two or four-week period. Coaches, JPDs, TAs, and directors alike expressed the view that this kind of training often resulted in new coaches picking up the older coaches' poor work habits, misunderstandings about the program, stereotypical approaches to client problems, and resistance to change.

As coaches were exposed to different aspects of their job, it became apparent that structured training efforts were needed to give them the tools to do their job effectively. Comments and letters
from company personnel administrators and line supervisors pointed out that some coaches needed more comprehensive orientation to business practices and attitudes. Meetings with JPDs, TAs, and project administrators brought out the need to give coaches an in-depth picture of how what they did and what other staff did fitted into the total program picture. Coaches also needed training information on outside resources -- medical, dental, optical, legal, housing, clothing, and educational, for example -- in order to provide participants with the range of support needed to give them every possible chance to succeed.

The need for specific training in other areas was recognized. As coaches became involved with the day-to-day requirements of handling recurring problems, they tended to lose sight of how their activities served as a source of information for team associates and how they could help a JPD obtain the company's cooperation in building a job development program. Coaches did not generally realize that their disposition sheets and case write-ups were helpful in determining which coaching techniques were more successful than others. Getting accurate field information from coaches was always a problem. Training should provide coaches with a clear delineation of their job and its
relationship to total project operations and the need for accurate and prompt reporting.

In-service training for coaches was held periodically. In these sessions coaches were asked to describe job problems. From this, recommendations were made for future sessions. One recommendation was that coaches receive practical exercises in making oral presentations. It was felt that developing coaches' skills in speaking would give them more confidence in expressing themselves. It was also felt that it was one way of developing the abilities of coaches to organize their thoughts, and that this, in turn, would be helpful in promoting their analytical abilities, both in sharing ideas and in report writing.

Another recommendation was that project administrators provide up-to-date information to keep coaches abreast of the program's status and its changes in order to squash false rumors about program policy changes. This was suggested as one important way of overcoming the sense of being "left out" or "low man on the totem pole" which coaches often found overwhelming and for which they continually blamed administrators. Being informed about positions available within the project was important in easing the tension felt by coaches who anxiously
looked forward to higher positions and more money. Without in-
formation coaches grew resentful and suspicious. In review, these
are considered areas that should be covered in coach training:

HUMAN RELATIONS

ORIENTATION OF STAFF TO TOTAL
PROGRAM

USES AND AVAILABILITY OF OUTSIDE
RESOURCES

WRITTEN AND ORAL COMMUNICATIONS
SKILLS

DEVELOPING AN AWARENESS OF COMPANY
STRUCTURE AND POLICY

INTERVIEWING SKILLS

UPGRADING OF COACHES

One objective was to help staff, 98% of whom were black, to
better themselves through working in the project. Getting staff "in,
up, and out" was desired and encouraged. High turnover represented
by the movement of staff to better jobs was seen as a sign of success
for both staff and the project. Staff were told that their upgrading
possibilities would be good within the project and outside it, parti-
cularly in business and industry.
A basic stance of the program was that hiring from the outside was less effective than promoting from within, except in cases requiring a type of specialization that could not normally be developed in the project, i.e. writers and researchers. Coaches represented the basic body of staff from which higher level positions were to be filled.

The lower the position in the project, the more likely the person filling it was to have been a coach: in 1969 many (job program developers), some EMS * staff, a few team associates (lower administrative level), and no executive staff had been coaches. The turnover rate for coaches was normally lower than for other job categories. The exposure to contacts in business and industry accounted for much of the turnover among JPSs. When a JPD left, a coach got his job. Turnover among JPDs and coaches was greater during the early years of the project. One administrator noticed a tendency of coaches "to hang on to the project" during 1969. Employment opportunities in companies were not great for coaches then.

Opportunities for coaches to improve themselves did exist within the project and were taken advantage of either directly or indirectly by many JOBS NOW coaches. The YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago, the project's sponsor, offered a reimbursed tuition program for those people

* Employer Manpower Systems, a JOBS NOW Component funded to test the feasibility of assisting selected employers in developing in-company systems of manpower development.
desiring additional formal education, and some coaches did take advantage of this program. Other coaches, while they did not pursue formal schooling, did make sincere efforts to learn as much as possible from their association with JOBS NOW.

Schooling through the tuition program provided coaches with additional credentials necessary to qualify for jobs in business and industry. Although the resulting turnover did create somewhat of a burden on the project, nevertheless the movement of staff to better jobs was taken to be an indication of success. A project administrator said, "Most coaches, especially successful coaches, view their job as a stepping stone to advancement within or outside the project."

It was felt that coaches who seemed to possess a sincere desire to learn from their experiences with JOBS NOW, but who did not take advantage of the tuition program, tended to stay with the program longer than those who participated in schooling. When coaches did leave the project, they moved into good jobs. They took with them a stable work record and some exposure to business practices and attitudes. Especially during the first year and a half, a JOBS NOW coach was in considerable demand from business and industry.
Not all coaches sought opportunities outside the project. For their own reasons, many coaches preferred to stay with the program though they looked forward to advancement within it. Others wanted to remain coaches, seeking a higher salary which they felt would be more commensurate with the skills and services their experience offered. JOBS NOW had a fairly fixed pay range for coaches (generally, $5,500 to 6,500) and because of this was sometimes forced to upgrade a coach to another position in order to retain him. It was generally felt that if a person was earning more than $7,000, he should no longer be a coach. Because of this, some very excellent coaches were upgraded to JPDs and became only mediocre.

If a program cannot move coaches up to other positions, and has a definite pay level for coaches, it will eventually lose some effective coaches. Some senior coaches who know the ropes and who have developed longstanding company relationships can become effective coach trainers. Their expertise justifies paying these valuable coaches more.

Many coaches aspired to become a job program developer, the position immediately above their own. Whereas the coach worked closely with the JPD, it was the JPD who was held responsible for developing and maintaining the company relationship with the project. Generally, the JPD worked closely with company personnel on the lower and middle
management levels; the coach worked with the new JOBS NOW hire. The coach's aspirations sometimes created problems.

"The one upgrading opportunity the coach sees clearly is becoming a JPD. This is a hang-up. The moment a coach aspires for promotion, he has just assigned an undue amount of frustration to himself. There are 25 coaches and 11 JPDs, or two coaches to every JPD. The mobility for a JPD, while it is good, is not overwhelming. When there is no promotion for a coach, anxiety sets in. This happens time after time."

Any project should take care to avoid creating "dead-end" positions within their own structure. Should this happen, staff will leave the project. A project should take steps to develop a path of progress that will give staff some idea of what can be in store for them. Proper program attention to in-house training capabilities combined with formal outside schooling can help to provide a continual source of high-quality candidates who, in turn, can be readily promoted to higher-level positions.
COACH SUPERVISION

High Trust-Low Control

Throughout the project's history, this was a major problem: striking an administrative balance between encouraging staff autonomy and the need to maintain success patterns.

The use of authority was a sensitive issue in the project. High trust-low control was the basic supervisory style. Administrators assumed an attitude toward staff that implied a sense of personal responsibility. There was a minimum of form-filling accountability. Administrators attempted to involve all staff in solving problems rather than to dictate procedures for getting things done.

A high trust-low control style was linked to the belief in the value of decision-making freedom at the line level and staff participation in policy-making to form a participatory management philosophy. It was felt that the conventional bureaucratic structure of programs inhibited direct solutions to clients' and companies' problems. In some organizations supervisory systems actually hindered the accomplishment of professed objectives: energy and attention were consumed in maintaining the system that was impractical and frequently
obsolete. More specifically, other programs with objectives similar to JOBS NOW often thwarted their success by demanding strict adherence to rules imported from an older setting and applied thoughtlessly to the new setting. JOBS NOW felt that the object of supervision was to provide only the basic framework of operational rules.

Coaches were to (1) follow-up on their companies and clients (2) participate in team meetings (see page 48 for discussion of the coach in the team setting) (3) submit follow-up reports (4) and inform the project, in a general way, where they would be working each day.

It was felt that the nature of the coaching task (revolving almost totally around problem discovery and finding solutions), the mobility of the coach (the majority of his duties were performed outside the center), and the lack of specific guidelines for coaching (the project really did not know what the coach concept was capable of), all contributed to the necessity of having supervisors remain flexible in using authority.

Coaches were encouraged to develop their own styles of operation. For example, coaches were to follow-up, but they were to devise their own ways of accomplishing it. Follow-up could take place in a company, a poolroom, a jail, a living room, or any number of places. It could be done at night or during the day, once a week or once a month, sym-
pathetically or harshly.

The assumption was that fairly skilled staff, when allowed to invest their intelligent concern and to stamp their work with their individual preferences, would most productively solve problems.

We found that stringent rules would create a desire on the part of coaches to beat the system.

Morale faltered and coaches concentrated their energies on beating the rule-makers when they felt they were working under a severe and insensitive structure. Instituting more stringent rules would make coaches more imaginative in battling the system. Coaches were very sensitive to acts which they interpreted as personally threatening. More than any other segment of staff, coaches felt they were misunderstood, under-valued, underpaid, and unheard. They were the lowest paid operational staff. Although coaches felt that other staff did not value them highly, most other staff expressed the opinion that the coach was the most valuable operational person. No staff in a high level project position felt about coaches the way coaches thought they did.

Administrators were aware of the coaches' sensitivity to authority and were able to paraphrase accurately the statements coaches made about "severe structure."
Administrator: "The coach feels something like this: If you're going to call me on some small infraction of the rules, then I'll do only what the rule requires and no more."

Coach: "Too much control affects the attitude of the coach in that he'll feel no one trusts him. Then he'll do only what he has to and no more. Then the job becomes just another job, and not a meaningful one."

The coach likes to "do his own thing" and wants others to realize that his methods and successes are what make him different from anybody else.

The project felt that a high trust-low control supervisory style encouraged commitment, dedication, and enthusiasm. The coach was made to feel that his actions not only represented the program, but defined it. He was told that when he dealt with a company or client, he was the program. The program trusted his decision and backed him up. The project felt that organizations were successful because of the individuals in them. Coaches were taught to deal with people in companies and not simply with companies. The intent was to use the influence of a friendl
relationship between the coach and the company representative to help the company to hire and retain the disadvantaged worker. Sometimes this worked, (one coach said, "Because the personnel director and I were buddies, I got more jobs than I would have otherwise"), and sometimes it did not. Some coaches resisted it. Often, company personnel resisted it. But there is evidence to indicate that the personal approach can work and that when it works, it is more effective than the more conventional impersonal "sales" approach.

The project remained convinced that a great many of its inter and intra-organizational problems were based on the inability of employees to communicate openly and frankly. Internally, therefore, an emphasis was placed on human relations and sensitivity training throughout the project to improve communications.

High trust-low control was based on communication that solved problems. The idea was not for supervisors to dictate policies, but to foster frank and honest dialogue between staff followed by compromises which would lead to solutions satisfying both or all parties.

Operationally, human relations staff sessions were felt to be important for three principal reasons:
1. They invariably led to a productive discussion on program objectives, problems, and results.

2. Those discussions were usually continued in the work setting and with the general tone of openness established in the seminar setting. This tended to create an on-the-job atmosphere of concern, energy, and imaginative approaches to solving problems.

3. They helped establish personal relationships (including the coach-supervisory relationship) which facilitated the quick and direct exchange of information and opinions needed to solve problems rapidly.

Setting The Rules

"We never fully discovered the answer to how stringent rules had to be to achieve adequate but not crippling control over coaches."

JOBS NOW coaches were allowed to gamble on new ways of working. High trust-low control was a built-in safe-guard to allow them to "do their own thing" within a certain loosely defined structure.

The project was permissive, and anxious to encourage creativity and ingenuity among coaches. One difficulty was that JOBS NOW never really defined to coaches the extent of its permissiveness. Too much control and too little control brought extremely similar results -- frustration,
lowered morale, and attempts to beat the system.

It became obvious that at a certain level and with certain coaches low-control became detrimental to the project and to coaches themselves. One administrator felt that low-control became, for some coaches at least, "You accept what I do. What I do should not be open for discussion and criticism. I need you only to solve problems I can't solve."

Eventually, a few coaches had difficulty adhering to many rules. Some had difficulty getting to work on time or regularly. This did not always mean that the coach was not effective, but it often did. One coach was rarely on time because he spent a great deal of the night keeping his clients out of trouble and ready for work. In 1969 it was made mandatory that all coaches be at the center at 8:30 a.m. and sign out at 4:30 p.m. While this tightened up on coaches who were taking advantage, it made other coaches (like the one described here) adhere to a regular work day and reduced community follow-up at night and on weekends.

Restatement of project objectives and how the coaches' duties and responsibilities fit into the overall scheme of things, constructive comments on how a coach can improve his performance, and an airing of
personal and job-related problems are steps that might rekindle a wayward coach's interest and enthusiasm. The existence of a sign-in policy alone without additional revitalizing efforts does not solve any problems relating to coaches' performance of their jobs.

**Coach Accountability**

Not having hard and fast guidelines from which to work resulted in confusion among supervisors and anxieties among staff. Supervisors varied in their interpretations of high trust. Inconsistency and irregularity in supervision lowered the morale of coaches and supervisors alike.

Some staff felt that neither high trust-low control nor its opposite were good in themselves. High trust, although supposedly keyed to the individual by supporting him as a particular person among many, failed to consider individual differences that affect the type of supervision required. A coach's autonomy is earned. The amount of super-
vision a coach receives is a by-product of his performance. If performance is low and results minimal, high control follows. Low control did not work for all coaches. A small percentage of excellent coaches would have been excellent no matter what type and amount of supervision they received. Those were characterized as "self starters". "A conscientious coach is going to do his job well whether or not there is an accountability factor."

Another administrator said that "doing your thing" worked for the coach who was (1) skilled and (2) organized. "If the job structure isn't provided by the supervisor, then the coach has to supply it himself. This suits some coaches, but not most." It was generally felt by administrators and supervisors that female coaches were more responsive to high trust supervision. This did not necessarily mean that they were better coaches, but the fact remains that females were frequently ascribed with a "sense of duty" missing in many male coaches.

The better coaches who had demonstrated that they could perform under the permissive system seemed to be those who were mature in their attitudes toward work. One administrator claimed that women coaches seemed to be more responsible than the males, not because they were females, but because they were more likely to be married than male
coaches. "The coach who is married and who has worked a few years is more likely to be mature." It was also pointed out that former GIs were usually more responsible than male coaches without military experience.

Budgeting Time

Usually the coach scheduled his time in a way that was personally comfortable -- and as a result, raised the uncomfortable issue of accountability.

Most coaches tried to budget their time equally among community, company, and center activity. Supervisors tended to sanction this procedure. If the TA received any emergency calls for the coach, he would relay them to the coach when he called. Nearly all coaches allowed a certain amount of time for handling emergencies. To do this, many coaches stayed in the center and near telephones. One coach in particular had most of his clients come in to see him. He felt that this was more realistic to the kind of situation a client would find on the job -- being some place at a certain time. Also, the coach felt that field visitation had a "social worker" connotation which clients resisted. Being in the center saved the coach time, and made
him available when clients who had urgent problems did call on the telephone. This approach was discouraged by the project. Too many clients in the coaching rooms were interpreted as being a sign that the coach was not out doing his job. "The jobs and the clients are outside -- he should be too," was a common sentiment.

Nevertheless, being at the center allowed coaches to meet with clients who were unemployed and still handle any problem calls from clients or company personnel. If an emergency required his presence in a company or in the community, the coach was in a central location to reach the problem area quickly.

Companies are sometimes annoyed at constant follow-up calls when they can see no real difficulties. In the same way, some clients do not want constant follow-up. Some clients may want special attention and frequent visits by the coach, while others may not wish to depend on the coach once they know what they are expected to do on the job. A coach could stay on top of the situation by staying at his desk.

A Daily Itinerary

Supervisors preferred coaches to present them with an agenda of
the day's activity. This kind of coach usually called periodically during the day to take messages. If an emergency situation occurred, he could always rearrange his schedule to accommodate it.

Other coaches felt that presenting a team associate with a list of the day's schedule was near to impossible. "You can't really schedule your time for the supervisor. Things pop up and you have to take care of them. That's all there is to it. You can usually outline certain duties that you have to get done, but you can't really be sure ahead of time in what order you'll get them done."

Though some team associates persisted in the belief that the nature of the coaching job demanded that supervision be held to a minimum, others found that a more rigorous system of scheduling should have been tried. "Specific days should be allotted for company visits, certain days for community visits, along with time for report writing and clerical work. Scheduled visits should be made whether or not the company or client is having a problem. Such a plan would strengthen the coach's relationship with the client and companies. The schedule would be flexible enough to allow the coach to make calls requiring immediate attention."
"The coach should have more supervised activity. At present there is no formal way of checking up on what coaches are doing in way of follow-up."

Supervision is a reaction to information. The only steady information of this type the team associate got was from the coach himself. This made the information received by the supervisor one-sided. A supervisor should have more than one source of feedback from companies and clients. JOBS NOW ordinarily received little information from companies on coach performance, and still less from clients. Additional information would have helped TAs not only to better supervise coaches, but it also would have enabled them to solve problems and better train and evaluate their coaches. Keeping track of coaches presented a basic problem to their supervisors. The ratio of coaches to team associates was about 5 or 6 to 1. Supervisors should have developed greater contact with companies and clients.

One way of saving the supervisor time while increasing the quality of supervision was to have the JPD do follow-up on coaches in companies. In fact, JPDs were reluctant to assume a supervisory responsibility over coaches, particularly those who had been their past "coaching buddies."
The easiest, best, and probably the most basic, but most easily overlooked way to follow-up on coaches was to ask the clients themselves. This is how supervisors can find out what the clients want, what kinds of coaching they are getting, and how they feel about it. Programs should be diligent in this.

Spot-checking particular clients of individual coaches will often show that these clients are having certain similar problems that the coach does not handle. For example, none of his clients are being referred to supportive services. If one or two clients were having these problems it might simply be a matter of negligence, but if many are, the problem is more basic and therefore more harmful to more people. Perhaps the coach is afraid to go into the community or does not know where to refer clients with medical problems. The supervisor should show the coach what to do, support him in it, and then be sure he is doing it.

Caseloading

There was little consistency in caseload assignments. Some coaches were assigned fifteen clients and some had seventy or more. Coaches were assigned to companies, and the number of clients re-
ferred to each company varied. If a coach were assigned to a company with a good JPD (one whose companies had more openings than other JPDs'), it meant that the coach had more work than if his JPD were not so good. Interestingly, usually coaches with a heavy load were thought to be better coaches than those with light caseloads. One reason they were chosen to work with better JPDs was because they had demonstrated that they could handle more clients and companies. These coaches showed a natural desire to do well.

The number of clients that a coach had to service was, nevertheless, not always a clear indicator of the amount of work a coach had to do. Coaches with many employed clients had fewer problems and did less field work than a coach with a high number of unemployed clients. TAs often had to redistribute caseload assignments among his coaching team when some coaches had too many clients to allow for effective service.

In general, however, caseloads became almost unmanageable -- the result of trying to service 2,000 plus people in a year. Teams became saturated after about six months, and could not provide the quality service they could give in the beginning of the year. To handle new clients, coaches tended to do less follow-up on those people assigned to them early in the project year.
It is suggested that in early operations, programs might experiment with what constitutes a workable caseload. This can be done by systematically assigning various numbers of clients to respective coaches and observing results. The size of the caseload affects the coaching job, and some careful, rational thought should be given to it.

Standards of Coach Evaluation

There was a great deal of disagreement in the project as to who was a good coach. The best coach to one person might be the worst to another. To some extent it was possible to tell how effective a JPD had been by the number of jobs into which he had placed his team's client. On the most basic level, this could be done quantitatively, by simple arithmetic. In some way, JPD-A with ten placements was better than JPD-B with five.*

* Placement figures by team (each team had two JPDs) were kept. However, no breakdown of placement by individual JPD was tabulated.
Another line of thought in the project professed that numbers in themselves were unimportant and that job quality, length of employment, and/or beneficial employment service to the client was the true measure of staff success. There was always a stigma associated with "the numbers game" which was felt to be "a way of piling up figures to make you look good when you were actually doing nothing for the individual client." It was possible for a JPD and team associate to justify low placement figures by claiming that their jobs were more highly supportive than those of the JPD and team associate with higher placement figures. Only quantitative data were formally kept, however. These data were not considered that important by personnel faced with evaluating staff. This "evaluation dilemma" also affected coaches.

There were no formal quantitative or qualitative criteria which the project used to evaluate the performance of the coach.

It was felt to be unfair to judge coach performance by placement figures. One coach said, "no matter how good the coach is, you cannot really evaluate him this way because some companies just hire more than others do." Most staff felt that retention figures should
be considered in evaluating a coach. Enabling the client to stay in employment after the JPD helped get him hired was an important, if not the most important, part of a coach's task. JOBS NOW did not vigorously compile these data. Evaluation on the basis of accurate retention figures was not done. But it should have been. Having access to these kinds of data will provide a program with useful evaluative information on the coach's performance in the company.

Coupled with this, however, should be a consideration of the type company with which a coach is dealing. A coach assigned to a highly supportive company has an immediate advantage over a coach in an uncooperative company where turnover is noticeably greater. This is related to another criterion of evaluation -- the coach's ability to get his companies to hire more clients. The more highly supportive companies will often hire more people. The high support relationship of company to project will tend to "take care of itself," often with a minimum of effort by the coach.

For a coach assigned to a low support company where turnover is great, qualitative factors such as how the coach tried to develop greater opportunities for clients and how he dealt with terminated
or unstable clients becomes important. One coach might let a fired client join the ranks of the unemployed, another coach might ask the company to hire him back, while a third coach might find another job for him. Judgement, initiative, and concern for the client and company become better tools for evaluation than quantitative criteria alone. This means that the coach's supervisor has to know how the coach handles individual problems.
THE COACH - CLIENT RELATIONSHIP

Coach And The Service Team

Staff of JOBS NOW were broken down into five small groups, or teams, each of which was intended to be a microcosmic JOBS NOW. Each was assigned personnel representing all areas of specialization required to service the client by orienting him to employment, developing a job for him, placing him into the job, and following up on him. Team personnel included: one human relations counselor, two job program developers, one Employment Service interviewer, five or six coaches, and one team administrator. The five teams serviced 100 people per cycle.
It was expected that the coach would represent the client more than any other person in the project. This did not mean that he could always or usually "side" with the client, but that he would indicate to him in an acceptable way, productive alternatives to his behavior. He would provide company supervisors with information that had direct bearing on the client's employment. He would also bring information back from the employer. Knowing "where the client was coming from" was as important to the team as it was to the company. The coach, however, did not usually have this kind of information when team placement meetings were held.

Clients did not know who their coach was until after they had been assigned to a company. In the great majority of the cases this was not until the end of the second week. Coaches were assigned to particular companies, and when a client was matched with that company through the team, the coach assumed the responsibility for him.

Clients not referred, or referred but not hired, were assigned to coaches toward the end of the cycle. Usually, if a coach had dealings with clients before the cycle ended, it was on a collective basis, through sitting in on workshop classes and human relations sessions. Some coaches did this; some did not, but most tried.
The Coach's Importance at Team Placement Meetings

Following are some comments by JOBS NOW staff on the value of the coach's participation in team placement meetings.

1st JPD: "It's very important for the coach to attend those meetings. He learns how many clients he has, who they are, picks up copies of their PI (Personal Information) forms, and gets other personal information from the HR counselor."

2nd JPD: "The HR counselor is most important for these meetings. On our team, he sits down with the coaches and JPDs and reviews his personal information on participants."

Team Associate: "His attendance is extremely important, particularly if he hasn't been involved in orientation classes. Through the team meetings, the coach will learn a little more of what's going on with his particular clients."

The coach's inputs in placement meetings were most often centered around employer information. The coach brought to the meeting experiences of past clients in particular companies and jobs in those companies. He often knows in a better way than the JPD what problems those clients are having. He might not know the client whom the team is thinking of placing in the company, but he can predict whether the client might be successful in the company or not. "You say this client is very nervous. This job you're talking about is very noisy and nerve-wracking. He might not be able to make it." In some teams the advice of the
coach was the deciding word as to whether or not a client was referred to a particular company.

The Coach and Team Follow-Up Meetings

Most teams held follow-up meetings early the first week of the new two-week orientation cycle. Those meetings were devoted to up-dating the status of previous cycle's clients, a review or wrap-up of the last cycle.

It was usually believed that during placement sessions the HR counselor and the JPD were the most important team members. For participant follow-up after the cycle's end, the coach was considered the most important.

"The coach is the information piece. He gets feedback from the client. He informs the team, especially the JPD, of new openings in the companies. Through the coach's follow-up, the project and the team keep track of the client. He makes suggestions and recommendations to the team on clients and companies."

"The coach is most important because of his follow-up after the cycle. Since he is working in the field, he knows the latest dispositions of clients. He knows what is going on in the companies and what is happening with clients there, what successes and problems they're having."

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Two Styles Of Relating To JOBS NOW Clients

The coach's primary concern was to help the client hold his job. The coach had to be able to help clients with personal and employment problems which affected job performance. Coaches had to establish a rapport with the client and build a trusting relationship so that the client would feel open in expressing problems, as well as receptive to suggestions. The coach's personal style played an important part in his job. Sometimes the coach assumed a role or feigned an attitude to reach a client. Other times it was the natural outgrowth of the coach's own natural behavior.

Two different general styles of coaching seemed to emerge. Here they are called the 'street coach,' and the 'conservative' coach. Some coaches, because of personality, background, and values, applied one approach more so than another. Program policy reinforced this tendency to carry out one's job in one's own individual style. Most coaches carried out their task applying the style that they felt most suited the situation and particular
client, as well as their own inclination.

These two coaching styles certainly do not represent the definitive approaches taken by JOBS NOW coaches. Nevertheless the division allows for an easy discussion of some insights, pitfalls, and methods for developing a helpful working rapport between coach and client.

The 'Street Coach'

"Sometimes it's necessary to go through a bar or poolroom to find a client."

The street-wise coach is very familiar with the life and problems in the city's ghetto communities' bars, pool rooms, housing projects, and streets. He well may have lived there himself. Often, he has experienced the same problems which afflict his clients: lack of money, no support from his family, poor eating and sleeping habits, and gang involvement. He relates to his clients as one who has experienced their problems and solved or begun to solve them. He shows empathy and experience: "I know what it's like. Let me show you how you can make it, how you can get yourself together."
He uses his experiences and maturity to point out alternative choices and styles of behavior available to the client. The degree of maturity among JOBS NOW coaches varied. Some had not been able to solve their own problems, many of which were quite similar to those of the clients. These coaches, observed one administrator, related to clients, but on a pool-room basis. That is, they listened to gripes and sympathized, without offering constructive assistance. Usually, a coach who cannot help himself cannot help others. His success or failure in solving personal problems cannot always be detected in the coach's pre-hiring interview. A possible probation period could be the answer to assuring effective performance among permanent staff.

"Many clients approach programs with suspicion. To establish confidence in the program, the coach must show he is for real."

The street-wise coach emphasized the importance of rapport between coach and client. As one coach commented: "Many clients have much familiarity with agencies and their programs. These clients tended to approach programs with suspicion or cynicism. When rapport was established, the clients trusted the coach enough to confide important, often personal, information and to respect the coach's judgement."
These coaches believed that it was not necessary for the aware or "hip" inner-city coach to be trained in techniques of relating to clients. "We live among clients everyday; we know their problems," cited one coach. Some of these coaches asserted that because their background is similar to that of the clients, they too, have felt uneasy and on the defensive when searching for a job. They recalled those experiences in attempting to relax the client.

The approaches for gaining the client's confidence varied, but all capitalized on, in some way, the similarity of their lifestyle to the client's. The coach's use of "street language" tended to relax the client. At ease with a familiar way of talking, it was easier for the client to communicate. The formality of a bureaucratic approach is alien to the client's life style. He will respond much faster if greeted: "Hey brother, what's happening? What do you want?" On occasion, some clients have exhibited suspicion upon hearing the coach talk in a middle-class, business vernacular to company personnel. Some coaches attempted to obviate this suspicion by telling the client beforehand that he may have to talk differently to "the man" in the company, but he is still "for real". This is where empathy, the ability to participate favorably in someone else's feelings, paid off for the coach.
"Anyone can bring a poster to me, and I'll hang it up if it relates to the black community or to that client who walks through here."

Many coaches in this group thought that the coach's desk area also contributed to the atmosphere of the program. Pictures and memorabilia that the client could relate to further showed the client what the coach's interests were. A poster of an upcoming community event frequently engendered a friendly chat on the event or similar events supported by the black community. This was an effective ice-breaker for some clients and usually led to the coach's obtaining pertinent information without having to probe for it. During this "kidding and rapping" session, the client may begin by discussing his attitudes in general. For example, one client may say: "I just can't stand for anyone to prod me, telling me what I gotta do. You know what I mean?" The coach could then, within the framework of a relaxed, friendly conversation, discuss with the client the production requirements in certain companies, how well the client would be able to cope with these requirements, how he felt toward supervisors, other workers, and any other areas involving attitudes which affect employment.

The coach can often gain an insight into these attitudes by visiting human relations classes or consulting the counselor. The
important factor is that the coach be able to adapt himself to the conversation of the client, to realize its worth as an ice-breaker for some clients, and to gather vital information through "rapping" to lead the client gradually into a serious discussion of employment.

"Some clients play games and sometimes the stakes are high."

The street-wise coach takes pride in being able to cut through the client's game, or the inconspicuous and unexpected tests imposed on people (in this instance, coaches) by some clients who are not easily influenced by initial displays of honesty and concern. One client cursed out a coach. The coach took it in stride while still exhibiting concern for the client. The client later apologized. Coaches are called on to pass many tests of this type.

Coaches find that their experiences enable them to sense with what clients they must be particularly aggressive. "To certain clients aggressiveness implies charisma and ability to deal with unusual or reluctant personalities. When some clients sense that a coach is shy or weak, they become desultory, cynical, and uncooperative by refusing to give serious, straight-forward responses to the coach's questions."
This was another one of the tests prevalent in many coach-client relationships. If the coach failed this one by not possessing the experience, understanding, and presence of mind to handle the situation, he had damaged his chance to establish an effective relationship with the client. The client would leave the scene disenchanted with the coach, a person who was weaker than he, the client. This experience could be a possible guide for those individuals involved in assigning clients to coaches. Assigning certain beligerent clients to "charismatic" coaches may be worth considering for getting these clients through employment successfully.

The "Conservative" Coach

"It is not necessary for the coach to act and talk like the client; even clients want to feel they can change."

Unlike the street-wise coach, the "conservative" coach hardly ever was seen without a suit and tie. "There are certain procedures by which we all must abide," cites the conservative coach. "A suit and tie is the proper attire for my line of work and clients should be able to accept this. As long as the coach shows concern for his
clients and helps them, business attire will not hinder rapport."

The conservative coach did not believe that communication between coach and client must be in "street language". These coaches felt that clients were in the process of changing or desirous of change, and that new ways of behaving should be promulgated early in the relationship. The coach who used street language sparingly felt that he was encouraging clients to re-evaluate their own language skills -- to show clients they could speak in more than one way, depending on the circumstances.

Some clients were immediately antagonistic toward the conservative coach. A common criticism was "he's got bread, a car, and nice clothes. He can't help me and doesn't really want to. He doesn't understand what it's like out there, what it's like to be hungry, what goes on in the streets. I don't even want to talk to him." As a result of this attitude, clients often gave the coach incorrect information, wrong addresses, apartment numbers, and telephone numbers.

"The only thing he can do for me is get me a job."

Some clients who were critical of the conservative coach broke
through the stereotype to get what they wanted: a job. Said one such client: "No, he couldn't help me with my problems, but I didn't have that many. The only thing I want him to do for me is get me a job and if he does that, we can make it." These clients seemingly feel that the conservative coach is not capable of handling their ghetto or personal problems. For them, his function is not so much "advising" as it is job placement.

The conservative coach did not see the value in the "kidding and rapping" sessions that the street-wise coach used. His discussion with the client usually remained serious and directly pertinent throughout. "Clients want help and a job, not a lot of laughs. Clients are interested in my description of my function as a coach. I usually begin our conversation by explaining to the client that I will help him secure employment and help him with any problems he may have. The client seems to be able to relate to this and gradually begins to talk about himself and his job and salary preferences."

The Coach As A Role Model

Implicit in coaching was the belief that the client would not only identify with and therefore readily relate with the coach, but
that the client would look upon the coach as someone worthy of emulation. The coach, therefore, would be able to establish a rapport with the client and be able to influence the client's response to the new job situation.

There is certainly evidence that coaches set an example for clients. When clients were asked their job preferences, the single most common answer was "something like a coach". Many of the clients wanted to get on the project's staff, especially when the coach or instructor performed his or her job proficiently. This situation brought about limited recruiting of coaching assistants from the client population.

However, one director felt that the coach does not really serve as a model for the client. The coach is instead a catalyst to help the participant compete with his neighborhood friends. "He is not really interested in being like the coach," the director said; "He wants the coach to help him 'make it'. The greatest recruiter and model that exists is the successful client."

Clients who are earnest about employment goals from the time of their entering the program are usually interested only in the help that coaches can provide. If clients are still vacillating between the employment world and the world of the streets, they
may require the kind of coach who projects a semblance of street values that the client can identify with, but who can prod the client into seeing the values and potential rewards of employment.

A Common Pitfall

Part of the coach's job is to serve as confidant and to offer friendly advice. If the coach loses sight of his main objectives --helping the client get and hold a job--and if the relationship proceeds on a buddy basis only, the client usually is not served. The client may become too dependent on the coach's help, and may avoid facing situations he will eventually have to deal with on his own. "Friendship is fine, as long as it does not overshadow the business of facing the reality of those job problems," one coach said. Friendship can also alter the coach's objectivity. For example, the coach may lose sight of a supervisor's viewpoint, which can therefore limit his ability to interpret the company's needs and expectations to the client.

Some coaches have camouflaged their inability to service clients effectively by becoming the "good guy" or the popular coach. This coach may always look busy with clients. Clients may seek this coach out for rapping sessions. These coaches, though popular with clients,
often kept them from the kind of help they needed. Their popularity may be a sign of lost objectivity and "softness", and therefore, of poor performance.

**Beginning Guidance -- Two Approaches**

In one method the coach posed guidance questions to the client. As the client answered these questions, he came a step closer to formulating his own solution. The coach provided facts and interpretations when they were necessary for the client to adequately answer any question. A skeleton example of this question-answer exchange would be:

- **Coach:** "You don't want A, why?" (guidance question)
- **Client:** "I want B."
- **Coach:** "B is impossible because..." (fact)
- **Coach:** "Ultimately, what do you want?" (guidance question)
- **Client:** "I want X."
- **Coach:** "Don't you need A to get to X?" (guidance question)
- **Client:** "I guess so."
- **Coach:** "Do you want A now or something else?" (guidance question)
- **Client:** "I think I should go ahead and take A." (solution)

Some coaches felt that assisting the client in recognizing his needs and possible solutions to his problems encouraged his participation
and skill in problem-solving. The coach, then, provided further stability and support to the client by helping him achieve the agreed-upon ends.

The second method of offering guidance relied on the coach's knowledge and maturity to arrive at a solution. He discussed with the client why a particular solution would be best.

Inherent in effective coach-guidance is the coach's ability to: (1) recognize problems, (2) discern a negative choice of action from a positive one, (3) realize that employment is not suitable for everyone who enters the program, and (4) know where to refer unsuitable people.

The coach must help the client, but not be a crutch. The coach can point out alternatives to the client so that the actions he takes can lead to a more rewarding life, but he must be careful to let the client accept responsibility for himself. The coach should find out the client's basic problems (getting up on time, dropping pills, money, staying out all night, or drinking) and help point the way out of them.
One program director claimed that if the coach could pass on one single quality that would help the clients, it would be psychic stamina -- the ability to emotionally face the crisis of working every day in a strange neighborhood under a white supervisor in a demanding job.

Supportive Services -- "Employment is not always the answer"

Some clients have revealed that because of low wages, it is often equally or more profitable for them not to work but to continue "to make it" as they have previously. The job-money seems to have increased their debts, created money hassels at home and more frustrations than it has solved.

One administrator remarked that most coaches emphasize employment and fail to realize that not all clients are suited for employment. These coaches do not know what to do with a client who is an alcoholic, for instance. They rarely refer such clients to an agency equipped to assist them. Understandably, the coach soon begins to feel that what he can do is limited. Unaware of supportive agencies, he becomes disconcerted in his attempts to assist the client because
he realizes he is not a professional marriage, alcoholic, or narcotic abuse counselor. As a result, the coach becomes less active and seemingly less motivated. This is reflected in excess absenteeism, tardiness, long lunch hours, and even in his avoiding the participant with difficult problems.

In-program psychologists are valuable assets to coaches for assisting them in making realistic assessments of client needs and in providing appropriate professional counseling for clients. Even the employment-related problems of some clients are more awesome than the coach initially perceives.

Resisting Employment

It was common for clients to express their disdain for the employment world throughout the orientation period. Some clients openly bragged that they would not accept a job. These clients valued making it on one's own through "hustling". Going through the program was just another hustle. "Program pimps", as they were called, went from program to program for the training or participation allowance. Employment was
far from their mind. Sometimes the coach can effectively confront this client in a human relations session. Many clients, often to win group favor, talked a hustler's game, but later revealed to a coach in a one-to-one session that they earnestly wanted a job. Often a client who feels he must show off in front of his peers, will level with the coach outside the group. The coach should be aware of this and foster an atmosphere of trust so that the client will feel free to confide in the coach.

Most coaches agreed that the clients who persisted in turning down all jobs, and maintained unrealistic salary expectations despite the amount of jobs offered, usually did not want a job. However, not all clients who expressed considerable dissatisfaction over jobs and salaries did not want a job. Though these clients adamantly refused available jobs, it was later revealed that they were really refusing a dead-end position. Some coaches suggested that the client take what was presently available, and that he would be transferred to a better job when one became available. This facilitated placement, but also contributed to turnover. If clients were transferred often from a particular company, the relationship between the project and that company tended to deteriorate. Nevertheless, sometimes the
conditions in the company from which clients were transferred frequently warranted the coach's action. If the client found himself in a company which offered a good salary and opportunity for advancement, it was less difficult to persuade him to remain in that job.

Community Follow-Up

Many staff felt that the coach did not necessarily have to have an in-depth understanding of the client he was serving. What is important, however, is for the coach to know what is happening in the community where the client lives.

In the opinion of these coaches, a client's home and his community environment are keys to his lifestyle -- a lifestyle which can interfere with successful performance on the job. Many problems are not written on the PI Form, nor are they readily discussed. It is in the community that the coach can observe such situations as marital problems, gang activities, and poor eating and sleeping habits. If the coach observes a problem, he can begin to discuss it and its consequences before it leads to possible absenteeism, tardiness, or a caustic personality on the job. Then if such problems are apparent on the job, the coach is not at a total loss as to why they are occurring. He can, in turn,
make supervisors aware of some of the problems the client is facing.

Sometimes clients are reluctant to let the coach know about their home lives. In these cases the coach can build his services around the client's employment problems. If the coach is helpful, and the client begins to trust and confide in the coach, the client may begin to seek the client's counsel around personal problems as well.

"Don't be coming around me: I don't need it."

Occasionally, the coach is confronted with clients who rebel against being followed-up. Many feel that they don't need it. In this instance the coach will use one of two approaches. If the client seems to be adjusting to the work environment well, the coach may agree with him that he does not need to be followed-up. The coach who takes this position maintains it by stating that if the major problems such as absenteeism, tardiness, and insufficient productivity are to occur, they usually appear in the client's employment very soon. Should they appear later, the coach attempts to solve them then.
The other approach is to disagree with the client who is averse to being followed-up. The coach who adheres to this approach explains to the client that it is his job to stay in contact with all clients and that he prefers to be available in case a problem does arise, even though one might not arise at all. This coach agrees that problems usually appear soon in employment but that this is not always the case. There have been instances of clients who seemed well adjusted for up to a month or two, but then quit suddenly without apparent reason. Also, some clients who were seemingly well adjusted at first were later fired suddenly without the coach ever knowing why. Had the coach maintained contact with the client, it is highly probable that he could have obviated the problem before it led to drastic consequences.
IN-THE-COMPANY COACHING HINTS

Two Phases In-Company Work

The coach's involvement with companies centered around two basic activities: (1) making and maintaining contact with the company and (2) solving client-company problems.

At the contact stage, the coach established a working relationship with company personnel. He got to know company policy and procedure, and established a working agreement for meeting and handling problems. He worked out a general schedule with the company contact and the JPD with whom he worked. The coach had to be ready to assume the role and apply the tactics that best met the demands of the difficulty. For example, he had to mediate disputes between supervisor and client, advise the client on job problems, and/or advise the supervisor on how to relate to the new worker.

This section will give the coach some hints about what to expect when working with a company, what kinds of problems JOBS NOW
coaches encountered there, and how they and the company tried to solve them.

Assigning Coaches to Companies

"Coaches had to know too much about too many companies."

A serious problem in assigning JOBS NOW coaches to companies was the diffuse range of company types for which individual coaches were responsible. Coaches were confronted with the difficult task of familiarizing themselves with a variety of management needs, styles, and policies. It was perhaps unrealistic to expect a high knowledgeability and adaptiveness -- both central to good coaching -- from a coach with a minimum of business experience and formal education. While coaches received exposure to human relations training to develop their ability to relate with businessmen, they never received the necessary extensive preparation for the business world. It has been suggested that a coach demonstrate his ability to work with one type of industry before it is expected that he work with another variety of business.

"The successful relations with companies very often depended on the rapport the coach had with supervisors and personnel staff."
Developing rapport with employers was an on-going effort. Most coaches found this task difficult. The main concern during the initial stages was how well coaches presented themselves to companies. Agency staff should be particularly cognizant of the "social work" image employers often apply to governmental manpower efforts. It is important that the coach project a business-like image. JOBS NOW coaches had to talk and dress in a manner that fit the company setting without losing the ability to maintain rapport with ghetto youth. In dealing with company personnel, the coach tried not to use "hip" language that he might use with the client. Most companies expected him to wear a tie. Some clients, however, saw a tie as a symbol of the "establishment", rather than ghetto values. When working in the ghetto, most coaches did not wear ties. The coach had to be flexible enough to project an image amenable to either company personnel or the client, depending on what his role was at the time.

"The company supervisor has to know what to expect from coaching."

It is crucial that coaches clearly explain the purpose of the program. Too often employers thought of JOBS NOW as just another manpower placement service. They did not always understand that the program wanted to work with the company to help disadvantaged
workers through their problems with holding a job. The coach should make supervisors aware of the difficulties clients have adjusting to a steady job. Case studies may be used, or the coach's own experiences recounted. In any case, the company should be given a very frank description of the negative as well as the positive side of employing the disadvantaged. Workers will have problems, some of them serious. Preparation is key. Supervisors and personnel people should be prepared for common overt expressions of difficulties among those workers: a surly or withdrawn attitude, tardiness, absenteeism. It should be explained how both he (the company representative), the clients and the coach will be involved in helping to solve those problems. Many JOBS NOW coaches followed this procedure, but many failed to adequately reconcile program activities with company expectations, or even to conscientiously explain their roles. This resulted in many problems, particularly in the areas of on-the-spot firing and grievance settlement, that more than likely could have been avoided had the terms of cooperation been spelled out clearly at the outset of the relationship.

"If you don't set up some ground rules with companies, the program is not going to have a smooth relationship with them."
Without procedural agreements resentment and misunderstanding can develop. The demands that the coach can make on a company can often be interpreted as an unjustifiable nuisance if all are not clearly aware of the extent of the coach's responsibilities. Or the coach may feel that the company is refusing to cooperate with the program and with him personally. These misunderstandings can often develop around the following in particular: taking the client off the job for consultations, visiting the supervisor at the work site, or coming to the company too often.

Here are some considerations for developing an initial working agreement with companies concerning visitation.

Regularity Of Company Visitation

In the words of the one bank Personnel Director: "regular visits would help the coach achieve a better knowledge of our organizational structure, and would have a more positive effect on employees." The client would know that whatever job problems he may be having, he would count on the coach being there at a certain
predetermined time to help him. In addition, the client must have the option to call the coach at any time. Here, however, the client had the incentive to cope with the problem on his own. The JOBS NOW experience showed that clients, even after employment, are more reticent than eager to talk about their problems. Having to decide on his own whether to call or not builds the client's strengths by encouraging him to handle his own problems, at least on a short-term basis.

Some clients, however, didn't want the coach to visit them at all at work. These clients were often afraid that the coach's presence would raise too many discomforting questions. They didn't want other workers to think that the coach was a case-worker or parole officer. And although companies agreed to allow coaches access to workers, some middle and lower managers in these companies did not like it, and resisted it. Supervisors in particular were afraid that other workers would ask: "how come he gets special attention and we don't?" At times this created stress for everybody involved. Normally this can be remedied by "going over the supervisor's head," and coaches frequently did this. Among personnel department staff there is less resistance to the concept of coaching than there is on lower company levels. Some coaches visited the company only when...
severe problems developed -- a fight on the job, excessive lateness, incarceration, etc. When these coaches did follow-up, it was away from the work site. These "crisis-oriented" coaches kept abreast of the clients progress by telephone. This method of contact was the only alternative open to coaches assigned to companies who had agreed to allow the coach a limited access to the work site.

Companies usually provided an area for private meetings between coaches and clients. Sometimes this space was a corner of the lunch room; sometimes it was the company president's office. If no space was provided, the coach had to meet with the client after working hours or during a lunch break.

Client Problems in the Company

The following cases typify problems which clients had in companies and show the approaches coaches took to solving them.

Absenteism and Tardiness -- The Major Problems

Not showing up for work or coming in late were the most common problems that clients exhibited in employment. They were the most
difficult problems to overcome, and they usually appeared soon after the client was placed on the job.

A Case Study

A young woman came to JOBS NOW hoping to be placed in an office job. Though she had no special office skills, she was sure she could do the work if given a chance, and a little help. She, along with four other young women, was hired as a file clerk in a large commercial office. Two months went by without any problems. The company considered her performance acceptable and she seemed to be adjusting well to her work setting. Then one day she didn't report to work. She called the company, telling them she was ill and would have to go into the hospital to be treated for high blood pressure. The company informed her that they could not pay her for the time she would miss because she had been employed for so short a time. They wished her a speedy recovery and looked forward to her return.

A week passed without a word from her. The company nurse called her home to find how she was doing and when she planned to return to work. The client's grandmother told the nurse that she had no knowledge of her granddaughter's whereabouts but knew she was not in the hospital. Two weeks later, she called her supervisor and asked if she could report to work the next day. She was told that the company had already hired someone to fill her old position.

She called the coach who had placed her and asked if he could get her job back. When the coach called the company, he was told the circumstances and reason for her termination.
The next day she appeared in the personnel office of the company from which she was fired. She explained that the coach advised her to reapply. In disbelief, the personnel officer showed her the door.

What Might Have Been Done

Here is an example of a client who lost a job needlessly. To some extent the coach, the company, and the client were all at fault. The client should have informed the company of her situation; failing to do this, she should have informed the coach. One of the very basic learnings of the project was that companies will very often give clients a second chance when apprised by the project of the special conditions of the client's life which interfered with steady employment, particularly when there is some evidence that the client can become a stable and productive employee and that the project will help in this effort. The "sponsorship" of disadvantaged personnel by a manpower program is more important to employers than most of those programs realize.

Losing contact with the client, and therefore unable to fill in the employer on the client's situation and whereabouts, the coach was unable to intervene to work out with the company an alternative to termination.

The client notified the company that she was going to be hospitalized. She should have notified the coach of this also, and when her hospitalization ended. When preparing to return to work, she should have notified the coach. The coach, in turn should have informed the company that she wanted to return, explain the situation, and that the project would support the company in giving the client a second chance. If the company had agreed to rehire her, the coach should have explained
the terms of rehire to the client. Although it did not happen in this particular case, it did happen often.

It is important that other projects know that it was not unusual for companies to work with JOBS NOW to rehire terminated clients.

This case is representative. Many newly-placed employees left town to attend a funeral or visit a distant relative. Sometimes they were ill or claimed that excuse. When they returned they expected to have their job waiting for them. Instead, they found that they were fired. It is important for the coach to prepare the company for the possibility of this behavior beforehand, to achieve a more lenient solution if it does occur. He should also try to ward off absenteeism through follow-up activity with the client. This, of course, has a more acceptable, because long-lasting, effect.

Sometimes absenteeism is just an unproductive way of coping with the stress of a new job.

When a worker is too often late or absent, it means to the company that he is not really very interested in the job.
the trained coach, however, absenteeism or tardiness is a warning sign. Rarely does it mean that the client doesn't want the job. But for the client, a way of coping with the stress that the new job situation creates is simply to take off work. It is up to the coach to help his client adjust in a more productive way, while ensuring the company's understanding and leniency during this crucial period. Though this period of adjustment varied with different new entry-level workers, it was clear that most disadvantaged workers needed time to get used to regular employment. One coach suggested that at the very beginning of a client's employment experience, he feels the need to be away from the work site in order to assimilate the new demands of the job environment into his own personal style. To this coach, a positive process within the client is taking place though its effect appears negative to the company.

Tardiness

A coach, working with his JPD, was able to place twenty-one clients into a large "loop" bank, the first group of JOBS NOW clients accepted by the firm. One client didn't show up the first day. The coach told her that if she was late once next week, he was going to recommend that she be dropped. The girl was late and the coach kept his promise.
Since this was the initial placement, the coach felt he should not jeopardize the company's relationship with the project or with the new workers who later proved successful on the job. The coach's action was understandably defensive. However, it might have been wiser for him to use this case to demonstrate to the company how coaching and a high support attitude can get tardy workers to the job on time and keep them there. Instead, the coach adopted a policy stricter than even the company might have.

Two young women, placed by JOBS NOW into a can manufacturing company, found themselves in trouble for frequent tardiness. The clients produced more than their work quota and were compensated accordingly, but the supervisor wanted them to come to work on time.

The supervisor called the coach. The coach, in turn, explained to his clients that the company was happy with their high performance. However, the other workers resented the fact that although the girls came in late, they were not disciplined or docked. The coach further explained to the clients that they needed to follow the rules because their actions affected other persons on the production line. The girls understood and improved their attendance record.

Problems With The Supervisor

"I don't have time to be a nursemaid to anyone. I have work to get out. If somebody wants a job, he'll see to it that he gets here on time." Whether this was the supervisor's own attitude, or whether it was his interpretation of company priorities, the coach had to understand it if he was going to successfully soften the supervisor's stance toward the inexperienced worker.
Coaches have claimed that a great many supervisors expected more from minority workers than other workers. "When clients are absent, supervisors just don't believe their excuses. Too many supervisors just don't understand the problems our client's have." The coach tried to keep the supervisors attuned to the problems of minority workers, to show the supervisor that a helpful service was being provided, and that initial leniency would pay off.

Some companies have gone out of their way to assign JOBS NOW referrals to departments headed by sympathetic, cooperative supervisors who willingly extended themselves to their workers. "They don't have to be a buddy", says one personnel director. "A friendly hello, or telling a worker what to do in a firm but considerate way promotes a lot more morale than many supervisors realize".

Nevertheless, some supervisors created problems for clients that required a coach's intervention to ease the tension or help the worker keep his job. The following examples briefly describe some of these problems and how coaches or clients tried to solve them.
Coaches said that some supervisors disliked and resented minority workers hired through "poverty programs" and sometimes tried to provoke the clients. In one situation a supervisor taunted a client hoping that he would either quit or react explosively so that the foreman would have some justification for firing him. However, the client reacted maturely. He said to the supervisor, calmly: "I know you're trying to make me mad, but I can't be bothered with you. I have a job to do." When the coach learned of this incident he expressed satisfaction with the way the client handled himself. "This client saw through the supervisor and was not intimidated by him. He cared about his job and his own future." JOBS NOW coaches felt that the program should stress this kind of coping behavior with clients. It might be done in the form of role-playing in the pre-referral orientation.

Another technique supervisors used in undermining the client's security on the job was to move him from job to job before he had mastered a particular task. This tended to make the client feel that he was incompetent and not really needed by the company, whatever the company intent. The coach can forewarn his client about this possibility, and discuss this procedure with the supervisor himself or with a higher company authority. It should be remembered, however, that sometimes job shifting is done for positive reasons: it can provide the worker and the company with an opportunity to discover what type of job the client likes best and performs best at. In any case, however, clients are sensitive to "being shuffled around." Being informed of the reasons for moving can help cut down client dissatisfaction, and prevent problems.

In another case of supervisor hostility, the coach involved the personnel manager who assumed the role of arbitrator. One supervisor wanted to fire a client who returned from lunch five minutes late. The client was reprimanded in a harsh and demeaning manner and answered the supervisor with equal animosity. The supervisor told him to leave. When the coach was informed, he met with the client, supervisor, and personnel manager. Realizing that the supervisor misused his authority
the manager transferred the client to another department. The coach's quick action helped prevent his client's termination.

To avoid problems with supervisors it is important to make them aware of how coaching can benefit their job. As one coach put it: "I do my job well. I follow-up on clients regularly. I let the supervisors know I'm counseling clients and that I'm interested in their opinion of the client. I try to get them to see that through communication, I can serve them and the client better. If they are thinking of firing a client, I tell them to contact me to see if I'm aware of the problem and what I'm doing or can do about it."

Theft

One young man placed into a company by JOBS NOW was caught stealing. Normally he would have been fired on the spot. But the personnel director, taking the goals of the project seriously, called the coach instead. After some deliberation, the company decided to give the client another chance.

In another company, under an MA contract, two clients stole $3,000 worth of goods. The workers were fired, but the company did not press charges.
Stealing in the company was rare among JOBS NOW clients, though many referrals had a police record. Most companies were willing to hire clients with records as long as they were informed of this beforehand. If it was discovered after the clients' hire, they were usually terminated. This again emphasizes the fact that companies wanted an honest appraisal of the clients that coaches were referring. Most coaches, therefore, supplied this information. Coaches made no excuses about police records, but they did emphasize the new hire's strong points.

Coaching efforts can have an effect on the degree of concern companies exhibit toward the disadvantaged worker. The fact that the coach is there at bat for the client without excusing his actions helps to soften the way the company deals with him.

Legal Aid

A company previously involved with JOBS NOW called its past coach for help. A young female employee was involved with a "shyster" firm which wanted the company to garnish her wages. The young woman was a dependable worker, and the company did not want to take action without first hearing her side of the story. It was clear that she was being taken advantage of. The company called JOBS NOW and asked the coach if he could find her legal aid. The coach contacted one of the project's specialists who in turn found a lawyer. Together, the coach's lawyer and company
took the worker's case to court. The girl was found innocent. A deceptive practice charge was brought against the unscrupulous outfit.

This company obviously took high support to heart. The company was willing to go out of the way to seek special help for an employee. This experience underscores the importance of developing a credible relationship between company and program. It also illustrates the importance of a supportive service unit within a project. Many employers, agencies, and other program administrators felt that assigning a coach to handle emergency, legal, health and housing problems was a vital service which the great majority of programs overlooked.

Grooming

The poor hygienic habits of one placed female client offended her supervisor and fellow workers, but the company did not want to embarrass the client on this touchy issue. The coach, failing to achieve results by one-to-one counseling, held a human relations session with the client and other referrals placed with her. Her peers did not mince words; they told her she had better clean herself up. She responded to criticism and improved her grooming habits. Her work also improved. Using the self-disciplining tendency of client groups is a useful strategy which coaches can employ.

Dress standards can vary from job to job. For example, the style of clothes an employee wore was not an issue in one bank; in
another, the supervisor complained because clients wore bell bottom pants and mini skirts. It is important for the coach to know the particular climate and attitude of each company in which he will be placing clients.

Reassignment to Improve Project - Company Relations

A personnel manager in a large loop bank was dissatisfied with the performance of a JOBS NOW coach. The manager felt that the coach was not mature enough to deal with either the clients or the bank setting. When a new team associate, or team supervisor, was assigned to this company, she contacted the bank and told them of her new position, informing them that she would do everything possible to coordinate activities between the project and the company to try to bring about a more understanding and congenial relationship. She assigned a new coach to the company, replacing the other coach. After the reassignment, follow-up became more consistent and supportive services improved.

The Militant Client

While needing a job, a client may nevertheless see his employment as another form of exploitation by society, and his attitude on the job may express his resentment and hostility. He will be reluctant to accept the supervisor's authority and may react explosively to criticism or orders.
Most companies looked to the coach to help the client develop a more constructive attitude. For example, one training director said: "An employee should be proud and stand up for his rights, but should not carry a chip on his shoulder. The coach should channel a client's energy toward black awareness, but he should also point out that he needs to learn what he can." Some coaches, failing to see the company point of view, and over-identifying with the client, reinforced negative work attitudes rather than fostering constructive ones. Another training director said: "One coach went along with whatever black clients claimed or protested about. She never found out our side of the story." The successful coach did not minimize the client's militant stance, but showed how it related to the development of his growth, maturity, knowledge and skills.

The "Double Standard"

Companies cooperating with JOBS NOW sooner or later had to come to terms with the "double standard" issue. Cooperation means altering
standards of qualification, performance, and attendance for participants while maintaining old standards for regular employees. This tended to create problems if regular employees got wind of the company's unusual leniency toward project referrals. The following describes two typical ways companies dealt with this problem.

One major food chain implemented its own coaching program after its initial involvement with JOBS NOW. It felt that a "double standard" was necessary during the worker's transition period with the understanding that this special consideration would be applied only for the necessary adjustment period, which in the company was six months to one year. The company did not look upon minority workers as special employees; they simply needed additional assistance in the beginning stages of their employment. If any employees complained about the unfairness of this special treatment, the supervisor would usually take that worker aside and explain the program and what it was trying to do. The company did not publicize the program or label the workers involved in it.

Some companies, however, have labeled workers referred by JOBS NOW and similar programs. One bank, for example, put a sign on a training room: "Disadvantaged Training Class." The room was across from the cafeteria, one of the most travelled areas in the company. But the clients did not want other employees to associate them with this program. They just wanted to be like everyone else.

Companies which hire referrals from manpower and training programs are advised to provide an atmosphere whereby special attention can be provided while still treating the employee as
part of the regular work force. Labeling is quite generally an unproductive or harmful practice.

One Client's Difficulties

Below is a case included to illustrate some kinds of problems coaches and companies encounter when helping clients.

A JOBS NOW client who enrolled in the training program of a major loop bank was having personal problems which were interfering with his job. The young man was living with his girlfriend who was under age. The authorities had made a few attempts to sever this relationship. The client brought his problem to the director of training who frowned on this relationship. The coach was called in to counsel the client. "She came down hard without any understanding," the training director said. "She did not ask for his viewpoint in the matter, but told him he could not continue the relationship." The client said that he did not want to see the coach again. The trainer referred him to legal aid, but he never went. The police arrested his girlfriend at their apartment.

Some time later the training director learned that this client was going to obtain a firearm; a neighborhood gang had threatened his life. The trainer called the project and asked for assistance. The next day, the JPD assigned to the bank scheduled a counseling session with the trainer, the coach, and the client. The developer recalled his own past experiences and the drastic consequences of such matters. The client said that the fight was about his girlfriend. He did not have enough money to move out of the neighborhood so he felt compelled to buy a gun. The developer said, "If that's what you really want to do, I can't stop you. If the situation is so bad that you need a weapon, be sure to register it through the police department, but remember, if you're dead, you're no good to the girl." The trainee later said he would not take this kind of drastic action.
The director of training became aware of another problem a short time after when he received an uncleared check made out to an airline and signed by the client. The trainer felt the client was responsive to a rough counseling style and reprimanded him accordingly. The trainer told the client he knew better than to write a check without any money in the bank. Though the client had done extremely well in training class, the possibility of termination was discussed. "I don't care," said the client.

The trainer told the client that he wished the trainee would have trusted him enough to confide in him. The client was unsure of the trainer because the trainer had taken a dim view of the client's relationship with his young girl friend. The training director pointed out to the client that people can trust and respect each other without always agreeing on every issue. The client was not fired, but the problem was not really cleared up.

A short time later, the client informed the trainer that he was sick. The project had no medical report on the client, so the trainer sent him to a doctor. He had sickle cell anemia. During his treatment period, the client admitted to the training director that he had made a mistake about writing the bad check. And he was sorry and grateful to the trainer for helping him.
Company Adaptations of Coaching

Through their association with JOBS NOW, many companies became more aware of the need to help the disadvantaged worker adjust to steady employment. This along with pointing out ways in which they could provide support -- particularly through their own efforts -- was an underlying objective of the program. Often coaching as it fit into the particular company situation was not always satisfied through the services of JOBS NOW. Sometimes companies wanted a more extensive service than the harried project coach could provide. Other companies wanted to use coaching in a restricted way, while allowing their own staff, familiar with the companies' particular needs and practice, to adapt the process to their own operations. Many companies saw their relationship with the project as an opportunity to learn to develop their own coaching capability. Some of these employers felt that implementing their own services would reduce problems generated from working with outside agencies who were often not aware, because of heavy caseloads, of specific company policy and practices.
When a company offered its own form of coaching to its workers, the relationship between the company and the JOBS NOW coach was usually affected. When companies did more of their own counseling, they offered less access to project coaching. In many of these firms, the project coach was seen as a coaching consultant, or trouble-shooter. He was called upon to carry out a complementary service that provided company staff with the needed information about the client outside the work setting that might affect his performance on the job.

The following are five variations of coaching that companies applied to their own settings.

- The Company "Sponsor"
- The Company Counselor
- The "Supportive" Supervisor
- The Mediating Personnel Department
- In-Company Coaching

The Company Sponsor

The concept of "sponsor" was developed by the Employer Manpower
Systems (EMS), a component of JOBS NOW, especially for a group of Chicago banks. The sponsor was to function as a kind of coach. The sponsor was an employee of the company. He was not a "buddy". He was a bank staff member in a supervisory position who worked with placed participants to solve problems. A buddy was a job-peer in the work situation. In concept, the basic function of the sponsor was the same as that of the coach. He assisted the worker in whatever ways were necessary to match employer-expectation with participant-satisfaction. The sponsor helped the worker to solve problems that may have arisen in or out of the work situation.

There were certain shortcomings in the sponsor concept. The sponsor sometimes had too many other duties to enable him to carry out any individual counseling. The sponsor interviewed and screened the participant at the time of hiring. If no crisis developed, this was often the end of their communication. Also, the worker tended to look upon the sponsor not as a "coach", but rather as a member of the bank's management. The other obligations of the sponsor reinforced the personal distance between him and the disadvantaged worker and tended to make him appear unapproachable to the client.
The sponsor was often not specifically trained to handle the problems of the disadvantaged, although he was usually black and well educated. Such limitations strained communications.

The sponsor only operated on the job. The problems of the disadvantaged are oftentimes more complex than what is indicated in the nine-to-five environment. The sponsor, operating exclusively on the company premises, can do little to cope with such problems. He may make a phone call, but that is the limit to his power. To actually replace the coach, he must be able to carry out the functions of the coach. In some situations, this might necessitate a ride across town to locate a worker, or a personal visit to the home of the worker to discuss with him and his family any job difficulties. It might occasionally entail involvement with the disadvantaged at times other than the normal work period. The sponsor's alternative to such involvement was to contact the JOBS NOW coach.

The sponsor and the disadvantaged employee also tended to communicate only in a time of crisis.

The Company Counselor

Some companies offered their own counselling service to their
workers. Counselors were usually professionally trained, though not necessarily in the problems of the disadvantaged worker. Indeed, most counselors in JOBS NOW - involved companies had not received training in this area. Some firms allowed regular counseling sessions for their workers, the purpose of which was to catch problems before they grew serious. Other companies provided counseling only when problems seriously jeopardized work performance. In both cases the project coach often assisted the counselor by providing additional personal information about the worker.

A Company Counselor Program

A major professional association agreed to hire a number of JOBS NOW clients for entry-level clerical positions (file clerk, xerox operators, record clerks). Of the eighty-six clients referred throughout a one year period, the association hired seventy-six and retained forty-two of the new workers. Many of the thirty-four workers separated from the association sought further education or found better jobs. This represented a turnover rate substantially less than the organization experienced with its entry-level workers hired through regular channels.
In an initial counseling session, the training director, personnel interviewer, and entry-level supervisor offered the new worker an orientation to the organization. Company benefits, training, expectations, and possible problems with supervisors were pointed out. Clients started at $75 per week and received an increment to $90 within three months after training. Length of training varied with the need of the individual worker. The association made an effort to promote its new hires as quickly as possible. Personnel felt that this accounted in part for the association's high rate of retention with JOBS NOW clients.

As expected, the client did not have an easy time adjusting to employment. Typical problems revolved around financial and personality problems, conflicts with other workers, attendance and tardiness. JOBS NOW coaches were called to help resolve those problems. The company also made an effort to ward off job difficulties through "attitudinal" classes that became part of the human relations sessions. A film called "Your Attitude Is Showing" dealt with the subject of how employees could show positive and negative attitudes toward their work, and toward supervisors and other workers. This group counseling soon led to one to one
counseling provisions to allow trainee and trainer an opportunity to discuss job problems on a more personal and often more productive basis. The association became increasingly concerned with handling client problems through their own staff, using project coaches only for last-resort measures.

If an employee continually had job problems, a member of the training staff would meet with the worker for intensive counseling. If the problem was serious and arose regularly a warning was given. The worker was placed on a kind of probation if the offense was still repeated. If company efforts failed to resolve the problem, the project coach was called in to deal with the crisis. If the problem continued, the client was eventually terminated.

There were a number of factors that influenced the association to concentrate on providing counseling on their own. Helping clients and other entry-level workers through their initial employment problems was seen as a supportive outgrowth of training. The company was concerned with handling problems in their own way to get workers to see things from the organization's perspective. Supervisors often complained that the project coaches were either not coming in to meet
with clients and deal with their problems, or that they were making clients dependent on their services, thus undermining the supervisor's authority. Often, coaches were not available when the organization needed their services. The director thought that coaches should visit the association on a weekly basis to keep attuned to client problems. The coach was reminded that the association would attempt to work out problems in their own way before they asked for his services.

The Project Coach As Trouble-Shooter

Company counselling efforts may be inhibited by workers who are unwilling to "open up" with company personnel. In these problem cases, the project coach was called upon to help company counselors to secure needed information or to help counselors establish an initial rapport with the worker. Here the coach assumed the role of interpreter or mediator. He helped make the client realize that the company's intentions were trustworthy, that it was to the benefit of the client to cooperate with company personnel. Counseling sessions included the client and the company trainer and coach until such times
as the client came to trust the company representative to some extent through transferring his positive feeling from the coach to the company staff.

Because of the coach's rapport with clients, he could provide feedback to the company personnel which they may not have been able to secure themselves. For example, companies who had taken an interest in the success of a client were concerned if that client quit, especially if they had invested time and money in his training. Companies wanted to know why clients had left, and if the company's own training enabled the client to obtain a better job. "We also want to know if the trainee left because the supervisor was prejudiced and gave the trainee a hard time," said one training director. The coach's continuous relationship with the client (he was responsible for his clients when they were between jobs), often provided him access to that kind of information.

To fulfill his role as coaching consultant or trouble-shooter, it was important for the coach to be on top of client problems and company policies—and understand how they were interrelated. He must
also be objective. Coaches felt that they were "spying on clients" or "being used" for company purposes. One reaction to this was to overidentify with clients, failing to understand the legitimate concerns of employers in regard to their employment needs. Overidentification must be guarded against by programs. Or, on the other hand, the coach may assume the company perspective, failing to consider the needs and legitimate gripes of the client. The coach therefore had to be concerned but dispassionately objective. Equity in a coach is a must.

Companies who used their own counselling program often sought information from the JOBS NOW coach on the client's living conditions and his family situation--information that contributed to a larger understanding of why the client may have had particular job problems. For example, if a client were excessively tardy, it might have been because transportation to the job was poor or because the worker had to take his children to school. The coach also provided a link to needed supportive resources. Though these companies provided certain in-house services (medical, sometimes dental examinations), most had developed only limited capabilities to realistically...
assist workers with problems that did not immediately relate to the job situation. The coach supplied expertise to bring the suitable resources to bear.

The "Supportive" Supervisor

While some companies designated separate counselling personnel to help low-skilled workers with employment problems, some other companies saw the coaching role as the natural outgrowth of the supervisor's responsibilities. Companies who preferred their supervisors to assume this role generally felt that it was unnecessary to create another job to fulfill the coaching function. The thinking was that all the new worker needed was someone sympathetic and willing to help. Formal coaching or counselling was secondary in their mind to good supervision. While many supervisors still felt that production control required a "top sergeant" role, many came to see that a comfortable and concerned atmosphere generally created a more productive level of work flow over an extended time period. It was felt that if the supervisor provided the new employee with an orientation to the department and to the job, and if he spoke to the new worker in a friendly way, giving periodic advice and personal attention, job related problems would tend to be minimized.
The Mediating Personnel Department

Other companies expressed the belief that while it is the supervisor's function to handle employee problems that develop on the job, it is not the supervisor's place to provide any extraordinary attention to the new hire. Such companies often felt that handling employee problems should be under the jurisdiction of the personnel department.

The personnel department was usually the place where both supervisors and clients could air their grievances and problems. Personnel staff would serve as mediators, counselors, and would report client progress and problems to the project coach. The coach's source of access to the company would therefore often be through the personnel department.

Coaches usually communicated with supervisors through the intermediary personnel officer. If face-to-face consultation between coach and supervisor was required, personnel normally made the arrangements and the meeting took place in personnel department offices.
Companies who opted for this style of in-house employment problem-solving tended to be more concerned with production priorities. They wanted their supervisors to concentrate on "getting the work out" and to spare their firm other responsibilities. If either supervisors or workers had special problems, they were advised to bring them to Personnel.

This is in marked contrast to "supportive supervisor" companies. Traditionally, this has been a part of personnel's function though it has often been an undeclared function. Employees and supervisors have not always been made aware that personnel would help them. Contact with JOBS NOW and other manpower agencies have brought the problem-solving aspect of personnel's role into sharper focus. For example, at many of the banks that worked with EMS, a component of JOBS NOW, higher-level personnel have initiated an "open-door" policy for its disadvantaged workers.

The "Open Door" Policy

The policy stated that at any time a worker could come "straight to the top". The hard-to-employ were free to discuss problems with
a top executive whenever they desired it. The advantage of such a policy was that the worker, with direct access to top management, had a means of correcting a grievance. Some difficulties arose around the scheduling of these sessions, the personnel director's having to balance the counseling needs of the help-seeking worker with his other responsibilities. Another problem was the clear communication of this policy to other staff, particularly line supervisors. The worker had to be in fact free to walk off the job to visit the personnel offices. This had to be reconciled with production needs.

The major problem, however, was the hesitancy of disadvantaged workers to seek the assistance of someone "high-up" in the bank. A worker may ask himself whether the problem is worthy to be called to the executive's attention. The project experience pointed out that clients tended to rationalize their grievances to themselves. As a result, the participant tended to keep feelings bottled up inside himself. In this way, individual incidents, many of which were quite minor, could build up, eventually causing reactions out of proportion to the precipitating situation.
Another problem was the failure of these banks to involve the immediate supervisors of the entry-level workers in post-placement support. The supervisors relationship with the disadvantaged was almost completely a functional one.

**In-Company Coaching**

This example of a retail food chain's adaptation of the coaching concept to its own setting represents the most effective of the above variations. The company was able to combine the best of project coaching (individual attention and home visitation) with the strong point of company coaching (services part of accepted company operations, carried out by staff trained in the needs of the company).

The grocery chain had always tried to maintain a non-discriminatory hiring policy. However, minority applicants were usually unprepared to compete with the general work-force. To compensate for this, to fill its own manpower needs, and to establish a closer bond with the neighborhoods in which stores were located, the company
worked closely with JOBS NOW to recruit and hire potential employees from disadvantaged backgrounds. Through this undertaking, the company became familiar with JOBS NOW coaching, and saw the potential it held if applied to the company's own setting. The food chain sought and received funds from the Department of Labor to establish its own coaching program. What JOBS NOW called coaching, this company called counseling. Five job counselors were hired.

Counselors were selected on the basis of:

A college degree or at least some college (considered desirable for the coach to achieve a certain degree of compatibility with middle management staff).

Some type of social work experience, particularly with disadvantaged youth.

A strong interest in and knowledge of the community from which the disadvantaged employee would come.

An interest in helping people make a successful transition to the work world.

An awareness of the problems of individuals from ghetto backgrounds.

Some interest in a business career.

Between twenty-one and thirty years of age.

A race or ethnic background similar to the employee population he will service.
His Training and Orientation

The company counselor was given a thorough orientation to company policies, procedures, and objectives.

His role in the company and with the client was explained.

He was made to understand that he was the new worker's sponsor. He did not have hiring or firing authority; he was the source of fairness between supervisor and employee, the mediator in disputes that arose. He was reminded not to identify too strongly with management at the risk of alienating the worker.

He was assigned to a district personnel office where he was to establish a working rapport with the district personnel manager who had the final say as to who would be fired, retained, or transferred within the company.

He was assigned to a store for a short time to become aware of the overall operation. He performed a variety of tasks there to familiarize himself with the jobs his clients perform.

He observed how the district manager worked with store managers by accompanying him on his rounds.

The new counselor was assigned to a working counselor to become familiar with the day-to-day problems and procedures of the job.

Duties of the Counselor

The buffer between the store manager and the trainee.
Responsible for dealing with the worker's problems at the store, as well as the worker's personal problems.

Keeps the store informed of trainee employment problems.

Responsible for holding human relations workshops for supervisors.

Provides the following information to his clients through counseling:

- Company point of view, its problems
- Responsibilities to the company (and himself)
- Career paths and future growth within the company and outside it
- Educational opportunities inside and outside the company
- Work behavior and attitudes
- Services available in the community (medical, dental, childcare, housing, clothing, legal)

Central to the company's program was building the worker's understanding and loyalty. To achieve this the company tried to demonstrate to the worker that he was needed, that he belonged.

The following list includes the special considerations for new workers designed to help them adjust to employment and to promote their retention and productivity.
Hiring standards were lowered. For example, it was not mandatory that an applicant have a high school diploma.

Acceptable pre-employment test scores were lowered.

Initially, absenteeism and tardiness were dealt with more leniently than with regular employees.

More time was allowed for the employee to meet normal production standards (4 to 10 months).

If a trainee persisted in coming to work only part of the week, the company coach may have tried to persuade the supervisor to hire a part-time worker to cover the work load, rather than suspend the new employee. This allowed the coach to help the new worker overcome his absenteeism, while still allowing for the company's production needs. A system of "checks and balances" was set up to avoid unwarranted terminations. A worker who was suspended was not terminated without a thorough investigation by the counselor.

Workers were not labeled "hard core" or "disadvantaged".

Workers received full wages and benefits while training.
MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

BACKGROUND

The coach was originally seen as a friend or buddy who met with the client in his neighborhood.

The coach was to provide a strong personal support to the ordinarily difficult and impersonal process of job-hunting and work adjustment. He was to serve as interpreter and mediator for the client and supervisor to help prevent and resolve problems that might lead to the client's termination.

Coaching increased its emphasis on company follow-up. Moving from a community-oriented to a company-oriented program was the general trend of the project. Coaching reflected that trend most strongly.

SELECTION

Empathy was suggested by the program as the single-most important quality for anyone working with the hard-core, and was a major criterion in selecting a coach.

Similarity of background to the client's and proximity in age were also considered important although there were some notable exceptions.

In hiring coaches, the interviewer should look for the applicant's empathic qualities, his goals, desire to help others, his knowledge of the difficulties of sustained employment, and his knowledge of the community from which the clients he will be coaching will come.
TRAINING

Coach training consisted basically of human relations exposure and an informal apprenticeship.

The following are suggested training areas that other programs and companies will need to provide their coaches:
- Orientation to total program: uses and availability of outside resources (medical, dental, optical, legal, housing, clothing, educational, etc).
- Written and oral communications skills: an understanding of company structure and policy.
- Interviewing skills.

To help reduce rumors, it is suggested that administrators provide coaches with up-to-date information on the program's status and its changes.

INCREMENTS AND UPGRADING

Without a built-in system of staff increments or advancement, staff will tend to become dissatisfied or quit. Coaches generally either remained in the coaching position and hoped for a raise, sought a higher position in the project, or left the project for other opportunities.

While programs will tend to lose a certain portion of staff to business and industry, it can avoid losing a disproportionate number by applying an equitable structure of rewards within the project.

COACH SUPERVISION

JOBS NOW encouraged staff initiative and autonomy while requiring the degree of supervision that most effectively solved
problems and provided direction. This was reflected in the programs "high trust-low control" supervisory policy.

The nature of the coaching task contributed to the need for flexibility with the use of authority.

Other programs may find that stringent rules may foster resentment rather than improve effective service. The program found also that too permissive supervision may prove equally ineffective.

Programs need to determine the right balance between permissiveness and authority to develop imaginative but disciplined staff. Often the degree and kind of necessary supervision varies with the individual staff member.

To keep track of coaches and problems in the field, program supervisors should develop sources of feedback in addition to coaches. Contact with company personnel (more than one person for each company, if possible) is recommended.

The easiest, best, and probably the most basic, but most easily overlooked way to follow-up on coaches is to ask the clients themselves.

Supervisors spot-checking clients of individual coaches, find that clients are having certain similar problems which the coach does not handle. The supervisor can then help correct this with immediate action.

The number of clients a coach had to service was not always a clear indicator of the amount of work a coach had to do.

Early in operations, programs might experiment with what number of clients would constitute a workable caseload.

EVALUATING COACHES

There was no one answer to what made a good coach nor how you evaluate him.
The number of clients a coach can retain on the job along with a coach's ability to handle and ward off problems are important factors. The company to which a coach is assigned will greatly affect how good a coach looks at his job.

Maintaining accurate retention figures will be helpful in evaluating the coach's performance in the company. It will also serve as a useful tool for analyzing and increasing a program's effectiveness.

Establishing workable criteria for evaluating coaches is not only important for equitably compensating ability but it can provide the program with a tool to measure company resistance and difficulty.

THE COACH-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP

Many clients approach programs with suspicion. To establish confidence in the program, the coach must show that he is sincere and capable.

The approaches for gaining the client's confidence varied, but all capitalized on the similarity of their life style to the client's.

An important factor is the ability of the coach to be able to adapt himself to the conversation of the client, to realize its worth as an ice breaker for some clients, and to gather vital information through 'rapping' to lead the client gradually into a serious discussion of employment.

It is recommended not to assign a passive coach to an aggressive client.

Helping a client may not always mean finding him a job.

If clients are vacillating between the employment world and the world of the streets, they may require the kind of coach who projects street values with which the client can identify, but who can also prod the client into seeing the values and potential rewards of employment.
COACH-COMPANY ACTIVITY

It is suggested that a coach demonstrate his ability to work with one type of industry before it is expected that he work with another variety of business.

Successful relations with companies very often depend on the rapport the coach has with supervisors and personnel staff.

It is crucial that coaches clearly explain the purpose of the program, and that supervisors clearly know what to expect from coaching.

To help insure a smooth relationship between program and company, it is important to set up some working ground rules.

A committed sponsorship of disadvantaged personnel by a manpower program is more important to employers than most of those programs realize.

Not showing up for work or coming in late were the most common problems that clients exhibited in employment. And they were the most difficult problems for the coach to overcome.

Though absenteeism and tardiness appear negative to companies, to the trained coach they are a warning sign. A positive, adjustable process may be taking place within the client. It is up to the coach to help the client adjust more productively, while ensuring the company’s understanding and leniency during this crucial period.

Many employers, agencies, and other program administrators felt that assigning a coach to handle emergency, legal, health, and housing problems was a vital service which the great majority of programs overlooked or under-valued.

Using the self-disciplining tendency of client groups is a useful strategy which coaches can employ to overcome difficulties with clients.

The successful coach does not minimize the client’s militant stance, but shows how it relates to the development of his growth, maturity, knowledge and skills.
Programs will find that some of the companies they work with already have some form of 'coaching'. Programs should therefore discover how their services can most effectively coincide with the company's services.

COMPANY ACCEPTANCE AND ADOPTION OF COACHING

Of all the concepts worked with by JOBS NOW, coaching seemed to be the most acceptable to companies.

Companies varied in the extent to which they allowed the coach to become involved with the company. Many companies wanted the full range of services the coach represented while other employers wanted the coach to serve only in a limited way as a coaching trouble-shooter to handle the job difficulties of the disadvantaged that company personnel were unable to resolve.

Programs involved in coaching should make an effort to familiarize companies with the need and techniques for supporting the disadvantaged worker in his adjustment to steady employment.
APPENDIX
JOBS NOW PROJECT
PERCENTAGE SUMMARY
OCTOBER 1966 - DECEMBER 1969

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EMPLOYED AT TIME OF FINAL FOLLOW-UP

|      |          | I 113                   | 6%                | 8%                              | 6%                              | 5%                             |
|      |          | II 99                   | 4%                | 5%                              | 4%                              | 5%                             |
|      |          | III 88                  | 4%                | 5%                              | 4%                              | 5%                             |
|      |          | TOTAL 290               | 5%                | 6%                              | 5%                              | 5%                             |

IN SCHOOL OR TRAINING PROGRAM

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