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One answer to the question of what should be the role of the counselor is to be found in an interpretation of the kinds of roles counselors have developed out of their experience in making adjustments and adaptations to the realities of their work and to the problems that they have encountered. There are five interconnected functions in counseling roles which provide one with a useful framework for thinking about counseling. These functions are: (1) teaching, (2) behavior change, (3) socio-emotional support, (4) decision-making, problem solving, planning, and (5) advocacy. Each of these functions is discussed in relation to public employment counseling, particularly experimental and demonstration experiences or projects dealing with the disadvantaged. The analysis of the above functions has described three functions (behavior change, decision-making, and advocacy) which fall within the purview of the professional counselor, one (teaching) within the purview of the non-professional, and one (social-emotional support) within the role of the indigenous worker. Further conclusions are drawn for each of the five functions. (KJ)

COUNSELING ROLES IN THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM

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This paper is concerned with features of the role of counseling in the public employment system which have emerged from the experimental and demonstration programs serving the disadvantaged. But when one speaks of roles, he is advised to heed the distinction between description and prescription. It is often that we slide imperceptibly from a normative statement into one which sets a standard for other. And thus, readily one who tells it like it is is understood to be telling it as it should be. I would like to be able to avoid that confusion by sticking as closely as possible to the former, by devoting my remarks to construing the performance of counselors and leaving to philosophical debate the task of deciding what should be.

But there is a sense in which I cannot so easily make such a disclaimer of responsibility. Discussion, debates, and dialogues with vocational counselors and other in the human service profession have convinced me that there is a valid source for some identity between description and prescription, between what is and what ought to be. Counselors, like all people, make adaptations to the situations in which they find themselves. If one examines carefully the kinds of adaptations that they have spontaneously made, one can come to a reconstruction of the necessities under which they were operating. And thus, one goes in a very small step from what is to what needs to be--especially if one respects the validity of clinical experiences--that is, if one believes that people in the course of doing their jobs learn some useful things about their work. Assuming that those working in the field are neither knaves nor fools, then it is proper and wise to look at the directions they have taken as a basis for building prescriptive knowledge of what works and what does not work. This is not to say that one needs to believe and accept all which people say or think about the work that they are doing; one is free to provide his own words, thoughts, and interpretations regarding what he sees in the behavior of counseling personnel. But given that freedom, one is obliged at least to look at such behavior and to try to discover the bases of validity within it.

This describes the approach I have taken. I've tried to look closely at vocational counseling as it evolved in the experimental and demonstration projects dealing with the disadvantaged. Taking that experience as the base, as an exemplar of the first sustained, focused experience with disadvantaged populations by public employment counselors, I have tried to construe that experience as a guide to others, as a way of saying: "If they have come to perform in such and such a way, as a result of their experience, then it seems likely that you would be well advised to do the same, if you are working with similar clients under similar circumstances." Thus, one answer to the question of what should be the role of the counselor is to be found in an interpretation of the kinds of roles counselors have developed out of their experience in making adjustments and adaptations to the realities of their work and to the problems that they have encountered.

In what follows I will describe some of the features of the experimental and demonstration (E & D) experience, and the sense I have been able to make for myself out of the experience. Given the richness and complexity of that experience, it is necessary to engage in a high level of abstraction and to state the case through a series of fairly bold generalizations which must be left to the reader to test against his own experience and knowledge.

In this paper, I will deal with five interconnected functions in counseling roles which provide me with a useful framework for thinking about counseling. These functions are: (1) teaching; (2) behavior change; (3) socio-emotional support; (4) decision-making, problem-solving, planning; and (5) advocacy. Diagnosing and assessing is implicit in each of these functions, and is such a large area of its own, that I have elected to leave it out of consideration in this paper.

I. TEACHING

By teaching, I mean to refer to those counseling activities in which information and knowledge are communicated to the client about himself, about the world of work, about jobs, employers, and all the institutions and appurtenances with which the client must deal--all the situations he must finesse in order to succeed as a worker. The E & D experience with disadvantaged clients indicates that such clients lack a great deal of information and knowledge which counselors can presume to be present in non-disadvantaged clients, or be irrelevant to the vocational careers and prospects of non-disadvantaged clients. Disadvantaged clients need many things explained to them: payroll deductions for taxes and for social security, transportation systems out of their localized neighborhoods, the nature of employer expectations, how to answer application and interview questions in ways most likely to lead to getting the job, who and what formen, supervisors, and shop-stewards are, how to get clued into the social and behavioral norms in the work place, how to take tests, etc. Let me give some examples of the small bits of knowledge which clients can find crucial. Recently, some disadvantaged clients who had been placed in a steel company by a Concentrated Employment Program, lost their jobs because they didn't know that what everyone in the steel mill called a "lunch hour" was only forty minutes. They didn't take a full hour, but they sauntered back casually to work after 45 or 50 minutes of a lunch break, thus confirming their supervisor's impression of the disadvantaged as unmotivated, to which he responded by promptly firing them. Another example: after some months on a first job, many workers feel that they are ready for a better job with higher pay. Many disadvantaged workers assume that they must quit their jobs in order to search for better ones. They don't know that a more practical way of going about it is to call in sick for several days in order to give them time to search for a better job, before they burn their bridges.

By and large, the E & D projects tended to perform this teaching function in groups. It almost seems as if one can never predict just what small but crucial piece of information one client might lack that could make a difference between his getting or not getting a job, between his keeping or losing a job, and thus also between enhancing or destroying the relationship between the agency and the employer. As a result, many programs drew up curricula and tried to cover all fronts, to provide information for all possible contingencies. Thus group counseling often slid into classroom teaching, subject to all the ills to which that flesh is heir. While such group counseling was problematic, it seems that individual counseling tended not to perform such teaching functions adequately or at all. Clients don't know what they don't know, and so don't ask. And in the looser, more non-directive style of individual counseling, with its strong ethic of more client than counselor talk, the teaching function is easily slighted, despite great client need for knowledge.

If public employment counselors are going to perform this role effectively, either through group or individual methods, or if they are going to take responsibility for seeing to it that the teaching function in counseling gets done somewhere in the agency program, by someone in the total process, then counselors are going to have to know the information to impart to their clients. The lack of real, detailed, and accurate information by many employment service counselors regarding jobs, working, employers, the needs and resources of the local community, the special needs, hang-ups, and talents of particular ethnic groups--the lack of knowledge of welfare and the rights of recipients, of juvenile law and correction-parole practices, is both appalling and damaging to clients.

For a variety of reasons, many employment service counselors are young people, fresh out of college, on their first jobs. Few have actually worked at adult jobs before in their lives. Many older counseling personnel have never worked outside the employment service. They come from a social class in which they have not had many opportunities to learn about the welfare system, the juvenile and legal systems; and other such systems and institutions which impinge so heavily on the lives of the disadvantaged. Much of this kind of knowledge could be acquired by counselors while they were students in counselor education programs. However, such programs often give short shrift to this side of things, partly because of their concentration on therapeutic-type and school counseling, much of which is irrelevant to the needs of counselors in the public employment system. Thus employment counselors often lack the very information which clients need.

However, there is also a level of detailed local information which it would be impossible for graduate schools to be responsible for imparting to students. It therefore seems that it should be the responsibility of the employment counselor's agency to give him time to learn and keep current with the details of the local scene and to give incentives and opportunities for such learning. They need to know the specifics of events and processes in

their local community, the names of formen and their supervisory style, the preferences, biases, and sub-cultures of local work places in which disadvantaged clients might get jobs, the specific processes employed in local work places to induct new employees into the work force, etc. Yet, as we well know, most in-service training for employment service personnel seems to begin and end with teaching bureaucratic forms and other intra-agency matters, rather than with teaching information concerning events outside the local office. In addition, such in-service training is most often directed by people even further removed from the fact and information details of the local scene than is the counselor. I suspect that counselors can best acquire this kind of local and detailed knowledge through informal contacts with local workers, with people in the community, and through direct observation of what goes on in the larger work places at which disadvantaged clients are placed, if the counselor is provided the time and incentive to develop such contacts.[2]

However, while clients have a great need for this kind of information and knowledge, the professional counselor may not necessarily be the best person to provide it, as I shall suggest below. It does not require a professional counselor to perform this teaching function, but there is a vital center of activities which it seems to me that only the professional counselor can perform. If he is to perform this unique role, it might be more efficient for him to leave the non-unique teaching to others.

II. BEHAVIOR CHANGE

When counseling personnel give information, they do so because they expect it to make a difference in the client's acts; and thus the counselor attempts to present information--to teach--in such a way as to maximize the likelihood that desired behaviors will emerge. This directs the counselor's attention to the technologies of presenting and sequencing information and other in-puts to clients. This is the technology side of counseling, representing the counselor's use of scientific knowledge about human behavior, about behavior change and methods and outcomes, about the relations between human behavior and job demands. Performance of this function typically requires the counselor to create or construct a specific application of a scientifically-based generalization. It is in this individualized adaptation of scientific knowledge that the art of counseling joins the science of counseling.

My experience with the personnel of E & D programs convinces me that local non-counseling personnel (nonprofessionals, indigenous vocational skills instructors, etc.) often have more accurate, detailed and better information than the professional counselors about the kinds of things disadvantaged clients need to know, and can probably perform the teaching aspect of counseling as well, or better, than the counselors can, for some of the reasons I cited earlier. But counselors have much of the technological training which uniquely fits them for the behavior change aspect of the counseling role. Or rather, I should say that graduate schools are uniquely qualified to teach such

technologies, to teach students and to give them practice at understanding scientific communications (research reports) and constructing practice applications of the scientific knowledge contained within them. This is what professor-researchers can do well. The trouble is, they seldom do it. They teach theories, philosophy, and principles as well as a lot of other useful things, but their graduates are seldom prepared to perform this most unique function which no one else in the public employment--manpower field can perform: designing a program, a plan, an intervention strategy for a single client or a body of clients, based on the latest and best use of scientific knowledge. Thus, universities fail to do just that which they are uniquely fitted best to do. Some examples will illustrate the consequences of the failure of counselors to perform this function: one who is familiar with the research literature on learning, motivation, reinforcement, and role playing should know that role playing is most likely to result in significant behavior change if the role playing takes place close to the point in time at which the role player will use the learning in reality. Yet, the most typical pattern of programming in Concentrated Employment Programs is for clients to role play employment interviews during a two to four week orientation and assessment period which, for most clients, occurs prior to placement in training. The training lasts from three months to one year, so that the role playing of an employment interview occurs for most clients months before they are to be sent to an actual job placement. Under such circumstances, the possibilities for the role playing to be an effective strategy are reduced to zero. For similar reasons, the scientifically trained counselor should know that effective counseling is most likely to occur in close connection with the realities about which the client is being counseled. This suggests that effective counseling about performance of the worker is most likely to occur when the client is in the worker role--that is immediately after placement, when the client is faced with realities with which he must deal. Yet, in the public employment service as well as in the E & D projects, most counseling is done prior to placement.

If counselors are to perform this most unique function of applying scientific knowledge to agency programs and to client intervention strategies, they will need more specific training and practice in the use of scientific knowledge, and then they will need more clout and scope to design agency programs in terms of that knowledge. Unfortunately, there is a conflict between a bureaucratic structure and this professional function. A bureaucratic structure requires a top-down direction of information and control, while adequate performance of this counselor function required a reversal of the direction of control and influence. I will return to this point and elaborate it later in this paper.

III. SOCIO-EMOTIONAL SUPPORT

Academicians use jargony terms like that when they are trying to hide the fact that they are dealing with a much more familiar and common concept, by scientizing it. In this case, the term is used to describe the counselor's function

as a true friend, as one who, out of love, affection, unconditional positive regard (choose your own language) acts to make clients feel better and experience themselves in a satisfying way.[3]

All that goes into such imponderables and barely measureables is empathy, sensitivity, warmth and emotional responsiveness belongs, in this analysis, to socio-emotional support functions.

It is important to the clients. In one study, "graduates" of an E & D project listed counseling as the least useful part of the program they went through, but when asked who was the person to whom they most turned for help, named the counselors. Although they found the content of the counseling non-useful, they appreciated the counselor's concern and support.[4]

The human qualities which go into this function (usually referred to as rapport) are distributed very widely among people irrespective of their occupational level, socio-economic class, and educational level. Some counselors have these human qualities, and some don't. A counselor in a Youth Opportunity Center once explained that she makes up her mind during the course of the first interview with the client as to whether or not she likes the client. If she decides that she does, she passes him a card with her name on it at that point; if she does not like him, she waits until the end of the interview to give him the card. That was her explanation of why she did not introduce herself to clients. It seems obvious that this is a counselor who does not have the human qualities required for her functioning in the socio-emotional support role.

Socio-emotional support is involved in being a nice guy, and not all counselors are nice guys and not all nice guys are in the counseling profession. The problem is this: universities are, in their very nature, inappropriate institutions for teaching graduate students how to be nice guys. These are matters of emotional learning, taught and acquired best in primary group associations (family and friendship groups), rather than through formal organizations and more or less formalized social relationships. Public universities have the further problem that they cannot legitimately grade students, and thus credential them to professional status, on the basis of the personality characteristics of their students, such as ability to be nice guys.

As a result, both student and faculty in human service professional educational institutions are up tight about rapport. They recognize its centrality, and don't know what to do about it. It is the thing that students are most worried and frightened about. They have the feeling that they either "have it" or don't, and if they don't, they don't know how to get it. Unable to resolve this anxiety, they rely on the achievement of a professional status to give them a kind of charisma which can substitute for the human qualities that go into this counselor function.

The E & D experience leads me to the conclusion that the intense concentration on empathy achievement in the training of counselors is counter-productive (in the sense that it takes up time which could be devoted to teaching counselors how to apply scientific knowledge), doomed to failure, and finally, unnecessary as I see the role of the public employment counselor dealing with the disadvantaged.

There are several lines of evidence and argument which lead to this conclusion: (1) the Carkhuff-Truax studies and reviews which suggest that human service professionals do no better than untrained or briefly trained non-professionals in this matter;[5] (2) the findings of Allen Ivey and his associates that micro-counseling techniques with immediate feedback can rapidly increase the ability of non-professionals to be empathetic and to give friendly attention;[6] (3) the huge mass of experimental and survey findings[7] which lead to the conclusion that white middle class interviewers have predictable and reliable effects on discriminated-against, self-conscious minority group members which operate against the ability of the interviewer to establish rapport;[8] (4) the repeated experience of the E & D projects that indigenous non-professionals are particularly good at establishing rapport with clients and providing emotional support to them, although there may be many other things that such non-professionals do not do well. What is more, indigenous workers have been able to transfer their rapport to counselors, under certain circumstances: that is, when the counselor is known to have expertise, knowledge, and access to good training and/or good-paying decent jobs. Under circumstances like these, there is little need for the counselor to try to compete with the indigenous worker for client rapport, for close ties with the local community, for prestige and reputation in the community as someone who is known, who cares, and who cares enough to do things for people. In short, rapport can be left to indigenous non-professionals, if counselors have their own expertise.[9]

Thus I conclude that socio-emotional support need not and cannot be a feature of the role of the non-indigenous professional in the public employment system. But then, I must also conclude that it does become part of his role to work effectively and colleagially with the indigenous workers in his agency, so that he is in a position to receive the transferred rapport which such workers can develop.

IV. DECISION-MAKING, PROBLEM-SOLVING, PLANNING

These functions are grouped together because there is a common thread which runs through them, a commonality in their concern with the client's cognitive operations. It was one of the features of several of the E & D projects that the counselors made particular efforts to help clients become better planners and decision-makers regarding their vocational careers, through concentrating on the components of the vocational decision-making

process. Of course, such counseling also includes socio-emotional support, teaching, and other counseling functions, but its unique feature was a contrast with the more therapeutic-emotional counseling into which the counseling profession as a whole seems to have drifted since the advent of Carl Rogers.

There is a large science-based technological component to this function. It relies heavily on the counselor's and client's use of diagnostic and other kinds of tests and assessment procedures. It thus seems clear that this function of the counseling role is almost exclusively within the domain of professionally trained counseling personnel.

One important aspect of this role is that of providing feedback to clients on how they are doing in training, where they are in the agency process, and what yet lies ahead of them to negotiate or accomplish. Careful attention to such feedback is particularly important for those disadvantaged clients who have had little experience or understanding of the agency culture and process. This is more likely to be true among rural clients than among inner-city youths. It is also more likely to be true among recent migrants to the cities such as those from Puerto Rico, Mexican-American clients, and Appalachians. They need to know where they are and to be told explicitly and clearly, because they have not had extensive agency experience nor are they skilled in interpreting the cues that more sophisticated clients have mastered. And without such knowledge of where they are in the system, their self-perceptions must be vague and too inadequate for use in planning and decision making, and developing accurate expectancies. This need for close attention to frequent feedback (call it reinforcement if you are so-inclined) underlines a point made earlier--that the counselor must be in close touch and good communication with those who are in better positions than he, to make the observations of the client's behavior which go into such feedback--the vocational skill instructors, the coaches, the outreach personnel who see the client in his home community. In some E & D agencies, weekly feedback sessions with clients are held as a team consisting of client, counselor, coach, and vocational instructor or work-training supervisor. This describes a kind of colleagial approach which makes his team membership a major part of the professional counselor's role.

V. CLIENT ADVOCACY

This is the last role function in counseling that will be discussed here. It marks what seems to me to be the major counseling innovation growing out of the E & D experience. I refer here to the behavior of counselors who go out of their offices to help clients deal directly with problems by personally intervening on the client's behalf.

There is a considerable rhetoric which has grown up around client advocacy--a rhetoric which shares much in common with the civil rights rhetoric, the

new left rhetoric, and that of the street gang worker who works where the action is. There is also a counter-rhetoric, mostly based on a Rogerian doctrine which Rogers himself has long since abandoned, a doctrine which states that the counselor who uses himself in action may, by that fact, no longer be a completely accepting, neutrally valuing person. There is also a counter-rhetoric which worries about encouraging client dependency. However, I see several values in client advocacy which are irreplaceable, and which, for me, far out-weigh the supposed, but so far unproven dangers:

(a) In my view, the world of the disadvantaged is so savage, inhuman, and unmanageable, that no ordinary human client can be expected to master and deal with it without powerful allies, i.e., without advocates for him in the tough spots he gets into. A counselor can work with a middle class client in such a way as to expect the client to deal, on his own, with the messes he gets into with his parents, with his wife or girl friend, with his professors, as a result of the verbal interchange between the counselor and client in the counselor's office. But one cannot expect a Chicago black to master the Chicago police department, the welfare department, the black-board-jungle schools in the ghetto, the absentee landlord, or even the gas company which has shut off the heat to his apartment.

(b) Another reason for support of client advocacy is that such a stance demonstrates through action and in reality the extent of the counselor's and the agency's commitment to the client. Particularly with respect to the public employment service, there is a large backlog of mistrust, suspiciousness, or downright hostility which the counselor and the agency must overcome if they are to work at all within the disadvantaged community. They can only overcome this backlog by their deeds.

(c) Increasingly, there is a mistrust of manpower agencies and programs, based on the perception of such programs as ultimately existing to serve the best interests of employers, by providing them with supplies of workers for low-wage jobs. In this view, the public employment service exists, not to advance the life goals and dignity of its clients, but to help employers stay in touch with the labor pool of the already disadvantaged and thereby enable them to fill undesireable jobs at low wages. Unfortunately, the records of most agencies do little to dispell such a view. Agencies do indeed seem to specialize in enticing disadvantaged youth into the least desirable jobs. Client advocacy demands that counselors do more than this.

(d) Counseling is a profession concerned with social change. It cannot fully honor that commitment until it addresses itself to changing disadvantaging institutions as well as changing people's responses to those institutions. Elton McNeil once said that we have been like people standing at the side of a river trying to pull out the drowning bodies as they float by; it is time to go upstream and find out who is throwing them in and put a stop to it.

(e) A final reason for support of client advocacy is a simple pragmatic one. The fact that advocacy functions developed so spontaneously in so many of the

E & D projects suggests how effective they were found to be.

The point to be made here regarding advocacy is that it appears to be a function better performed by professional counselors than by non-professionals. The counselor has the authority of his professional status to support his interventions on the client's behalf with social institutions, agencies, bureaus, bureaucrats, and other parts of the middle class social and institutional structure. He has influence which he can use. His words carry weight because of his status.

This also refers to advocacy for his clients within the counselor's own agency. That takes finesse as well as courage. However, it is hardly a task which can be assigned to non-professionals who stand at the bottom of the status and power hierarchy in the agency.

One of the things this means is that if counselors are going to advocate successfully within their own agencies on behalf of their clients, they will need to increase their command of power and influence on local agency practices and policies. Another thing that client advocacy entails is that techniques for advocacy need to be taught as part of the training of counselors: e.g., when to use co-option strategies, when to use confrontation, when to use consensus, etc.

Finally, client advocacy requires that counselors know much more about the processes and institutions with which the disadvantaged come in contact than they now know, if they are to intervene successfully and appropriately.

This analysis of five counseling functions as they emerged from the E & D experience with disadvantaged youth has described three functions which uniquely fall within the purview of the professional counselor (behavior change, decision-making, etc., and advocacy), one function which can be performed by non-professionals or by professional counselors under certain circumstances (teaching) and one function which falls uniquely within the role of the indigenous worker (socio-emotional support).

The analysis leads to the following more specific conclusions.

A. <u>Teaching</u>

1. There needs to be special attention to providing the disadvantaged wit information; this is more likely to be done in groups.

2. Much of the needed information can be taught to counselors during thei academic training.

3. There is also a need for information about specific local conditions & events. Agencies therefore have to provide time, opportunity, and incentive for counselors to keep current with local events, practices, & trends.

4. Teaching functions can be performed by non-counselors, but these functions should be planned, designed, and programmed in consultation with professionally trained counselors who know how to apply scientific knowledge to the teaching function of counseling.

B. Behavior Change

1. The most appropriate and unique function of the professional counselor which no one else in the employment system can perform is that of applying scientific knowledge to program planning and to particular cases.

2. Unfortunately, counselors are not well trained in how to do this, because of the over emphasis on the socio-emotional support aspects of therapeutic-type counseling in counselor education.

3. If counselors are to perform this function, they will need greater freedom to mold agency programs, policies, and practices than they now have.

4. Professional human service workers function better in colleagial relationships with informal associations for sharing information about non-standardized events. Human service workers are concerned with individual differences among clients, and with the unique aspects of each client's situation. These are non-standardized events, and information about them is better communicated through informal contacts among professional workers than through formal communication channels. A bureaucratic structure is inconsistent with this kind of informal association for professional functioning. This is because a bureaucracy requires a top-down flow of information, rather than a bottom-up flow from professional worker to decision-maker and rather than the collateral interchange among people required for sharing non-standardized information. A bureaucracy is also inconsistent with professional functioning because a bureaucracy works through general rules designed to cover all cases and procedures. Such rules are inconsistent with the kind of irregular information and events with which counselors must deal when they are concerned with individual differences.[10]

5. There is therefore a need for a de-bureaucratization of the public employment system to permit counselors to apply scientific knowledge to unique events and to local situations.

6. The Department of Labor should find mechanisms for using some of the new technology in the diffusion of scientific innovations for providing counseling personnel with new knowledge in forms which make that knowledge easily translatable into practice.

C. Socio-Emotional Support

1. The rapport function can be better performed by indigenous workers.

2. Rapport can be transfered from indigenous worker to professional counselor if the counselor is known to follow through on his commitments, is known to have expert knowledge and techniques, and is known to have access to good jobs at worthwhile salaries.

3. If such transfer of rapport is to take place there needs to be colleagial relations between counselors and indigenous workers.

D. Decision-Making, Planning, and Problem-Solving

1. For disadvantaged clients there seems to be a shift from a counselor focus on emotional and affective factors to an emphasis on the client's cognitive and problem-solving strategies and habits.

2. Such an emphasis required familiarity with the research on cognitive functioning and thus is uniquely a role for the professional counselor to perform.

3. This function also includes attention to frequent and regular feedback to clients about where they are in the system, how they are doing, and what they have yet to accomplish.

4. If counselors are to provide this feedback, they will need to have close communication with those non-counseling personnel who are in more extended contact with clients, such as coaches, vocational trainers, and work supervisors.

E. Client Advocacy

1. Professional counselors are obligated to and will be more effective if they intervene directly on the client's behalf in those parts of the system which disadvantage the poor, and the racial/ethnic minorities.

2. This includes advocacy for clients in their own agencies. For this, counselors need greater power in their agencies. Advocacy cannot be left solely to the lowest status members of the staff.

3. Counselor training should include techniques and strategies for client advocacy.

4. Counselors will also need greater knowledge of the operation of disadvantaging social institutions and structures in order to intervene and advocate effectively.

These role specifications define a new type of professional vocational counselor for out of school youths and adults. The specifications require a kind of professional training which is markedly different from that which is appropriate for school counselors and for therapeutic-type counselors. This new counseling specialty has its own technology, science, and skills. As this new type of professional counselor emerges, is sanctioned by the graduate schools and the broader counseling-guidance profession, vocational counseling in the public employment system will increase in prestige, status, and probably therefore also in salary. Public employment counselors, who are generally now seen as frustrated semi-professionals who have little opportunity to actualize the existing prestigious models of counseling as defined by the graduate schools will thus move from such a disvalued status to the new status of a unique professional identity, whose validity rests on its relevance to the needs of out of school disadvantaged youths and adults, and on its unique set of knowledges skills and functions.

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FOOTNOTES

I. See the Operation Retrieval reports, available from the Division of Utilization of the Manpower Administration, for more detailed presentations of the E & D experience.

2. By direct observation, I mean a more intensive exposure than one gets from a quick tour of the factory which is carefully guided by a management representative.

3. If one were to apportion responsibility for leadership between counselor and client in the functions described thus far in this paper, that leadership would probably be apportioned as follows: the teaching function tends to be initiated and controlled by the counselor, although feedback from clients help to guide it. Counselors certainly originate and control their scientific-technological operations as behavior changers, though again, feedback from the client is used in the counselor's decision-making. But it is the client who controls the socio-emotional support function, in the sense that counselors agree almost entirely in rhetoric and very much in practice that "one accepts the client on his own terms". I believe that notion refers most to the counselor's acceptance of the client's definitions of his needs and wishes as the determiner of the manner and extent to which the counselor offers emotional support.

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5. Carkhuff, Robert (1968) Differential functioning of lay and professional helpers, J.of Couns.Psychol.,15, 117-127.
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Carkhuff,R. and C.Truax (1965) Lay mental health counseling: the effects of lay group counseling, J.Consult.Psychol.,29, 426-432.

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7. Some of the relevant evidence is as follows:

(a) Several studies find black children and adults performing more poorly and/or with greater anxiety on tasks set by white experimenters than when the experimenters were black: Canady,H. (1936) The effect of rapport on the IQ: a new approach to the problem of racial psychology, J. of Negro Educ., 5, 209-219; Forrester,B.and Klaus,R. (1964) The effect of the race of the examiner on intelligent test scores of Negro kindergarten children, Peabody Papers in Human Development, 2,(7), 1-7; Pasamanick,B. and Knoblock, H. (1955) Early language behavior in Negro children and the testing of intelligence, J.Abnorm.Soc.Psychol., 50, 401-402; Katz,I. (1964) Review of evidence relating to effects of disegregation on the intellectual performance of Negroes, Am.Psychol., 19, 381-399; Katz,I. and Greenbaum,C. (1963

Effects of anxiety, threat, and racial environment on task performance of Negro college students, J.Abnorm.Soc.Psychol., 66, 562-567; Baratz,S. (1967) Effect of race of experimenter, instructions, and comparison population upon level of reported anxiety in Negro subjects, J.Pers.Soc.Psychol 7, 194-196; Katz,I., Henchy,T., and Allen,H. (1968) Effects of race of tester, approval-disapproval, and need on Negro children's learning, J.Pers Soc.Psychol., 8, 38-42.

(b) There is a good deal of evidence that black respondents tend to restrict their communications with white interviewers to what they think the interviewers want to hear:

Hare,A. (1960) Interview responses: personality or conformity?, Public Opinion Quart., 24, 679-685; Lenski,G. and Leggett,J. (1960) Caste, class and deference in the research interview, Am.J.Sociol., 65, 463-467; Radin, N. and Glasser,P. (1965) The use of parental questionnaires with culturally disadvantaged families, J.Marriage and the Family, 27, 373-382.

(c) In responding to questions which are related to matters of race relations (such as concerns about the willingness of employers to hire minority group members into jobs in which racial prejudice may be stimulated among supervisors and co-workers), blacks tend to be more honest in reporting their attitudes and expectations to black than to white interviewers:

Cantril,H. (1944) Gauging Public Opinion, Princeton, N.J., Princeton U. Press; Hyman,Cobb,Feldman,Hart, and Stember (1954) Interviewing in Social Research, Chicago, U.Chicago Press; Stauffer,Guttman,Suchman,Lazarsfeld, Star, and Clausen (1950)Measurement and Prediction, Princeton, N.J., Princeton U.Press; Katz,I., Robinson,J., Epps,E., and Waly,P. (1964) The influence of the race of the experimenter and instructions upon the expression of hostility by Negro boys, J.Soc.Issues, 20, 54-59.

(d) Blacks hold mistrustful stereotypes of whites:

McDaniel,P. and Babchuk,N. (1960) Negro conceptions of white people in a Northeast city, Phylon, 21, 7-19; Cothran,T. (1951) Negro conceptions of white people, Am.J.Sociol., 61, 458-467.

(e) Blacks prefer other blacks for friendship relations:

Criswell,J. (1937) Racial cleavage in Negro-white groups, Sociometry, I, 81-89; Criswell,J. (1939) A sociometric study of race cleavage in the classroom, Archives of Psychol., 33, No.235; Radke,M., Trager,H., and Davis,H. (1949) Social perceptions and attitudes of children, Genet.Psychol Monogr., 40, 327-447; Lundberg,G. and Dickson,L. (1952) Interethnic relations in a high school population, Am.J.Sociol., 58, 1-10; Lundberg,G. and Dickson,L. (1952) Selective association among ethnic groups in a high school population, Am.Sociol.Rev., 17, 23-25; St.John,N. (1964) Defacto segregation and interracial association in high school, Sociol.of Educ., 37, 326-344; Gottlieb,D. and TenHouten,W. (1965) Racial composition and the social systems of three high schools, J.Marriage and the Family, 27, 204-212.

(f) Blacks use a different kind of language structure in talking to whites than to blacks:

Kochman,T. (1969) "Rapping" in the black ghetto, Trans-Action, 6,(4),26-34
Ledvinka,J. (1969) Unpublished research.

(g) The greater the status superiority of the interviewer over the interviewee, the more reticent the interviewee and less self-exploration he does:
Williams,J. (1964) Interviewer-respondent interaction: study of bias in the information interview, Sociometry, 27, 338-352; Schatzman,L. and Strauss,A (1955) Social class and modes of communication, Am.J.Sociol., 60, 329-338; Lenski,G. and Leggett,J. (1960) Caste,class and deference in the research interview, Am.J.Sociol., 65, 463-467; Carkhuff,R. and Pierce,R. (1967) The differential effects of therapist race and socia' class upon patient depth of self-exploration in the initial clinical interview, J.Consult. Psychol., 31, 632-634.

It takes two to establish rapport. The conclusion I draw from these studies is that, quite without regard to the counselor's skill or empatheti ability, the cues of his race, ethnicity and/or status are sufficient to turn off minority group clients. Their responses to those cues make rapport (trust, affection) quite unlikely, no matter how good, virtuous, and free from racism the counselor feels himself to be.

8. It is possible that the emotional distance between a black client and a white counselor could be overcome in time. However, experience indicates that the time and effort that counselors put into trying to achieve such rapport is counter-productive, in the sense that many clients drop out of the counseling before the rapport is achieved. Overwhelmingly, clients come to agencies in order to be put into contact with good jobs, or good training leading to good jobs. They have little patience with the counselor's attempt to establish friendship relations with them. When they don't get what they want, they drop out of the program, if they have any other alternatives open to them. Thus, there is some evidence that those most likely to remain in the program are the most disadvantaged in the sense that they have the fewest other options. In this case then, their staying may not be a victory of rapport, but a failure of other alternatives.

9. The crucial variable here seems indigenousness, rather than non-professional status. In one study, the effectiveness of outreach personnel was found to be related solely to whether or not the worker lived in the target area. No other variable, such as education, race, ethnicity, or professional status, discriminated between effective and ineffective outreach workers. Unfortunately, professionals tend not to live within the ghetto target area. Even non-professionals who, as a result of their employment in a manpower agency, are enabled to move out of the ghetto, readily loose their credibility in the ghetto when they do move. Particularly in inner-city areas, there is resentment against those who move out which destroys the pride felt in those who move up. In an earlier day, it may have been possible for professional counselors to bridge the class/caste gap between themselves and minority group members; however, I believe that such a day no longer exists in most inner-city ghettos, and is rapidly disappearing elsewhere in the United States.

10. Litwak,E. (1968) Technological innovation and theoretical functions of primary groups and bureaucratic structures, Am.J.Sociol., 73, 468-481.