        Operation Retrieval is a research project designed by the Department of Labor
to review and assess the experiences of 55 experimental and demonstration projects
for disadvantaged youth conducted during the period 1963-65, and to assess the
impact of strategies in job placement, job creation, and job development. Job
placement and development units are discussed in terms of their relationship to other
project components, the structure of the staff, and the location of the job placement
unit. Methods used to obtain jobs for disadvantaged youth include: (1) applying
traditional techniques, (2) developing new jobs, (3) working with employers to modify
job requirements, and (4) developing youth potential to meet employer standards. Five
types of problems and possible approaches to job placement are: educational
deficiencies, arrest records, and physical, emotional, and resource problems.
Follow-up is discussed in connection with supportive services and employment
experiences. Recommendations relate to retrieval and use of information, research,
inter-agency relations, and follow-up activities. (JK)

OPERATION RETRIEVAL

DISADVANTAGED YOUTH: PROBLEMS OF

JOB PLACEMENT, JOB CREATION,

AND JOB DEVELOPMENT

LOUIS A. FERMAN

The University of Michigan
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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Although efforts to develop the manpower resources of the nation in the 1960's have taken many directions, it is obvious that a major emphasis has been placed on the employment problems of disadvantaged youths. The concern has been twofold: (1) the extension of the traditional manpower services to previously neglected youths; and (2) the development of special programs and/or techniques to meet employment needs. In both cases it has become necessary to create demonstration grant programs, experimental in nature, to examine and assess the effectiveness of old techniques as well as the feasibility of the new. The experimental and demonstration (E & D) youth projects of the U.S. Department of Labor were designed to fulfill these needs.

By June 1955 fifty-five such youth projects had been initiated since the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) in 1962. These projects were neither randomly distributed according to any geographical formula; nor was there any deliverate attempt to stratify according to rural/urban differences, size of community, or community setting. Each project represented a demonstration program on the employment problems of a segment of the disadvantaged youths in a given geographical setting. There was sufficient variation in the selection, however, to draw on agency experiences in a variety of contexts. There were projects in four sections of New York City and one each in a number of large cities in the United States. A rural environment was represented, as were a number of institutional settings ranging from a prison in the southern United States to a recruiting-training-placement service center in a large city YMCA. Progress reports and, in some cases, final reports on the projects were available with considerable written backup communication between local E & D project administrators and Washington representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor.

In June 1965 the author was invited to participate in Operation Retrieval, a research project designed and sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor to review and assess the experiences of these fifty-five E & D

programs. The major goals of Operation Retrieval were:

1. to isolate significant experiences with manpower services in the demonstration programs;

2. to identify specific strategies in manpower service that have proved to be effective;

3. to assess the value of project findings as principles that can be applied to operational manpower programs;

4. to identify specific situations in which given strategies had proved to be ineffective; and

5. to suggest additional guidelines for the administration of manpower services to disadvantaged youths.

In order to expedite the information retrieval process, each investigator was asked to focus on a given manpower process and to confine himself to a thorough analysis of this segment of the demonstration program, using information on other manpower processes primarily as background and supportive material.

The purpose of this report is to review these experiences and to assess the impact of selected strategies in job placement, job creation, and job development. Although not all projects were covered by on-site visits, we believe that the selection of site visits, together with written reports on all projects, gives a fairly accurate picture of the program practices as they were developed. Since some of the programs had been completed before the review and since others were still in progress, our information on certain projects lacks completeness. For example, JOBS NOW in Chicago was just beginning and only preliminary data were available for analysis. In such instances, special care has been taken to indicate the tentativeness of the results. One should note that even among the projects that received site visits there is a differential emphasis with considerably more attention paid to the projects where innovative operations were in evidence.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

OMPER provided the authors with final reports, selected periodic reports, copies of various supplementary articles, and materials on each of approximately fifty E & D youth projects conducted during the period 1963-1966 and selected as appropriate for this survey. Other supplementary reports from the U.S. Department of Labor, as well as policy guideline statements on E & D projects, were also made available. These documents proved invaluable for general background information on the structure, goals, and practices of the projects. Each one of the fifty reports had previously been reviewed by U.S. Department of Labor staff under the direction of Mr. Joseph Seiler and the reports were coded for information on each of the employment processes assigned to the authors. It was thus possible, through a central control sheet on each project, to quickly identify data relevant to job placement, job creation, and job development. The data categories used by the staff of the U.S. Department of Labor were broad and designed as general guidelines. The first task for the author was to elaborate this basic outline and provide a point for point schedule guide to solicit a greater variety of information and more specific details (see Appendix). It was understood that this data outline was an ideal, and a single project might provide information or insights on some points but not on others. The final report was viewed as an attempt to incorporate these findings into a single presentation rather than a rigid point for point exposition of the outline.

The time and resource limitations of the project made it mandatory to be selective in site visits. The actual selection of the sites was made in conference with Mr. Joseph Seiler of OMPER and used as reference points: (1) the operational questions posed in written progress reports, (2) suggestions of innovative programs gleaned from interviews with OMPER staff people, and (3) a series of projects that represented a variety of experiences in job placement, job creation, and job development. In each case, the project director was contacted by a Washington representative

of OMPER and a full-day, on-site visit was arranged. The director was, in most cases, interviewed for from two to two and one half hours. Following this principal interview, additional interviews were conducted with the person (or persons) responsible for job placement, creation, and development activities; his staff members (particularly operational people); and staff members engaged in activities related to job placement or development. In most cases some informal interviews were conducted with trainees. During most of the site visits, we also interviewed one or two employers who had been serviced by the agency. Altogether, ten sites were visited with call-back visits to two of them.

Prior to each site visit, a number of specific questions were formulated about the project. We sought to gain specific answers to these questions as well as to solicit "hard" data to verify answers. After the visits the information, together with data in the reports, was collated and assigned a code number to place it in the author's outline. The final report was written from this information.

I. BASIC CONCEPTS AND PERSPECTIVES

After the initial visit to some of the projects, it became clear that some conceptual guidelines had to be developed to direct the study. It was particularly necessary to rigorously define the central concepts (job placement, job creation, and job development) since the terms referred to many kinds of operations and activities. It also became necessary to identify the perspectives that guided project operations since they had an important bearing on project innovation. Let us look at the meanings, activities, and operations assigned to job placement, job creation, and job development, recognizing that the three concepts are by no means discrete and that activities associated with these concepts overlap considerably in any concrete situation.

The Meaning of Job Placement

Job placement may be seen as a process that encompasses many activities, both new and old, or it may be seen as an almost passive process. We can distinguish four prototype situations in job placement that range from a passive role to an active project stance.

Type 1. Training activity but no placement services. In this situation, it is assumed that the trainee, after training, is competitive in the labor market and meets the existing qualifications for jobs. Job placement is not viewed as a special problem since it is expected that the normal range of job opportunities and vacancies in the labor market will be sufficient to deal with his problems in finding a job. In these situations, the responsibility for job finding falls on the trainee himself or on a public or private employment agency to which he goes for help.

Any placement efforts in these situations are informal and depend on luck or the goodwill of interested parties. In two situations, a passive job placement orientation did bring results. In one project,

in a large midwestern city, the lack of a formal placement program did
not seriously hamper the finding of jobs for disadvantaged trainees.
The instructors of the courses acted informally to place trainees and
were successful in eighty-five percent of the cases. In this project
the instructors had extensive contacts in local industry--some were em-
ployed in local firms--and their referrals were respected. In a second
project, in a New England city, local leaders from industry were involved
in the project from its inception, were active in monitoring the progress
of the youths, and were acting as a source of jobs for graduates. It
was clear, however, that in both cases the project had succeeded in
raising the skills of the trainees so that they were competitive in the
local labor market.

While the lack of an organized job placement effort may be miti-
gated by energetic informal job placement efforts, there is considerable
evidence that the failure to invest resources in a well-developed job
placement effort may negate many of the benefits derived from the train-
ing situation. Among disadvantaged youths turnover rates are high,
partially reflecting the inadequacy of these unorganized job placement
efforts. The personnel director of a light manufacturing firm in a mid-
west city noted that ten percent of the lower-class youths employed by
the company quit after the first day of employment, an additional fifteen
percent left by the end of the first week, and fully sixty-six percent
of those hired left by the end of the first month. A large heavy-manu-
facturing company reported that ninety percent of all the disadvantaged
youths they had employed had left by the end of three months. Nathan
Caplan, in a study of 109 disadvantaged trainees in the Chicago Youth
Development Project in 1964, reported that disadvantaged youths had only
minor difficulties in mastering the seven phases of a training program
that ranged from ego development and social skill development to skill
training. However, the trainees showed persistent failure to find and
hold jobs in the labor market. The trainees were either unwilling or
unable to demonstrate the various skills learned in the training situ-
ation. These data strongly suggest that failure to develop at least a
job placement program, if not supporting services, may offset any gain
in acquired skills.

Type 2. Training program with job placement assigned to outside

agency. This situation was by far the most typical in the E & D projects.
The trainee, after the training period, was assigned to the State Employ-
ment Service for job placement. In several instances, when this referral
was mechanical, the following problems were to be noted. First, such
referrals generally came at the end of the training course; thus there
frequently was a delay in finding a job since the job placement process
required some time and the trainee was not aware of how long it would
take. The trainee's craving for instant job success was frequently frus-
trated by this process. Second, in many cases inadequate data were trans-
ferred about the trainee, his counseling, and his course work, to be the
basis for adequate job placement. A frequent complaint of trainees was
that the same information was solicited at the job placement center that
had already been given in the training center. Third, in many cases
there was no follow-up by training agency personnel of the trainee's
placement, his adjustment on the job, or his need and/or desire for
further training or counseling. The physical separation between training
and placement sites frequently meant both a lack of follow-up and a sense
of the trainee's separation from further agency resources. Finally, in
a number of cases the youth was placed in a job unrelated to his training,
simply because the placement agency had no knowledge of the trainee's
job aspirations or the particular job that would use his new skills.

These observations suggest a number of practices that must be fol-
lowed if the job placement activity cannot be located near the training
site. Many of these practices were in evidence in E & D projects.

1. The job placement agency personnel should be brought into the
training situation early and should conduct job placement activities
concurrently with training. Many personality and aptitude tests can be
completed early in the training course, and it is often possible to con-
clude the job diagnosis and finding process before the end of the course.
If possible, the job should be waiting for the trainee by the end of the
course and every effort should be made to minimize the time gap between
course completion and job entry. (The CPI project in New Haven, JOBS
NOW in Chicago, and MYEP in Detroit do this.)

2. The job placement agency personnel should not only be brought
in early, but some attempt should be made to involve them in the training
and counseling activities of the project. This is frequently accomplished

by bringing in an agency representative to be a resident in the project, involving him in staff seminars, and giving him full access to records (CPI in New Haven, JOBS NOW in Chicago, MYEP in Detroit). It is also helpful to develop a summary card on each trainee as a joint effort between placement agency and project, to insure the transmission of pertinent data, and to eliminate needless duplication in soliciting data from the client (MYEP in Detroit).

3. There should be periodic meetings and reciprocal visits of personnel with representatives of both groups (CPI in New Haven, MYEP in Detroit, and JOBS NOW in Chicago). A familiarity with employer needs, as communicated by placement agency personnel, and a reciprocal familiarity with the training and training-related counseling was clearly shown to be a high priority necessity in situations where training and placement sites are physically separated. Another solution to this problem was evident in the Youth Opportunities Board in Los Angeles when the job placement agency opened a branch office at the same location as the training site to facilitate contact with project personnel and to reduce lag time between completion of training and placement.

4. Job placement should not end with starting a job but should include a follow-up procedure that includes an assessment of job adjustment (for example, satisfaction, wages, and training opportunities) and some feedback of any difficulties in bridging the gap between training and placement. It was clear from a number of projects that job placement statistics were the only data available and follow-up information was scanty and not meaningful. Even in cases where follow-up data were available, there was no mechanism for communicating this data into the project for use in revising curricula and training methods. There were some notable exceptions to this finding (MFY in New York and MYEP in Detroit) where an attempt had been made to convene job placement agency personnel with project counselors, administrators, and trainers to integrate this information into the project.

Type 3. <u>Training program with job placement unit inside the project</u>. A number of the E & D projects had developed their own job placement units. There were several reasons for this. First, in many cases job placement was seen as being an integral part of the job-training and counseling complex. There was a desire to integrate this activity into

a total service delivery package. A second reason was the prevalent feeling that the job placement of disadvantaged youths required special measures and practices that were not available in the resource repertoire of traditional job placement agencies in the community. Job placement was seen by these people as more than finding a job, and they recognized job preparation as an integral part of the process. The common view was that jobs were easy to locate but the preparation of the youths for work discipline and holding a job was more difficult. Third, these project directors felt that the job placement of these disadvantaged youths required a special "selling job" to employers and this could be handled best by agency personnel who knew the trainee personally, both in training and counseling situations. Finally, the impression was widespread that an integral part of job placement was the provision of supportive services during the placement process and while the youth was on the job. Thus, in East Los Angeles job placement involved both finding a job and referring the client, as the need arose, to medical, legal, social, and counseling services. There was considerable pessimism about the extent that this conception of job placement exists in traditional placement agencies.

Some observations about agency practices in this situation are in order.

1. None of the projects with job placement units completely avoided the use of the facilities of the state Employment Service. In most cases, the state Employment Service acted as a vocational testing agency and in only a few cases did the project attempt to develop a vocational testing program. In many instances, the Employment Service was consulted about registered job vacancies, and frequently trainees who met the prescribed qualifications were sent to the Employment Service for job placement. An operating principle, in evidence in MYEP in Detroit, was to carefully assess the skills and employment potential of the youths and to refer those who required no supportive services for job placement through the state Employment Service. The hard-to-place were aided by the project job placement unit.

2. Frequently, a serious drawback to job placement through the Employment Service was the existence of legal norms and administrative directives that prevented agency personnel from initiating employer revisions of job orders. These job orders were regarded as fixed reference points for placement and emphasis was on finding the man to fit the job

rather than the job to fit the man. The placement unit in the project was not subject to these restrictions and could engage in job placements that were client rather than employer oriented. In one documented case, a project job placement unit was able to find jobs for fifty hard-to-place youths who had been classified as unreferrable by the state Employment Service. The project personnel had greater flexibility in seeking and soliciting employers and in using persuasive means to lower job requirements. This same project unit was able to persuade a large manufacturer to reduce the requirements in a job order for typists from sixty-five to fifty words per minute when a guarantee was forthcoming for supportive counseling services and training for the applicants while they were on the job. It seems clear that the job placement process for disadvantaged youths must combine a package of services to be offered both to the employer and to the youths. Job placement in this sense may involve as much work with the employer as with the trainee.

Type 4. No training program but a job placement unit within the project. It has become a common observation that disadvantaged youths crave "instant job success" and that job placement is seriously impaired if: (1) it is a lengthy process; (2) it is preceded by lengthy counseling and training programs; and (3) it does not introduce the trainee to a situation where adequate compensation and job opportunities are available. These considerations make a strong case for moving the individual to a job situation or on-the-job training as soon as possible. The advantages of reducing the time element in job placement is best illustrated by two New York City projects--Pal Joey and the New York City Board of Education. The first project, sponsored by the Police Athletic League, has developed an intensive job counseling/job placement process combined with OJT support grants. Youths who are referred by agencies, are solicited directly, or who walk in off the street are given instant and continuous service beginning with an intake interview, followed by job counseling, and ending with an interview with job placement personnel. The latter has a list of available job openings and may match the client to a job order on the spot. The client is made to feel that something is happening. If a job is not available, he is recalled for another job placement interview on the following day. The emphasis is on the time compression between entry into the project and entry to a job. The New York Board of Education employs similar practices but was decentralized into four substations at night to

increase the access of the youths to the job placement process and re-
sources.

It can be seen from these prototype situations that the meaning, as
well as the practice, of job placement varies from passive to active. To
draw up a catalogue of activities in job placement would require a report
in itself. Indeed, as we will see, some of these activities spill over
into job development. Six activities would seem to be basic to the job
placement process.

1. <u>Exploring traditional avenues of job referrals (for example, the
state Employment Service) as well as developing new pipelines to jobs.</u>
Job finding is only one part of the job placement process but it is an im-
portant part. There was widespread agreement that traditional avenues of
placement offered few opportunities for jobs to most disadvantaged youths,
although some of the less disadvantaged can be placed in this way. In its
initial period of operation, the Pal Joey project in New York sought to
obtain job leads for disadvantaged boys through the use of classified ads
for jobs in newspapers. The advertiser was contacted and a personal visit
made to those who expressed an interest. The strategy was to place some
of the youths directly in jobs and to "sell" others through OJT contracts.
Only about one-half of the advertisers were interested, but only about
five percent of the calls and visits resulted in placements. The lack of
employer interest was apparently a result of the lack of trained person-
nel, bad previous experience with the employment of disadvantaged youths,
and a reluctance to employ youths with criminal records. The experience
of Pal Joey was typical of many other projects. "Cold canvass" efforts
through the telephone or personal visits also yielded few positive results.

Nontraditional methods of job finding had more of a payoff. Fol-
lowing job leads supplied by previously placed disadvantaged youths pro-
duced some successful job leads. Encouraging friendly employers to
solicit among their employer friends was also frequently successful. In
some instances the use of spot announcements on radio and television pro-
duced some results. Systematic canvassing of a single industry, after
intensive studies of its manpower needs and consultations with personnel
directors, were reported to produce successful job leads.

2. <u>Matching the individual and the job.</u> Although the primary as-
sessment of the client's skills and emotional posture was made by the
training instructor and the job counselor respectively, the final decision

to place an individual in a specific job was made by the job placement staff member. For this purpose two sets of data were routed to him: (1) skill and personality data from teachers and counselors; and (2) a listing of available job openings solicited by field workers or job developers. It was expected that the job placement staff member would be sufficiently well acquainted with the demands of the work situation to make a sophisticated judgment of the youth's ability to adjust to a job in a particular company. Two basic principles were used. <u>The mechanics of matching youths to jobs should begin far in advance of the completion of the training period and should involve consultation with the trainees, the teachers, the counselors, and field personnel who solicit jobs</u>. In two E & D projects the matching process was not begun until completion of the course, and several of the other projects waited until late in the training period to do this. As a result a moderately high number of trainees apparently became discouraged and did not use the resources of the placement office.

     3. <u>Providing pre-vocational services</u>. The placement process is a failure if it does not seek to solve the job-related problems that prevent youths from taking employment. These services may include remedial medical treatment, legal and family counseling, adequate transportation to work, and financial assistance for the purchase of tools or work-related equipment. This was one of the areas in which considerable innovation was apparent in the E & D projects. The MYEP in Detroit, drawing on lessons learned in earlier training programs, provided a complete physical examination for their clients. The initial practice had been to refer the diagnosis and course of treatment to the client and make him responsible for remedial action. This was changed, however, and the job placement unit was charged with the responsibility of obtaining remedial services. This was done largely on a person by person basis, using cooperating private physicians and public health facilities.[1] The principle was firmly established in this program, as in a number of others (JOBS NOW, CPI, and MFY), that medical diagnosis and rehabilitation should be begun when the trainee enters the project and completed before placement on a job. It was also typical, both in Detroit and Chicago, that continuing

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[1] Many of the disadvantaged youths were eligible for medical treatment under the Medicare service.

medical services be made available even after the trainee began working.

In New York City, job placement included counseling services. It was standard practice to arrange bonding in cases where employment was dependent upon it and to advise clients how to fill out troublesome items on employment forms. In the Pal Joey and Mobilization for Youth projects, the job placement unit arranged in some instances to have someone accompany the youth to the company's office to help him fill out the employment forms. In Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles there were ad hoc programs to arrange car pools to work and, in some cases, the project personnel persuaded local financial institutions to provide back-up loans for cars. In MYEP in Detroit, informal agreements were negotiated with retail stores by the job placement staff to provide work-related tools on credit. In three of the E & D projects these was mention of arrangements made by the job placement staff to provide suitable housing nearer to work to facilitate employment. The Pal Joey project in New York City held orientation sessions on the use of subway transportation to teach some of the youths how to travel to work. In Jobs II, the placement staff arranged with a local jeweler to supply watches to the youths at a reduced price to help them in punctuality and time budgeting. The list of these services could be expanded tenfold but the few examples above give some indication of the kinds of problems that must be dealt with if disadvantaged youths are to obtain jobs and hold them.

4. Preparing the client for testing and interview procedures by the company. It was a common experience in the project that many graduate trainees, who had successfully completed training requirements, were not hired when referred to an employer. Four reasons were frequently cited to explain failures in job interviews or on employment tests. First, the tests were not geared to measure the trainees' knowledge or competence for the job. In some cases, the trainee found it difficult to relate his knowledge to the questions in the test. In one instance, the training had been on new equipment while the tests, somewhat dated, contained questions that demanded a knowledge of older equipment. On one performance test trainees were asked for general knowledge of automobile repair while the training had emphasized a narrow specialty, ignition repair. Many of the tests required verbal facility for answers, while the trainee possessed a practical knowledge of the job but could

not conceptualize it. Second, many of the job candidates had had no exper-
ience with job interviews or tests and these situations were bound to be
anxiety-producing for them. Third, the only models the trainees' had for
these experiences were negative (for example, interviews with social workers
and school tests). Finally, many of the trainees—particularly minority
group members—viewed interviews and tests and discriminatory mechanisms to
deny them jobs; consequently, tests and interviews were regarded with sus-
picion and hostility.

Another approach was to give intensive instruction in the special
knowledge requested on the examination. The MYEP project in Detroit gave
intensive courses in arithmetic to improve scores on employer tests. Place-
ment personnel at a number of projects maintained files on old employer
tests, analyzed them for the types of knowledge needed, and tutored youths
in those areas. The MYEP in Detroit reported that test performance improved
with practice on tests. The personnel in this project reported that some
youths gained more confidence in test taking by actually applying for a
number of jobs and taking the tests. The danger inherent in this situation
is that repeated failure may lead to discouragement. The more successful
method reported was to have the youth take practice tests, analyze his mis-
takes, and discuss his errors and possible remedial action. The JOBS NOW
project in Chicago and JWS in St. Louis reported that an important dimen-
sion of job-readiness was confidence and the ability to take tests.

Preparation for the job interview has taken several forms. A number
of projects favored role-playing the job interview with the counselor and
youth, changing employer-applicant roles. Another form was to persuade
the employers to conduct the interview at the training center where the
youth would be more at ease. A strategy used to good effect in Chicago
was to permit an applicant to participate in group interviews where three
or four applicants were interviewed simultaneously. It is difficult to
evaluate the effectiveness of these measures since there was no attempt to
conduct a controlled experiment; applying the method to one group and
denying it to another. MYEP and JOBS NOW personnel felt that these methods
were efficacious but varied from youth to youth.

In several programs, staff members have accompanied youths applying
for jobs (YOB in Los Angeles, JEVS in St. Louis, and Goodwill Industries
in Washington, D.C.). In other programs this was done only if it was the
youth's first job or if he was particularly frightened or uneasy (CPI in

in New Haven and MFY in New York City). These methods were regarded highly
in these projects and apparently helped the youths to obtain jobs. These
procedures give the staff members a change to encourage the youth before
the interview and, if he does not get the job, to analyze the reasons for
him and to encourage him to try again. Since many of the trainee graduates
failed to keep appointments for job interviews, MYEP personnel in Detroit
felt that these methods insured that the youth would get to the work site
and get there on time. CPI personnel in New Haven felt that: (1) the dan-
ger of these methods was the possible development of overdependence in some
youths; and (2) these practices should not be applied indiscriminately to
all since some youths resent the strategy, preferring to gain confidence on
their own.

Most youth employment projects follow the practice of sending out only
one applicant for each job order. In JOBS NOW in Chicago, all eligible
youths were sent out for each job. The assumption was that the youths gained
considerable experience in job hunting from this practice and that the ex-
perience resulted in greater confidence. No assessment was made as to
whether cumulative experience of this kind improves the art of job appli-
cation. It does seem possible, however, that repeated refusals might re-
sult in a deterioration of ego strength and impair the applicant in his
ability to seek further jobs. Individual personality differences would be
a factor here.

5. Providing on the job supportive services. It has become widely
recognized that placement activities not only involve preparation for job
entry but also provision for services that may extend well into the job
period. Counseling, job training, and mediation of employer-worker pro-
blems are the three major categories of supportive services. As a general
rule, counseling was available at the training centers and graduates were
encouraged to seek advise on personal problems, budgeting finances, and
employer-worker tensions. In the New York City Board of Education project
two factors were reported to be favorable to luring graduates back for
counseling--having four centers close to the homes of the youths and keep-
ing the centers open at night to provide opportunities for after-work coun-
seling. Only five percent of the graduates in YOB in Los Angeles returned
for counseling while eighty-five percent of the trainees in MFY in New York
City returned at least once. These differences may possibly be explained

by the greater spread of Los Angeles and its consequent transportation pro-
blems while the compactness of New York City makes a relatively efficient
subway system possible. The Pal Joey project reported that post-training
counseling was difficult to promote since graduates did not like to tie up
their evenings and did so only when serious problems occurred on the job.
Although the desirability of on-site counseling was mentioned frequently in
reports, there were relatively few instances of it. Such counseling did
occur in the JOBS NOW project through a system of "coaches." By agreement
with the employer, the coach could visit the client on the job site, con-
sult with his supervisor, and arbitrate grievances at the scene of action.
The coach also had access to high level officials in the department. Fre-
quently, the coach made visits to the client's home, met members of his
family, and had a good grasp of his situation and problems. The obvious
necessity for this system is the willingness of the coach to seek out the
client and assess his progress. The greatest barrier to on-site counseling
is employer reluctance to excuse his worker from a productive role to par-
ticipate in counseling.

Supportive services in the form of further training were offered by
a number of projects. Participation apparently varied from project to pro-
ject. A strong factor in this participation was the extent to which ar-
rangements could be made with the employer to recognize and reward this
training through upgrading (Pal Joey). Knowledge of the exact nature of
the reward by the youth was thought to be highly important. Few youths
were willing, apparently, to invest time in after-work training and parti-
cipation was more related to dissatisfaction with current employment and
willingness for a job change than a desire to progress on the current job.
Vestibule training and linked OJT-institutional training were apparently
more favorable situations for providing further training to the disadvan-
taged youths and participation was greater when training and job experience
were both at the work site and closely related to each other (MYEP in
Detroit and Pal Joey in New York).

Finally, supportive services also involved the mediation of manage-
ment-worker tensions. Not all such efforts were as direct or as favorably
conceived as the "coach system" described above. Far more common was the
intervention of the counselor by making special arrangements to see the
worker and his supervisor. A common strategy was to inquire about the pro-
gress of old graduates when discussing the possibility of new placements

with the employer. In this way, employers frequently communicated problems with the clients and agency-client-employer contact was arranged. These mediation efforts frequently posed a danger. Since employer contacts were usually with a job developer and client contacts were with a counselor, there was always the possibility that agency personnel would be opposed to each other in assessing the situation and develop antithetical identifications in trying to resolve the problem. In such cases, four-party mediation efforts were usually arranged.

6. <u>Follow-up procedures</u>. Activities that follow the trainee into the community and the job site involve keeping in touch both with the youth and with his employer. In most programs, it was the person who was closest to the youth during his training who kept in touch with him once he had left the project. This was usually the counselor but could be a neighborhood worker as in CPI or a "coach" as in JOBS NOW. On the other hand, the employer was usually called by the job developer (that is, the person who solicited the job initially). Such situations frequently resulted in antagonisms between counselor and job developer because of competing allegiances.

Few of the projects had formalized follow-up procedures; most of the emphasis was on informal contacts between the agency and ex-clients or employers. A large project on the east coast had the following procedure. A staff member was delegated to call employers periodically after a placement had been made. If the employer reported any problem, the counselor was notified and he called the youth. This system had three obvious faults: (1) only complaints by employers initiated action for contact; (2) only "failure" or "problem" cases were called and nothing was learned about successes; and (3) it was questionable whether a telephone call could probe deeply into the complaint or its causes. In general, follow-up activities were predicated on an indirect feedback of information by the employer to the job solicitor although the CPI project in New Haven successfully used subprofessionals to get in touch with each client directly.

The follow-up calls vary greatly among the projects. In a majority of cases, employers were resistant to frequent follow-up calls. It was the general opinion that employers were interested in getting a good worker and were not overly concerned with the psychological changes and adjustments he was making. The common thesis was that follow-up calls should involve the client more than the employer.

The Meaning of Job Creation

In the context of E & D projects, job creation refers either to job redesign (the segmentalization of a job to provide a number of opportunities for new work) or career development for the poor (establishing new subprofessional jobs that are supplementary and complementary to professional roles but do not require extensive educational preparation). With a few exceptions, job creation programs were largely either absent or primitive in structure. The essential ingredient in job creation is persuading the employment gatekeeper, be he the manager of a plant or the chief functionary in a bureaucracy, that job redesign or career development for the poor makes sense in terms of his logic of operations, and provides an efficient solution to his manpower problems. The strategy in job creation is to sell the employer a logic of operation rather than the services of a particular client. The assumption is that disadvantaged youths will be able to fill these new jobs. The strategy is highly innovative in that it attempts to adjust the work system to the skills of the individual rather than changing the individual to fit the system.

Where the approach had been tried, certain difficulties were found. First, the business community, and professionals in general, operate under a certain logic of efficiency that tends to sustain the status quo job structure. There is a built-in resistance to segmentalization of jobs, since it is assumed that coordination costs (for example, supervision) must increase. Among professionals there was a tendency to defend repetitive and subprofessional elements of the professional role because it "had always been done that way." There was resistance both to redefinitions of professional mandate coming from outside the profession and the creation of subprofessional jobs that are more than dead-end jobs. In every project, where some subprofessional jobs had been developed, there had not been any clear mobility pattern built into the job and the activity, although complementary to professional tasks, clearly had little career potential to it.

A second outstanding difficulty was in the development of career subprofessional jobs for the poor within the context of civil service regulations. All projects in subprofessional development met this problem of fitting subprofessional jobs into a system that has no legal definition of such work, no clear job description, and no wage scale to compensate such activity. A particularly recurrent problem was the unwillingness

or inability of civil service administrators to compromise with service
qualifications (for example, age, criminal record, educational preparation).
In a large eastern city the city civil service refused to establish a new
job classification, recreation aide, to provide jobs after the course work
was completed. The existing job classification, recreation leader, re-
quired a high school diploma, and few graduates met this qualification.
A common consequence was the employment of subprofessional workers on an
hourly rate in a convenient job classification that existed, or to employ
the subprofessional in a work program with his services assigned to the
bureaucracy. The failure to create a definite job status for subprofessional
workers, coupled with low wages and the lack of potential mobility in the
job, undoubtedly resulted in a personal crisis of work identity for many
subprofessional workers. This was shown by the high turnover rate in sub-
professional jobs that were apparent in several projects. Little empiri-
cal evidence is available to tell us about the jobs that these people move
into after leaving subprofessional work, but a number of informed guesses
suggest that these workers enter work unrelated to their subprofessional
experience.

Finally, an outstanding difficulty in all projects where attempts
had been made to develop subprofessional employment in municipal and pri-
vate agencies, was that work reality infrequently corresponded with the
subprofessional work values taught in the course. Wages in health services
and community agencies were frequently less than transfer payments and were
particularly depressed when compared to industrial jobs. The direct service
responsibility, independence, and subprofessional self-determination which
were emphasized in course work were not used in the actual work situation
and there apparently was little that the project personnel could do to
remedy these conditions because they were considered employer prerogatives.
The latter was also an effective bar to job enlargement--making the job
situation more interesting and meaningful for the job holder--since in
these agencies work relations and conditions were rigidly controlled by
written rules and regulations. Thus the difficulty of career development
for the poor stems in part from: (1) the values of operational efficiency
that permeate business and public employment; (2) defensive reactions of
professionals who view subprofessionalism as a threat to their prerogatives;
and (3) the rigidity of the civil service that fails to provide a distinct
job status for subprofessional work.

The obstacles appear to be quite formidable in creating subprofessional jobs but the following rules, gleaned from E & D project experience, would appear to have some merit.

1. Nearly all of the projects used subprofessional, semiprofessional, and aide workers. Any approach to public and private agencies should present them with a review of project experience with this type of employment (Washington Action for Youth, JVS in St. Louis).

2. The negotiation for subprofessional employment should begin before the onset of the training project in order that training can be tailored to the job. There should be a reasonable prospect of jobs before the training has proceeded too far.

3. The initial negotiations should be for lower level aide positions where professional resistance is least. A promising way into an institution is to develop field placements for aides in that institution. New services are created which may create a demand for their own expansion (WAFY in Washington).

4. There should be a thorough study of the employment structure and regulations in the institution before a program is begun. Targets should be avoided that require lengthy review procedures for approval of new jobs, radical addition of supervisory personnel, or new in-service training programs for the creation of the new jobs (JVS in St. Louis).

5. Before beginning the training project, every attempt should be made to involve professionals as planners, trainers, and evaluators of the program. The successful job creation projects were those that had gained professional involvement at every step of the program.

6. Based on experience in Washington and St. Louis, successful job creation requires that subprofessional tasks must be clearly specified and adequate supervision must be provided. Few of the subprofessionals were comfortable enough in the institutional situation to ask questions and seek directions about the job. They apparently did not expect sympathetic understanding and did not communicate their needs.

Subprofessional development is a long and arduous task. Dramatic breakthroughs are few, and gains, when measured against effort, are bound to be small. The most marked successes in these subprofessional ventures involved cases where: (1) the subprofessional fulfilled the task of "bridging" between a neighborhood group and the agency; (2) the subprofessional was engaged in tasks that were not easily or willingly performed by

professionals (for example, field follow-up of agency clients); and (3) the subprofessionals were engaged in tasks that <u>did not involve</u> direct service responsibility or independent action. Least resistance was encountered in developing low-level clerical-typist jobs where the status is low and s strongly marginal to any professional activity.

The Meaning of Job Development

As a set of operating practices, job development overlaps with the practices discussed under job creation and job placement. Job development is an evolutionary process from job placement to job creation. As George Bennett has noted:

> In the early stages, job development may well take the form of locating job openings and then finding youths and adults to fill the openings. Neighborhood workers move out into the neighborhoods to find individuals for the openings and the manpower staff looks over participants in ongoing manpower and skill center programs to see who is ready to move into jobs. At some point, job developers reverse the process and work initially with the candidates who are ready for employment and then move out to employers to tailor jobs for the candidates. When that becomes an ongoing part of the process, a sophisti-cated and complete job development mechanism has become operational.[1]

Three other criteria should also be included in an ideal definition of job development. First and foremost, job development postulates the opportunity to induce employers to reappraise and, in many instances, to modify job entry requirements. This may be done in a variety of ways, but the essential ingredient is the availability of back-up services by the agency (training, counseling, literacy training) to make the job candidate more competitive in the work situation. Second, job development includes concerted efforts to gain agreement from the employer to consider the job candidate only on his ability to do the job and not on extraneous criteria (for example, race and social background). Finally, job development includes follow-up services to the job candidate once he is placed, to insure mobility and potential development on the job. The service to the client should not end with entry into a job but, ideally, there should be continuous work to increase his manpower development consistent with his job aspirations.

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[1]George Bennett, <u>Job Development for Youth, Training Series</u>, (Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth: New York City), February 1966, pp. 7-8.

The role of the job developer may involve any one or all of the following tasks.

1. Finding jobs through regular or new channels or providing opportunities to find jobs through arrangement of job fairs or interview situations.

2. Coordinating and managing private and community resources to increase employability of clients (for example, the arrangement of continuing medical diagnosis and services to make clients employable).

3. Providing communication and linkage between the agency, training center, employer, work supervisor, and worker.

4. Selling and negotiating with employers to secure jobs for cleints, modifying entrance standards, or restructuring jobs.

5. Providing follow-up services to develop job mobility potential for his clients.

6. Changing attitudes and role of the employer by involving and identifying him with the project.

7. Creating new jobs by negotiation with public and private agency officials.

Although there may be different emphases on one or more of these tasks and the division of labor may differ from situation to situation, these are the essential reference points for job development work. The line between pure job placement activities and job development is hard to draw. The job placement process is concerned with the assessment of the client, helping him to overcome any deficiencies for entry to work and matching him with an available job opening. Job development involves work primarily with employers and is oriented toward creating job conditions in which disadvantaged youth can work and develop. In many cases both jobs are filled by a single invididual who regards these activities as a single process. In the discussion that follows, the emphasis will be on both processes, but it should be recognized that not all projects have developed this emphasis equally.

II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE JOB PLACEMENT AND JOB DEVELOPMENT UNIT

Job placement and job development work require organization and this varies considerably. In this section we will consider some dimensions of this organization. What are the characteristics of the staff (background, previous experience, education, number)? Where is the location of job placement and job development activity and how are these activities linked to community agencies and other units of the project (for example, counseling)? What are some of the strengths and weaknesses of the systems used? These are important questions and we turn to them now.

The Structure of the Staff

The background, training, and experience of personnel employed as job developers varies widely. Job developers apparently do not come from a common background and certainly do not have a common heritage of training or experience. Successful job developers have come from sales jobs, management administrative positions, social service employment, teaching, and counseling. Training requirements for job developers appear to be secondary to certain personal qualities that project personnel feel are desirable. Sales ability is regarded as important, since the principal image of the developer is one of a salesman whose job is selling the program and the individual applicant to the employer. While there is no formal training recommended for a job developer, project directors and personnel gave a strong emphasis to the personal qualities that characterize good job developers. The job developer:

1. should possess sales ability and enjoy selling;

2. should have an understanding and appreciation of management values and organization;

3. should have the ability to communicate with management;

4. should possess the art of diplomacy and compromise, since a job developer is a bargainer/arbitrator between client and employer;

5. should know the community well and have entry into a wide range of companies;[1] and

6. should have a firm belief in the ability of disadvantaged youths to become valuable employees.

The number of job developers in an E & D project varies with the condition and size of the labor market, reliance on other agency services, the structure of the program, the amount of time spent in finding jobs, and the age of the program. In a tight labor market, fewer job developers are needed to locate the necessary number of jobs. Programs, such as CPI in New Haven, where employers had helped to organize the courses and were involved as job-finding resources, had fewer job developers than programs that had little management involvement. The projects that had been recently initiated invested more time in job finding and job development than did the older programs. New programs need to spend considerable time and effort to introduce the program to the business community and to make employer contacts. As the youth employment program gets established and develops a good reputation with employers, repeat orders and a "multiplier effect" account for an increased percentage of job orders. Depending on the emphasis given to job finding, the job development staff might range from one to ten people.

A number of the job development units used older, indigenous workers in subprofessional jobs to follow-up job placements (CIP in New Haven, JOBS NOW in Chicago, MFY in New York, and MYEP in Detroit). These workers were uniformly regarded as an asset in job development work, since they knew the neighborhoods and work values of resident youth and expressed a strong interest in the problems of clients. The follow-up data on clients were more complete and reliable when collected by indigenous workers than by professional staff members. This was particularly true when it was necessary to locate a client who had left a job without notice. In two projects, indigenous workers were given direct service responsibility for contact with clients in post-placement follow-ups. Project administrators felt that this had contributed to a high job retention rate among the youths.

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[1] Persons who had proven contacts with potential employers were eagerly sought for job development work, since they frequently were able to open doors previously closed to disadvantaged youths.

Location of the Job Placement Unit in the Project

Many of the projects began by relying almost exclusively on the state Employment Service for the placement of youths. In general, the project staff devoted themselves to and concentrated on counseling, basic education, and training. When a youth was considered "job ready," he was referred to the state Employment Service for placement. This procedure proved to be largely unsuccessful. The majority of disadvantaged youths sent to the state Employment Service, regardless of interest or training, were not placed. The Goodwill Industries project in Washington, D.C. suggests that failure was due primarily to poor communication between the project and the state Employment Service. In this project, youths were trained in one occupational specialty only to discover that another MDTA training program had just flooded the market in this same specialty. Consequently almost no jobs were available. The project based with the National Committee on Children and Youth in New York City reported that the state Employment Service had insufficient staff to provide the services that disadvantaged youths require in placement. A common observation was that the Employment Service was employer-oriented and did not have the flexibility for bargaining with the employers over job orders. Thus, the disadvantaged youths had to have the qualifications for the job or were not considered.

One explanation of the difficulties between project and Employment Service in job placement is that each tended to operate under a different mandate. The Employment Service tried to find the best candidate for each job order while the youth employment projects were attempting to find the best job for each youth. The Employment Service was also involved with a broad segment of the labor force and was not a specialized agency to handle either the disadvantaged or youths. Consequently, "mass" methods of testing and competitive job seeking were used, and it was exactly these methods that had resulted in previous failures to obtain jobs. Following referral to the Employment Service, these youths are tested and either assigned to a job waiting list or sent out on numerous job referrals with other applicants. Few efforts are made to individualize the client and remedy his own peculiar job seeking problems. Both the JOBS NOW project in Chicago and the North Carolina Drop-out Program reported that youths

expressed reluctance to use the state Employment Service office because it represented an integral part of earlier negative employment experiences.

The more recent experience in the projects was to make provision for some job placement and job development work within the staff structure of the project. These efforts are usually organized as a job development unit which seeks jobs specifically for project trainees either individually or en masse. The existence of a job development unit does not mean that the services of the state Employment Service are ignored. The consensus among project personnel was that the facilities of the Employment Service have much to offer the youth employment projects and that the activities of the latter organizations should be complementary rather than displacing. The Employment Service has a store of valuable experience with the labor market and can offer information on area entry level requirements, job vacancies in industries, and contact referrals to major employers. The nature of the relationship between the job development unit and the Employment Service varies from project to project, but most maintain a "working relation-ship" which generally translates into some referrals or calls about jobs openings and employer information and a friendly interchange of aid-as-needed.

A much closer relationship is practiced in the projects in Chicago and New Haven. In both cases, staff members of the Employment Service were sent to the youth employment projects to work as job developers. They became a part of the youth employment project staff, working side by side and performing the same duties as other youth employment project staff members. This system is advantageous to both agencies. The youth employment project obtains experienced staff members with important contacts. It can also make use of the job orders which come routinely into the Employment Service.

The state Employment Service also benefits. It shares the credit with the youth employment project for placements, eliminating the sense of competition which otherwise might prevail. In addition, some of its staff members are exposed to new and innovative methods of job development and placement. Frequently this experience enabled the state Employment Service to improve its own methods of operation.

The Structure and Linkage of the Job Placement and Job
Development Unit to Other E & D Project Activities

Since the job developers act as a link between the youth employment project and the outside community, there is a certain amount of conflict built into the job developer role. On one hand, the job developer deals with the potential employer, discovering his needs and sympathizing with his problems. The employer is generally seeking an individual who will meet his standards, work hard, be reliable, be trouble-free, and be motivated for advancement. On the other hand, the administrative, training, and counseling staff of the E & D project focuses on the problems of the disadvantaged youths who frequently appear not to meet these criteria. The disadvantaged youth may not want to conform to the employer's image of a "model employee." Insofar as the perspectives of employer and youth differ, the job developer frequently finds himself in a conflict situation. He can resolve this conflict by identifying with the perspective either of the employer or the youth or by trying to work out a compromise.

The structure of the E & D project frequently influences this identification. If the job developers are separated from the rest of the project staff (for example, trainers and counselors) and have little contact with individual youths, there is a real danger that the job developers may take on many of the management perspectives and attitudes. Projects that committed large blocks of time to job developer contacts with employers, to the exclusion of contact with other project staff or with individual youths, frequently experienced this problem. The result was that job developers identified with high management standards for employment and were reluctant to modify these standards. Inevitably, this introduced a measure of conflict between job developers and other project staff members who were more youth oriented. The Youth Opportunities Board in Los Angeles reported that the "conservative" approach to jobs for the disadvantaged youth by job developers caused strained relations and conflict between job counselors and the job development unit. The JOBS NOW project in Chicago also found that their "employment developers" lost touch with other staff and components of the project. As a result of this loss of contact, employment developers became more concerned with placement than with training and counseling, and more oriented toward numbers than toward people.

Effective job development requires that job developers interact on a

continuous and regular basis with other staff and components of the pro-
ject and that some contact with individual youths be made available to
them. The poosibility of becoming overspecialized and impersonal is a real
danger if some steps are not taken to check these tendencies.

Another aspect of the problem bears on the effectiveness of the job
development unit. In many cases, the job development unit was largely an
autonomous unit. Jobs were located or developed independently of contact
with other staff members or the youths being trained. The result, typified
by the Los Angeles experience, was that many jobs were found but few youths
were job-ready to fill them. Considerable pressure was generated to place
youths, regardless of where they were in the training cycle or the services
needed to make them job-ready. Consequently, youths were frequently placed
in jobs not related to their training, interests, talents, or temperament.

These remarks clearly indicate the need to fully integrate job de-
velopment work with other components of the project. The Pal Joey project
in New York and the YOB project in Los Angeles had an almost ideal cycling
of project activities that minimized many of the job development problems
discussed above. The projects tried to link the job development unit to
other staff with a "placement counselor." This person was involved both
in job placement and counseling activities. He discussed with the youths
their job preferences and the available jobs discovered by the job devel-
opers. He could call on the job developer for more information in response
to the youth's questions, thus opening some indirect communication between
job developer and youths. This system apparently eases some tensions for
the youths and gives them a more consistent picture of the job openings.
It is not ideal, however, since the job developer has no personal acquain-
tance with his clients and can give the employer only general information
about prospective employees. It is also deficient in that the "placement
counselor" has only second-hand information about the jobs--information
that may be more ideal than factual. Frequently, the youth finds himself
in the position of moving from a highly supportive and sympathetic environ-
ment--the project center--to the realities and responsibilities of a job
for which he has been ill-prepared informationally.[1]

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[1]This transition is also made more difficult by the fact that pro-
ject personnel (counselors, trainers) generally have no direct contact
with employers. Overspecialization of staff members may have negative
consequences for clients.

The problem of providing the youth with a realistic information field for his job placement has been approached in several different ways. The New York Board of Education Project combined job placement and job development activities in one role. Thus, the person who was charged with placing the youth had also found the job and was best informed about it. In Detroit, the MYEP project made it mandatory that the job developer meet and assess the client for the job. In a more general sense, OJT placements with continuing supportive services provide the best opportunity to interpret the job through ongoing counseling. The job holder has a continuing source of interpretation as new questions arise.

More satisfactory than a "placement counselor" is a structure in which the staff is able to face and work out conflicts while the youth is active in the project. The CPI of New Haven is an excellent example of a highly cooperative and well-integrated staff arrangement. Short staff meetings are held daily in each of four neighborhood centers in which the day's anticipated cases are reviewed. The job developers from all of the centers also meet daily to exchange information on jobs and those youths not yet placed. While the job developers from each center are responsible for finding jobs for the youths in their center, certain dividion of responsibility has been established to keep employers from being bothered with calls from different job developers from CPI. In addition, a weekly "disposition conference" is held in each center to deal with non-routine cases. This involves a lengthy discussion of any difficult cases which have come up during the week. This conference is attended by all staff members including neighborhood workers, a psychological consultant, and any other relevant person in the community who has had contact with the case being discussed (for example, teacher, social worker, or probation officer).

Undoubtedly this system ties up a great deal of staff time in meetings. However the advantages are clear. In discussing problems and arriving at a course of action, staff members must pursue a process of give and take. Staff judgments develop consistency and give a more unified picture to the trainees. Job developers gain insight into the "human" factors that affect the case, and other staff become familiar with the realities of the job market. In the neighborhood employment centers, the job developers meet with youths who are ready for placement. Very frequently, a close relationship develops between the job developer and client

giving the job developer a personal knowledge of the individual being placed.

Summary of Job Development Systems

As we have indicated, the job development unit is an important part of the project organization. Job developers do not come from a common heritage of training, but sales ability and a dedication to helping disadvantaged youth seem indispensable personal elements. Effective job development work utilizes the resources and talents of a wide variety of community organizations--business and civic--and are perceived as complementary rather than a displacement of state Employment Services. A vital function of the job developer is that of communication link between the employer and young potential employees. This function is made more difficult by differences in perception of work and its meaning by client and potential employer. In the last analysis, the job developer shares the responsibility with the other ataff members for resolving the differences in perception sufficiently: (1) to permit the youth to work productively in the employment setting; and (2) to gain client acceptance on the part of the employer.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF JOB PLACEMENT AND JOB DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Work with disadvantaged youths in the E & D projects implicitly
revolved around two concepts--competitive mobility and sponsored mobility.
In the first case, the project accepted the stated job qualifications of
the employer and operated under the assumption that its principal task
was to develop in the youths the skills to qualify them for jobs. Their
goal was to increase the competitive position of these youths. In spon-
sored mobility, the project staff tried to modify or eliminate require-
ments for the job that would discriminate against disadvantaged youths.
In this case, their goal was to adjust the job to the applicant while in
competitive mobility the applicant is changed to fit the job. To some
extent, most E & D projects accepted both orientations although the more
innovative job development work was in projects where the major interest
was in sponsored mobility. In most projects there was a progression from
traditional placement techniques (for example, filling job orders or
placing job seekers in industries where a skill survey had indicated man-
power shortages), to active attempts to work with employers to modify the
work situation.

Methods Used to Obtain Jobs for Disadvantaged Youth

There were five principal methods used to obtain jobs:

1. traditional placement techniques (for example, filling job or-
ders received from employers);

2. developing new jobs (for example, subprofessional employment);

3. working with employers to modify requirements for jobs; and

4. developing youth potentials to meet employer standards.

Let us examine each one of these in turn.

1. Traditional Placement Techniques

The problems of disadvantaged youths have been widely defined as
a lack of technical skills, inadequate social skills, and exclusion from

traditional channels of job information. Many of the project directors had concluded that jobs <u>did</u> exist but that disadvantaged youths did not have the skills for these jobs or simply did not know how to find them. Thus, an initial focus of the projects was to structure training programs based on the results of area skill surveys and to increase the flow of job information to these youths. Youths were routinely referred to the state Employment Service for placement and newspaper want ads were regarded as a major source of job information. It was soon obvious that mamy of these traditional placement practices were deficient when applied to disadvantaged youths. <u>Learning new skills and new knowledge about job openings did not guarantee job placement; in many cases this learning could not be translated into performance.</u>

A number of particular problems deserve mention. Job orders from employers were vague, giving few of the finer details of the job. Post-training applicants were frequently in the position of expecting a job with career possibilities and finding that the job was low paying, "dead-end," and unskilled. Training personnei in the project "idealized" the future job in the absence of any actual acquaintance with the job or company. Nor did training in an area guarantee a job. Youths were frequently placed in jobs that were unrelated to their training. A frequent criticism made by employer and trainee alike was that course content had little application to actual job demands. The National Committee on Youth in New York City suggested that the skill survey, as currently conceived, was too limited to plan training content and placement. Ideally, the skill survey should focus on <u>future</u> rather than <u>current</u> skill needs and shortages. The latter tend to be filled rapidly and can create surpluses frustrating to the newly trained job applicant.

The MYEP project in Detroit made detailed studies of job orders, including visits to the employer, to determine the range of skills needed for the job, its mobility potential, and interpersonal work factors. This information was made available to counselors, placement officers, and job developers to give the youths as accurate a picture of the job as possible. The JOBS NOW project in Chicago found that few trainees acted on job leads and supplemented this information process by arranging interviews and following up on both successful and unsuccessful job seeking efforts. Another technique widely acclaimed was to bring the employer into the training session to answer specific questions about the job.

On the job training efforts (OJT) have eliminated many of these problems. Under this arrangement, an employer trains youths while they work in jobs that he needs to fill. The trainee receives some formal instruction but his skills are primarily learned on the job in the actual work situation. During the training period the employer is reimbursed for his training costs and the trainee receives regular wages. When training is completed, the employer hires the youths that he has trained on his machines and using his techniques, if he is reasonably satisfied with their work.

The OJT placement has several advantages over the more traditional system of formal training followed by placement. First, the youths are placed on jobs quickly and have some measure of "instant success." Second, their learning is closely related to the job and they obtain a realistic picture of the job (for example, mobility potential, working conditions). When training is complete the youth is already a valuable employee. He has a decided advantage as a candidate for the job over somebody just off the street. If the arrangement is not satisfactory, the youths leaves the OJT placement with some actual work experience in addition to his training.

From the viewpoint of job developers, OJT placements are more difficult than are direct placements. The CPI project in New Haven found that large firms are not interested in OJT placements. These companies have training programs of their own and frequently shun the paperwork that is involved in such placements. The CPI job developers believed that OJT placements were easier to promote in small firms and that there were advantages to OJT placements with small companies. The trainee obtains more personalized attention and requirements for work are more flexible and easily changed. Small companies are also more pressed during manpower shortages and can more easily be persuaded to participate in OJT programs. Effective OJT programs require that the job developer assure himself that the youths are in a training situation and that there is a good probability of the trainee being hired for a permanent position.

Although OJT placements offer distinct advantages, there are some problems to be noted. One frequent difficulty is the hostility of many labor unions to OJT programs. In the NILE-YEP Training for Apprenticeship Program (co-sponsored by management and labor unions) numerous difficulties were encountered in working with unions, particularly those with their own apprenticeship programs. Another difficulty is that the employer is

often ill-staffed to provide adequate training and supervision for the trainees. The Pal Joey project in New York recommends that immediate supervisors receive special training in working with disadvantaged youths. This course of action was also followed both in Chicago and Detroit. Finally, OJT placements may develop inter-agency hostility and competition in "bidding" and soliciting jobs from employers. This was in evidence in a large eastern city where there was active bidding in subsidies for OJT placements among employers. There was widespread agreement that the size of the subsidy was less of an issue with large employers and more impor- tant to small, marginal firms. There is a danger that the job developer may be "buying jobs" by reimbursement subsidies to employers; thus, every effort should be made to view the placement as a training/work experience rather than simply a job.

The importance of management and civic involvement in youth programs cannot be overstated. There was a growing realization among project per- sonnel that putting youths in touch with employers was not enough to guar- antee their employment or job retention. The opportunities for the job placement of disadvantaged youth depended on: (1) the manpower needs of the local employers; and (2) the knowledge that the employer had of the youth project goals, strategy, and services. The latter was deemed to be extremely important by project directors. The majority of the projects included public relations activities such as newspaper stories, advertise- ments, and talks to community groups to develop a climate of acceptance for disadvantaged youth. Telephone calls and personal visits were also used extensively to develop project/business relationships. In Chicago, the YMCA JOBS NOW project contacted YMCA members who were employers in the community and urged them to sponsor trial groups of disadvantaged youths. These business people also acted as salesmen to other business leaders. A more effective strategy in job placement than contacts with individual companies is to work through industry or business associations to promote the employment of disadvantaged youth. The Chamber of Com- merce in Chicago became an important force in job placement when it pub- licly encouraged its members to hire JOBS NOW trainees.

Support of the youth projects by important public figures is helpful. In New Haven and Detroit, the mayors were actively associated with the CPI and MYEP projects. Undoubtedly, this had some influence on employer willingness to cooperate with the projects. The project personnel in

Detroit felt that employer involvement and interest in the project increased noticeably when the mayor directed the city department heads to cooperate with the project and provide employment opportunities for project graduates. The department heads were also directed to incorporate a program of job development in personnel operations. The project personnel felt that this civic leadership influenced many business leaders.

The approach to employers varied widely and there are few guidelines that cover all situations. Three points are worth noting. First, the more successful approaches emphasized services to the employer rather than humanitarian motives. Employers generally neither see themselves as part of a rehabilitation process nor as a social agency. The employment of disadvantaged youth must be presented within the cost calculus of the organization of the company. Second, the agency should commit itself to follow-up and supportive services for the youths if such services are needed in the employment situation. Employers need the secure feeling that help is available if problems arise. There must be some assurance that agency responsibility does not end when the youth is placed. Finally, it should be recognized that in any community there are key companies or industries and that success with them will open most business doors. The more sophisticated job placement efforts sought to identify these "pacemakers" and to use them as basic reference points. Almost all projects reported a "multiplier effect" after a trainee had been successfully placed in such a company. After positive experiences, an employer is more favorable to additional placements without a hard sell and, in some cases, may initiate requests for additional trainees.

Development of New Jobs

A persistent problem of job developers has been to find a job which will allow the youth to actualize his potential and experience job mobility. As mentioned earlier, the jobs for which disadvantaged youth qualify are frequently unskilled, low paid, and "dead end" jobs. Understandably, job retention rates and job satisfaction are low. A report from the Pal Joey project in New York City laments that "an overwhelming majority of our youth seemed suited primarily for simple, unskilled work that involves little responsibility or hope for advancement."

Job redesign--breaking the job into a series of simple, unskilled tasks--may make it psssible for the youth to qualify for a job but it does little to give him a job with mobility opportunities. To a youth, the significance of holding a job may be of less importance than the opportunities for mobility that the job opens. The development of new jobs for disadvantaged youths must involve career development rather than merely job placement. The job developers are career development specialists rather than job placement officers. Following the thinking of Reissman and Pearl--a lower-class background produces strengths that can be used in job development--some efforts have been made to develop "careers for the poor." These careers utilize the communication skills and language structure of lower-class youths to act as intermediaries between agency and lower-class clients. These careers are usually in such occupational spheres as health, education, and welfare. Since these job areas are characterized by chronic manpower shortages, some thought has been given to dividing the duties of professionals and creating a whole network of subprofessional employment.

Two projects attempted to develop programs on subprofessional employment and were partially successful. The National Committee on the Employment of Youth of New York City trained sixty indigenous adults as subprofessional workers in youth employment agencies. Intensive canvassing of youth-oriented agencies by both staff and trainees resulted in forty-three placements and eleven school returnees out of fifty-nine graduates. The average salary was slightly under $5,000 per year. A second project, the CAP of Washington, D.C. trained ten youths in recreation, child care, and social research. The youths were selected for the training from high, medium, and low risk groups, categories determined by school, police, and employment records. Significantly, there was no difference in performance in training or on jobs among the three risk categories. The trainees were interested, understanding, and sensitive to the problems of the agency's clients. Although the number trained was too small to draw generalized conclusions, the data are interesting. The general drawback is that these jobs had a fixed position in the agencies and although wage mobility was possible, there was no apparent mobility in responsibility.

Other projects have made use of subprofessional workers. The CPI project in New Haven and the JOBS NOW project in Chicago have reported

satisfaction in using neighborhood people on their staffs. CPI used indigenous workers for recruitment and follow-up activities. Work crew foremen were also subprofessionals. The JOBS NOW project used neighborhood workers in follow-up work. But even in these cases, the jobs had no mobility built into them and the area of responsibility was limited.

Job development for subprofessional jobs is a long and arduous process. The CAP project negotiated with administrators of public and private agencies to develop "aide" positions. Major staff and budgetary reorganization was required. In government agencies, new job descriptions had to be written and approved by the Civil Service Commission. Working these positions into the budget often meant a two-year delay.

The new and undefined nature of the jobs also created difficulties. Employers were frequently unsure of what subprofessionals could and could not do. Drawing the line between professional and subprofessional work requires experience and considerable analysis of job operations. Consequently duties were vague and limits of responsibility unclear. Subprofessionals also had difficulties working in an unstructured atmosphere. The role of supervisor was frequently equated with that of foreman. The result was that subprofessionals expected orders rather than a reciprocal interchange of information on a problem.

Another problem area resulted from the reluctance of professionals to accept subprofessionals in the organization. Professionals were particularly jealous of the relationships established between client and subprofessional, aided by the common language, culture, and educational level. Professionals frequently felt that indigenous workers might be more successful with clients and resented the challenge posed by these new workers.

The development of subprofessional jobs undoubtedly poses many problems. Job development workers reported that a considerable expenditure of time was required for a low yield. In a tight labor market, the preference was to fill existing vacant jobs. It may very well be that this strategy will assume a major importance in an economy where large numbers of jobs are eliminated and new jobs must be created.

Working with Employers to Modify Requirements for Jobs

Ironically, several projects reported that as soon as the projects opened their doors they were flooded with many more job orders than could be handled. It was soon discovered, however, that the project trainees were ineligible for all but a few of these jobs. Even after skill training this discrimination against disadvantaged youths persists. Frequently, employers require applicants to have a high school diploma, achieve a certain score on an employment test, have no police record, and be at least eighteen years of age. These requirements automatically exclude large numbers of disadvantaged youths. Added to this criteria exclusion is the fact that many employers hire applicants for career mobility rather than for a job. The disadvantaged youth might fit the needs of the job but is not perceived as an individual who could "move" in the company and thus is not hired.

Many of these requirements and assumptions are the product of company traditions and are not necessarily valid as predictors of job performance. Many candidates who are potentially good workers are screened out. It becomes the task of the job developer to encourage the employer to adopt more realistic qualifications. The employer must develop a mental set through which he can see the growth potential of the candidate rather than be solely concerned with negative assumptions about his job worth or predicting his success or failure.

The job developer's decision to suggest more flexible entry requirements depends on a number of factors: the nature of the work to be done, the employer's orientation toward the project, and the relationship between job developer and employer. The employer is concerned that the quality of his operation not be compromised and that costs do not rise. He must be convinced that his present entry requirements are not the best way of judging what a worker will do on the job. Three points are worth noting. A heavily unionized company and a company with an extensive division of labor offered more resistance to modifying entry requirements than other companies. Requirements that are codified in an union contract are particularly hard to change. Secondly, few job developers tried to or expected to change requirements in early contacts with the company. Initially, there was an attempt to fill job orders as the

employer formulated them. At a later period some effort was made to modify requirements by presenting a few candidates who were marginal. Successes in these cases frequently permitted entry to larger numbers of youths and a movement away from the earlier stated requirements. Persuading employers to modify job entry requirements is predicated on gradual shifts over time rather than on a single dramatic move.

Developing Youth Potential to Meet Employer Standards

When changing or modifing entry requirements is difficult to achieve, attempts have been made to bring the youths up to the standards set by the company. While it is not possible to grant high school diplomas or erase arrest records, test performance can be improved. The MYEP in Detroit has found that with practice and encouragement, trainees can improve their test scores. The CPI in New Haven has found that disadvantaged youths tend to give up easily on tests, but that if they are helped to solve the problems, one by one, they soon master the techniques of employer tests (for example, completing a number series). The argument was advanced by many project directors that youths will face tests at a number of points in their careers; thus, it makes sense to instruct them in the art of "test taking." Such knowledge, they argue, provides confidence in their ability to do well on a task and should be made part of basic education courses.

Detroit's MYEP project has developed another method of bringing their potential up to the standards set by management. The job developers have been successful in convincing employers to hire "unqualified youths" on a conditional basis. The youths must concurrently attend and master a course specified by the employer. The employer may designate instruction designed to improve the trainee's performance on company employment tests or to develop positive attitudes toward employee responsibility and company loyalty. After the youths are accepted for employment, someone from the MYEP staff comes to the company regularly to administer the course.

The range of services needed to bring the trainee up to employer standards varied from project to project and may be extensive. These ranged from medical treatment, subsidies for tool purchases, and legal services to psychological counseling and courses in grooming. Some of the most basic work was in grooming and in some projects extensive blocks of time

were devoted to this activity. Counselors in CPI frequently advised youth
on how to dress for a job interview and, in one case, money was given to
a boy to purchase a white shirt and tie for a job interview.

Special Problems in Job Development for Disadvantaged Youth

Throughout this discussion we have referred to a number of problems
that impose barriers to the employment of disadvantaged youths. The truly
innovative aspects of these projects were developed as attempts to deal
with some of these barriers. We will consider a number of these problem
areas and briefly describe the solutions that were introduced.

Travel Problems

According to staff members, the majority of disadvantaged youths wanted
jobs that were close to their neighborhoods or within easy sommuting dis-
tance. In Chicago, a relocation study developed as part of the JOBS NOW
project indicated that disadvantaged youths were willing to relocate to
other cities but their choices were determined by the presence of friends
or relatives in the area. While the problem of travel to work is minimized
by good public transportation, the work trip has presented job developers
with difficulties in some communities.

In Los Angeles, inadequate public transportation proved a major pro-
blem. Few jobs were found that were close to the project. Most youths,
particularly females, would not consider moving and many parents were ada-
mant on this point. Job opportunities were located at some distance from
the ghetto residences of the disadvantaged youths and public transportation
was poor. In cases where youths had cars, they tended to be old and sub-
ject to frequent breakdown, causing absences and tardiness. Other youths
bought cars on credit only to suffer badly in making payments. Still others
did not know how to drive.

Most solutions to travel problems were of a "crash" and temporary na-
ture. In the YOB project in Los Angeles, loan funds were established to
buy cars and car pools were organized. Considerable instruction was given
in how to minimize travel time in getting to work. The MYEP and JOBS NOW
projects intervened with loan institutions to secure loans for cars at
reasonable time payments. More notable than what was tried were the pos-
sible solutions that were not tried. There was no encouragement for youths

to relocate <u>as a group</u>; the emphasis was strongly individualistic. For example, several youths with jobs in the same city might share an apartment near work. Programs that aim to educate youth on budgeting assumed his continuing to live with his family. No alternative budgeting arrangements were discussed to provide for living away from home.

Attempts to reroute mass transit to provide better travel arrangements to work for disadvantaged youths were rarely successful.

Developing Psychological Orientations for Work

Choice of a vocation is a common problem of adolescents but is intensified for disadvantaged youths. Very often his aspirations are either too low or too high. He rarely has a clear understanding of the educational requirements for specific jobs and he is likely to think in terms of a job rather than a career.

The YOB in Los Angeles and the MYEP in Detroit have developed special projects that aim at broadening the horizons of the disadvantaged youths and introducing them to the realities of employment. In Los Angeles, job preparation and cultural enrichment programs were initiated. The preparation involved a series of tours of various industries and fields of employment, employer forums, and exhibits depicting various industries. Most of the trainees were Negro and emphasis was on Negro businessmen and "success stories." A personal and cultural enrichment program involving Negro history, art, drama, effective "student" organization, and classes in grooming were given to improve their self-image and ethnic pride.

Detroit's operation SCOPE sent teenagers from the inner city schools to a college campus for two weeks in the summer. They were exposed to information on various careers as well as to art, music, and creative writing. This exposure apparently resulted in a significant rise in career aspirations, particularly toward teaching.

Undoubtedly, it is impossible to find the "perfect job" for a youth who has no clear pattern of job aspiration. While these programs offer new alternatives and stimulate long-range planning, they can rarely be expected to leave him with a definite career decision. Time and experience may be needed before direction is found. Thus, it may be wise for the job developer to seek jobs that will provide good experience and can be used as background for a variety of jobs rather than positions that offer high wages or have high mobility within a narrow job network.

Developing Attitudes of Acceptance Among Managers

Job development activities are not limited to salesmanship on disadvantaged youths. The MFY project in New York City reported that the president of a company might become enthusiastic about hiring MFY enrollees but his attitudes may not filter down to the personnel manager or supervisor. Various efforts have been made to involve all levels of the management hierarchy in a number of youth employment projects. The main objective is to communicate some responsibility for the youth who is hired and to develop a sympathetic work environment. In the Lane County Oregon project, employers were brought into lecture and small group discussion sessions to discuss employer expectations and to give advice on specific job questions. CPI has the most extensive program of employer involvement, using employers in planning and monitoring the program. One of the most impressive efforts has been in JOBS NOW in Chicago. A "high support" project has been initiated for OJT trainees with a high degree of employer involvement. These are the key features of this program.

1. Employers agree to waive traditional requirements (for example, high school education).

2. Employers waive employment tests and interview procedures.

3. Employers and agency personnel cooperate in a two-week orientation program for disadvantaged youths.

4. Employers and agency personnel evaluate programs and job holders together.

5. Project staff and company personnel cooperate in supportive services and follow-up of clients.

6. On-site instruction and counseling are permitted.

7. Frequent consultations are made between management and agency personnel.

8. A "buddy system" is developed (an experienced worker takes responsibility for each youth).

The JOBS NOW project represents an ideal of high management involvement at all levels of the companies concerned. At this date, the impact of what is believed to be a highly favorable setting for client job prospects and retention has not been evaluated. The significant element of this involvement is that it is not symbolic but structural (that is, it has resulted in a significant alteration of the work situation for disadvantaged youth).

Summary

Job development is a complex phenomenon, combining resource coordination, job finding, restructuring of work situations to fit the capacities of disadvantaged youth, and the provision of supportive services. As such, it differs significantly from traditional job placement techniques. Philosophically, job development assumes fitting the work situation to the worker rather than changing the worker to fit the job situation. The role of the job developer is not an easy one. He serves the needs both of the employer and the client but since his main activities are with the employer, there is a real danger of developing a management rather than a project identification. Job developers have no common origin, but in personality type they are extroverted rather than introverted and more sales-oriented than service-oriented.

VI.   THE PLACEMENT OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

We have already discussed the fact that the placement of disadvantaged youths involves more than finding a job. The disadvantaged youth presents an image to an employer of liabilities rather than assets. We will briefly consider some of the problems that must be solved if any progress is to be made toward employment. Five problems consistently imposed barriers: physical problems, emotional problems, resource problems (for example, tools), educational deficiencies, and arrest records.

Physical Problems

Posture, poor grooming, and health account for many non-placements. In their analysis of Negro and Puerto Rican placement records, the Pal Joey project considered grooming to be an important factor. The Negro boy tends to wear "sharp" (expensive, bright colored) clothes to an interview rather than a conservative suit. The Negro girl is likely to appear in ultra-high fashion wear (party clothes and extravagant hair-do) or to appear slovenly. These grooming styles clash sharply with the middle-class values of the interviewer and frequently bring rejection.

A surprising number of disadvantaged youths have medical problems that have been unattended. These often hinder placement since the better companies have rigid health standards. The JVS project in Kansas City found that of every fifty-five trainees, twelve needed the services of medical, psychiatric, and social work agencies. About fifteen percent of National Committee for Children and Youth graduates utilized health resources. The YAS project in New York City found that thirty of their forty-six trainees had medical problems. The MYEP in Detroit reported that 84.6 percent of their trainees needed medical help. In almost all reports, about half of these medical problems could be traced to an inadequate diet. Dental problems seem to be the most frequent single problem.

As a result of these findings, various program changes were made. Youths were given advice about grooming by counselors, and in some places

(JOBS NOW, YOB) classes in grooming and posture were included in the curriculum. The MYEP began classes in proper diet that were especially adapted to the eating habits and budgets of the disadvantaged youths. Medical and dental services were usually arranged with clinics or hospitals in the locality. The MYEP suggests that a thorough physical exam is necessary for all trainees to determine medical needs. In Los Angeles, the YOB provided free optometrical service, tatoo removal, and plastic surgery services that were donated by community groups and individuals. Unfortunately all of these medical services are temporary, lasting only while a trainee is participating in the project, or shortly thereafter. It would seem to be important that yough employment projects make the medical community aware of the extent of services needed by disadvantaged youths.

Emotional Problems

Emotional problems account for many placement failures. The JOBS NOW project in Chicago report discussed the insecurity and lack of self-confidence of the disadvantaged youths. Extreme shyness might appear to be stupidity, lack of ability, and lack of interest. This may frequently result in an inability to "sell" himself at an interview. The North Carolina School Dropout project reported that when applying for jobs, some youths became frightened by strange areas of the city and returned home rather than face the fear of being lost. A study conducted by the staff of Pal Joey indicated that the Negro male's manner is apt to offend prospective employers. His lack of confidence may manifest itself as either an aggressive, dominating attitude, or an extremely lethargic one. The VAS project of New York City found that thirty-seven of their forty-six trainees had serious emotional problems.

The evidence of these emotional problems should remind us that the problem of many disadvantaged youths is not a simple, unidimensional one to be solved quickly. Many factors have been influencing the youth for years, and one short training course or even a job is not likely to erase their effect. Intensive therapy may be necessary for the more serious cases rather than supportive therapy systems that characterized the counseling in most projects.

Resource Problems

As we have already noted, certain jobs require materials or supplies
before the disadvantaged youth can be employed. For example, a nurse is
expected to buy her uniform and a mechanic is expected to have his own
set of tools. In many cases, the disadvantaged youth cannot afford these
items. A number of project loan funds were established to permit a youth
to buy necessary supplies and to be paid back gradually out of his pay
check. Loan funds were also useful in cases where the youth had to pay
living and transportation expenses before his first pay check. In almost
all cases, the loan funds were established ad hoc and were designed to
cover emergency cases rather than all trainees. In Detroit, the project
staff established a file card system of informal contacts with private
agencies and individuals who would offer resource aid to the trainees.
In no case, however, was this procedure formalized. Resource needs may
vary, and it is necessary to assess the job not only in terms of techni-
cal skills but also the needed resource aids. For example, many proces-
sing jobs in the Chicago area assumed the use of a wristwatch which many
youths did not have.

Educational Deficiencies

In spite of the fact that most disadvantaged youths reach the high
school level in formal schooling, large numbers of them cannot read and
write. In one project, the job developer estimated that fifty percent
of the "job-ready" trainees could not read or write, in spite of the
fact that remedial education had been part of the program. The CPI in
New Haven also reported that literacy is needed for every job, no matter
how low the skill level. Even the most unskilled worker has to be able
to read and understand basic rules, instructions, and safety regulations.

Language has been a serious problem in New York City's Mobilization
for Youth, where approximately seventy percent of the trainees are of
Puerto Rican origin. Language classes are available but the adjustment
that must be made by a Puerto Rican youth in an American work situation
is extensive. Presently, job developers are seeking contact with Spanish
speaking employers in order to arrange more satisfactory placements.

These educational deficiencies emphasize the importance of effective

remedial education programs. Several guidelines about literacy training
and job placement should be noted.

1. Literacy training should be closely related to the demands of
the job, avoiding content areas that have no immediate relevance to the
job situation.

2. Literacy training should be started or completed before job
placement begins. The most recommended sequence was to conduct skill
and literacy training concurrently. In one project, the director attri-
buted the high dropout rate in a course to the fact that the literacy
training was an "added" content area after skill training was completed.
He felt that the trainees had resented the added requirement because it
interfered with placement.

3. Considerable success has been reported in persuading employers
to enlarge their training structures to provide work-related literacy
training. The staff at Pal Joey felt that the employer is best able to
judge what literacy components are necessary for employment in his com-
pany. In CPI in New Haven, the literacy course was designed with employer
participation to insure that relevant literacy components were added.
This strategy seems to have considerable merit.

Arrest Records

One of the most significant barriers to the employment of the dis-
advantaged youth is a past record of contact with court authorities.
Even an employer who is willing to make allowances for education, skill,
and experience is frequently adamant on this point. One of the diffi-
culties is that most employers take an absolutistic view of court records;
making no allowance for first offense, the kind of offense, and mitiga-
ting circumstances. The Draper project staff reported that considerable
work could be done with employers if: (1) they could accept the distinc-
tion between a court contact and a court conviction; and (2) the case for
employment is made by a competent professional rather than the applicant
himself.

In almost all of the projects, the arrest record was viewed as a
problem of considerable magnitude. In several cities served by the pro-
ject, civil service regulations prohibited youths with criminal records
from even being considered as applicants for public employment. A

restaurant association that had sponsored a cooks, bakers, and waiters training program balked at hiring two youths who had had court contact as sex offenders, although neither was convicted. The same restaurant association also balked at the employment of females with court records for prostitution. The most effective strategy for dealing with such cases is: (1) to provide the youths with training in an area in which skills are in short supply; (2) to guarantee continued agency contact with employer and client; and (3) to provide supportive services (for example, counseling) that the employer feels are necessary.

One problem that is a correlate of court arrest records is the bonding issue. Frequently, an employer wanted to hire a youth, but the youth could not be certified by the bonding company. The YOB project in Los Angeles solicited participation from a number of community agencies to establish a bonding fund and this was successful in a number of cases. The Draper project staff report that many employers can use leverage with their bonding companies if they are convinced that the youth is a good work prospect.

Many disadvantaged youths have arrent records by circumstances beyong their control. A gang fight in a ghetto area frequently means the arrest of innocent bystanders, and this brands the youth with an arrest record. The central problem is to create some employer perspective on the problem. A number of projects reported that after one or two successful initial placements, the employer loses must of his reticence.

Problems of Job Retention

The placement of a disadvantaged youth in a job cannot be regarded as a "success" for the project unless the youth keeps the job for a reasonable period of time. Unfortunately, many of the projects did not institute procedures for studying the job-holding patterns of disadvantaged youths. Even where such observations were made, the data were less than adequate. Some projects conducted a three-month check-up of job retention, while others covered a six-month period. None of the projects studied job retention patterns for one year or more.

For the reasons cited above, it is difficult to isolate any trends in job retention. The CPI project in New Haven reported that eighty-six percent of their 1,666 graduates were employed three months after training

but this could include employment at second or even third jobs. A project
in a large eastern city reported that "fifty percent of the trainees were
employed at a follow-up." But we are neither presented with the base for
this percentage nor the length of time between training and interview. It
seems clear however that, questions of method aside, the job retention
rates for many trainees were low. A factor that might possibly account for
this is the quality of the job placements of the youths. Let us briefly
examine this explanation.

Relation of Quality of Jobs to Retention

Although there were variations in patterns, a large number of youths
appear to be placed in low paying, "dead end" jobs. While there are many
youths who can adjust to this kind of work, there are others who have the
potential to do more creative work but do not have the necessary require-
ments for such a job. These youths undoubtedly get bored and restless on
an unskilled job and it is likely that this is reflected in low retention
rates for high I.Q. youths.

Certain jobs (for example, sales and store clerking) require only
part-time personnel. The latter are on a "look and see" basis and, if con-
sidered qualified, may be promoted to a full-time status with job security.
Many of the disadvantaged youths cannot afford this immediate investment
in part-time work, no matter what the long-run prospects are. Similarly,
sales jobs where workers are paid on a commission basis are unattractive
to disadvantaged youths. These jobs have a low base salary and the youth
cannot afford to wait until he develops a clientele and some seniority to
give him a base for commissions. The wage mobility pattern in many unpro-
tected shops is to begin with a low-wage pattern but offer good opportunities
for advancement in the long run. Frequently, youths become impatient on
such jobs and leave.

The MFY project in New York reported that clerical jobs had the high-
est retention rates while construction jobs had the lowest. One explanation
for this differential is that the best educated workers, mostly females,
are in the former jobs. Thus, the high retention rates may be explained
by the stability and maturity of the girls rather than the characteristics
of the jobs themselves. The Pal Joey project in New York City found that
failure rates among Negro males were disproportionately large in service
jobs, a trend that was attributed to a cultural pattern of serving others.

Retention rates among females in this project were also poor, particularly in nurses' aide positions where the pay was low.

V. THE FOLLOW-UP OF PLACEMENTS

Evaluation of the project is the major purpose of follow-up activities. In order to measure the impact of the youth employment project, it is necessary to know what happens to project "graduates." Information on job retention, wages, job satisfaction, and employer satisfaction are as important as the fact that a placement was made.

A review of the projects indicates that the follow-up activities of youth employment projects have been inadequate. Undoubtedly, there is considerable informal contact between agency staff and client or employer after a placement has been made but information has not usually been tabulated, even if it has been recorded. One reason for this inadequacy is that there is no fixed structure in which follow-up activities can occur. There is apparently neither definite provision made for these activities nor is there a definite person in each project assigned to them. In a western city project, the responsibility for follow-up was passed back and forth between counselors and job developers. The greatest drawback is the lack of a standard form for recording this information. All projects may be unique and different, but that does not invalidate the need for minimal data on each project. An outline of what such a form should be can be found in the Appendix. It is necessary to devise a system in which: (1) information can be easily saved and tabulated; and (2) from which information can be fed back into the project. Follow-up information should be communicated to staff members at regular meetings at which they have an opportunity to discuss the follow-up results. Each member can contribute different information about a youth and this should help to trace the linkage between learning and placement/job holding. It is important that the follow-up program be formalized and not left to chance.

Another reason why follow-up may be neglected is the simple matter of priorities. A job developer or a counselor who is faced with the choice of spending time with an urgent case or with a client who is already employed, will invariably choose the current case. Two activities might alter this emphasis. <u>There should be a regular proportion of staff time</u>

committed to follow-up activities, and the importance of follow-up activities must be impressed on all staff members. While service is an integral part of an E & D project, the long-run importance of imformation gained and identified through a systematic follow-up will be more important than the actual number of youths who receive service.

The greatest difficulty in follow-up work is that ex-trainees are often difficult or impossible to locate. The MYEP project in Detroit reported about fifty percent residential changes among ex-trainees in the Detroit area and about one-half of these were out-migrant. In Cincinnati, PEPSY staff tried to interview "successes" and "failures" but was unable to locate an adequate number of "failures." The CAP project in Washington, D.C., tried to use a control group in their follow-up plan but most of these could not be located. Frequently, as in the Wise County, Virginia project, the trainees had found employment far from the project center and were difficult to reach.

The Structure of Follow-up Information

The most complete follow-up information was recorded in the larger projects (MFY in New York, JOBS NOW in Chicago, and MYEP in Detroit). Smaller projects frequently lacked information about the location and quality of placements, job retention patterns, and work adjustment. In projects where the emphasis was on continuous job development with employers, more follow-up information was available but it was largely anecdotal and unsystematic. As one would expect, information was more readily forthcoming from employers in the case of failure than in cases that were a success. Placing follow-up responsibility in the hands of the job developer introduces a serious bias. Since the job developer is in close contact with management he is apt to receive a one-sided account of a case. Furthermore, he receives an account from a source far removed from the difficulty since he is apt to be in touch with the front office staff rather than with line personnel. The use of the "coach" system in Chicago was more satisfactory in solving the need for information in follow-up since the process was continuous, probed many sources, and fed the information back to the project staff for discussion and analysis.

The single most important measure used in follow-up activities was whether the youth got a job. But what this meant varied greatly from

project to project. In one project, a youth was regarded as employed if he spent a single day on a job and then quit. Other projects regarded a youth as employed even when he was only working part-time. In still another project, a youth was counted as a successful trainee if he received a job at any time in a three-month period following training. In some projects, relatively little emphasis was placed on the quality of work obtained but the sheer fact of employment made the case a success.

The issue of training-related employment versus employment unrelated to training, was raised in follow-up activities a number of times. Several project directors felt that for these youths the major issue was placement in meaningful jobs with some mobility potential. Frequently, there was only a mild relationship between skills acquired in training and these new jobs; but the directors viewed the training experience, <u>regardless of skill content</u>, as a significant social and psychological experience that influenced employment. In these cases, youths with jobs unrelated to their training were counted as successes.

Supportive Services and Follow-up

The purpose of a follow-up is: (1) to obtain information on post-training labor market experience; and (2) to assess the need for and supply supportive services. In a number of instances, provision for supportive services had been made before placement and the follow-up task was to see what impact these services had. Supportive services, if they involve several agencies, may mean that independent follow-up studies are being made by several sources. The project personnel thus may face the further problem of assembling these diverse data, integrating them, and making changes in supportive services in response. When follow-up is confined to a reporting function, these nuances are missed.

Employer-Trainee Reactions and the Follow-up

As developed by the various staffs, follow-up procedures emphasized who obtained what job and how. Only in a small number of cases was any emphasis given to: (1) reactions of employers to the trainees; (2) reactions of the trainees to the training and placement experiences; and (3)

the trainee's reaction to his job. The information obtained was largely anecdotal and informal. A number of project directors reported that assessments of trainee performance required interviews with the immediate foreman, coworkers, and the trainee himself; activities that required time and staff beyond the project's immediate resources. Few systematic studies were made because there was a general lack of trained research personnel in the projects. Employers showed a reluctance to engage in follow-up activities because they are time-consuming and felt to be of little value to the company. Only a small number of employers in the site visit areas had any formal arrangements with the project to participate in follow-up activities.

The most serious gap was the absence of some mechanism for communicating information available in these areas to the staff. In one case an employer expressed an interest in taking more youths if some additional materials were added to the curriculum. Although the placement counselor was aware of this request, the information was never transmitted to the instructional staff. In CPI, where employer involvement was high, this communication gap did not exist and training requirements were frequently adjusted to employer demand.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Job development assumes a continuous, organized, and interrelated effort in counseling, training, placement, job creation, and supportive services developed on the premise that our system of work can be modified to fit the skill and potential of the disadvantaged. A job development system necessarily assumes that the acquisition of skills is not enough and that many of the causes of unemployment and underemployment are woven into the fabric of our employment structure rather than the fault of the individual. These perspectives are at the core of the active manpower policies being developed today.

The Experimental and Demonstration Projects in Perspective

Any perspective on E & D projects must consider the strengths and weaknesses of E & D activities under the present system of organization and goals. In some communities the E & D project has been a stimulus for changes in traditional patterns of manpower development for the young. In other communities the impact of E & D projects has been less than anticipated. The reasons for these differentials in success are many and we will discuss them at a later point. It is encouraging, however, that such programs have been charted to seek solutions to one of the major manpower problems of the decade. If nothing else, the projects are a symbolic commitment to seek new solutions as well as to reexamine old pathways. Much of the criticism of the programs, the lack of research orientation and rigorous research design, is undoubtedly true. But we are at that point in our persuit of knowledge where perspectives are still changing and we do not know enough <u>at this time</u> to develop the scientific models for organizing action. At this stage, trial and error mixed with educated hunches are all that can be expected.

A more serious consideration is that the goals of the program were viewed more as <u>services</u> than as <u>experimentation</u> and <u>demonstration</u> by large numbers of the project staffs. The "brushfire emphasis"

was apparent in almost all projects. Other than service delivery, few provisions had been made for the systematic recording of experiences, research, or diffusion of information to relevant agencies. Although these criticisms can be made of all phases of the projects, it was most apparent in job placement, job creation, and job development. Most projects had not developed a definite plan to communicate these new practices and few projects had a commitment to extend or teach these practices in any form beyond the life of the E & D project. Most of the projects were conceived as efforts independent of existing community agencies and, indeed, many of the staff members considered their practices to be too innovative to be easily "sold" or incorporated into other manpower agencies without significant changes in those manpower agencies. In many cases, the E & D project members saw their activities as antithetical and challenging to other agencies rather than as complementary. In this context, the transmission and diffusion of information, as well as its planned use in old-line agencies, was difficult.

Another serious handicap of the projects was the lack of contact with the funding agency--the U.S. Department of Labor. The small size of the Washington staff meant that any personal contacts was rare and largely confined to budgetary or emergency problems. Practically no feedback was possible on progress reports and, consequently, there was a failure to develop promising leads or to terminate "blind leads." One of the obvious barriers to development was lack of intelligent and critical analysis from an outside source.

Suggested Guidelines for Job Placement, Job Creation and Job Development

The E & D projects do suggest a number of working principles that could serve as guidelines in job development. We stress "suggest" because these principles seem to be sound reference points based on practice, rather than the product of scientifically developed study findings. Summing up our experience thus far, these guidelines seem sound but they should and must be subjected to rigorous testing and analysis.

1. _If possible, a job should be waiting for the trainee by the end of his course and every effort should be made to minimize the time gap between course completion and job entry._ The trainee craves some measure

of "instant success" and this is given to him by a clear view of the avail-
ability of a job, its content, and its prospects. "Time compression" be-
tween training and actual job entry minimizes the risk that the disadvan-
taged youth will lose interest. Frequently, the trainee's main problem
is a lack of income and its consequences. This problem can be solved only
by remunerative participation in a job.

2. Job placement must be seen as more than merely finding a job;
it must also involve job preparation as an integral part of the process.
Basic to job preparation is a series of remedial measures, medical eval-
uation and rehabilitation, social education, and work discipline training,
coupled with measures to reassume the job applicant in testing and inter-
view situations.

3. The mechanics of matching youths to jobs should begin far in
advance of the completion of the training period and should involve con-
sultation with the trainees, the teachers, the counselors, and the field
personnel who solicit jobs. It must be recognized that the counseling-
training-placement-job finding process is not a series of discrete activi-
ties but involves a basic unity if the agency is to advance the basic
interests of the client.

4. The strategy in job creation is to sell the employer a logic of
operation rather than the services of a particular client. The employer
is being asked to go beyond the mere hiring of the applicant; he is being
asked to make changes and modifications in his occupational and work struc-
ture to create "new jobs." It is vital that these modifications improve
his operation rather than be rationalized as a social cost.

5. Successful job creation projects are those that gain professional
involvement at every step of the program. We assume that the professional
is the best judge of what job duties can be subprofessionalized. The pro-
fessional's involvement must not be restricted to a symbolic role. His
expertise and cooperation must be solicited to create the job, set the
standards, and define superordinate-subordinate relationships.

6. As the youth employment project gets established and develops
a good reputation with employers, repeat orders and a "multiplication effect"
account for an increased percentage of job orders. Job development should
be more intensive and require more resources at the beginning of a project.
Once the basic foundation and pathways are developed, a steady flow of job

applicants can be expected to be successful since they will be following in the footsteps of earlier successful candidates.

7. <u>Follow-up activities should use indigenous workers; experience has shown that their performance in follow-up work surpasses that of professional workers</u>. The familiarity with low-income neighborhoods and both psychological and cultural rapport give indigenous workers a decided advantage in seeking and establishing contact with ex-clients. The use of indigenous workers serves a dual purpose: development of more accurate information, and the establishment of a strong link between project and client.

8. <u>Effective job development requires that job developers interact on a continuous and regular basis with other staff and components of the project, and that some contact with individual youths be made available to them</u>. The possibility of becoming overspecialized and impersonal is a real danger in the job development role. By his very activities, the job developer is an analyst of management rather than client problems. There is a real danger that he may overidentify with management if some steps are not taken to check these tendencies.

9. <u>Learning new skills and a knowledge of job openings does not guarantee job placement, since in many cases clients do not translate this learning into performance</u>. We are limited in the extent to which the client can be "prepared" for jobs. The failure of clients to act, even when information is available, suggests that certain assurances about work must be built into the placement process. One effective assurance is the availability of supportive services to aid him in job adjustment.

10. <u>A more effective strategy in job placement than contacts with individual companies is to work through industry or business associations to promote the employment of disadvantaged youths</u>. Frequently, the job vacancies that are important are not those that happen to occur in a single point in time but rather the chronic job shortage patterns in an industry or a cluster of companies. Knowledge of the latter permit a developmental program on a long-range, sustaining basis rather than on a "one shot" basis.

11. <u>The development of new jobs for disadvantaged youths must involve career development rather than merely job placement</u>. The haste to create "new jobs for the poor" has frequently overlooked the fact that the poor, like the affluent, are not only interested in having a job, but

also in what the job means in terms of opportunities for advancement. A "created job" should not be seen only as a slot to be filled, but rather as a starting point in a job network.

12. The employer must develop a mental set through which his employment decisions can be mainly governed by the growth potential of the candidate rather than be solely concerned with negative assumptions about the candidate's job worth or predictions about his possible success or failure. Persuading the employer to adopt more realistic qualifications for jobs is an important consideration. A major breakthrough can be achieved when the employer is less concerned with what the client has been than what he can become.

13. There should be a regular proportion of staff time committed to follow-up activities and the importance of follow-up activities must be impressed upon all staff members. What happens to a client after training or counseling may be more important then what has happened to him during his association with the project. Follow-up activities should not take a back seat to other priorities but should be seen as an opportunity to both gather information and provide supportive services.

These thirteen guidelines are suggestive and emerge as basic reference points for job placement and job development activities. We have restricted ourselves to a listing of "postulates" that seem to have had extensive verification through practice. The above report has certainly indicated many other insights and glimpses that need to be further tested and verified. These constitute the crude but necessary beginnings of a much larger body of verified information in these areas.

Recommendations for Action

We conclude our presentation by making certain recommendations for action. Of all E & D activities, the processes discussed in this paper--job placement, job creation, and job development--have been the subject of the greatest trial and error practices and guesswork. Far more systematic emphasis has been paid to other employment process. The truth is, however, that servicing the client between the training situation and employment has become an important fact of life and certainly too important to be left to chance. Our first concern is basic to the recommendations that follow.

<u>We have already mastered the art of training and counseling the disadvan-</u>
<u>taged youths through new technology, precepts, and practices, but our know-</u>
<u>ledge of job placement and job development is just beginning.</u> We must re-
<u>order E & D priorities and invest more project time in the latter and less</u>
<u>project time in the former.</u> We have mastered the techniques of learning; —
our problem now is to master the techniques of teaching the youths how to
<u>translate their knowledge into performance.</u>

We present four categories of recommendations: (1) retrieval and
use of information; (2) research; (3) inter-agency relations; and (4) fol-
low-up activities. Let us consider each one in turn.

Use and Retrieval of Information

As we have indicated, project emphasis has been on service rather
than on the systematic recording, storing, and disseminating of information.
The first step is obvious. There must be some preliminary move to retrieve,
index, and store information for potential users. Several staff members
suggested an "idea bank" where information can routinely be solicited on
particular problems. The but "idea bank" itself would be useless without
the development of special facilities or personnel to advise job developers
on the utility of particular information. We see the parallel to the re-
ference librarian who knows the significance of information and where it
can be found.

Operation Retrieval was an obvious first step in the process of re-
trieving information, but the project will have fallen short of its mark
if it does not seek out and identify parallel information in private agencies
as well as in other government agencies (for example, BAT, ES, and OE).
The project is also obligated to communicate this information to operational
personnel, using the extensive channels of communication in public and pri-
vate organizations, particularly in the academic community.

All too often, the information retrieval process is oversimplified
by reducing the process to one "feedback." Many people who have access to
this feedback fail to use the information. Some provision must, then, be
made to follow-up the users and provide special <u>detail counseling</u> on how
the information is to be used. The agricultural extension worker not only
delivers the new seed to the farmer, but shows how it is to be planted, and
discusses operational problems. The parallel to our discussion is obvious.

But the dissemination of information and follow-up is not enough if

an impact is to be made on the practices of an organization. There must be some knowledge of both the organizational structure and the legal underpinning of such an organization. What is needed is a new community role-- the manpower expediter--that incorporates information on manpower techniques with the subtle nuances of organization and community structure. The manpower expediter should be outside any government agency but be provided with the technical expertise and the staff to provide and implement information in any agency.

Needless to say, information retrieval must not be a residual activity but must be provided for in the initial planning stages of a project. The information function should both be built into the project and adequately financed.

Research

Systematic research efforts, anticipated or unanticipated at the beginning of the project, must be provided for both with financing and with staff expertise. With the backlog of E & D projects available, it should not be possible to select the successful uses of job placement and job development and create systematic studies to analyze these instances in in depth. Two research topics suggest themselves immediately: (1) how and and under what conditions are knowledge and innovation transmitted and used? and (2) what are the emerging dimensions of the job developer and job "coach" roles? In regard to the latter, it should also be asked what makes the successful and unsuccessful job developers and job coaches?

Inter-agency Relations

It has become increasingly apparent that job development requires resources that can only be obtained through the cooperation of a wide range of agencies. This report suggests that there is a need for a task force approach through which the authority to make these resources available can be available to avoid time consuming battles with red tape. The task force should have as its main purpose the charting of the manpower maze with appropriate availability of resources pinpointed. Thus the Public Health Service representative could act to make remedial health services available to job applicants with health deficiencies when they are screened for training.

Provision must be made for continuing successful E & D practices

in the framework of more traditional agencies. We strongly recommend that
a program of internships be established to give personnel in older agen-
cies the opportunity to apprentice in some of the new job development ac-
tivities. As a corollary, we recommend that every effort be made through
subsidy, and other forms of encouragement, to provide that successful E & D
practices be continued in some form after completion of the activity.

Follow-up Activities

We strongly recommend that follow-up activities be given a higher
priority in organizational activities. This means adequate financial pro-
vision for an in-house training program and adequate personnel to staff a
follow-up unit. There is an obvious necessity for the Washington office
to develop guidelines defining the proper goals of follow-up activities
and the structure that should underlie them. We specifically recommend
that a particular staff member or unit be made responsible for this ac-
tivity.

Summary

This report has attempted to sketch, in broad detail, the elements
of job placement, job development, and job creation as developed in a
series of E & D projects. We have tried to distill a vast store of mater-
ial. We feel that our observations suggest three conclusions.

1. Supportive services are needed for both employee and employer
in facilitating job adjustment.

2. Total community resources must be mobilized and coordinated
(for example, health, housing, education, and community life) to produce
both employable individuals and jobs.

3. Employability programs must have guarantees of employment built
into them to insure the motivation needed to make training a success.

These three postulates must be at the core of any job development
program and mark a radical departure from the passive approach to job
placement in vogue only ten years ago. In essence, they point to a man-
power policy that is client rather than employer-oriented.

One basic conclusion is enescapable, we are only now becoming aware
of the needs and problems in moving disadvantaged youths from training into

the world of work. A serious approach to the problem demands the cooper-
ation of many agencies and many resources, but primarily it demands sound
and tested information. For too long we have lived in a world of stereo-
types. It may be a sign of our growing intellectual sophistication, and
a major breakthrough in these areas, to at last admit our ignorance and
seek new perspectives for action.

E & D PROJECT MANAGEMENT INFORMATION

Project Name _____ Primary Project Objective _____

Location _____ Secondary Project Objective _____

Length of Project _____ Date Applied for _____

Length of Training Course _____

Project Director _____ Cost per Placement _____

Cooperating Federal Projects _____ Date Funds Granted _____

ENROLLEE CHARACTERISTICS

	Total	Race			Sex		Age		Status				Family		
		W	N	O	M	F	15-17	18-21	Fam. Hd.	Mar.	Sin.		Father Emp.	Father Unemp.	
Applicants															
Rejected															
Dropouts															
Placed															
Placed before completion															

EVALUATION

Development/Placement

	Newly Created		Through Devel.		Through Med.		Other			Follow-up Months							
	Pub. FT	Priv. PT	Pub. FT	Priv. PT	Pub. FT	Priv. PT			3		6		12		24	
									M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No. jobs hsg								1 job								
No. jobs not hsg								2 jobs								
Jobs found and not filled								3 or more								
								Dropouts								
								Income $								
								Return to School								

Reason for leaving _____

How second job found _____

Employer criticisms _____

Employee criticisms _____

KEY

M = Male
F = Female
N = Negro
O = Other
W = White

hsg = high school graduate
FT = full time
PT = part time

DEPARTMEN

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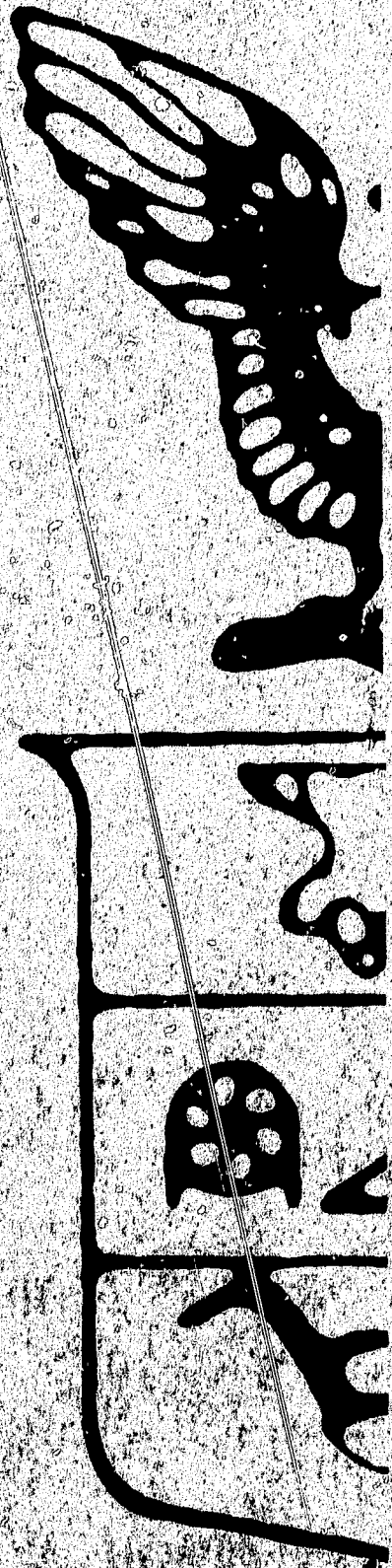
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