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SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN A PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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1979

SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN A PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION

by

James Alan Latimore

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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SECTION ONE

The Problem,
The Literature, and
The Hypotheses

Chapter 1

The Problem

In this study, we investigate the problem of success and failure in the work of vocational counselors in a job-placement agency. We were led to this conceptualization because the original problem of interest was how the counselors could live with failure to place their clients on jobs, given the apparent meaning of the work to the counselors. Our next step was to ask how they defined success and failure and what "reality" factors intervened to make one or the other more likely. When we asked these questions, we began to see that the behavior of those the counselors dealt with, and their organization itself, could be analyzed from the same standpoint. The result of this analysis was the attempt to create a theoretical perspective that encompasses affective as well as rationally instrumental behavior, voluntaristic as well as structural forces, stability as well as change, and intended as well as unintended consequences of purposeful actions. Despite these attempts, we offer not a theory of success and failure but rather an empirical study based upon these conceptualizations of behavior. The concept of success and failure is useful for ferreting out and analyzing the behavior of participants in the organization, and at the end, we offer some implications

of research based upon these concepualizations. However, we are principally concerned with how the counselors and other members of this organization define success and cope with failure to achieve occupational and organizational goals, and with the effects of failure and success upon the organization.

We conceive of the problem as one involving a fundamental human motivation: striving for success and avoiding failure where possible. Failure appears to be the equivalent of pain in the social sphere.(1) Virtually all the traumatic events of life may be classified as failures of one sort or another. These can include "incidental" failures such as being fired; political, military, and athletic defeats; rejection by a lover; or writing a book that no one will publish. In business, it can include bankruptcy, failure to achieve goals in sales or profits, or demotion.(2) Failure may also be more cumulative or holistic. In this country, welfare assistance, unskilled labor, and illiteracy are indicators of failure of this kind.

The encyclopedia of failure situations, extending into all areas of life, could be expanded almost without limits. Actors fail to get parts. Television-program creators and producers fail to get satisfactory ratings. Professors fail to get tenure. Doctors fail to cure or save patients. Lawyers fail to win important cases. Parents may fail to raise children who do not themselves fail in some way: job, income, school; drugs, delinquency, or jail.

The potential for failure is ever present. Both the potential and the reality give rise to preventive and restorative techniques for contending with failure. Psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis serve largely to deal restoratively with the damage of real or imagined failures (the latter being just as real). Ironically, it appears that they experience a high rate of failure in doing this.

Success is also an ever-present possibility, depending on how it is defined and the conditions under which it is sought. Each of the failures cited above could have been the opposite, or could be counter-balanced either by succeeding in new situations or by succeeding with new techniques or by succeeding in the attainment of other more important goals or strivings. The balance between success and failure may be very important in understanding much social and political behavior if we take into account such distinctions. Here, we shall focus our attention on the problem of success and failure as it involves part of the personnel of one organization. The organization is given here the fictitious name of the Youth Employment Agency (YEA). It is located in Center City, also a fictitious name for a large city in the Eastern United States.

In some respects, failure of certain kinds is inevitable. To the extent that we participate in zero-sum games or in adversary or competitive situations, the success of one means the failure of another. A clear example of this is a

courtroom trial: if one lawyer wins, the other loses. To the extent that the values that are the goals of activity are scarce, some competition for them (and thus some failure to obtain them) may be presumed to occur.(3) And to the extent that social structures are pyramidal in shape, the aspirations of many are bound to be thwarted by the success of a relatively few. Failure to achieve "ultimate" goals is inevitable for most.(4) Individuals and organizations thus are faced with problems of (a) concealing from themselves and others the fact of failure, (b) living with relative failure, or (c) readjusting their goals and psyches to the fact of failure. Few can afford to admit (except in temporary crisis situations) the fact of the permanence of failure. Living in the present usually means striving for some kinds of personal, social, or institutional success, which must be reconciled with the virtual inevitability of failure in at least one of these areas. The contradictory demands of preserving one's ego in the present, and dealing with the reality of relative or specific failure are almost always present.

However, failure in some endeavors may be "balanced" by successes in other areas. We must also explore the possibility of failure in situations where adversary and competitive relationships are not appropriate or legitimate, and where the zero-sum concept is not adequate by itself because the contending parties may desire the same outcome, only to different degrees, or what one party desires may be of no

immediate concern to the other or others. Success and failure either in specific endeavors or in a cumulative sense are often problematic, as is the balance between success and failure. To allow for these possibilities, and in general to further elaborate the framework of our study, we conceive of success and failure in the following way.

Failure may be classified according to whether it is (a) relatively meaningful or meaningless to the party experiencing it; (b) immediate or cumulative in time; and (c) reversible or irreversible. Furthermore, we distinguish between "egoistic" and "achieved" failure; that is, between the subjective sense of failure, and the more objective fact of failure. However, objective failure may be based on unknown as well as known standards. Thus, a person may be experiencing cumulative failure over a period of time on the basis of standards that are not made explicit. The failure might or might not be reversible were the standards made known to him. Whether the failure is of any great importance or meaningful to the person is problematical. This is influenced by the definitions of failure created by the person or group. Just as the standards of failure may be known or unknown, the definitions may be conscious and rational, or unconscious and non-rational. "Egoistic" or subjective failure may be based on the acknowledgement of "achieved" or objective failure when the outer standards are known, with the sense of failure being heightened when the inner definitions of failure correspond to the outer standards. On the other

hand, egoistic failure may be based on the inner definitions alone when the outer standards are unknown, or even when they have been satisfied.

The sanctions associated with failure may be classified in a similar way: they are (a) powerful or weak; (b) instantaneous or emerging over time; and (c) temporary or permanent. Sanctions also may be either self-imposed or imposed by others. Self-imposed sanctions may be conscious or unconscious, and would include such things as guilt, anguish, denial of indulgences for oneself, and suicide. Sanctions imposed by others may be intended or unintended, and would include such things as shame, contempt, scorn, demotion, discharge, low evaluations of performance, and isolation.

Success is classified in the same way as failure. It may be meaningful or meaningless, immediate or cumulative over time, and either reversible or irreversible. Most success is, of course, "reversible;" the tides of fortune can change and often do. Success is also based on "inner definitions" and "outer standards," with the former being either conscious or unconscious in nature, and the latter being explicitly known or not. The rewards of success are similar to the sanctions of failure in that they are powerful or weak, are awarded instantaneously or emerge over time, and are either temporary or permanent. They are also either self-awarded or awarded by others. Self-rewards can

be conscious or unconscious, and would include patting oneself on the back, states of elation, and self-indulgences of many kinds. Rewards given by others can be instrumentally intended or not; these would include power, prestige, and money in the form of promotions andraises; affection; and sex.

Rewards allocated to others may result in self-reward of one kind if no return is expected, and self-reward of another kind if reciprocation of some kind is expected. This distinguishes "altruism" from "instrumentalism."

Logically, success should be the absence of failure, and failure the absence of success. However, on the basis of the distinctions introduced above, we can see that this may not always be the case: the same behavior may result in a sense of failure by one's inner standards and a judgment of success according to external standards. The reverse can hold also. Thus, what constitutes "success" may be influenced by the definitions and standards of others with whom the counselors interact in the organization studied here, for instance, by the degree and kind of importance of the others to the counselor; and by the degree to which the counselor is dependent on them for meaningful rewards. Others have definitions of what constitutes success for them, and standards of what they think we should do. In our study, we shall be primarily concerned with the definitions and standards of counselors, clients, employers, funding organiza-

tions, the agency's Board of Directors, and its administrators. For example, organizations which have as their purpose the amelioration of the condition of disadvantaged groups appear to express this purpose in an agency "mission." However, they depend upon philanthropic or public funds (or both) for support. The use of such funds requires some degree of accountability to others for the expenditure of funds. Accountability requires a measurable goal and some explicit or implicit standards of performance, standards which may be more or less numerous, and with greater or lesser specificity. These goals and standards may be used as a measure of success. At YEA, for example, one important measure of success is job-placement for the clients. Job-placement occurs when a client is hired by an employer and actually reports for work. Placement is dependent upon an outsider's decision (the employer). The counselor's work is, in general, aimed at obtaining a favorable decision for individual clients. The work involves sorting both clients and employers to get a potentially favorable match, and techniques of persuasion whose purpose is to get both client and employer to accept each other. Success or failure on this level is analytically distinct from success on the organizational level. One of the questions we shall want to explore is the extent to which the accountability standards imposed upon the agency are the ones imposed by the agency upon the counselors.

In addition to the broad social purposes which philanthropic organizations may serve and in addition to the more specific goals and standards involved in accountability for the use of funds, we must also take into account the impulse and interests of those who create and those who support such organizations, and those who staff them. The extent to which the impulses of the three groups are identical is problematic and we shall want to consider them separately to the extent possible, given the focus of the study on the counselors who staff the agency. One of the initial tasks of the study, prior to taking up the specific hypotheses, will be to establish whether or not the work itself has a significant "meaning" to the counselors. This will be explored within the framework of the concept of altruism. One question we shall be asking is whether the same concept is appropriate for discussion of the impulse behind the involvement of the <u>founder</u> of the Youth Employment Agency (who is still active in the organization) and the impulse behind the involvement of others on the agency's Board of Directors (who help to <u>sustain</u> the organization). We shall not be able to examine any direct evidence with regard to the founder and other Board members of YEA, but we shall be able to make some limited inferences based on the length of involvement and the costs of involvement for the founder, and the nature of the relationships existing between the founder (and presently the Chairman of the Board) and other Board members, especially those on the more influential Executive Committee

of the Board of Directors.

The problem of success and failure, especially in an organizational setting, can scarcely be considered without some reference to the distribution of authority and power. In contrast to questions of altruism, we shall be able to make more explicit statements about the authority of various parties, and more credible inferences about the power of the Chairman (and founder) over the organization. If the problem of success involves the question of goals, and if goals are not given by autonomous forces, then we need to ascertain who has the authority or the power to define goals, the effects of the goals at the organizational and the worker levels, and the extent to which there is effective surveillance of goal attainment. It is one thing when workers, through informal processes, limit production or otherwise thwart the organization's attainment of its goals. It seems quite another thing when the surveillance and follow-up procedures of the organization limit the organization's ability to ascertain the degree to which goals are attained or to implement administrative decisions.

The agency, then, may succeed or fail according to different standards. The same may be true for the counselors, who have not only organizational standards to deal with, but their own internalized ones as well. More than that, there may be definitions and standards imposed by the clients; i.e. the recipients of the services.

The focus of this study will be on the counselor, since he appears to be at the crucial point where these various expectations and demands converge with respect to an unemployed youth. In broad outline, the study will examine the various standards of success and failure as they are filtered down to the counselor or originate within him; how they are weighed, balanced, and possibly transformed by the counselor. It will also deal with the interaction between counselor and client as various expectations are projected to the latter.

Success and failure in work can, of course, be examined in any occupation and in any organization, regardless of conditions. The approach adopted here amounts to considering two sets of hypotheses. The first set of "hypotheses" is, in effect, advanced by the personnel of the agency. The "hypotheses" cover three important beliefs that the agency's personnel hold about the agency, its clients, and themselves. These are:

(1) That the agency experiences recurrent fiscal crises, and is always uncertain of its future;

(2) That the clients are hard to place on jobs; and

(3) That the counselors are dedicated to their work.

These taken-for-granted beliefs constitute a preliminary set of hypotheses. They are not the formal hypotheses of this study. However, it seems desirable to establish whether or not these conditions exist without, at the same time,

limiting the study to that investigation. These "hypotheses," if supported, would seem to intensify the problem of failure for the agency and its personnel. That is, the conditions specified in the "hypotheses" would not only increase the likelihood of failure (hard-to-place clients), but would make the prospect and the reality of failure all the more threatening to the organization (with its dependence on external funding organizations that demand successful performance) and doubly threatening to the counselors--the work itself being (hypothetically) "meaningful," and their jobs being dependent upon the agency's successful performance.

Thus, in Chapter 4 we shall consider the economic situation of the agency: how much money it operates on, and where the money comes from. Since the agency obtains a substantial part of its funding from government agencies, we will examine the contracts which govern the sale of the agency's services: the amounts of money involved, the number and kinds of personnel covered, the performance standards imposed, and the penalties for unsatisfactory performance. We shall also want to examine some cases of failure, so as to observe the organizational response and the effects on the personnel. Chapter 4 will also present the evidence available on this.

Chapter 4 has another important function in the plan for presenting this study. It was desired to test the "prelimi-

nary hypothesis" regarding the agency's fiscal insecurity, and to present an overview of the agency at the same time. What the agency has been and is has some relationship to its dependence and insecurity, and these all have a relationship to the agency's purpose or "mission." The concept of the "mission" of this type of organization seemed, in the analysis of the data, to be an important one for understanding (a) the conflicts within the agency and the issues involved, (b) the kinds of contracts sought by the agency, (c) the determination of performance standards, and (d) the measures of success.

The agency's "mission" can be at least partly comprehended through its history and an analysis of the "self-portrait" which it presents to various publics. These are intertwined, inasmuch as the etching of its "self-portrait" is part of the agency's history, as we shall see when we observe changes in the self-portrait or mission. The attempt is thus made, in Chapter 4, to comprehend the mission of the agency through its history and its current self-portrait, and through analysis of what seems to be an emerging mission--one which could have serious consequences for the counselors.

Chapter 5 is concerned with difficulties in the placement of clients. Three kinds of data are considered: (a) attributes of the clients, gleaned from the agency's "profiles" of its clients and from analysis of the sample of client records used in this study; (b) characteristics

of the Center City job market; and (c) the placement rate of the agency. The placement rate is calculated using standards proposed here--the number of individual clients placed on at least one full-time permanent job within the first year of service, divided by the number of clients--since the agency itself does not calculate a placement rate.(5)

Chapter 6 deals with the work of the counselors. A "preliminary hypothesis" regarding the meaning of the work is tested there. Then, beginning with Chapter 7, evidence related to the seven hypotheses proposed for investigation will be presented. These hypotheses are first discussed in Chapter 3, following a review of the literature in Chapter 2.

In summary, this study attempts to explore some of the dimensions of the problem of success and failure within one work organization. More specifically, the problem for investigation is to ascertain how success and failure are defined by a "helping profession" and its host organization; how they are measured, evaluated, and rewarded; the success-failure ratio in the work; and how failure is handled by personnel within the organization, and by the organization.

Chapter 1, Notes

1. Sigmund Freud, in Civilization and Its Discontents (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962), argued that there are constraints on libidinal gratification inherent in social (or civilized) life. The argument was set within a framework of pleasure and pain. Repression of libido, though necessary for social life, yields the absence of pleasure. The intent here is not to strictly apply this concept, but to suggest that failure is part of the constraining or repressive mechanism of social life, representing a powerful sanction against the ego.

2. See Fred Goldner, "Demotion in Industrial Management," in American Sociological Review, Oct. 1965, pp. 714-24. Goldner discusses the "fear of failure," and offers findings from his study of a large industrial concern to show how personal and organizational mechanisms contribute to making demotion "socially acceptable" and less painful.

3. One way of classifying societies is on the basis of what is both valued and scarce. In communist societies, individual wealth may be "scarce" but not valued highly. At the same time, Party membership may be both scarce and highly valued (as a sign of one's success in disavowing an individualistic ideology).

4. Of course, we must bear in mind that most people may not set "ultimate" goals. The goals which people do set for themselves may often emerge over time through some sort of interaction between present attainments and perceptions of future possibilities. Much of this may be called "realism" if it results in a downward revision of goals. However, presumably goals can be set higher on the basis of present attainments, one's particular situation, etc. The concept of higher and lower is somewhat unsatisfactory, though, in that it seems to imply a general consensus on what is "higher," and seems to take for granted that whatever is "higher" is desired with equal intensity by all.

5. The agency records and reports the number of total placements, as we see later. One client may be (and often is) placed on more than one job. This makes it impossible to tell how many clients are helped.

Chapter 2

The Literature

In the investigation of the problem of success and failure in the helping occupations whose practitioners advance claims of dedication and professionalism, there are several important variables: the kind of people attracted to the work, their (possible) professional indoctrination and professional standards, and the character of helping organizations. The interaction of these variables may result in different standards of success and different ways for coping with failure. Hence, the literature relevant to a study of the problem is of four kinds. These are:

(1) Literature related to success and failure, as such, in work;

(2) Literature related to "dedication," or as it is conceived here, altruism;

(3) Literature related to professions;

(4) Literature related to organizations.

Within the area of professionalization, we shall be interested in the literature dealing with the identification and analysis of professions in general, as well as that dealing with the history and professionalization of vocational counseling.

Within the area of organizations, we shall center our attention on the phenomena of (a) professions within organizations; (b) the nature of administrative controls; and (c) inter-organizational financial dependence.

Literature on Success and Failure in Work

The problem of success and failure in work, as a specific problem, appears to be seldom investigated. There is a vast range of literature on occupational mobility which seems to be relevant to the problem at first glance, but that illusion vanishes after an instant. This body of literature focuses upon rates of mobility, the qualities of the mobile, the power of the mobile, etc. There is an equally voluminous (and growing) body of literature on alienation (beginning with Marx) and job satisfaction. Again, there is a fleeting illusion of a connection, of relevance. Indeed, the factors involved include some with which we shall be concerned in this study. The authors of Work in America emphasize the deleterious effects of workers' lack of control over the content and pace of their tasks.(1) The central interest of the literature on this problem, however, appears to be either on the outcomes of alienation and job dissatisfaction--decling productivity, declining work quality, the effects on the worker's community and family life, etc.--or on the broad social causes of

alienation--technology, automation, even the addiction to the commodoties of advanced consumerism.(2) There is little interest in the more simple (though sufficiently complex) problems of routine success and failure in work, the various ways in which success is defined and attained, and the techniques for coping with various kinds of failure at the worker and organizational levels. In addition, the literature on alienation does not concern itself with the peculiar type of occupation and the unusual type of organization with which we are dealing. When dealing with industrial work, for example, there is little need to consider the altruism of the workers and the role of professional indoctrination. Most people do not work in mission-oriented humanitarian organizations and those who do may not be representative of the modern bureaucratic worker--either in the factory or the office.

Talcott Parsons is a major sociologist who touches on the problem of failure in his discussion of the physician-patient relationship, and the patient's role.(3) The sick patient has an "obligation to want to 'get well.'" If the patient seeks "technically competent help," in the person of a physician, and cooperates with the helping person, then his (the patient's) sick role is legitimated, and responsibility for any failure to regain his health is not the patient's responsibility.(4) Parsons is not explicitly concerned with the meaning of failure for the physician,

although, in an ironic way, failure provides the physician with a considerable part of his magically-based authority.

> "/His/ association with death is a very important factor in the emotional toning of the role of the physician. If he is not in general tending in our society to take the place formerly occupied by the clergy...he at least has very important associations with the realm of the sacred."(5)

To some extent, the physician may be partly prepared for this ultimate and inescapable failure: his early experience in medical school with the dissection of cadavers is described by Parsons as an "initiatory rite of the physician-to-be into his intimate association with death and the dead."(6) Beyond this suggestion of training in the inevitability of ultimate failure, Parsons is also concerned, in the essay cited, with the ways in which physicians deal with the strains imposed on them by the frequent impossibility and uncertainty of the work situation.

> "The general effect of the existence of large factors of known impossibility and of uncertainty in the situation with which he has to cope is to impose strain upon him, to make it more difficult for him to have a 'purely rational' orientation to his job than if his orientation were such as to guarantee success with competent work."(7)

The "known impossibility and...uncertainty" referred to clearly imply failure and the ever-present likelihood of failure. The effect upon the physician, in the absence of any techniques to contend with the problem, would be to decrease his belief in the efficacy of the medicine he practices, and to place a heavier burden on his shoulders for failure. A firm belief in scientific medicine and transformation of the patient into an object are two ways described for handling the problem of uncertainty in the work. Parsons uses his professional pattern-variables (achievement, universalism, functional specificity, collective orientation, and affective neutrality) as the bases for describing the physician's functional necessities of overcoming patient resistance, and protecting the physician from emotional and nonprofessional relationships. He is thus able to maintain a "purely rational" orientation towards the patient, as far as possible. The pattern-variables are described as a "series of mechanisms...which can be understood as 'ways' of meeting the strains and overcoming the obstacles to the effective practice of scientific medicine...."(8)

Parsons' work suggests one possible pattern for dealing with failure, essentially one of isolating the professional emotionally from the consequences of failure. It is achieved in the physicians' training and socialization, and in the professional separation of the practitioner from the patient or client. This is achieved by treating the patient as object.

It may be seen as a model applicable under some given conditions: (1) when there is a scientific basis for predicting the favorable and the unfavorable outcomes of many cases; (2) when the profession has considerable autonomy and power in a situation of recognized uncertainties; (3) when there is professional accountability as opposed to organizational accountability--i.e. where professional disciplines and sanctions come into play; and (4) where the professional has personal responsibility for the patient/client, i.e. where the individual practitioner is presumed to know best the condition of the client and the necessary treatment or intervention required. When the practitioner is adjudged as personally responsible, others (even other professionals) are reluctant to interfere and to render judgment. Failure, to a considerable extent, becomes invisible. It is only when the practitioner shows demonstrable incompetence or obvious ethical deficiencies that the profession intervenes. This, of course, happens relatively seldom, one reason being that the patient or client (who is often the only other observer of the treatment) is unable to make an informed evaluation of the diagnosis or "treatment." And the very uncertainties of which Parsons speaks would cause other professionals to tread lightly in criticizing the work of their colleague, even if they might disagree with the wisdom shown.

It seems worthwhile to posit Parsons' model as a possible hypothesis for this study, even though the conditions

governing medicine and vocational counseling appear to be quite different. The differences would seem to include the different scientific bases of the work, the strength of the professions relative to host organizations, the degree of empathy between professional and client, and the recruitment and training of the practitioners. In other words, we will use the Parsonian approach in examining the work setting, although we may be concerned with additional and certainly different factors. We will, in addition, be looking at the counselors within an environment composed of employers and an organization, and examining the organization within its particular environment of philanthropy, funding agencies, legislation, the job market, and organizational competitors. The hypotheses proposed for investigation largely revolve around the relative importance of these latter factors in creating definitions of certain kinds of success and limiting the possibilities of attaining success by other definitions.

It also may be helpful to use Parsons' model of the patient role as one basis for discussing the role of the client in the agency. But we shall be interested in more than the client's passive role in the role set. We shall also be concerned, to some extent, with how role relations are negotiated and shaped in the interaction between clients and counselors. This, in turn, will be related to the client's needs for agency services and the various definitions of these

needs. The definition of needs is presumed to have a bearing on the definition of success.

If Parsons treats the problem of failure tangentially (although along the way providing us with useful models), Goldner approaches it more directly. To Goldner, success and failure constitute a motivational problem for work organizations; to survive and be effective, organizations must "balance the inducement offered by the promise of success through upward mobility against the fear of failure involved by the threat of downward mobility." Success and failure cannot be treated separately in organizations because of their "narrower boundaries" and the "precariousness of their existence."(9)

Industrial organizations of the kind Goldner studied not only require a positively motivated work force to help insure the survival of the organization in the competitive market, they require also a not-negatively motivated work force. The rewards obtainable through the processes of promotion help to provide positive motivation. Because promotion possibilities are limited, some workers will not be promoted. In at least some organizations, such as the one cited by Goldner, there is the possibility of demotion. Unless organizations can legitimize failure, such as demotion, to a significant degree, he observes, "they risk deviant acts or withdrawal on the part of participants."(10)

In Goldner's view, the organization is exposed to "opposing pressures" generated by the success-failure problem. In his view, while "merely adequate performance" is insufficient to meet the demands of competition, the "pressure toward intense competition among the members of the organization produces a counter-pressure--the need for stability and security."(11) In Goldner's study, it appeared that past service was "rewarded" by demotion, in lieu of discharge.

> "In the context of these opposing pressures--one favoring a competitive system based on the norm of excellence and the other favoring criteria of adequate performances--the organization must cope with failure and the task of maintaining efficiency. This company /the one studied/ rarely exerts its right to discharge management personnel, relying instead on the less severe mechanism of demotion."(12)

Goldner describes how the "culture of the organization /encompassed/ a belief in the normality, almost the inevitability, of demotion," and how the management employees in the company "saw demotion as a normal part of their future" as they "peaked out."(13) Demotions are made possible in the organization by its large size, its growth, its "slack" and its geographic dispersal. Employees could be demoted without them or others knowing it because there was considerable

ambiguity with respect to the ranking of many positions in the large organization. The organization could create new positions for the purpose of carrying out a demotion. Demoted employees could be transferred to a distant branch or unit, sparing them the embarrassment of working with their former colleagues. Managers could be demoted, and then from that lower position, promoted to a new position. All these techniques contributed to a widespread acceptance of demotion within the organization. The necessity of demotion was recognized by executives, and acceptance of the necessity was facilitated by "reducing the visibility of demotions."

There may be differences with respect to the techniques of coping with failure, on the organizational level, between YEA and the organization which Goldner observed, especially since the two organizations are vastly different in size. The "organizational slack" in the larger organization may be much greater, thus limiting YEA's ability to make demotion less visible. We also may wish to note the effect of personal standards of success and failure in the counselors' work--a factor not discussed by Goldner, for whom success was dictated exclusively by the organization in the form of promotion. Here we shall be examining an organization in which considerable conflict over the definitions of success were observed.

Goldner and Ritti have analyzed a situation where a profession is completely subordinate to the organization.(14)

Engineers in an industrial corporation have dual career ladders. Goldner and Ritti found the professional ladder to be the less desirable one. Engineers in the company typically aspired to managerial positions. The professional career ladder was also used to solve a motivation problem for the organization: Those who were to be denied promotion to the managerial hierarchy had alternative opportunities to ascend the professional ladder. Success or failure in this context is expressed in terms of career failure. Their study uses several variables that we wish to examine; these include the level of professionalization of workers, the subordination of a professional group to organizational definitions, the meaning and pattern of careers, and the distinction between professional and managerial ladders. In addition, we shall again be able to make a comparison between organizational techniques for dealing with failure by personnel and the consequences of those techniques.

Bensman's Dollars and Sense bridges the gap between profit-making and non-profit organizations, and between small and large organizations through use of the concepts of ethical relationships, the internal meaning of work in various occupations, and success definitions and their sources.(15) These concepts, especially the latter two, will be used extensively in the present study.

Bensman discusses advertising, social work, college teaching, and community-action programs. Though the focus

is not exclusively on failure as such, the sections can be viewed as analyses of success and failure in the different occupations. In advertising, it would seem that the grand failure is of an ethical nature: economic success is won at the cost of one's personal ethics. However, there are numerous lesser failures along the way, many of them owing to the uncertainty of the work. Just what causes an advertising campaign to succeed is largely unknown. So uncertain is the world of advertising, Bensman seems to be saying, that clear and principled ethics are difficult to practice, if not dysfunctional. And any internal "meaning-for-itself" which advertising work may have at the outset for practitioners--as "creative" work--is quickly transformed to external and instrumental meanings.(16)

Social work, by contrast, has an internal meaning, expressed in the "ideology" of the profession and the organizations which employ the professionals. The idologies of nonprofit organizations stress "higher purposes, nobler ends, and ultimate ideals." Similarly, the idology of the social work profession embodies "service and high ideals." These ideals represent more than the "defenses of one social group or profession against the idological assaults of other groups;" in addition, "they constitute the basis of the self-definition of the group and of the development of personal and occupational pride, security, and motivation of its members...."(17)

If social work is more virtuous than advertising (or business in general), it is not less prone to failure. The principal failure originates partly in that very virtuousness--that is, in the high ideals themselves. Not only do clients resist the worker's attempts to help them, but "social, material, and personal resources" are inadequate for the task. Thus, in his attempts to "apply the highest ideals to the most resistant realities, the social-welfare worker frequently feels trapped, frustrated, and helpless."(18)

Among the "responses" identified by Bensman are (a) identification with "the role of policeman, spy, and prosecutor;" (b) identification with the client; (c) retreat into legalism and apathy; and (d) searching "for a /different/ work situation which allows the social worker to live his ideals."(19)

We may wish to see if these are not mutually exclusive options at YEA. Both the identification with clients and the search for a different and better work situation may be present; and the latter may have varying effects, depending upon the existence of job opportunities for counselors outside YEA. An 'accumulation of discontent" may occur; if so, this would seem to have some relationship to this "response" identified by Bensman, and to the imputed functions of professional career ladders and demotion practices discussed by Goldner and Ritti, and by Goldner, respectively.

The variables which appear to link these works together, and which link them to the present study, are:

(1) The definitions of the work, and the sources of the definitions. The "internal meaning" of work would fall under this heading.

(2) The degree of control, or power, over the definitions, and the rewards and penalties associated with them.

(3) The preparations and adaptations which organizations and individuals make to the prospect or the reality of failure.

Literature on Altruism

Altruism is derived from the Latin altrui (later alter) or other. It is other-directed behavior, though not in the sense of that described in David Riesman's The Lonely Crowd.[20] Altruism is selfless behavior where the welfare of some other person is at least equal in importance, if not more important than one's own welfare. Altruism does not always involve such a hard choice, however. In its everyday form, it involves a greater sharing of one's resources and love with others who are unfortunate or "left out" in one way or another. It seems clear that some people do, from time to time and in varying degrees, sacrifice something for the good of another or others. It is probable that most of

us have done so at one time or another. When discussing altruism, in the present work, however, we are attempting to define a character type, one for whom "concerned" behavior acquires a rather consistent pattern. Such persons show more than the average regard or love for others (or certain others, in the usual case). The concept of altruism serves at least as a shorthand reference for a life pattern embued with a concern for others. That pattern may be socially rewarded or not. The altruist by definition does not help others for the sake of external reward. Nevertheless, in American society there are numerous salaried jobs where those who have an altruistic bent can engage in such behavior while being paid for it. In such a situation, we might suspect that others besides "altruists" will be attracted to the jobs. One of the "preliminary hypotheses" (discussed above) which is to be tested is whether or not the work of the counselors at YEA has some degree of "inner meaning." "Inner meaning" here refers to a meaning based on altruistic impulses.

Pitirim Sorokin's work on altruism is the principal body of work on which this aspect of our study is based. His work will be discussed at some length in the chapter on the counselors (Chapter 6). Therefore, the review of Sorokin's work will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For the present, it may be said that two of the main points of interest in Sorokin's work which are used here have to do with his analysis of (a) how love varies in intensity,

extensity, duration, etc. and (b) the etiology of altruism and its variants. These reference points are used in an attempt to specify the term more precisely, to contribute to an understanding of how these factors are related to the counselor's work, and to show how the counselors fit into Sorokin's model. Sorokin's work suggests that the dimensions of love (extensity, intensity, purity, duration, etc.) are self-limiting in the sense that highly intensive and widely extensive love are seldom found together. That is, we cannot easily love a great many people in a very intensive fashion. Tyler does not make this distinction, but does argue that "success in counseling depends more upon personal qualities in the counselor than upon correct use of specified techiques. Warmth, responsiveness, and sincerity are essential."(21)

Halmos notes this phenomenon, and sees the professionalization of counseling, with its professional terminology, as just so much camouflage for the counselor's underlying desire to serve others. "The contemporary socially conscious individual is ashamed of postures of charity," he writes, and professionalization has become an "excellent camouflage" for the counsellors' underlying concern for clients.(22)

For Halmos, the "indispensable healing power in the therapeutic /relationship/ is love."(23) Elsewhere, Halmos describes the essential service (or gift) which counselors offer as "mothering or parental loving." Love is expressed in all counseling activities, he asserts, and adds that

counselors are increasingly saying that "it must be expressed, if counselling is to make a difference."[24]

We shall discuss Halmos' book in more detail in later chapters. In particular, we shall be interested in observing whether or not the counselors at YEA at all resemble the counselors which Halmos describes, and the extent to which organizational conditions must be considered in understanding altruistic or loving behavior. Halmos is concerned for the most part with the "higher" counseling professions, especially psychoanalytic and psychological counseling, and social work to a lesser degree. However, he considers psychoanalysis as the archetype of all counseling occupations, and it is principally in their training not their attitude that counselors differ.

Lubove deals with professionalization of a counseling occupation (social work) but in a quite different way from Halmos' treatment.[25] To begin with, Lubove's work is a historical treatment of the rise of social work as a profession and as a career. Where Halmos sees shame over the sentiments of serving others and professional jargon as "camouflage," Lubove describes an unrelenting pursuit of professionalization for its own rewards, with that drive being stimulated by the increasing committment to science. To Halmos, it is the counselors who are loving and who disguise their sentiments in professional language. Lubove suggests that the old-time volunteer was the most concerned party, with the more highly-trained professional edging the

volunteer off the stage as rapidly as possible. Lubove is not sentimental about social workers. He gives them credit for a certain degree of altruism. But barriers are increasingly placed between the social worker and the client which decrease the worker's ability to act out of any spontaneous impluse. These barriers include the professional subculture, the development of "acquired personality attributes" as a result of professional training, and the bureaucratization of the social work agency. Volunteer service based on more sponaneous impulses, "conflicted with the administrator's desire for rational, efficient organization and the social worker's identification with the agency as a vehicle for professional achievement."(26)

We shall inquire, in examining the work of the counselors at YEA, into the importance of professionalization. We will be concerned to discover if there is a significant degree of altruism in the work of the counselors (as seen in their employment histories and their statements about their work, their conflicts with the Board over the agency mission, etc.). At the same time, we shall want to see how the level of professionalism of the counselors is related to agency control over the counselors, and to see if Lubove's concept of "professional altruism" is adequate for our study.

Lubove does not lament the passing of the volunteer and the growing professionalization of the social worker

and the increasing barriers placed between the altruism of the worker and the client. It may be that in the end he does not conceive of it in the same way as Halmos does. For Halmos, altruism (or loving) is an impulse. For Lubove, it seems more an ideal which must inevitably give way to social changes in practice and ideas; since it is an "ideal" it responds more readily than impulses might. "Sentimental regrets over the decline of voluntarism in social work are futile," he says; instead, we should be more concerned "to understand voluntarism and its alleged decline in functional rather than normative terms, avoiding idealized visions of democratic pluralism and citizen participation."(27)

Titmuss' study of blood donors led him to conclusions similar to Halmos', the difference being that Titmuss speaks of a "moral sense" evident in people generally--whereas for Halmos, it is presumably the counselors who are loving or caring. Most of the blood donors he interviewed "employed a moral vocabulary to explain their reasons for giving blood." To Titmuss, the implication of his study was that "detailed, concrete programs of political change--undramatic...as they may often appear to be--can facilitate the expression of man's moral sense."(28)

Titmuss notes that "none of the donors' answers was purely altruistic." People gave blood partly because they expected or hoped that others would do the same for their benefit, if the need arose. "But it was not a good which

they positively desired for themselves either immediately or ultimately."(29)

> "...By expressing confidence in the behavior of future unknown strangers they were thus denying the Hobbesian thesis that men are devoid of any distinctively moral sense."(30)

Titmuss' hypothesis is not one we are able to test effectively here. We can, however, note that the study he reports is concerned with what might be called sporadic rather than sustained altruism, as may be the case here. Thus, although Titmuss leads us to consider the possible relationship between social institutions and altruism, we must of necessity be more concerned with matters of power and definitions of work than he was.

Literature on Professionalization

Here, we shall not attempt to deal with all the ramifications of professionalism. Rather, our interest is in laying down a general foundation for the discussion of the relative professionalization of vocational counseling, the hiring and performance standards found in the Youth Employment Agency, and the degree of professional identity found in the counselors.

Parsons has been long interested in the problem of the professions--so long that it appears his views have undergone substantial change. In an early paper, professions are seen as hardly different from business occupations,

both deriving their characteristics from the same dominant cultural values.

> "There is a sense in which, in both cases, the dominant goal may be said to be the same, 'success.' To this there would appear to be two main aspects. One is a satisfactory modicum of attainment of the technical goals of the respective activities, such as increasing the size and improving the portion of the business firm...or attaining a good proportion of cures or substantial improvement in the condition of patients. The other aspect is the attainment of high standing in one's occupational group.... The essential goals in the two cases would appear to be substantially the same, objective achievement and recognition: the difference lies in the different paths to the similar goals...."(31)

By 1951, Parsons views had changed to some extent. Writing about the medical profession, he observed that "unlike the role of the businessman," the physician's role was "collectivity-oriented not self-oriented."(32)

For Parsons, then, what distinguishes a profession from other occupations is primarily the collectivity-orientation, the subordination of self-interest. It seems accurate to say that the extent of training required to achieve the necessary technical competence is also a hallmark of professions in Parsons' discussion, even though he does not make much of the point himself. Occupations in general, in American society, are said to be specific as to their functions, universalistic in their recruitment and evaluation of performance, and affectively neutral. We shall see whether the counselors at YEA may be said to perform functionally specific roles and in Parsons' sense are oriented to a collectivity--i.e. a collectivity of unemployed youths. We

shall also expect to encounter a different sort of problem with regard to universalistic standards. When a specific organization and when its personnel are the objects of investigation, ascertaining universalism becomes difficult because an organization makes particular definitions of its work and of its personnel needs. Applicants may be judged on their merits, but they are not necessarily technical or performance merits.

Carr-Saunders and Wilson recognize the difficulty of clearly distinguishing between the professions and other occupations, but find that the professions differ from other occupations in certain ways and that other occupations are more or less like professions depending on which variable is considered.(33)

For Carr-Saunders and Wilson, the central characteristic of the professions is the possession of "specialized intellectual techniques, acquired as the result of prolonged training." The technique is significant "because it gives rise to certain attitudes" such as a sense of responsibility for the client, and "certain activities" such as professional associations.(34) Law and medicine, among all occupations, exhibit the characteristics of professionalism to the highest degree.

For Carr-Saunders and Wilson, professions become monopolies of prestigeful occupations because the techniques can only be learned through specialized and prolonged training, and the professions themselves have a strong voice in the

selection of candidates as well as a monopoly in the acquisition of further knowledge which develops in the field.(35)

Johnson takes issue with both the "trait" (Carr-Saunders) and the "functionalist" (Parsons) theories of professionalism. Both are seen to have defects. The former is characterized as "definition-mongering," abstracting from the "core elements" which are most fully exhibited by the "true professions." Professionalization is seen, by the "trait theorists," as a process with an end state, which does not allow for historical variations and variations among different occupations. The functional theorists, Johnson claims, concentrate on the social functions which the profession renders to all groups and classes, but the work of these theorists is ahistorical and ignores the role of power in obtaining the professional monopoly and rewards.(36)

> "In accepting the professions' own definitions of themselves, sociologists have tended to accept that a peculiar institutionalized form of control is the essential condition of such occupations rather than being a peculiar historical product which can be said to have existed for a very short period and was a product of the specific historical conditions of 19th century Anglo-American culture."(37)

Johnson thus argues that the professions are historical artifacts and that these artifacts are products of conditions that no longer exist. The findings of this study are not

adequate to test this hypothesis. They do, however, suggest the importance of one form of control that Johnson proposes as an alternative to professional control--i.e. "mediation" or the decisive role of third parties in the producer-consumer relationship. The influence of the third party (government agencies) is one of the variables we will be concerned with in defining the work of YEA and its counselors.

We are also interested in Johnson's concept of the professional's power over the client being based in part upon the heterogeneity and exploitability of a lay clientele. Ignoring the question, for the moment, as to whether YEA's counselors are by any of the standards discussed thus far, "professional," we may ask at this point whether the counseors appear to possess power over their clients. Indeed, when considering a profession of this kind, involving some degree of altruism, we can ask whether the client possesses moral power over the counselor-professional. For example, "establishing rapport" with the client may be a sign of "reaching" the client, and convincing him of one's sincere desire to help, and whether or not one establishes rapport is defined by the voluntary response of the client.

Toren identifies other powers which the social-work client possesses, including the power to comply or not comply with the worker's advice or directions, the ability to appeal to the feelings of the worker, and the "activation of commitments" contained in the social worker's credo (legal right to benefits and the worker's duty to provide them,

etc.).[38]

The attempt by Toren and others to define "semi-professions" such as social work can be seen as related to Johnson's argument regarding the historical specificity of the "true professions" such as medicine and law. What Toren sees as a "semi-profession" may, in Johnson's view, be merely the contemporary equivalent of professions, those that are born under modern conditions and are practiced in organizational settings. Toren says that the autonomy of professionals within a bureaucratic framework is threatened "only insofar as the organizational structure interferes either with the development and application of professional knowledge or with the...professional commitment to place the client's interests above all others."[39] This conceptualization of the problem overlooks the possibility that autonomy of the kind enjoyed by the older professions may no longer be attainable. In acknowledging the changes that have occurred in American society, changes which can be summed up in the term "welfare state," we cannot at the same time expect work organizations that emerge from those changed conditions to be identical to those of a hundred or two hundred years ago. Despite this reservation, Toren's study of modern occupations which claim to be professions and which involve some specialized technique acquired through "professional" training is a useful one. The occupation of vocational counseling may be considered one of these. But we shall ask whether the concept of profession helps us to

explain the work of the counselors at YEA. There is some reason to question whether modern societies are in fact becoming more professionalized (at least by older definitions of professions) as is often claimed, despite the proliferation of claims for professionalism. The increasing computerization of knowledge, the rising level of education, the decline of trust evidenced in malpractice suits, the codification of rights and the expansion of the State, and the spread of bureaucratic accountability imply a reduction in both the areas of judgment and autonomy which have been characteristic of professions.

If power and historical conditions are central to Johnson's model of professions, and collectivity-orientation is the same for Parsons, and specialized technique likewise for Carr-Saunders and Wilson, it might be said that persuasion and autonomy are key terms in Freidson's work in this area.(40) The grant of legitimate autonomy is the result of persuasion by the members of a rising profession.

Freidson distinguishes between "consulting" and "learned" professions: the former provide "to a varied lay clientele services that are expected to solve practical problems..."(41) Medicine and law are examples of consulting professions. The sciences would be examples of learned professions. Freidson's interest is in the consulting professions; his work here is aimed at understanding them through study of the medical profession.

To Freidson, "an essential feature of the concept of profession is something of a monopoly over the excercise of its work."(42) The monopoly (resulting in autonomy) is won through the persuasion of some political or economic elite that there is some special value in its work and that it represents or expresses some of the important values or beliefs of that elite.(43)

The historical and political development of professions need not concern us here. Instead, we are more interested in what it is that distinguishes professions from other occupations, in Freidson's view. The answer is autonomy. Autonomy has three dimensions: economic (having to do with compensation), social organization (having to do with authority, especially within organizations which provide health care **and/or** other professional services), and technical autonomy. The latter involves the degree to which the professional has the right to use and evaluate the professional techniques. Technical autonomy is attained when the professional has the exclusive right in such matters. No other professional or other worker, for example, tells the physician how to diagnose and treat illnesses. For Freidson, technical autonomy is the crucial characteristic of the professional. Without it, there is no "profession." Freidson studied physicians in three countries--the United States, England and Wales, and the Soviet Union--and reports that while physicians in these countries had <u>variable</u> degrees of economic and social (or organizational) autonomy,

they all possessed technical autonomy.(44)

Control of professional conduct, through licensing, ethical codes, etc., is the obverse face of autonomy--that is, it was "offered" in the political process of "persuasion" aimed at securing legitimate autonomy. Would-be professions attempt to make a claim of professionalism on the basis of the control factors alone, but without possessing technical autonomy.

There are some problems connected with a definition of professions that is based on the factor of technical autonomy. Freidson's argument is generally thorough and effective: the numerous factors that have been claimed as distinctive for professions--specialized training, ethical codes, fee payment, collectivity-orientation, etc.--are the signs of professionalism, not the structural variables. But in the end, Freidson does what Johnson argues we should not do: define professions on the basis of core factors associated with certain occupations identified as "professions." More important here is the weight placed on technical autonomy itself. Strictly speaking, it is seen by Freidson as the key structural variable in professionalism, not the "cause" of professionalism. The problem with this is that for us, it tends to foreclose discussion of other factors in "lesser" professions which greatly influence the work done by them, especially the competing definitions advanced by different parties within and without organizations, and the differen-

tial power associated with the definitions. In short, the discussion of professions which do not possess as complete technical autonomy as do physicians is by-passed. These are problems which will occupy much of our attention throughout this study.

Literature on Organizations

Three organizational problems with which we shall have to deal are (a) the problem of professions within organizations, (b) the problem of administrative controls, and (c) the problem of organizational dependence.

These dimensions were posed in Goss's study of the supervisory relationships of physicians in a teaching hospital. The co-existence of hierarchical authority and a specialized division of labor were seen initially as presenting two areas of both potential strain and adjustment. The hospital's hierarchical authority structure suggested the possibility of conflict between the medical profession and the organization. On the other hand, the specialized division of labor seemed to be more in accord with bureaucratic norms, thus potentially reducing conflict.(45) She reported a pattern of supervision that seemingly synthesized the bureaucratic requirement of hierarchical authority and the professional requirement of "self-government" or autonomy. This was called "advisory bureaucracy." Physicians in a superordinate position within the hospital advised subordinate physicians regarding the handling of cases.

The subordinate physician was under no compulsion to follow the advice. If he did so without carefully evaluating the advice, he would not be accepting full responsibility for the patient, a professional norm. Thus, "there was no serious contradiction" between the hospital's authority structure and the authority of individual physicians. The existence of professional norms allowed the physician-supervisor to supervise without denying his subordinate's responsibility for the patient.(46)

It may be that the degree of expertise of physicians (relative to others) and the strength of the medical profession itself would in such a situation give the professionals considerable leverage in creating their own professionally-approved supervisory system. If so, we shall be confronted again with the question of degree of professionalism of the counselors at YEA, and the various dependency relations existing between YEA and its counselors, and between YEA and external organizations. We shall also ask, with respect to YEA, whether supervisors can be regarded as a source of professional authority, as appears to be the case in the Goss study. They may be more or less "professional" than the counselors, and they may identify more or less with their organizational as opposed to their professional roles.

Blau's study of a state employment agency revealed that statistical evaluations of the interviewers' work performance "influenced operations by inducing interviewers to concen-

trate their efforts on the factors that were measured /including number of interviews held, number of job placements, etc./ and thus would affect their rating."(47)

The "functions," or positive consequences from the agency's perspective, of the performance evaluations were that they increased the productivity of the interviewers; facilitated hierarchical control; enabled superiors to institute changes quickly; and improved relations between supervisors and interviewers by making low ratings more objective rather than reflecting the judgment of the supervisor.

The "dysfunctional" consequences, again from the viewpoint of the agency, were that the performance evaluations reduced the supervisory function to a clerical level, thus posing a threat to the authority of the supervisors; caused tension and conflict among the interviewers; and resulted in a displacement of goals, as interviewers oriented their work around the performance variables which were measured and, in the process, neglected certain other goals of the agency.(48)

Blau also found that the competitiveness among counselors varied in two different sections. One section, staffed by interviewers who had only temporary appointments and relatively little professional identification, was found to be both more competitive and less productive (although competitive individuals in this section were more productive). The other section, staffed by interviewers who had permanent appointments and a greater professional orientation, was found

to be less competitive and more productive. Competitive individuals in this section were less productive, since their competitiveness went against the norm of cooperation established in the section, and the other interviewers withheld cooperation (information about jobs, etc.) from such individuals.

We do not attempt to directly test Blau's findings here. There are enough differences in the situations to make this difficult even if we desired to do so. However, we shall be frequently working with some of the principal variables proposed by Blau. These include: (1) displacement of goals; (2) the role of professional orientation and indoctrination; (3) the role of performance evaluations; (4) the problem of job security; and (5) the problem of accountability to external organizations.

One reason why we cannot focus exclusively on Blau's work is that we will deal with factors which are largely ignored by Blau. Among these are the inner meaning of the work to the counselors ("altruism"), and the use of standards other than those described by Blau. Those standards require that we abandon the concepts of functionalism, and its analysis of behavior solely from the "organization's" or the "system's" point of view. Nevertheless, the work done by Blau is an important reference point for the present study.

Smigel's study of Wall Street lawyers takes us into another profession within an organizational setting. Unlike Goss's physicians in the hospital, who were able to manage

the organization in their own style, it seems correct to say of Smigel's work that it portrays lawyers as being required to satisfy their organization's requirements for a certain type of lawyer, or to resign or accept permanent low status. The "up-or-out" policy described by Smigel means simply that one is offered a partnership in the firm or is usually expected to leave.(49)

Not only is the lawyer in these large firms forced out in a most direct way (unlike most, perhaps all other professions), but he is at a serious disadvantage when this occurs. He develops a trained incapacity. The longer he has been with the firm the more specialized he has become in the practice of corporate law, and the less experience he has at "client-getting." Thus, he is handicapped in setting up a solo practice or practicing in a small firm, and is not highly prized by other corporate law firms.(50)

We shall want to see how the counselors at YEA are trained, whether they too acquire a trained incapacity that may limit their opportunities outside the agency, and the effects of this, if any, on their work. We shall also be concerned with the circumstances under which the counselors are forced out and the ramifications of this. In considering this point alongside Goldner's study of demotion and Goldner and Ritti's study of professional career ladders, the possibility arises that an important and necessary organizational task may be to flush out discontented or maladapted workers to make the organization function smoothly.

This may vary in effectiveness with the hiring standards used, and with the mechanisms for either flushing out discontented workers or inducing acceptance of lower status.

The problem of administrative controls will be considered in this study primarily because the lack of readily observable controls was a puzzle. It will be necessary to consider briefly the nature of controls, in particular what Perrow calls the "unobtrusive controls" found in the work of March and Simon.(51) Perrow sees March and Simon's work as supplementing Weber's work on bureaucracy. Organizations control their workers' vocabularies and their premises for decision-making through control of internal communications. This is necessary because "there are real limits to human rationality." Organizations require not only the "familiar appurtenances of bureaucracy, but also the more subtle and unobtrusive controls of communication channels, organizational vocabulary, and so on."(52)

March and Simon view the absorption of uncertainty as representing a "reification of the organization's conceptual scheme." In organizational communications the evidence is not presented along with the decision; thus, uncertainty is "absorbed" by the superordinate writer, and a significant degree of control is thereby achieved.(53)

We shall be interested in at least two aspects of the concept of unobtrusive controls. First, we may conceive of the agency's mission, and the hiring standards and the training procedures found in the agency as unobtrusive controls,

and trace their effects. Secondly, we shall be interested in exploring the role of uncertainty itself as a control in the agency. It may be that uncertainty is as much a form of control as is the absorption of uncertainty.

Finally, in the sphere of organizational matters, we shall have numerous occasions to refer to the dependence of YEA on external organizations. At least one of the hypotheses to be discussed later is predicated upon the existence of a substantial influence exerted by external organizations on the definition of the work to be found at YEA.

Selznick is probably the best known of the environmental-effect theorists insofar as organizations are concerned. His study of the development of the TVA and its deflection from its original purposes by the incorporation of local elites is well known. The locals represented the intrusion of external forces into the organizational processes. In his conclusion to the study, Selznick states that "all formal organizations are molded by forces tangential to their rationally ordered structures and stated goals." Among these forces are "the individuals within the system" who "resist being treated as means," and the matrix in which the organization is embedded and which subjects it to pressures from its environment. Thus, Selznick writes, "there will develop an informal structure within the organization which will reflect the spontaneous efforts of individuals and subgroups to control the conditions of their existence," and "informal lines of communication and control to and from other organi-

zations within the environment" will be found.[54]

Selznick's study is a significant one. However, we must give greater attention here to the more formalized contractual relationships and controls between YEA and external organizations, and to the existence of formal groups within YEA than Selznick does.

In a later work, Selznick observed that "responsible leadership" in an organization must prevent the organization from "drifting" by avoiding both "opportunism" and "utopianism." Opportunism was defined as "the pursuit of immediate, short-run advantages in a way inadequately controlled by considerations of principle and ultimate consequence...."[55] and as reflecting "an excessive response to outside pressures."[56]

However, organizational leaders could go too far in the opposite direction, avoiding "hard choices by a flight to abstractions."[57] This is utopianism, and is to be eschewed also. Some middle position between ultimate purpose and pragmatism is necessary.

The issue of external control results in two bodies of organizational theory represented by March and Simon, and Selznick, with one emphasizing the controllability and the internal processes of organizations, and the other giving greatest weight to the external or environmental forces. Gouldner, says James Thompson, discerned "two fundamental models underlying most of the literature" on organizations: these were the "rational" and the "natural-system" models of

organizations. In Thompson's view, these models are based on two different strategies for studying organizations, with the rational model resulting from a "closed-system strategy" and the natural-system resulting from an "open-system strategy."(58)

Thompson attempts to show that the internal controls of the organization are focused on the technological core so as to reduce uncertainty with respect to its external environment.(59) The uncertainty of the environment is monitored by "boundary spanners;" the information obtained enables the organization to make the necessary adjustments.

The "basic administrative function" that Thompson describes is based upon the need to control uncertainty in the life of the organization. The "managerial" level of an organization has the responsibility of seeing to it that the technological core is protected from uncertainty and that it produces the resources required for dealing with the environmental uncertainties. For the institutional level of administration, the basic function is said to be <u>co-alignment</u> of the internal and the external processes. The success of the organization depends upon how appropriate its technology, its specific environment, its domain (or chosen market) and its own structure are for each other. For example, a given structure may be appropriate for one "task environment" and not for another.(60)

The co-alignment of these elements is made more difficult by the fact that they are not static, with each behaving at its own rate, governed by forces external to the organiza-

tion.[61] To the degree that administrators are successful in co-aligning these necessary elements, "organizations are not simply determined by their environment." At the same time, they are not fully independent either.[62]

Our interest in Thompson's work is fourfold: We shall want to know to what extent the external forces change as far as YEA is concerned; how the agency responds to the changes; who responds to the changes; and to what degree the variables cited by Thompson are independent of each other, to the extent we can tell this.

The review of literature offered in this chapter has as its main purpose the construction of a theoretical and empirical framework within which to view the present study. In so doing, we have identified some major concepts which may be useful to us and cited some findings which we may compare with our own findings. Most often, the works cited have not included the specific combination of variables which may be encountered at YEA. The variables left out are often those that are hypothesized here as possibly decisive. For example, studies of strong professions, either within or without organizations, such as those by Parsons and Goss, may not be entirely useful when we are dealing with a lesser profession. We are not at all certain that there is a well-developed profession, and have not yet looked at the hiring standards at YEA. Similarly, organizational theories which take for granted that <u>authority</u> and <u>knowledge</u> of the organization's functioning will be found together may not be ade-

quate for voluntary organizations where the two are structurally separated.

The implication of the review of literature and our indications of its limits when applied to YEA is that even a small organization exhibits a very large number of possible variables that are not entirely independent of each other and that must be investigated empirically. We shall be concerned with this problem throughout the study.

Chapter 2, Notes

1. Work in America (MIT Press, 1973), is a report of a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The purpose of the study was to analyze the causes of job dissatisfaction the the United States.

2. Herbert Marcuse's work, including One-Dimensional Man (Beacon Press, 1964), and An Essay on Liberation (Beacon Press, 1969) is largely concerned with the virtually self-enforced alienation accruing from slavish gratification of the "needs" created by productivity and wealth.

3. Talcott Parsons, "The Case of Modern Medical Practice," in his The Social System (Free Press, 1951).

4. Ibid, p. 437

5. Ibid, pp. 444-45

6. Ibid, p. 445

7. Ibid, p. 450

8. Ibid, p. 454

9. Fred Goldner, "Demotion in Industrial Management," published in American Sociological Review, October 1965 (Vol. 30, #5), pp. 714-724. The passage cited here is taken from pp. 714-715.

10. Ibid, p. 715

11. Ibid, pp. 715-716

12. Ibid, p. 716

13. Ibid, p. 717

14. Fred Goldner and R.R. Ritti, "Professionalization as Career Immobility," American Journal of Sociology 73 (March 1967), p. 491.

15. Joseph Bensman, Dollars and Sense (Macmillan, 1967).

16. Ibid, p. 45

17. Ibid, pp. 72-74. The concept of "ideologies" is discussed in the present study, under the headings of agency "mission" and "self-portrait." Though there may be no great difference between "ideology" and "mission," the

latter concept is used because it encompasses the diverse notions of goals, target population, uniqueness and organizational origin of the "ideology"--rather than assuming any significant professional input. Any "high ideals" which we discuss will be covered under the headings of either agency mission or altruism.

18. Ibid, pp. 96-97

19. Ibid, pp. 97-99. Bensman notes that even if the social welfare worker finds employment in a high-quality specialized agency, there is a conflict between the professional ideology (stressing work quality) and a "humanistic" ideology (stressing helping more people than is possible in such an agency).

20. Riesman's "other-directed" behavior seemed to represent a lack of personal character or integrity. Those who are "other-directed" are overly dependent on the responses of others in what they think and what they do.

21. Leona E. Tyler, The Work of the Counselor (Meredith Corp., a division of Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. v-vi.

22. Paul Halmos, The Faith of the Counsellors (Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 29-30.

23. Ibid, p. 49. The quotation is from Sandor Ferenczi.

24. Ibid, p. 51

25. Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist (Atheneum, 1973).

26. Ibid, p. 161

27. Ibid, p. 220

28. Richard M. Titmuss, The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy (Vintage, 1972).

29. Ibid, p. 238

30. Ibid, p. 239

31. Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," Social Forces, 17, No. 4 (May 1939), pp. 56-7. The material is excerpted in Professionalization edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (Prentice-Hall, 1966). Page references are to the Vollmer and Mills book.

32. Talcott Parsons, "The Case of Modern Medical Practice," in his The Social System (Free Press, 1951), p. 434.

33. A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 4.

34. Ibid, pp. 284-5 and p. 286

35. These authors do not put it so bluntly, perhaps, but this seems clearly implied by their findings and observations. In the history of the professions, the key to obtaining a monopolistic position seems to be with what group or groups a nascent profession allied itself and a sense of timing in not closing the profession prematurely, yet closing it in time to develop specialization.

36. Terence J. Johnson, Professions and Power (Macmillan, 1972).

37. Ibid

38. Nina Toren, Social Work: The Case of a Semi-profession (Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 100-101.

39. Ibid, p. 79

40. Eliot Freidson, Profession of Medicine (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1971).

41. Ibid, p. 22

42. Ibid, p. 21

43. Ibid, p. 72

44. Ibid, see pp. 23-46 for discussion of these points.

45. Mary E. Weber Goss, Physicians in Bureaucracy: A Case Study of Professional Pressures on Organizational Roles (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1959), p. 9.

46. Ibid, pp. 44-5

47. Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (University of Chicago Press, 1963 revised ed.), p. 40.

48. Ibid, pp. 40-46

49. Erwin O. Smigel, The Wall Street Lawyer (Indiana University Press, 1964), p. 44.

50. Ibid, p. 343

51. Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay (Scott, Foresman & Co., 1972), p. 156.

52. Ibid, p. 157

53. James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (Wiley, 1958), p. 165.

54. Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots (Harper Torchbooks, 1966; originally published in 1949 by the University of California Press), p. 251.

55. Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (Harper & Row, 1957), p. 143.

56. Ibid, p. 145

57. Ibid, p. 147

58. James Thompson, Organizations in Action (McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 4.

59. The concepts and their originators are: (a) Talcott Parsons' "suggestion that organizations exhibit three distinct levels of responsibility and control--technical, managerial, and institutional," mentioned on p. 10 of Thompson's book; (b) Levine and White's concept of organizational domain, discussed on p. 26; (c) Dill's concept of task environment, discussed on p. 27.

60. Ibid, p. 147

61. Ibid, p. 147

62. Ibid, p. 148

Chapter 3

The Hypotheses

This study consists in testing and exploring two kinds of information. One set deals with claims which the agency and the counselors make about themselves. These claims or beliefs center about the atmosphere of financial crisis which appears to be characteristic of the agency; characteristics of the agency's clients in relation to the demands of the job market; and the "dedication" of the counselors. Thus, we shall first want to find out whether

(a) The agency experiences persistent or recurrent funding uncertainties, producing an atmosphere of financial crisis and uncertainty;

(b) The clients of the agency possess certain traits which are not desired in the labor market or lack certain traits which are usually required in the local labor market; and

(c) The counselors obtain some significant degree of gratification from the particular work they do--more specifically, from "helping" the typical client of the agency.

These "claims" will be explored at some length. The purpose, however, is not so much to test the claims which the agency and its counselors make about the work. Rather,

the purposes are to establish the degree of urgency associated with the problem of success and failure in the agency, and thus to provide a framework for viewing our formal hypotheses. It seems reasonable to suppose that the problem of success and failure will be different if all three conditions are present--financial crisis, hard-to-place clients, and "dedicated" counselors--than if only one or two are present. A financially secure agency might be more relaxed in its performance standards than an insecure one. Counselors for whom the work had little inner meaning might be less inclined to resist organizational controls or to develop alternative strategies for success. And clients who are not in fact hard to place would diminish if not eliminate the problem of success in those terms.

In Chapter 4, we shall examine the agency, with particular attention to its income and budget. We shall review the sources of the agency's income, the contracts in force at the time the research was conducted, the process of contract negotiation, and the consequences of loss of contracts. We shall also look briefly at the history of the agency, its contemporary "self-portrait," and the role of the agency's founder in both the agency's history and the delineation of the self-portrait. These points will be of some importance later when we come to discuss the agency's "mission" and the part this plays in the quest for contracts and in the pattern of conflict found in the agency.

In Chapter 5, our attention will be centered on the statistical profile of the client in the Center City labor market at the time the research was done. The client profile will be expressed in terms of such factors as: education, work experience, age, sex, narcotics and correctional histories. And since the labor market in Center City has changed in certain ways in recent years, ways which greatly affect the agency's ability to carry out its principal task of job placement, we shall also need to know what those changes are.

Chapter 6 will be devoted to an examination of the meaning of the work for the counselors. The concept of altruism will be the frame of reference in the chapter. We shall rely to a great extent on the statements of the counselors themselves--statements in response to direct questions and statements gleaned from their discussions of related questions. We shall also inquire into their pre-counseling life histories and experiences which appear to have some connection with their entry into counseling work, and at the counselors' employment histories.

After the agency, its clients, and its counselors have been discussed in Chapters four through six, we shall turn to the hypotheses which have been proposed for this study. These hypotheses are presented below.

Hypothesis 1: The definition of the work will be importantly influenced by external forces, and will vary according to the source of funds for the counselor's salary, the frequency and

the quality of relationships with the funding organization, and the funding organization's definition of its own work.

Hypothesis 2: Given an expected high rate of failure in placing clients on jobs, a major function of organizational leadership will be to protect and immunize the organization and staff from the consequence of failure, in order to enable the organization to continue functioning, and to control internal competition and minimize conflict.

Hypothesis 3: Given its placement problems, the agency will avoid manifest falsification of its success rate by not collecting those kinds of data that confirm failure, and will collect the kinds of information which will appear to maximize success.

Hypothesis 4: The agency's leadership will attempt to alter the definitions of the agency's primary mission in response to the external exigencies, and will attempt to indoctrinate the professional staff with these new definitions. The professional staff will likely respond in terms of past indoctrination and their own sense of a professional mission. This "lag" will be both a source of continuous strife, and a means of stabilizing or controlling the external demands.

Previously, we hypothesized that the agency leadership would attempt to minimize the impact of failure when failure is experienced in terms of placement. Here, we hypothesize that the leaders of such a dependent organization will attempt to bring about fundamental changes in what the agency

does, how it does it, and for whom--in order to keep up with the changing external demands. The hypothesis also suggests that counselor resistance to the changes of definitions will predictably produce conflict, but the resistance will tend to protect the integrity of the agency--that is, preserve its identity, its special purpose. Selznick and Thompson, as we noted earlier, gave management the task of preserving the integrity of their organizations. Workers were seen as one source of drift and institutionalization in organizations. The hypothesis here essentially says that in a highly dependent and insecure organization such as YEA, the organizational leaders will over-respond to the environmental demands, and that it wil be the workers who tend to preserve the historic purposed and integrity of the agency.

Hypothesis 5: The necessity to repond to continuous changes in the external environment, especially the demands of external funding organizations, results in a continuous shift in the standards for professional recruitment, and the inability to stabilize any one set of professional standards. Recruitment of personnel for counselor positions will be based less on technical and educational standards than on adaptability to the external exigencies of the agency.

In testing this hypothesis, we shall need to show that there is a professional group from which the agency could recruit, and whether the agency administrators do so or not. We shall also be interested in some of the consequences of

the agency's hiring standards.

Hypothesis 6: When the counselors provide a plurality of services for a plurality of organizations, there will be more than one definition or standard of success. In the absence of placement success, counselors will tend to define and report success in those tasks in which success is most attainable, tasks that are more approved by their profession than by the organization.

Hypothesis 7: Counselor strategies for success, and success itself, will vary according to the relationship between the counselor's assessment of the client's "work-readiness" and the client's self-concept. Within this framework:

Placements will range from highest for clients who rank High on both Work-readiness and Self-concept, to lowest for clients who rank Low on both variables;

Counselors will report more success in working with clients who are rated High on one variable and Low on the other, regardless of which is high and which is low;

Counselors will devote more time to clients who rank Low on both variables, despite the problems involved; and

Counselors' strategies for clients who are High in Work-readiness but Low in Self-concept will focus on morale building, and their strategies for clients who are Low in Work-readiness but High in Self-concept will focus on ego reduction and "realism."

In this hypothesis, the definition of "work-readiness" is based upon the counselors' estimates. One of the tasks entailed is to find out how the counselors define this. In general, what is hypothesized here is a rather complex relationship between the counselor's assessment of the client and (1) "objective" success in the form of placements, (2) "subjective" or reported success, and (3) the counselor's altruism, as measured by the time spent with "unplaceable" clients.

SECTION TWO

The Agency,

The Clients,

and The Counselors

Chapter 4

The Agency

The Daily Routine

In 1973, YEA was located in an aging office building on Center City's "social work row," a street so named because of the numerous social-welfare agencies located there.[1] The space was broken up into numerous cubicles or offices. Only the Director had a truly private office with floor-to-ceiling walls. The other offices were open at the top; plaster board walls extended about seven feet from the floor, with a folding vinyl door which could be closed for visual privacy.

The agency began work at 8:30 A.M. Usually there were four or five clients waiting downstairs in the lobby when the first workers arrived. When the office opened, clients got off the elevator and entered the "waiting room." It was the largest room of all and contained the "registration desk" and seating space for about 30 people. The seats were molded fiberglass chairs, but there was one sofa. All the furnishings were donated by corporations re-decorating their own offices, the furnishings being treated as a charitable contribution for tax purposes. The registration desk was custom-made; it

looked like a bank counter, not quite chest high for the clerks--with a dark formica top and stained plywood below.

All clients were required to check in at the registration desk upon arrival. New clients had to be checked off against the "appointment book," a large ledger with the mames of clients scheduled for intake each day. Appointments for these clients had been made in advance by their "referral workers"--i.e. counselors and social workers at numerous other agencies who utilized YEA's services for their clients when it seemed that job placement was the appropriate thing to do. Some of these referrals were incorporated in contracts which provided YEA with a big part of its income. Others were "non-contract referrals." The appointment book also contained the name of the referral agency and the referral worker, the client's age, address, and time of appointment. The client was sent a post card a few days before his or her scheduled appointment as a reminder.

"Old clients" had to check in also, but merely for the purpose of signing their names to the "sign-in book," another large ledger volume which all clients signed to verify (for the agency) that they were there. The clerks on the registration desk then "pulled the folder" on the client and placed it on a table (at the bottom of the stack of folders). The client sat down and waited. They read magazines--some were second-hand magazines brought in by staff members, some were sent on free subscriptions by a few publishing companies who could be persuaded to contribute in this fashion. Sometimes

the clients knew each other and would talk. Mostly they did not. They would leaf through the magazines or look out the window, or occasionally listen to their radios. The Director would pass through the waiting room when he came in (usually, after 9) and if any clients had their caps or hats on, he would say, as he strode through, "Gentlemen, please remove your hats!" He was an impressive figure. Tall, slender, black as a burned marshmallow, expensively tailored, toting a black leather briefcase, his shiny pumps cutting swiftly across the room.

The counselors would come out to the table where the client folders were piled when they had finished with one case. They would take the top folder and call out the client's name. The client would follow the counselor to his office.

After a while, if it was a busy morning, clients were shifting in their seats, the magazines tossed aside, hunger setting in. Clients who had been seen by a counselor might be queried by others on his way out. "What did you get?" If he had an appointment card for a job interview, it was good news and seemed to make the wait worthwhile. If on the other hand, a client left with "nothin'," you might hear a soft chorus of "shee-ut's" (sounding like spatters of rain on a hot sidewalk).

By the end of the morning, the last client would have been seen, the waiting room emptied, the ash trays full--and the counselors would take a breather, chatting about un-

usual or problem cases. There appeared to be a certain satisfaction gained from clearing out the waiting room. Lunch time was ahead. The afternoon might be spent in seeing one or two applicants for part-time jobs, some follow-up phone calls (checking to see if a client was hired, etc.) and "paperwork." Paperwork included "filling in the Daily Sheets" and making entries in the clients' folders. The Daily Sheets were large oversized pages containing the names of the clients seen that day, their age, and the referring agency. When these were typed up by the clerk after the morning rush, the counselors had to record on the sheets where the clients were referred for a job, if they were. When clients were hired and the hire was verified by a phone call, the counselor had to look up the Daily Sheet for the day of referral and enter the "disposition." The same procedure was necessary if the client was not hired.

Around four o'clock, the necessary work for the day was finished. From four to five was an unofficial social hour. One counselor might drop by the office of another for "consultation" and remain a long time. Another one or two would stop by the "desk" to check appointments for the next day, then remain for 15-20 minutes talking with the female clerks. At 4:30, those who were on "early hours" (and who' opened up in the mornings at 8:30) would go home. At five, the others followed. The Director and one or two administrators might remain behind--sometimes working, but more often talking--about personal matters if the day was good, or

agency problems if not. When they left, the elevator door was locked so no one could get off on that floor.

History of the Agency

The Youth Employment Agency was forty years old in 1976. There was no celebration of the event. Center City, a major source of contracts for the agency, was plagued by recession, fiscal crises, and unemployment, and the agency lost a major contract which was funded by the City. Nearly a third of the agency's staff was laid off. It was not a year for celebration.

The agency was granted a charter by the state in 1936 as a private, not-for-profit corporation whose purpose was "to provide vocational guidance and job placement for 16-21 year old probationers and parolees from correctional institutions and training schools."(2) The organization is "classified by the Internal Revenue Service as a 'public supported charity'...not a money-granting foundation, although it has such powers in its charter."(3)

There is a classic ring to the history of the agency. Its WASP founders, genteel philanthropists, were not rich then, but well off and well-connected. They identified an unfortunate (and inferior) group, and organized themselves to do something about the problem. In 1936, unemployment was a problem for "normal" workers, but it was a much greater problem for ex-convicts and ex-reform school youths.

The principal founder (now Chairman of the agency's Board of Directors) is of early-American stock. His first paternal American ancestor came to this country from England in 1630 and settled in Braintree, Massachusetts.(4)

When the agency was chartered, the founder (as he will be called, since no other founders are involved in this study)(5) was fresh out of Yale Law School (LL.B, 1935). His father, a physician, was at one time Commissioner for Corrections for the state.(6) The father's interest in penology appears to have been carried on by the Founder--with the difference that the latter has involved himself in both the philanthropic and the "official" aspects of the problem. In 1935-36, he was a special assistant attorney general for the state.

The Founder's career is described in Who's Who in America. It charts a steady rise to wealth and prominence, both business and political. In the late thirties he was an associate in a Center City law firm, then an Assistant U.S. Attorney. During World War II, he worked in Washington, ending up in 1945 as general counsel for the Foreign Economic Administration. He returned to Center City after the war as a senior partner in a law firm. In the mid-fifties, he left the practice of law. Since that time, his career has been in business and investment. He was president of a major Center City newspaper. Since 1960, he has been president of a company that owns television and radio stations and various periodicals. The Chairman also has been involved in Republi-

can Party affairs, principally as a fund-raiser. However, he has been selected for two Presidential commissions, one having to do with campaign costs and the other dealing with reorganization of the Executive Department.(7)

The founder is a presence more than a person. Slender, physically trim, white hair, fair skin, large forehead and small jaw, he never has to raise his voice. He operates in a world where no one shouts and where there are no angry confrontations. The opinions and casual remarks of superiors are internalized by subordinates as either orders or ground rules.(8) A long gaze, over the top of his half-lensed reading spectacles, is sufficient to halt disagreement, to establish priorities, and to move on. He is a man who does not need to demand a resignation. Underlings voluntarily submit their resignations when they know they have not pleased him.(9)

Without the Founder's wealth and influence, there would probably be no Youth Employment Agency. He is the benefactor of the organization as well as the organization's troubled clients. This is not to say that the agency depends on him for every dollar it gets. In recent years, it has been fairly successful in obtaining funds on its own initiative--mostly government contracts. At the same time, the intervention of the Founder or his associates has not always produced the desired results in terms of contracts or grants obtained. But without him, the agency probably would have been disbanded

long ago. Even today, the amount of money he can personally raise each year is sufficient to keep the agency running, though on a much smaller scale.

The scale of operations of the agency has not consistently increased. The minutes of the Board meeting of Jan. 14, 1942 show that the staff reported the "No. of Boys Handled" during the month of Dec. 1941 was 103. This is about half the intake in recent times, but considerably more than the intake reported for the period Feb. 1--Aug. 1, 1947, when 204 clients (males and females by this time) were seen. This was an average of 24 per month.

The expenses reported in the Jan. 1942 meeting indicate that the agency's annual budget was approximately $24,000. There is no indication of how many members were on the staff, though it appears that there were about six. The financial report shows that disbursements in December 1941 included the following:

Director's salary	$261.52 [approx. $3200 annually]
Assistant Directors' salaries	583.33
Office staff salaries	360.00

No data were obtained on staff size in 1947, but it seems unlikely that there would be as many personnel, for a much smaller caseload. By contrast with these estimates, the 1976 budget was approximately $1 million, including salaries for 42 people (before the layoff of that year).

In one way at least, the concerns of the Board at that 1942 meeting were different. There was a good deal of dis-

cussion about the role of the agency in the war effort.

> "The staff of /YEA/ held a meeting to discuss the participation or role that the organization could play in the Defense Program. It was decided that the /YEA/ could be most useful in any plans that would be devised to develop Civilian Defense activities within training schools, recognizing that youth morale was a basic responsibility both inside and outside the institution of social workers whose program rested largely around the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents...."

But in other ways, the organization seems the same in a most important way: money problems and fund-raising. It was reported at the meeting that the Christmas fund-raising campaign "showed improvement but did not come up to our expectations." In 1939, $797.50 had been raised, while in 1941, the fund-raising effort brough in $1,914.50. However, finances were still, in the words of one member, "a serious and urgent matter." It was reported that "the agency is down to its last thousand dollars."

Then, in a pattern which would later become familiar, it was decided to seek government funds. One Board member suggested that the legislature might add funds, for job placements, to the budget of the State Training School whose clients were often sent to YEA. Three members, including the Founder, were asked to "present the issue to the Governor." The Board also worked out a plan for contacting certain

wealthy individuals and certain foundations. Finally, it was noted in the minutes that the Founder "pledged to raise five thousand dollars within the next thirty days."

It can be seen that since its inception the agency has been closely tied to one man; in a real sense, he "owns" it through his related statuses of Founder, benefactor, and Chairman.

We also note the existence of funding problems early in the agency's history, and the decision to seek government funds, which were regarded as beneficent at that time.

The Agency's Self-Portrait

We are concerned here with the way the agency presents itself to its various publics; in particular, employers, funding agencies, and individual contributors. Organizations manage the impressions they project to other organizations and individuals; the picture that an organization presents also defines some of its goals, and what it considers to be successful performance. The self-portrait is related to the agency's "mission;" its purpose is to sell the agency and its mission to prospective contributors, contractors, and supporters. We shall discuss the agency's mission extensively throughout our report. Here, we note that the mission lies just beneath the surface of the self-portrait, in references to commitment, troubled youth, job placement, and uniqueness of function.

In its literature and reports directed to funding agencies and contributors, the agency refers to its clients as "the hardest to place youngsters" in the city. Other elements of the self portrait are:

1. Efficiency, due to its private (as opposed to public) nature. This includes "instant action," "no red tape," "flexibility," and a business-like approach.
2. Low cost, due to its resulting efficiency.
3. Leadership: it shows the way for other agencies, especially public agencies. This again is alleged to be due to the fact that it is a private agency, free of the restraints and red tape typical of government bureaucracy.
4. Personal attention to each client, due to the agency's small size and indirectly due to the fact that, unlike public agencies burdened with bureaucrats, counselors who do not perform satisfactorily in serving clients' needs can be easily fired. Thus, the staff is presented as "hard working" and "dedicated." Personal attention also entails "continuing availability" of service: YEA never gives up on a client.

The self-portrait is based upon the function of job placement. All these qualities which facilitate placement, taken together, help to substantiate the agency's claim to uniqueness, an important aspect of the agency's mission which we discuss later.

The Chairman's annual fund-raising letter is sent to wealthy friends and business acquaintances shortly before Christmas. In recent years it raises $60--70,000. The 1971 letter is shown in the appendix. It can be seen that the letter illustrates some of the elements of the self-portrait. For example, the letter points out that "because it is a private, non-profit agency, YEA has been able to respond with flexibility to these /changing/ conditions." Most of the letter was devoted to describing YEA's work with one client:

> "To illustrate how YEA works with a typical youngster, I would like to tell you briefly about a young man (Marvin) who first came to the agency in the fall of 1968 when he was sixteen, following a term at the N____ H____ Training School for Boys. He had been sent to this state training school because of his long record of school truancy, breaking and entering, and auto theft."

After failing on many jobs, and after "many hours of counseling," the client was said to "rank high" in a training program where he had been placed. The letter continued:

> "This story of Marvin exemplifies the basic purposes of YEA. First, of course, is the commitment to help the youngster stand on his own feet and develop a mature attitude toward himself through a positive work experience. Marvin required a long time to reach this point--which is not unusual considering his age and his background.

> What is unusual and makes YEA unique is the continuing availability of the agency's services during this developmental process."

The letter concludes by noting that while the agency receives funds from government sources, "the lifeblood of YEA is the support it receives from individuals, corporations, and foundations."

In a four-page document prepared in early 1973, as part of a contract proposed to Center City's Narcotic Rehabilitation Agency, YEA portrayed itself to this funding organization in much the same way (without, of course, mentioning the importance of private money).

> "For over 30 years, YEA has demonstrated leadership, effectiveness, efficiency and ingenuity. In early 1940 YEA was one of the first private or public agencies to attack the problem of black unemployment. In the 1950's YEA developed its City-wide reputation as the 'no red-tape' organization which can make placements too difficult for other agencies. YEA has always operated efficiently--the agency's Cost-per-Placement is thought to be the lowest in the City. In 1968 YEA pioneered an on-the-job training program which opened many architectural firms to young Center City dropouts.... The ability to provide 'instant action' for its youngsters stems from YEA's long standing relationship with over 800 companies which know the agency, trust its counselors, and take its youngsters."

A recent brochure had a photo of a single Black youth (male) on the cover, working earnestly with pencil and paper. Inside the brochure, additional characteristics of the "unplaceable clients" are provided, but they are merely "so-called 'unplaceable'" because of the unique traits of YEA.

> "Youth Employment Agency /is/ special because its innovative approaches to finding jobs for 'unemployable' youth enable it to function more effectively, more efficiently, and at a fraction of what it costs public agencies."

The latest brochure was prepared in 1976; it is quite different in tone and content. The struggle for urban survival, the earlier theme, is forgotten. The references to battered and alienated youth are missing. Clients are described as being young, with less emphasis on their criminal and drug backgrounds. Even the agency is not described in such heroic terms. The elements of the self-portrait remain, but are presented more matter-of-factly.

> "Because YEA is private, it is flexible enough to respond quickly to the needs of youths and to changes in the labor market. Over forty years' experience has made us not only effective, but economical because we can cut red tape and bureaucracy to the minimum.
>
> "Since 1936, YEA has reponded to the needs of youth, rather than to the politics of the day."

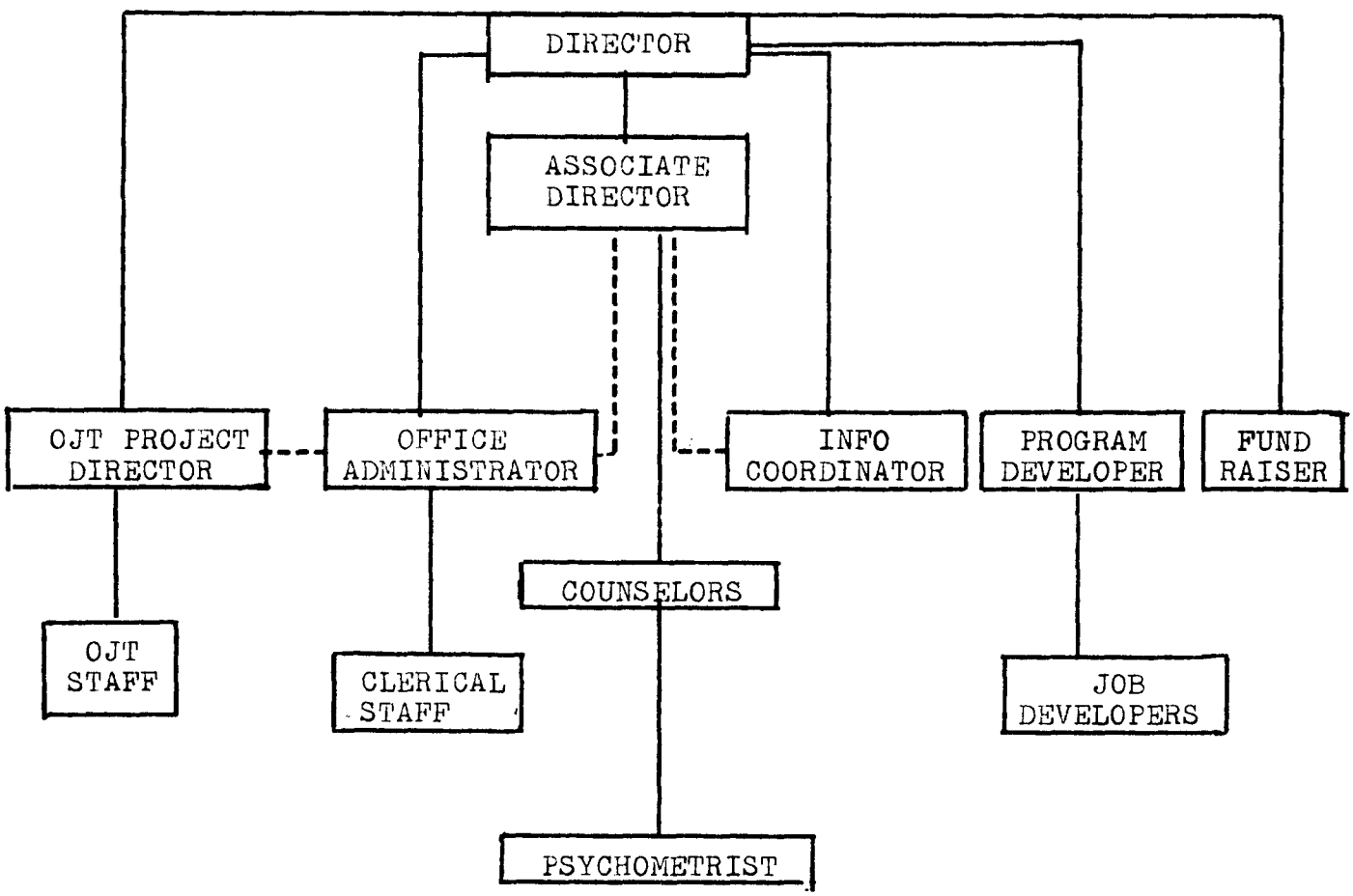
Structure of the Agency

In 1973, the staff of the agency consisted of 24 full-time and two part-time workers. The full-time staff included an Executive Director, an Associate Director, an Office Administrator, a Program Director, a Director of the

On-the-Job Training (OJT) project, a Supervisor of Counselors, six Counselors, one Administrative Assistant, two Bookkeepers, three Clerks, and an Information Center Director. The agency's job descriptions for certain of these positions are included in the appendix.

The chain of command in the agency looked like this:

FIGURE 4.1 TABLE OF ORGANIZATION (1973)



The solid lines between boxes represent the formal authority-responsibility relationships, while the dotted lines represent a relationship to the Associate Director for certain specific functions. The job descriptions in the Appendix help to understand the table. For example, the Office Administrator is responsible to the Associate Director for "administration." This means on matters related to clerical staffing and performance, intake procedures, etc. The Office Administrator is responsible to the Director for "fiscal" affairs. The job description, on this point, lists the following: "Oversees fiscal administration and liaison with contract agencies, including voucher preparation. Does payroll, accounts payable and bookkeeping with the assistance of the accounting firm."

The OJT Project Director has divided responsibility also. She is responsible to the Director for overall management (including results) of the project, and to the Associate Director "for daily operations and coordination with general program."

The Program Developer is responsible only to the Director, but in practice this position as supervisor of job development required working with the Associate Director.

These five people made up the "Executive Staff" of the agency. The internal and external relations of the Executive Staff as a whole more accurately depicts the authority-respnsibility relationships than does the "official" chart. In the Executive Staff, the Associate Director is equal

with rather than superior to other members of the group. Others on the Executive Staff frequently do "coordinate with" the Associate Director but cannot be said to "report to" him officially. On any important matters when conflict exists, members of the Executive Staff could take it up with the Director or with the group as a whole.

Early in 1974, the agency moved two blocks down the street to larger quarters. A new contract had been signed (the addict program) which meant hiring 14 new staff members. New money, new resources (video-tape machines, remedial education, skills training), new challenges--and brand new offices. The new office was also in an older building. But the agency was able to get an enormous amount of space with customized renovations at a rate which fit within its budget. After the renovations and the painting and decorations, the office looked very impressive and pleasant, with abstract lithographs and posters, loaned by the Chairman, on the walls. In the new waiting room, there were close-up photographic portraits of clients.

The Director had the corner office as before. This time, it was far away from the waiting room and the counselors.

After the move, waiting time for clients in the new quarters was substantially reduced. Counselors had complained about the time which clients had to spend in the waiting room, and discussed the merits of seeing all clients, even old ones, by appointment only. That would eliminate the

waiting time. The new policy was instituted shortly after moving into the new offices. The new procedure was much more efficient though some of the vitality, the confusion, urgency, and liveliness of the old way was lacking. With the addition of new specialists, the clients were passed on to the counselors only after they had been through an "orientation program" and, in most cases, a "job-preparation workshop." The purpose of orientation was to acquaint clients with the functions and procedures of the agency. The job-preparation workshop was to prepare them for job interviews through lectures, discussions, and videotaped client performances in a mock-interview situation.

When the second phase of this study commenced, after re-location to the new offices, there were 46 people on the staff. The agency's "organizational chart" and "client flow chart" are included in the Appendix.

The principal changes in staffing compared with 1973 are shown below.

TABLE 4.1 CHANGES IN STAFFING: 1973-76

Position	1973 Staff (N=24)	1976 Staff (N=46)	CHANGES (1976)
Administrators	3	3	Same
Supervisors	3	4	+1
Admin. Assts.	1	3	+2
Counselors	6	11	+5
PPC's	0	6	+6
Clerks	6	10	+4
Job Developers	3	4	+1
Remedial Educ.	0	2	+2
Bookkeepers	2	3	+1

One functional position, that of Program Director, was eliminated. The position was combined with supervision of job developers. The latter position still exists. Thus, the change in the supervisor category is the addition of the Addict-program supervisor.

In the table, PPC is an abbreviation for Post-placement

Counselor, sometimes called Post-placement Monitor or Assistant Counselor. Responsibilities are to monitor client's progess on the job, deal with problems which may arise, locate clients who leave a job, etc. These are "indigenous" workers.

In 1976, the "Executive Staff" was composed of all Administrators and Supervisors. However, there was an inner elite composed of the "old hands"--the Exec. Director, Assoc. Director, Fiscal Administrator, and OJT Director--which met informally and was the real Executive Staff.

We suggested above, when discussing the Executive Staff and the Associate Director's equal rather than superordinate status, that knowledge of an organization's formal structure may not always help us to understand how the organization actually functions. We can posit two such "informal" factors that were observed to significantly influence the operations of YEA. The first has to do with conflict and disunity among members of the Executive Staff. The second deals with the high degree of "unity" or control on the Board of Directors. We shall begin with the latter.

A few Board members are simply family friends or personal friends of the Chairman and thus have a special and unique interest. Most others, excluding the former Director and the two "professionals" on the Board, have an interest in good relations with the Chairman, an interest of an economic nature, though not necessarily direct and immediate. Several either work for him, or for a company or foundation

owned by the individual who controls the corporation which the Chairman heads. The Chairman, in other words, "works for" a man even wealthier than he is (but one who takes no particular interest in YEA except to make financial contributions).

The Executive Director outlined during the course of an interview, various affiliations between the Chairman and his current associates on the Board. The Chairman (and Founder) is, as previously noted, Chairman of the Board of a corporation owning television stations, radio stations, and various periodicals (one a Sunday-newspaper magazine distributed nationally). In addition, he is a partner in an investment firm. Both of these firms are owned by one man, a member of a wealthy and distinguished Center City family. The President of YEA is president of a foundation which also bears the name of the same man. YEA's President is a protégé of the Chairman and a former subordinate. The Vice President is a partner in the investment firm. The Vice-Chairman of YEA (an honorary title for a former President) is a former law partner of the Chairman. The Treasurer is a partner in the investment firm. The Secretary works for a related company. These people make up the Executive Committee, the group most knowledgeable about the agency's work, most active in the formation of policy, and most closely attached to the Chairman through business relationships (usually dependent relationships, past or present).

Thus, of the 25 members of the Board, 14 are either employees, friends, relatives, or business associates of the Chairman; four are friends or associates of other Directors but not the Chairman; and three are friends and associates of the Executive Director. The Executive Director himself, and a former Executive Director are also members of the Board, as are two former clients.

It would seem that the Chairman of YEA can exercise considerable control over the definitions (or decision-making premises) of the agency through his relationships with the key Board members, and his definitions communicated through them (and sometimes directly) to the Executive Director.

Conflict and disunity among Executive Staff members appeared to be related to the agency's growth in size and the changes that this caused in the work of the Associate Director, and the way in which the Director delegated responsibility to others, combined with the fear, suspicion and insecurity engendered by his personal and administrative behavior or style.

One interesting feature about the figures in Table 4.1 (Changes in Staffing) is that in at least one respect the agency has grown less "bureaucratic" with expansion. Using an "A/P ratio" approach, the number of support personnel (administrators, supervisors, admin. assistants, bookkeepers, and clerks) has remained virtually the same, while the total size has grown.(10)

Looking at it another way, the ratio of administrators and supervisors to total staff was 1:4 in 1973, and 1:6 in 1976. Again, this would appear to represent a decrease in bureaucratization. Only one supervisor has been added, while the staff as a whole increased by 18. In part, this may have been made easier for the administrators and supervisors by the increase in "administrative assistants." The ratio of administrative assistants to administrators and supervisors in 1973 was 1:6, while in 1976 it was 1:2.3. In other words, there were more administrative assistants per administrator or supervisor (in actual fact, it is 1:1 for the two top administrators and the most senior supervisor). However, much of this added capacity appears to have been devoted to accountability tasks (records and statistics and reports). This should have enabled the administrators and supervisors to spend more time on supervising the actual work of the agency and meeting with counselors, but this does not seem to have occurred. One reason may be that the requirements of accountability have increased faster than the staff allocated for that purpose. The Associate Director had <u>his</u> administrative assistant prepare for me a list of the kinds of data the agency must gather and the reports it must make (see Appendix). The list ran to four pages. The assistant spends full time on this activity. At the same time, the Assoc. Director seems to spend more time than ever on statistics. To some extent, he seems more concerned than ever with this kind of work--and less able to keep up

with it. He delegated all of his direct involvement in the work of the counselors to other supervisors. Before, he regulated the flow of the work load, assigning special cases to certain counselors, checking to see how many clients showed up, who was placed where, how many placements were made by whom; policing in general the work of the counselors. Now, he had no direct contact with counselors and seldom ventured beyond his immediate area. In the interview with him, he claimed that this was more efficient. "We've got a system now. The Counseling Supervisor dissects which ones go to OJT, which ones go to her staff. She assigns the kids from Orientation into certain counselors."

He continued:

> "She's better at it than I am because she's immersed in it. The only time I go out there is to look at level of intake in a general way, see how many kids have come in that day; just on a general feel, to have some sort of tuning in. Now, it's more efficient, in terms of allocation of kids to counselors, than ever before."

Thus, if increased "distance" between top and bottom is an indicator of "bureaucracy," the agency seems to have grown distinctly more "bureaucratic."

In 1973, the Director could personally observe what staff members were doing. The office was smaller and his own office was in the line of traffic. Problems that came up

were often settled in "corridor conferences." There was also personal communication between members of various departments; e.g., between counselors and job developers. In addition, there was a minimum of memo writing and those that were written were often done for the purpose of making official what had been decided informally.

In 1976, this description bore little resemblance to the working of the agency. The expansion of the agency had led in the direction of more specialization. New specialized positions included Post-placement Counselors and Remedial education teachers. The supervisor of the Addict program also arranged for skills training at outside facilities. These represent new technologies rather than a division of the old work into more specialties.

The time clock was a symbol of the more impersonal relations in the agency. It was added shortly after the staff moved into the new offices in 1974. All personnel were required to punch in and out. When I asked the Associate Director if the time clock had made any difference in punctuality, or if anyone had been docked for lateness, he replied (to the first question) that overall, it had made some difference. It had provided "a definite record as a basis for discussing lateness" with staff, and a record of man hours spent on the various contracts. As for docking: "No. G___ /Director/, to his credit, explained to the staff initially that the clock was not for punitive purposes. No one has been docked or laid off as a result of the clock.

The staff accepted this after some initial misgivings."

Whether the clock was used punitively or not, the important thing here is simply that it is a symbol of more impersonal relationships--a new phenomenon in the agency. Whatever the explanation, whether increased delegation and distance, increased specialization, or increased accountability, the agency appeared to be far more formal in 1976 compared with the earlier period. Yet we have noted that by certain measures, it appears to be less "bureaucratic." Despite his faith in the new "system," the Associate Director is not without some awareness of the problem. When asked how his job has changed in recent years, he replied:

> "I have had to use all my skills to avoid frustration. By delegation--required in a larger organization. But I still get involved in all sorts of problems...."

Part of the problem with the more formal structure is that the Associate Director cannot divorce himself from routine matters. Moreover, he does not want the organization to become a "rote-ish agency" with a more specialized division of labor and impersonal relationships. But there are problems either way, as he notes in the following.

> "I don't want to get the feeling that this agency is becoming a rote-ish agency, in that this is my job and not /somebody else's job/. Although if everybody starts everybody else's /job/, you can have a whole other kind of contamination. But delegation--good delegation, not just passing the buck--is so important. If you start playing with all kinds of things, you're going to dil-

ute yourself."

Not only was the Associate Director uncertain about the right structure and tone for the agency, he was also openly critical of the Executive Director. He shared these feelings with other members of the Executive Staff. The complaints against the Director were that he was moody, that he talked down to others, that he instilled fear in the supervisors (partly by holding them responsible for their areas), and that he never accepted any responsibility for failure. In the interview, the Associate Director said that "He /Director/ has a way--he won't interfere--but he holds you responsible. That kind of scares people."

In part, what appeared to scare subordinates was the Director's intemperate reaction to their comments. The Associate Director noted:

> "It's very hard to work with this guy. He's well-intentioned. He's already made moves in his mind--but forgets to communicate it. So if you start talking, going through the process that he already went through--it upsets him violently! He becomes impatient! And he has a way of discussing and talking down at people that can drive you to the wall!"

Evidence for the refusal of responsibility by the Executive Director can be found in the following case. In July, 1973, I had a conversation with the Associate Director and the Fiscal Administrator. We were talking casually in

the latter's office about some of the things which had to be done to get the new addict program going. We raised the question of how involved the Director would be in supervision of the new program, especially since he decided against hiring a Project Manager. The Fiscal Administrator said, "Don't you know he will never take responsibility for anything? He's always got somebody he can put the blame on if anything goes wrong. If something goes wrong with the new program, it's going to be your fault." I looked for the Assoc. Director's reaction. He seemed to be thinking about it. Finally he said "I don't know." He didn't agree or disagree.

Regarding the Director's alleged delegation of authority as an escape from responsibility, there was some room for doubt. In Executive Staff meetings, the Director consistently demanded that supervisors work out their own departmental problems. The question was whether this was simply good administrative delegation, or something else. From my observation, there was reason to believe that the delegation of authority was intended to be more or less unconditional. But this was conditioned by the requirement that the results and the means of achieving them must meet with his approval. One could avoid problems by not discussing means with the Director and standing on the results alone. But the Associate Director and the Fiscal Administrator had so many self-doubts (induced, in part, by the Director) that they discussed means. This brought on a limited delegation of authority by the Director, a "selective meddling," and implied

some doubts by the Director as to their competence. The Associate Director and the Fiscal Administrator frequently brought problems to the Director for his "advice," apparently because they could not anticipate his reaction, or could not reconcile his anticipated reactions with the facts of the situation as they saw it. The Director reacted against this over-dependence. He wanted to avoid such problems entirely.

The Director had his own complaints about the staff and about the supervisors. The staff as a whole was not sufficiently "creative" in carrying out the work of the agency, and the supervisors discouraged their subordinates from discussing their work and problems with him. The latter complaint meant that the Director's "open-door policy" was thwarted--a policy which was intended to facilitate direct top-to-bottom communications. When the Associate Director was asked about these complaints, he turned them both around into attacks on the Director's personality and administrative ability.

> "I think G____ is his own worst enemy. He is a highly creative person, gambles a lot in certain ways. But in dealing with other people, because he doesn't give the respect that he should he gets no respect, and he stifles creativity himself. He has 'talent' in here! We've always had 'talent' in here! But it has to be harnessed correctly--and he doesn't know how to harness others' talents as good as he could."

As for the open-door policy, the Associate Director observed that the supervisor of the On-the-Job Training (OJT) program "gets fearful if someone goes in to him; she's never allowed her staff to mingle with him." But more important to the Associate Director, the policy was meaningless.

> "I think that 'open door' is a word at times. I have access to him...because of my position and friendship over the years. But the guy down at the bottom may not, unless he knows the Director from some other outside activity, friendship or something."

The real problem, the Associate Director claimed, was that the Director did not know how to deal with people:

> "I've tried to tell people that if they really want to talk to the Director, there's no problem. That he'll respond. That he's a nice guy. But it doesn't come off. It evaporates. What I consider the tragedy of the agency is his (Director's) dealings with people. He would be much more effective as a leader if he was not so moody, biting, looking down at people--which he really isn't, it just comes out that way."

As a result of all this, there was "no sense of love" existing between the counselors and the Director. The Associate Director added:

> "I can be his worst critic--and I probably like him more than anybody else in here. Paradoxical. But I really like him. But I hate him at times!"

There is no reason to doubt the Associate Director's ambivalence towards his superior. However, I have no evidence that he respects the Director more than other staff members do. If he meant other Executive staff members, he might be closer to the truth. But the evidence with respect to other workers suggests the opposite conclusion. The overall impression gained from interviewing counselors is that while they see him as relatively powerless (and somewhat passive) with repect to the Board, they do not show any discernible lack of respect. Nor do they usually say they feel their access to him is blocked by supervisors. One counselor who works for the OJT Director said that she had had no occasion to see the Director; that for work problems, she could get adequate help from her supervisor. An Assistant Counselor (or Post-placement Counselor) said that he likes working at YEA, because of the "business atmosphere" combined with "personal contact"--and that he feels he can go in and talk to the Director if needed. Both of these workers were new employees, and may not have found out that it is not all that easy. The evidence available suggests that it can be done, but that it creates problems when it is done, especially in threatening the authority and decision-making of supervisors. It was not done often because the counselors did not see the Director as having any real authority to solve fundamental problems in the work, and because, when the counselors were unable to come up with what the Director saw as "creative" solutions to problems, they were not encouraged.

The Director appeared to shun personal responsibility for agency failures, yet he appears to take delight in putting the fear of responsibility in others. A case could possibly be made that this has intensified in recent years, owing to the uncertainties in funding and in job placements. But the data are not available for an analysis of this kind. The same administrators, for the most part, are involved, but the external conditions (funding, contract requirements, and job market) have changed significantly. Still there is no baseline for measuring the behavior. My impression is that the intensity of suspicion, isolation, and blaming have increased.

In this chapter, we have thus far attempted to deal with two important concepts necessary for understanding the agency and the work of its counselors. These concepts are the definitions of the work, and control over implementation of the definitions. The definitions distinguish success from failure. Control has been discussed thus far in terms of official relationships of authority and unofficial relationships based on fear, contempt, insecurity, and hostility. We have attempted to view changes in these relationships as the organization was changing. The organization was seen as becoming both more and less formalized or bureaucratic, depending on which measures are used. However, the net change appeared to be towards more formalized organization: new specialized occupations were observed, and increased delega-

tion of supervisory responsibility resulted in increased distance between top and bottom levels of the agency insofar as contact and knowledge of the counselors' work was concerned, as the demands for accountability from external organizations have increased. It appeared that the administrators' control over the agency had decreased due to the Associate Director's ambivalence towards formal systems, coupled with his separation from knowledge of the daily work; and due to the Director's physical, structural, and social separation from the work of the counselors, as his open-door policy was undermined by the supervisors' insecurity and possibly by his own tendency towards "favoritism." The supervisors concentrated on routine and safe goals, to the neglect of "creative" activities, in response to the intimidation and contempt of the Director.

Funding and Agency Mission

The agency's income comes from four sources: (1) contributions from individuals; (2) grants from foundations; (3) corporate contributions; and (4) government contracts. The first three together comprise the private money which the agency receives. Private money gives the agency considerable latitude in defining its mission and implementing it, as compared with the more specific and limiting terms of government contracts. In 1973, the total of these three sources of income, however, represented only 30-40% of the

agency's total income. The rest came from government contracts. In 1973 these included a contract with the state's Juvenile Bureau; a contract which provides services jointly to the Center City's Department of Employment and its Department of Youth Services; one with the Department of Labor which permits the agency to write and subsidize on-the-job training (OJT); and income as a subcontractor for a draftsman training program funded by the Federal Dept. of Labor. The Juvenile Bureau contract and the Employment-Youth Services contract required serving a specified number of clients with the emphasis on placement. These contracts are elsewhere referred to as the Delinquency Program and the Youth Program. The OJT program required the placement of a specified number of clients during the life of the contract, with a strong emphasis on contract completion. The draftsman-training program presented no problems in this regard because the companies pledged to hire one or more trainees before funds are granted for the program. Because it is a "high quality" program, however, it was expected to produce more than the average program in terms of training quality, retention, and wages.

The government contracts funded a given number of job slots (counselors and usually job developers) to provide service for the clients to be referred. The number of job slots to be funded was usually determined in part by bargaining and in part by comparisons with similar programs elsewhere.

As for private money, the agency's executives felt that they were being squeezed out. The growth of government programs in the manpower field in recent years had caused potential contributors to look elsewhere for worthwhile charities. They saw less need to make contributions when public investment was so available. As the proportion of private money declined, the agency went more into the market for government contracts, seeking government funds at a time when many government officials questioned the usefulness of private agencies.

In 1976, the Juvenile Bureau contract was lost, and the Junior Draftsman Program was winding down its last cycle of trainees for lack of job openings in engineering and architectural offices. The roster of contract programs in 1976 still included the On-the-Job Training (OJT) Program and the Youth Program. In addition, two new programs had been added: the Addict Program and the Crime-Prevention Program. All the programs were approved by the city, although only the Youth Program was actually funded with city money. The others used federal money (and federal-state money, in the case of the Crime-Prevention Program) which was allocated to the city under various titles of CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act). The city's Department of Employment was the funding organization, with the exception of the Draftsman Program. The latter was funded with CETA funds administered by the city's Economic Development Agency.

Most contracts required that the agency achieve a specified number of job placements. For example, the OJT contract required that YEA place 300 clients in training positions, and that they be retained on the job for at least 30 working days when the subsidy (i.e. contracted training period) ended. To discourage employers from firing trainees when the subsidy ended, YEA could only pay 90% of the subsidy during the training period. The remaining 10% was to be paid if the client-trainee was still working on the job 30 working days later.

The contract for the Addict Program required acceptance of 498 enrollees ("unemployed or underemployed rehabilitated drug addicts in Center City"). Of these, 256 (52%) were to be placed, and 50% of those placed were to meet the retention requirement of 30 consecutive working days. Placements and retentions were spot-checked for delivery of services by the funding agency. The Program Monitor from that agency came in to YEA's office, usually once a month, with the list of clients placed and where they were employed. This list was furnished by YEA as part of its monthly accounting. The Program Monitor selected a few of the names and called the employer to verify the data--with a YEA staff member listening in on another phone.

Even though the verification procedure was stringent, client acceptance criteria left the agency (YEA) a good deal of room to maneuver. Acceptable clients could be older (up to 23) than the agency's upper limit of 21 years of age.

They must have been in a treatment facility for at least six months, with "clean urine for three months," and in the re-entry phase of treatment. They must have a letter of recommendation from the referring counselor, "attesting to the client's readiness for work." They must be carefully screened by the referring counselor for work motivation, and need for the specific services which YEA offers in the program. Finally, would-be enrollees could be rejected for failure to keep appointments, to participate actively in the program, or for unsuitable dress or behavior.

This contract also calculated performance in terms of unit costs for placement and retention as the OJT contract did. The unit cost for placement is fixed at $297; for retention, it is $594. There was also a stipulation that the budget may be "adjusted" (reduced) if the unit costs exceeded these figures; that is, if the number of placements did not equal or exceed the required number.

The Crime-Prevention Program involved a "purchase of services" contract: i.e. only those tasks actually accomplished (placement, retention, etc.) were paid for. It was piecework on an organizational level. There was no placement quota, although an estimated enrollment of 250 clients was projected. The method of payment presented a great problem to YEA. Counselors and other staff had to be hired and paid regular salaries. Payment was on the basis of results: however, with this group of clients, results were problematic. In part, this appeared to be related to the fact that clients in

this program frequently did not return after registration and the initial counseling session.

The services which YEA agreed to perform included pre-employment orientation and counseling, remedial instruction, placement into vocational skills training programs (either free ones or those charging tuition), job placement, and post-placement counseling.

The contract provided budgeted money available for specific purposes, in contrast to funding specific staff positions. These budgeted amounts included the following:

Purpose	Amount in Budget
Client Stipends	$37,800
Vocational Training (tuition)	20,000
Client Travel	1,000
Staff Travel	500
Initial Job Placement	55,000
Subsequent Job Placement	5,000
Remedial Education	18,200
Supplies	3,300

Stipends of up to $50 per week were available to clients who needed financial assistance to seek employment. Preference was given to those who were "unemployed and enrolled in remedial or skills training programs."

When the agency made a placement, or acheived a retention, or enrolled a client in an approved skills-training program, it billed the funding organization for payment in accordance with the schedule of payments set forth in the contract. For example, for an initial job placement, YEA was paid $60 for each day the client was employed, up to a maximum of $300. For subsequent job placements, the payment was $100 each, with two such placements being allowed. For each month the client worked on a given job, the agency got $55, up to a maximum of $330. And for each client enrolled in an approved vocational training program, the agency received $150.

Table 4.2 which follows, summarizes the agency's contracts with respect to the total amount of each, the amount which remains within the agency, and the placement requirements. The table demonstrates the extent to which YEA was dependent upon government funding for its support in 1976. Non-government funds amount to only 7% of the agency's total budget.

TABLE 4.2 SUMMARY OF THE PROGRAMS AND YEA BUDGET (1976)

Program	Contract Amount	YEA Share	Required Placements
On-the-Job Training	$425,804	$164,756	300
Youth	81,898	81,898	225
Crime Prevention	140,800*	39,936	250 (approx.)
Addict	210,361	170,000 (est.)	256
Jr. Draftsman	100,720	18,325	NA
SUB-TOTAL	$959,583**	$474,915	1031***
Chairman's Fund-Raising	70,000****	70,000	
TOTAL	$1,029,583	$544,915	

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* Total <u>available</u> in all "pools."

** Total <u>available</u> in contracts to be administered. Includes employer subsidies, stipends, training tuition, etc.

*** For all contracts, an average cost per placement of $930.73.

**** This estimate of the Chairman's fund-raising represents only 7% of the money <u>available and administered</u>, but is 13% of <u>YEA's share</u> (its "budget" as used here). However, in 1973, "private money," mostly raised by the Chairman, was 30-40% of the budget.

Our principal task in this chapter is to ascertain the degree of financial insecurity of the agency. Table 4.2 accomplishes part of this: it domonstrates an overwhelming dependence on government contracts. However, we also want to know if the contracts are secure or not, and if not, how the agency responds to the loss of contracts.

With respect to the mission of the agency, we need to know more about what this entails. We shall discuss this shortly, when we examine some recent developments regarding a possible change in the agency's mission. Before that, however, we return to the problem of agency financial insecurity.

Problems Caused by the Non-Renewal of Contracts

In 1972, the agency's ARGUS contract was not renewed. This contract was for counseling and placement services for youth released from the city's prison. The Director notified the Executive Committee of the Board in a memo of March 27. The memo noted that the contract was cancelled for "lack of performance." Only 132 clients had been serviced instead of the required 300. For these 132 clients 83 placements were achieved. The funding agency claimed that "despite the lack of clients, a better quality and more placements and higher retention rate might have been expected," and that "the number of placements did not justify the $50,000 spent."

The memo then listed the staff positions that were jeopardized by loss of the contract. These positions in-

cluded a vocational counselor, a placement counselor, a job developer, and a clerk.

The Director noted that YEA's President had given instructions "to reduce staff accordingly."

The Executive Staff of the agency had met on March 24 to discuss the cancellation of the contract. The notes from the meeting were written up by the Fiscal Administrator as a memo to the Director. Much of the meeting had been devoted to analyzing the reasons for loss of the contract. The Director observed that YEA had been used as a "scapegoat" by the referral workers: "They had the responsibility of seeing that the clients came to us and they did not follow through on this responsibility." He continued, however, that while "the ARGUS workers were not happy with us, we failed to change their attitude." And, finally, "we did not truly concentrate on these clients," the Director said.

The ARGUS fiasco had further ramifications: it was funded by the same city agency that funded another of YEA's programs. The Director pointed out that "the chances are that this contract will not be renewed also." The memo noted that "our only hope is the Juvenile Bureau contract." The Director ordered that "every one of these clients must be placed unless there is documented proof that they cannot be placed for reasons beyond our control." He stressed that "our objectives are job-placement and retention," and said that clients in the Youth Program and those from the Juvenile Bureau would "have preference over non-contract clients."

The remainder of the meeting was spent in deciding who should be laid off and when, and in a re-assignment of duties of some staff members and supervisors.

The memos reveal the drastic reduction in staff which was planned in the wake of the cancellation. The sense of peril was conveyed to all staff in a meeting held about the same time; although the individuals named in the memo as subject to being laid off were not identified.

Two of the staff members identified in the second memo were in fact let go: one counselor and one job developer. The agency used the cancellation to "get rid of dead wood" since the counselor released had not been assigned to the contract. Those who remained were absorbed into other services, although in some cases they had to be paid out of agency rather than contract funds.

Two additional contracts have been lost. One of them (the Addict Program) was a sizeable one, straining the agency's ability to absorb displaced workers. In fact, they could not be absorbed entirely.(11) But some of the "dead wood" was quickly replaced by new workers. The other contract lost was the Juvenile Bureau contract, the Delinquency Program, which previously had been renewed every year since its inception.(12) The Juvenile Bureau contract did not cause problems of the same magnitude as the others, mainly because arrangements were made eventually to accept Juvenile Bureau clients under the Crime-Prevention Program. However, the contingency plans which were developed in several meet-

ings may have produced the same effect as the one we are concerned with: insecurity.

Executive Staff members appear to anticipate possible lay offs when contracts are in trouble. As noted earlier, the Addict Program was running behind schedule in 1976. The minutes of the 3/22/76 meeting of the Executive Staff show the administrators and supervisors trying to find someone to pin the blame on.

The Supervisor of the Addict Program acted quickly to bring the placements up to the required number and protect himself and his staff from blame. The Addict Program staff met on 4/1/76. The supervisor described the situation to his subordinates in the following terms:

> "With only three months remaining to the Addict Program contract, it is noted that placements are down almost 50%. Strong measures must be taken to attempt to save the contract, so that the agency does not default on its obligations. The Director will state that he increased the number of job development staff members, and therefore, the default of the contract now falls upon the Addict Program staff. Therefore, the following guidelines are effective immediately. Any person not adhering to the following set of rules will receive one note of warning. If this note does not change the situation, that person will then be fired; no questions asked. This warning is final!"

The Supervisor then enumerated a long list of rules for his staff (the list covered four pages in the minutes). These covered such matters as the number of clients each counselor must see each day, recruitment of clients, allocating time for paperwork, etc.

Six weeks later, the program was indeed cancelled. At the meeting of the Executive Staff on 5/17/76, the Director reported that "Commissioner R___ /Dept. of Employment/ had informed him that the funds for our Ex-Addict Contract have been cut."

Anticipation of the lay-offs that would result from the loss of this contract was one factor leading to unionization of the staff, a topic to be discussed later. There were, in fact, substantial lay-offs after the contract was not renewed.

We have reported here the loss of three contracts in four years, two of them resulting in the lay-off of personnel and all resulting in loss of operating funds for the agency. This evidence suggests that considerable financial insecurity beyond that normally experienced by YEA, accompanies the government contracts.

Defining a New Mission for the Agency

There is some evidence that a new mission for the agency is emerging. Since moving into its new headquarters in 1974, the agency has done several things which point in this direction. The new mission would involve new goals which are not yet clear in all details. The new mission is tentative as yet, for there is the problem of who will fund it. New missions of the kind described here would necessitate giving up the type of funding YEA has demonstrated it can obtain; this would seem to add an even greater element of insecurity. And there may be a reluctance to break with certain important

traditions and purposes. But the problems of Center City (especially the decline of manufacturing jobs and the acute competition for placement into low-skilled jobs generally) and the seemingly permanent intervention of government in manpower programs has forced a re-consideration of what the agency should do and why.

In February 1975 a report entitled Civil Disabilities of Ex-Offenders was put out by a research group set up by the agency for the purpose of conducting and publishing the study.(13) The Executive Director of YEA was one of the three investigators listed. Funds for the study were provided by a foundation whose president is also YEA's President.

The study appears to have had two purposes:

(1) To cover part of the Exec. Director's salary at YEA at a time when the agency's budget was difficult to balance;

(2) To explore the waters of "advocacy." This concept had been discussed previously by YEA's President and its Chairman. At that time, "advocacy" of the problems and needs of "youth in trouble" may have been seen as supplementary to direct service for such clients.

The research group did a mail survey of the employers in YEA's files, and interviewed approxiamtely 500 "ex-offenders." As might be expected, the conclusions were gloomy, but it was a first step in moving the agency toward "advocacy."

> "This survey of employer attitudes confirms the persistence of negative attitudes that directly affect the chances for complete rehabilitation of people who

have been addicted to drugs or involved with the criminal-justice system."

The report focused upon the dire consequences that would ensue if remedial action was not undertaken:

> "The failure of any system, be it industrial, educational, or governmental, to react diligently to warning signals may lead in time to severe repercussions in society at large. We can only assume that when this does happen, the pressures for remedial action will at last prevail over apathy."

In August 1974 the agency arranged a conference in its new Conference Room. It was a two-day affair, and was called the "Assessment and Goals Conference on Youth and Work."(14) Those participating in the conference included Center City's Commissioner for the Department of Employment (which channeled virtually all local, state and federal manpower funds), and the Assistant Regional Director of the U.S. Dept. of Labor (who headed the labor-statistics section). Also attending were an academic affiliated with a prominent university in the city, the Executive Vice President of Center City's Economic Development Council (a private, business-oriented group), the Executive Director of the local manpower planning council (composed of public and voluntary agencies), and a bank official. The purpose of the conference was to deal with three questions:

---"What is the true magnitude of the unemployment problem among youth?

---"What has been the current response of the public and private sectors to the problem?

---"What has been the effectiveness and impact of YEA's contribution, and, in light of the two previous questions, what direction should the agency's future role assume?"

We need not be concerned with all details of the conference. However, we may observe that all the participants had suggestions as to what YEA should do. For example, the Economic Development Council official emphasized the economic nature of the problems which YEA faced. That is, until the economic situation in Center City turned around, the agency was "pushing on a marchmallow" and was in the "wrong business." The agency was urged to be "more politically active in order to make economic development...a desirable reality," by testifying before local government bodies and involving itself "in the overall political, business, and economic-development climate" of the city.

The academic researcher discussed the historical rationing of jobs by age, sex, etc., and the non-competitiveness of youth labor. She also discussed the need for "shepherding" young workers (face-to-face contact; "seeing that they have something constructive to do until, with age, they outgrow their youth").

"Shepherding" was a concept that appealed to the Commissioner. She used it as an example of the type of innovative effort her agency was willing to fund, and virtually

invited YEA to submit a proposal.

Other panelists presented other interpretations of the problem and what YEA should do. However, this should give some idea of the range of analyses and suggested solutions--with the "solutions" ranging all the way from impotence to radical re-definition of mission and activities.

On the second day of the conference, YEA administrators and Board members struggled with the problem of what to make of all this advice and information. The Executive Director urged that the agency seek a new uniqueness through innovative programs which it would "advocate" as models for others (though he was not yet ready to abandon the more fundable "original mission"). In the Director's view, "the agency will no longer remain successful if it continues to operate exclusively as a placement service."

The Board members were collectively bewildered and divided in their opinions. One observed that "as long as YEA is doing what it is doing well, I haven't been 'losing a lot of sleep' about not being unique." The President of YEA observed that the agency was "in a very serious dilemma" due to the number of unemployed youths; the competition from other public and private agencies for jobs for clients; and the political structure of city government which made obtaining funds a struggle. He argued that YEA had to go "one of three routes." Either it must seek "large, massive, contracts with the Federal, State, and City governments thereby eliminating the private nature of the organi-

zation;" or work with fewer clients "more on a social work basis, as YEA did 10-12 years ago," taking satisfaction from helping fewer individuals in the best way it could; or else "seek public and private funds to become an 'advocate' on behalf of the youth population." In that case "the agency would serve the same population, and serve to attack the same problem, but in a different role."

The former Exec. Director of YEA emphasized that "no matter how sophisticated the agency gets, no matter what its political 'clout,' no matter how much money it gets, if it doesn't meet the youngster's real needs, it doesn't have to be in business."

The Chairman-Founder spoke last. He pointed out that the agency had a "unique opportunity to be a leader for dialogue in the field of youth employment if it is decided that YEA's contribution should be more substantial than just job placement." The idea should be considered he said, because it "attracts attention to itself," and because it "focuses other people on this field in an effective way." He expressed appreciation for the Employment Commissioner's suggestion about engaging in innovative follow-up programs. He added, however, that he did not want "to see the organization become a conglomerate unless for a specific purpose which fits within the focus and pattern of the overall mission" of the agency.

Except for the former Executive Director and the Chairman, all seem concerned almost exclusively with survival of

the organization. Uniqueness, adhering to the original mission, etc. are means to that end. The Chairman was interested in survival also, it appears, but only if it could be achieved in pursuing a desirable "mission." Innovation programs, including "advocacy," must be based upon a definition of the agency's mission. Some "hard decisions will be required" by the Board, as one member noted. In 1976, they had not been made. But there was renewed activity along the lines of advocacy.

"The Project," as it was called, appears to be the Chairman's creation. In a memo dated Dec. 2, 1976 to the Executive Director and the President of YEA, the Chairman outlined the "unique /and/ dramatic mission" of the undertaking. "The premise on which we started the YEA project," he noted, was the "sharp increase in crime in the major cities...an increase in the seriousness of the crimes committed...and the increase in the participation in these crimes by youngsters in the 16--19 year age bracket." The agency had been dealing with this constituency for forty years, the Chairman noted. Thus, it was ideally suited to undertake the project he had in mind. The purpose of the project was "to elicit from a representative group of our clients <u>their</u> views as to what causes this increase in crime in major cities--why the increase in the seriousness of crime, particularly against persons--and what brings about the increase in participation by the 16-19 year age group." There already existed numerous opinions as to the causes of the problem, he acknowl-

edged, but "no one has heard from this age group as to their opinion." The Project would be "a unique mission--a dramatic mission," the Chairman asserted.

The plan for The Project was to videotape a group of clients discussing the problem of youth crime. The videotapes were to be analyzed and used as the basis for a "white paper" on the problem. The possibility of editing and preparing the tapes for showing on television was also mentioned, although that was "icing on the cake." The "cake" was to be the report, which would be distributed to legislators, administrators, and to other advocacy groups.

Filming for The Project began in the Fall of 1976, and was still going on as late as the following Summer. We did not see the videotape. However, some of the early evaluations of the work by those involved were reviewed. For the most part they focused on technical and dramaturgical questions: how to facilitate greater openness and interaction, the dramatic impact (or lack of impact) of certain scenes, and the like.

The Project is of some interest to us because it is illustrative of the process of change in organizational "mission." Up to the present the mission of YEA has revolved around direct services, such as job placement, rendered to "youth in trouble."

If YEA is in the process of re-defining its mission, as may be the case, it is only with respect to one of the

variables mentioned--i.e. "services rendered." The target population would remain the same.

Of more immediate value to this study, the mission of a philanthropic agency such as this, controlled in this case by a Founder-Benefactor-Chairman, serves to delimit the range of goals which the agency may pursue. Goals, in turn, are seen as defining what it is that the agency elects to be judged by (and to judge itself by) in terms of success and failure. YEA's Chairman and its Director apparently have concluded that the agency, while successful in the past fulfilling the mission in one way (direct services such as job placement to individual clients), is not likely to be sucessful in the mission in the future if the same means are used. What are "means" for the Chairman have been and are "goals" for the agency.(15) However, it remains to be seen how the personnel respond to these goals.

A Brief Recapitulation

The agency has been described as dependent on both its Founder-Benefactor-Chairman, and on external organizations for income. It experiences recurrent funding crises, more so in the 1973--76 period than before. When disaster strikes (when contracts were actually lost), the agency got rid of "unproductive" workers ("dead wood"), regardless of whether they are assigned to the lost contract or not.(16)

Funds have been obtained more and more through contracts with government agencies, instead of from philanthropic con-

tributions and from industry. With the recent emphasis on revenue sharing, most funds are allocated by the municipal government. This places a premium on contacts with certain local public officials.

Contracts, and Proposals submitted for contracts, define the proximate goals of the agency and the standards by which it is evaluated. Unlike industrial firms, the agency has little capacity to respond to external changes in the "market" during the life of the contract.

The concept of "mission," defined in this case by the Chairman, sets limits on the types of contracts that could be sought and the services offered. Its definition of its mission appears to be important to this organization (and possibly to other philanthropic organizations as well). Unlike industrial firms, where "imitation" is the rule, with investment flowing towards profitable sectors, the agency's mission is defined as providing a unique service. The mission is expressed and marketed in the organization's "self-image," and was seen as changing in some details (especially with respect to how the mission would be accomplished), but it is consistent, over a period of forty years, in its concern for "youth in trouble" and uniqueness.

Personality factors in this agency were also important. While at first glance it seems that only the personality of the Executive Director is decisive, the evidence supports the view that supervisors contribute to agency problems by adopting a passive role and by blocking their subordinates' ac-

cess to the Director, contrary to his expressed open-door policy. The Director hopes for "creativity" from the staff, but is frustrated by the actions of the supervisors and the supervisors' own lack of "creativity." The Director demands staff "creativity." What he gets is recrimination, blaming, self-protective efforts by others, and isolation for himself. It appears that he arouses fear in others as in part a punishment for the inadequacy he sees in them. It might also be suggested that the importance of personal hostilities is heightened by the constraints imposed by the Board of Directors. Agency personnel, from the Executive Director on down, have little room to maneuver in dealing with the problems of the agency. Organizational "drift," if discovered by the Board, is corrected by the Board when it touches the agency's "mission."

Chapter 4, Notes

1. This office, though not impressive, was a great improvement over the previous office which was housed in an ancient loft building near Center City's bus terminal. The area was convenient for clients because it was a transportation crossroads. But it was also a magnet for con artists, panhandlers, addicts and prostitutes. Yet even that office was an improvement over previous quarters--in terms of space. For a long time, the agency operated in borrowed space provided first by a court, then by another agency engaged in youth work.

2. Since then, YEA has expanded its clientele to include all youths 16-21, whether or not they have arrest or correctional records. Nevertheless, the client population is still heavily weighted with "correctional cases." Until 1975, the agency had a long-standing contract with the state, providing counseling and job placement for youths released from the state training schools. Other contracts, to be discussed later, also frequently involved clients dredged up by the criminal justice machinery of the city and state.

3. Personnel Practices manual of the agency.

4. The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1960-1963 ed.

5. When discussing the structure and operation of the agency, the same individual will be referred to as the Chairman, since his status in the organization is Chairman of the Board of Directors.

6. When the Founder's father died, there was a plaque commemorating his service installed at one of the major prisons of the state.

7. The newspaper folded in 1966 while the Founder was president.

8. David Granick, in Managerial Comparisons of Four Developed Countries: France, Great Britain, United States, and Soviet Union (MIT Press, 1972) discusses the role of "company personality" in managerial behavior. The suggestion here is that "company personality" is in part derived from the kind of "internalization" described, based on the informal aspects of meetings, conversations, etc., in addition to the more formal aspects of enterprise decision-making that Granick emphasizes.

9. One instance involved a former Executive Director of YEA who did voluntarily resign because he failed to achieve a balanced budget for YEA--thus eliminating his high salary from current expenses. A balanced budget is perhaps the foremost requirement of the agency's Executive Director. The individual cited had a banking background, which may have helped him to get the message.

10. See R. Bendix's discussion of A/P ratio and bureaucratization in Work and Authority in Industry (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956), pp. 211-26.

11. The Addict Program was not re-funded in 1976. This resulted in layoffs along with the unionization of staff. In June 1977, the Associate Director told me (in a phone conversation) that the City had funded a new, somewhat smaller addict program. Thus, cancellation of the program in 1976 was apparently due more to the city's fiscal problems than the agency's performance (even though performance was lagging).

12. This was probably due in part to the Chairman's contacts in the Republican party which was dominant in the state in recent years. When the Democrats took over in 1974, this easy access to power was lost.

13. It seems impossible to reference this study in the usual way without betraying the identity of the foundation, all those connected with it, and the agency itself. A copy of the study is available.

14. Though the ex-offenders study cited above was not published until 1975, the conference referred to here is actually a later event. The research for the study was done in 1973. There was some delay in publishing the results, partly due to the hospitalization of one of the investigators.

15. Despite the divided opinions of Board members reported at the 1974 conference, it is interesting to note that the Chairman decided that The Project was significant for the agency's future--and initiated it.

16. Staff members are not sure what the definition of a "productive" worker is--a subject which will be discussed later when hiring standards are covered. These are quite "personal," in the view of most counselors, making it difficult for them to keep an inner record of their "productivity."

Chapter 5

The Clients

Who Is the Client?

In our discussion of YEA, we are concerned with YEA as a professional or semi-professional agency providing services to a body of clients. Yet the concept of the professional relationship must be clarified here, and compared with what is usually meant in the traditional literature on the subject. In much of the literature on professions and the human services, it is the client who both receives the services and pays for them.

Carr-Saunders, in discussing professional associations, observes:

> "With a few unimportant exceptions, professional associations can now be said to be exclusive only in the sense that they exclude the unqualified. They do indeed aim at obtaining for their members the exclusive patronage of clients and employers requiring the services of their craft. But with this aim is associated the ideal of including within their ranks all competent practitioners."(1)

Vollmer and Mills also discuss the "client as person," as one who both receives and pays for services.

> "Often the client cannot know, in any precise sense what are his actual needs, so he must be informed by the professional person acting as an authority."(2)

Halmos distinguishes between "personal service professions" and "impersonal service professions" on the basis of the function of the professional vis a vis the client as person.

> "Professions whose principal function is to bring about changes in the body or personality of the client are the personal service professions, whilst all other professions which are not charged with responsibilities of this sort...are the impersonal service professions."(3)

Later, in the same work, Halmos says:

> "Whether they are social workers, doctors, nurses, or teachers, they /personal service professionals/ are concerned to find out about the social background and history of their clients."(4)

More refined discussions consider the separation of service and payment. The client is still a person who receives the services. The difference is that third-party payers are involved. These studies, however, often focus on the problem of profession versus organization. The

"paying third party" is the employing organization.(5) Ruzek notes, for example, that:

> "...organizational accountability structures are designed to protect the agency from the practitioner; they are designed to assure adherence to agency goals and policies. They do not protect the client from biased, incompetent, or unscrupulous practitioners."(6)

Where more established and more prestigious professions are involved, the profession may dominate the organization and control the accountability standards. This is the traditional situation of the physician in the hospital, where "colleague control" is prominent. Freidson observes that

> "In the United States today, the supply of physicians in many areas is such that control by the client can be avoided; but increasingly, control by colleagues cannot. Dependence on colleagues in one way or another is the rule, for consultations, hospitals, and capital equipment are essential to modern practice. In short, present practice is not really solo; it embraces a large variety of organized relationships, most of which currently involve control by colleagues rather than by clients."(7)

In the same article, however, Freidson takes note of the role of third parties in the sense of their role in this study.

> "Recent developments in third-party care in the United States have enormously increased its scale and scope. The rise of the centralized nation-state, committed to a modicum of welfare service for its citizens and empowered to mobilize physicians for the public good, is a significant factor, though as yet less in the United States than Europe. Here, much the same role is being performed by the giant corporations, insurance companies, and trade unions which, though lacking

> the political power to mobilize physicians, nonetheless possess sufficient economic power to negotiate the terms of the practice of medicine.... And, of course, Medicare and Medicaid are new federal programs for the elderly and poor which are developing new third party relationships."(8)

Freidson is, of course, dealing exclusively with the most powerful of the professions, as are most writers who discuss the phenomenon of third parties. By contrast, we are concerned, in this study, with a far less powerful profession. Many would call it a semi-profession. And, as we shall see, at YEA there may be some doubts about giving it even that status.

In general, we may suggest that who the client is seems to vary with several variables: who receives the services, who pays for them, the setting and control of facilities, and the strength of the profession. With these variables, we can distinguish three kinds of clients: the traditional client who receives and pays for services; the organizational client, where a formal organization intervenes between professional and recipient but where recipient and customer are one; and the bifurcated client, where recipient and customer are not the same.

TABLE 5.1 CLIENT TYPES BASED ON CLIENT, PROFESSION AND ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS

TRADITIONAL Client (Person)	ORGANIZATIONAL Client (Person)	BIFURCATED Client (Person & Organization)
(1) Fusion of "receiving" and "paying for" services	(1) Fusion or Separation of "receiving" and "paying for" services	(1) Separation of "receiving" and "paying for" services
(2) Solo practice, or collective solo practices; facilities owned by practitioner	(2) Organization-based practice; separation from ownership of means of practice	(2) Organization-based practice; separation from ownership of means of practice
(3) Strong profession*	(3) Moderately strong profession	(3) Weak profession (providing a "commodity")
(4) Little or no dependence on "alien" organizations	(4) No direct dependence on "alien" organizations	(4) Dependent on "alien" organizations or benefactors
(5) Practitioner controls	(5) Internal (employing) organization controls	(5) External organization controls, to a considerable degree

* Reflecting prestige, length of training, political influence, monopoly, etc. No attempt is made here to sort these out as to causal priority. These undoubtedly influence the degree to which solo practices can be set up. In some cases, moderately strong professions (e.g. social work) may be the basis for solo practice; however this is not usual.

This typology is for the most part descriptive--with, no doubt, some interaction among the factors, and some dependence upon other factors. And it does not account for all variations with the utmost clarity because there is no one dominant factor and because traditional influences continue even after organizational changes occur. For example, the physician transferred to an organizational setting where he or she does not own the facilities and does not receive payment from the recipient of services appears nevertheless to maintain something approximating the "traditional client" relationship with the individual recipient of services. The strength of the profession apparently reduces the organization's contol; i.e., its power to establish definitions and set goals and standards. An additional controlling factor is that most physicians simultaneously maintain ownership of their own practice facilities. They are not dependent upon "alien" organizations.

In any event, the main factor here is the "bifurcated client," with characteristics that differ from the usual professionalism and service delivery. The "client" receives the services, often without any great enthusiasm, and a different "client" pays for the services, with no <u>personal</u> interest in the outcome. The latter client is the funding organization or individual. The paying client has the economic power which "traditional clients" possess and exercises great influence over its "suppliers," including the professional practitioner. While fully recognizing this

influence and devoting much of the study to it, we can see no purpose in inventing a new term or using an unfamiliar one to refer to the individual who is "worked on" by the occupational practitioners. We will therefore retain the term "client" for such individuals, with the suggestion that the funding organizations be thought of as "customers" in recognition of their economic power.

Characteristics of the Disadvantaged Client

Clients are often referred to in YEA publications as "disadvantaged." The word appears to be intended to direct the finger of blame towards society for the clients' condition, rather than blaming the client--but in a neutral way. It is true that the notion of "defective clients" (to be discussed later) is also used. But "defects" in the clients are usually held to be due to those social inequities which produce broken homes, racist and class-differentiated justice, etc. At least, that is the ideology (although it sometimes breaks down in dealing with individual clients).

In this section, we will examine the agency's own descriptions of the client populations. The description of clients in the agency's publications was found to be accurate with respect to demographic variables.

In August 1975, the Executive Director presented to the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors a study

of the characteristics of the client population at that time. The Board appeared to be interested in the questions of whether the agency was ranging too far above its mission-designated age range (16--21) and whether it was placing clients who did not really need help in securing employment. The main findings of the report to the Executive Committee is shown below. They seem to reflect the Director's aim of allaying such concerns.

The findings are based on a survey of the clients seen between November 1, 1974 and June 30, 1975. The survey showed that 60% of the clients were 16--19 years of age, 70% were male, 68% had either a correctional or narcotic history, 78% had not graduated from high school, 29% had no previous work experience, and 93% were "members of the Hispanic or Black minorities."

"There were some people placed, who <u>might</u> have been able to find jobs on their own," the report notes, but they "were certainly in the minority," and were probably due to "a 'contamination' factor in the screening of applicants by the referral agencies, and in the recruitment done for OJT." The Director concluded that "YEA <u>is</u> very clearly serving the 'hardest to place' despite the suggestion of 'playing the number game.'"

Clients are characterized in other ways as well. The report submitted to the funding agency for the Addict Program in September 1974 illustrates this.(9) The report recapitulates the list of acceptable reasons for refusing to

enroll clients in the program. Among the reasons listed are: "serious lack of motivation, as revealed in the assessment interview;" failure to keep appointments; poor appearance; rejection of reasonable job offers; and "other conditions not listed above, which seriously impair the ability of the client to participate successfully in the program and/or obtain employment."

This list gives the agency considerable latitude in accepting or rejecting clients. Here, we are concerned with certain qualities of the clients as they were anticipated at the beginning of this program. Besides those qualities discussed earlier (education level, narcotics usage, etc.) clients here are seen as possibly lacking motivation, lacking discipline (keeping appointments), presenting a poor appearance, and being unrealistic in their job requirements.

The report then proceeds to analyze a sample of 133 clients rejected by the Addict Program staff. In this sample, 22 clients were rejected for "lack of motivation" or "attitudinal problems;" 20 clients were rejected for failure to keep appointments or maintain contact with the counselors; two clients "turned down jobs commensurate with their skills;" and 25 clients were rejected for unspecified reasons.(10)

The report also offers data on "job terminations" for clients who were accepted into the program and placed on jobs in the October 1973 through mid-April 1974 period.

There were 308 placements made during this period; 66 of these placements resulted in "terminations." Of those who were terminated, 26 quit their jobs, 23 were fired, 4 were laid off, and 13 had been placed on temporary jobs to begin with.

The evidence suggests that there is some differences between those who quit their jobs and those who are fired. Of the 26 who quit, 10 did so to "advance to a better position," and eight did so because of "poor employer-employee relationships" which in some cases appeared to reflect unfair treatment by employers. The 23 clients who were fired, on the other hand, were fired because of "lack of motivation, interest, or initiative," poor work performance, absence or lateness, and "evidence of drug usage." The cases were distributed fairly evenly among these reasons.

Thus, approximately half of the clients who are placed appear to exhibit many of the same characteristics as those who are rejected by the program. These characteristics include general lack of job readiness (or motivation), absence and lateness, and unrealistic expectations. This group of clients, however, is put into a new situation (work) which brings out additional shortcomings: poor work performance, and personal conflicts with employers. Some clients are "transient" and some return to using narcotics.

It is not possible to analyze this material in any greater detail. The person who is ostensibly fired for poor work performance may have also been late frequently

and dissatisfied with his position. Nor should we conclude that all clients are deficient in all the ways that the report cites. We can only say that as a group, clients are seen as being "hard to place" for these reasons--and when placed they are frequently not satisfactory workers for many of the same reasons that make initial placement difficult. We conclude that many of the clients are not the kind of worker which most employers are seeking in normal circumstances, especially when there is no significant labor shortage.

The Local Job Market

In August, 1974 YEA arranged a conference on Assessment and Goals for the purpose of determining what the agency should be doing in the future. One of the participants was the Assistant Regional Director of the U.S. Department of Labor and is the person whose department monitors and issues the official reports on such matters.

The Labor Department official reported that "since 1969, total non-agricultural employment has been on the decline in Center City, especially in manufacturing and wholesale and retail trade," key areas through which young people had typically entered the job market. The official added that while 5 million new jobs had been created in the United States between 1971 and 1973, "Center City has remained in a recession and has lost approximately 250,000

jobs in the past four years," and that the city was "now into its fifth consecutive year of job loss." He observed that the "most alarming" aspect of this was the fact that the city was losing jobs "in what appears to be a geometric progression." Evidence for this was that in June 1974, the city had 41,000 fewer jobs than the year before, while in 1973 it had only 13,000 fewer jobs compared with 1972.

The loss of jobs in the city was associated with an "astounding" rate of unemployment for minority-group teenagers. The total unemployment rate was said to be 5.8%. For white teenagers of both sexes the rate was "an unacceptable 15.3%." For low-income minority groups, "the rates rise drastically," the Labor Department official said. The unemployment rates for these groups were:

Puerto Rican Teenagers, female.....30.1%
Black Teenagers, female.....32.7%
Black Teenagers, male.....35.8%
Puerto Rican Teenagers, male.....39.8%

Although there was some relief in sight for the city as a whole, based upon a projected growth in professional, technical and clerical occupations in certain industries, the situation for YEA's unskilled and uneducated clients would probably remain "dismal."

The Labor Department official concluded by saying that "the Center City labor market is increasingly being

dominated by relatively low-paying white-collar type jobs that don't really present much potential opportunity or career development for the unskilled young male population now entering the workforce."

There seems to be little to add to this. It was indeed "dismal." We can, however, add a few observations to strengthen the connection between the data presented and the agency's clientele.

(1) A great many of the agency's clients are teenage, minority-group males (Blacks and Puerto Ricans). This group experiences all the major "disabilities" cited: decline of entry-level jobs, high unemployment rate, etc. Our sample of client records indicates that 78% of the clients are Black or Puerto Rican males between the ages of 16 and 19.

(2) As Center City loses jobs, competition for the remaining jobs becomes keener, at least in the short run.

(3) The projected "growth areas," in particular, the clerical and professional and technical areas, offer neither immediate nor future benefit. For one reason, these trends have not fully developed yet. For another, when and if they develop, they are the kinds of jobs for which the agency's clients are only minimally qualified at best. Moreover, the agency's present mode of operation is not designed to assist clients in preparation for such jobs.

Thus, from the evidence available, the bad news will get worse, and the good news is of no help.

Summary

We began this chapter by discussing the meaning of professional-client relationships, focusing upon four variables: (1) who receives the professional services; (2) who pays for them; (3) the setting and control of them; and (4) the strength of the profession. On the basis of these factors, we suggested that three kinds of "clients" can be distinguished. These are:

(a) Traditional clients, where the recipient of service and payer for the service (customer) are one person;

(b) Organizational clients, where a formal organization intervenes between professional and recipient, but where "recipient" and "customer" are one; and

(c) Bifurcated clients, where recipient and customer are not the same.

Despite these theoretical distinctions, we noted our intention of referring to the recipients of service at YEA as the client.

Data were presented to show that the agency's clients are for the most part young minority-group members who have

low educational attainments, extremely limited work experience and little in the way of job skills. Moreover, substantial numbers (especially males) are either "ex-offenders" (with "criminal records") or ex-addicts, or both. And finally, although it is difficult to analyze the data in any great detail, it appears that the clients lack some of the essential motivations and behavior expected of workers. These are manifested in lack of punctuality and promptness, and difficulty in performing satisfactorily on the job.

The evidence is interpreted as supporting the view that (a) the agency's clients are hard to place in all but the most favorable circumstances (i.e. with a general unemployment rate in the range of 2--3%), and (b) the circumstances of the job market were distinctly not favorable at the time the study was done.

Chapter 5, Notes

1. A.M. Carr-Saunders, "Professionalization in Historical Perspective," in Professionalization, edited by Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 5.

2. Ibid, p. 197

3. Paul Halmos, The Personal Service Society (Schocken Books, 1970), p. 23.

4. Ibid, p. 63

5. Ultimately, of course, it is those who pay the taxes who support such agencies. But there seems to be a practical identity of "employer" and "benefactor" in such cases.

6. Sheryl Ruzek, "Making Social Work Accountable," in The Professions and Their Prospects, Eliot Freidson, ed. (Sage Publications, 1973), p. 237.

7. Eliot Freidson, "The Organization of Medical Practice," in Handbook of Medical Sociology, edited by Howard E. Freeman, Sol Levine, and Leo G. Reeder (Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 346.

8. Ibid, pp. 350-1

9. The report covers the contract period Sept. 1, 1973--Aug. 31, 1974. This was the first year of the program.

10. Only two clients were rejected for "returning to drug usage." Fifteen of the clients "found jobs on their own" and were not accepted into the program for that reason.

Chapter 6

The Counselors

The Call to Counseling

Altruism, or the absence of it, is a significant phenomenon in history, both distant and recent. It involves Christianity, the existence of wealth and poverty, social and economic inequality, sweat shops and labor unions, communism, communitarianism, philanthropy, and warfare--to name but a few.

This is not a study of altruism per se. Rather the concept of altruism seems useful for viewing the work of counselors, and for understanding success in counseling work. In our society, the haves (of varying degrees) and the have-nots may meet in altruistic acts and institutions. They also meet in the courts and jails. Altruistic interaction may be temporary, as in the case of disaster victims and donors, or be expressed more permanently, as in the case of ongoing social and philanthropic programs and organizations. The very notion of altruism conveys a sense of unusualness, of going outside the norms. In less stratified societies, such as contemporary China may be, "altruism" presumably would be more expected than unusual. Pos-

sibly it acquires a different name (or names): in China, "serving the masses" appears to contain in slogan form much of the essence of altruism--as does "socialist cooperation," involving the sharing of knowledge and techniques.

To discuss altruism fully, we would need to examine carefully the following questions: (1) What is given? (2) How is it given? (3) To whom is it given? (4) What is given up? and (5) What is gained? This cannot be done here. Our main purpose is to examine to what degree the counselor's work has inner meaning for him or her. To do this requires a brief discussion of altruism. We can use the questions posed as a way of distinguishing between two aspects of "altruism:" philanthropy and "altruistic" occupations such as counseling. Using the first two questions--what is given? and how is it given?--and allowing for differentiations of degree, philanthropy would be characterized as based upon gifts of money, less upon gifts of one's time, and by variable levels of concern. The philanthropic gift is usually given through intermediaries.

"Altruistic" occupations such as counseling are not based on gifts of money: the counselor is paid. He gives his time and may give a high level of concern for the recipient of service, and he is directly connected with the recipient.

But we, of course, note that such "altruistic" workers are paid for their deeds. Thus, we might establish a category of unpaid "altruists" who resemble the philanthropist

in this respect, but resemble the altruistic worker in other respects (what is given, and how). These unpaid "altruists" are the "good neighbors" in Sorokin's work.(1) They are also the volunteers in social agencies (some of whom may be philanthropists as well), and the donors of blankets and canned goods when disaster strikes a (usually) distant community.

Joseph Matter defines altruism by citing a paper by Louis Budd:

> "Budd credits [Auguste] Comte with having coined the word to denote the supreme virtue in the religion of humanity he was attempting to establish as a rival to Christianity in France. The word is rooted in the Latin altrui, which in turn follows from the Latin alter. Both simply mean 'other.' To Comte, the word meant the discipline and eradication of self-centered desire and a life devoted to the good of others; more particularly, selfless love and devotion to society."(2)

Matter adds that "Herbert Spencer did much to spread the use of the word.... So popular did 'altruism' become that in the 1880's a philanthropist (Alcander Longley), wishing to find a more palatable label for his communistic schemes, created what he called the Altruistic Society and published a paper called The Altruist, later continued in Chicago as The Altruistic Review, which sponsored almost every kind of movement for the ultimate good of mankind." Matter records that "William Dean Howells threw his reputation in support of the word.... Small communities based on common ownership of property and on brotherly love sprang

up; several were called Altruria, a name coined by Howells."

John Dewey's criticism of attempts to establish "fixed lines between egoism and altruism" is suggested as one reason why the word began to go out of style "until...Sorokin refurbished the altruism--egoism dichotomy to preach the desperate need for Christian service."(3)

Matter refers to the "psychological sense" of altruism described in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences:

> "...altruism is said to mean 'the disposition of an individual to further the welfare or happiness of other individuals or groups; egoism is the contrary disposition to further one's own welfare or happiness.'"(4)

Sorokin--whose work Matter is describing--had no such easy time capturing the meaning of altruism. Sorokin's definition shows some similarity to the Freudian id-ego-superego classification, but with elements of "spirituality" and "immortal self" (almost as though the id were spiritual as well as libidinous):

> "Whatever the name, it /altruism/ is conceived as devoid of any personal ego, I or me; as basically different from intellect and superior to man's unconscious and conscious mind; and as the fountainhead of man's greatest achievements in all fields of constructive creativity.(5)

Sorokin describes two techniques for altruization, one by which the ego is transcended, even annihilated, and one by which the ego is trained and controlled. Certain religious techniques, such as those found in Yoga and Zen Buddhism, lead to a "complete transcendance of one's ego and an effective control of the unconscious drives." The motivation, in this case, is not entirely selfless, inasmuch as "the altruistic transformation is only one of the first steps towards the union with the super-personal, eternal, universal, and supraconscious Infinite Manifold..."

Altruization through training and controlling the ego is based on self-love as a "necessary condition for loving others." It is not necessary "to transcend or annihilate one's ego." We need only to keep it "well informed about its real self interests, to clean it of emotional disturbances and excesses of unenlightened selfishness, and to train it to cooperate rationally with other egos for their mutual benefit, profit, and pleasure."(6)

However, the definition of altruism and discussion of techniques for altruization tell us little about altruistic persons. In the preface to Altruistic Love, Sorokin writes:

> "We have studied the negative types of human beings sufficiently--the criminal, the insane, the sinning, the stupid, and the selfish. But we have neglected the investigation of the positive types of Homo sapiens--the creative genius, the saint, the 'good neighbor.'"(7)

In this book Sorokin presents data on a sample of "good neighbors" and Christian-Catholic saints: age, sex, class, the paths which they followed to become good neighbors or saints.

Good neighbors are an example of "unpaid altruists" which we previously discussed. Sorokin leaves no doubt that he favors the warmth, the spontaneity, and the immediate response of the good neighbor over the "cold, formal, soulless, and heartless" response of paid altruists. The good neighbor's deeds, he says, "fill the gap" created by the formality and bureaucracy of the agencies. To Sorokin, our need for sympathy, understanding, and encouragement is just as strong as our need for food or clothing, and "official agencies can rarely fill this sort of need."(8)

Although "good neighbors" were largely business and professional persons, their parents were to a great extent (58%) from the "farm and industrial labor classes." On the other hand, "some 62 per cent of the saints came from the ranks of royalty and the upper nobility strata."(9)

Sorokin found that most good neighbors "had gradually and quietly grown into altruists (or saints or 'good neighbors') from early childhood, without any notable catastrophe or other event to mark a sharp turning point in their life." These were called the "fortunate altruists." The others "--probably a minority, though hardly so small as our 3 per cent among saints--experienced such a turning point

marked with a definite 'unusual' experience that divided their life into two different parts: sinful and selfish before the unusual experience, and saintly and unselfish after it."(10) These are the "catastrophic altruists." Among these catastrophes were "death of loved ones" and "illness of the good neighbor."

> "Thus some 60 per cent of the unusual experiences precipitating moral conversion are made up of some sort of catastrophe; 3 per cent are caused by an event of unexpected kindness."(11)

Attention is drawn here to this "3 per cent"--a small fraction of a tiny minority in Sorokin's work, but involving a factor which may be of importance in explaining the "conversion" of those who go on to become counselors. Yet even among counselors, the "converts" also appear to be outnumbered by the "fortunates" (as discussed later).

For saints, it seemed that "catastrophic" or unusual events were more important in their development than in the development of good neighbors, though the large majority appear to have developed under less dramatic circumstances. However, unlike the "good neighbors," the "catastrophes" described for saints seem to seldom involve personal <u>tragedies and grief</u>. Rather, they are more often <u>uplifting experiences</u> (sermons, etc.). Saints may have suffered for their beliefs, but apparently they did not become saints <u>because</u> of any great personal suffering. "Good neighbors,"

on the other hand, were sometimes converted to goodness because of personal suffering.(12)

In general, "good neighbors" and saints appear to differ somewhat in several respects--those in which we are interested. These may be typified thus:

	Good Neighbors	Saints
Stratum	Middle	Upper
Parental Stratum	Lower (over half)	Upper
Percentage of "Fortunates"	97% or less	78--82%
Percentage of "Catastrophics"	3% or more	18--22%
Experience of "Catastrophics"	Suffering	Uplifting

Elsewhere, Sorokin suggests five variables (or dimensions) involved in love, and some ways in which the variables are correlated.(13) Love can vary according to: (1) its intensity, (2) its extensity, (3) its duration, (4) its purity, and (5) the adequacy of its objective manifestation... in relation to its subjective purpose.

The extensity of love is a measure of how many one loves, ranging "from the zero point of love of oneself only, up to the love of all mankind, all living creatures, and the whole universe." In between these extremes "lies a vast scale of extensities: love of one's own family, or a few friends, or love of all the groups one belongs to--one's clan, tribe, nationality, religious, occupational, political, and other groups and associations."(14)

It seems evident that the principle of love is likeness. Even "all of mankind" is treated as merely a larger group of like-minded persons (which in certain respects is certainly the case). But love of one's tribe or family or political group would seem to imply, at the least, a lesser love for other tribes, families, and political groups. This factor of difference is not thoroughly analyzed in Sorokin's work--perhaps because he was intent on bridging differences through love. But the question of whether "love" for different groups is the same as love for one's "own kind" is largely neglected. Later, in discussing the counselors' relations to clients, we will attempt to see if the counselors like and respond only to certain clients with certain traits (which appear to vary from one counselor to the next), and if love for one's own kind (black counselors and black clients) has a different quality than "love" of another kind (white counselors and black clients).

The duration of love, Sorokin says, "may range from the shortest possible moment to years or throughout the whole life of an individual or of a group."(15) Love of a low intensity may last a short time or a long time, and the same goes for love of a high intensity. However, Sorokin sees a general tendency for high-intensity love to be of short duration: "The great altruists like Jesus, Buddha, St. Francis, Nil Sorsky, and Gandhi are as rare as the greatest genius in the fiel[illegible] of truth or beauty."(16) The "great altruists" are those who rank high in all the variables of love.

The adequacy of love refers to the congruence or lack of congruence between the intended (subjective) effects of love actions and the actual (objective) effects. In other words, with love, good intentions are not enough. The outcome may even be harmful.

The "adequacy" of love acts--if we can consider the work of counselors to fit in part under such a concept--would seem to have some relationship to the problem of "success." Success of the kind discussed here may not be possible when the consequences of one's acts are harmful rather than beneficial. We shall inquire if the counselors at YEA are both aware of this problem, in a general sense, and yet unaware of the "extent of inadequacy" for several reasons, including the specialization of tasks, which transfers responsibility to other persons after the client is placed and prevents the feedback of information to the counselor; and the limited focus of the work which is imposed on the counselors in their work with each client by the organizational definitions of purpose. The organizational definition of the work and the attendant hiring standards may prevent the counselor from knowing, to any great extent, the desires, eccentricities, etc. of the clients in the first place. Thus, the "adequacy" of their acts may not be fully known. This introduces an element of the problem which Sorokin does not discuss: namely, the desires of the love object. Sorokin writes as though the altruist knows

what the "loved object" wants and needs. This seems to be problematic at least in many concrete circumstances. While many people want and need to be loved, the love "object" may want more than love: jobs, money, prestige, education, or self esteem. And these must be provided quickly. When numerous others make the same or similar demands just how does one "love" an object (client) through one's professional activity?

Sorokin argues (a) that one cannot effectively love a great many people, and (b) there is a "benevolent circle" of love implicit in the "positive" relationships, whereby one variable feeds (or leads to) another, and that one leads to yet another. This "circle" may be fragile as well, since it can be broken in several places.

Earlier, we pointed to certain organizational features which may tend to limit knowledge of the consequences of counselors' actions--thus, knowledge of the objective adequacy of actions. These included growing specialization of tasks (especially Post-Placement Counselors who "take over" after placement and control the flow of information from the client), and the focus of the work (placement) deriving from organizational definitions, hiring standards, etc. We might also add size of caseload as a factor that may reduce knowledge of the adequacy of one's actions. For these reasons, we shall attempt to understand the altruism of the counselors by considering it alongside other factors such as organizational definitions, client expectations, task

specialization, and level of professionalization.

The particular form of altruism observed at YEA we propose to call "organizational altruism." Its principal features are:

(a) Selection of the "objects" (clients) in terms of organizational criteria;

(b) Enforced interaction between "altruist" (counselor) and "object" by the organization;

(c) Standards and mechanisms of accountability, with at least some semblance of objective measurements of performance;

(d) Monetary compensation for altruistic services;

(e) Limited professionalization of the "altruists."

"Organizational altruism" can be distinguished from the "professional altruism" discussed by Lubove.[17] The phenomenon of professionalization so important in Lubove's study of social work, may be less significant when seeking to understand the work of YEA's counselors. In Lubove's work, the principal conflict is between the social worker's eager pursuit of professionalization (based on specialized training) and the more spontaneous (but "patronizing") "concern" of the volunteers. At YEA, the conflict appears to be between the constraints principally imposed by the organization, and the personal "concern" of the counselors for their clients.

We turn next to some indicators of that concern, followed by an examination of the counselors' statements about the meaning of their work to them.

Some Gratifications of the Work

YEA's counselors may not be typical professionally trained vocational counselors. YEA's administrators look for certain qualities when hiring counselors, including "maturity" and adaptability to the agency's approach ot the work. This has the tendency of eliminating from consideration applicants who are overly concerned about clients. Yet we are interested in evidence of altruistic gratifications in YEA's counselors, to see if the work does indeed have some kind of "inner meaning"--meaning which is beyond a mere job and not primarily dependent on the usual rewards of such jobs (praise, promotion, etc.).

The "meaning" of the work was ascertained in the following manner:

1. Counselor responses to a question asking about their interest in working in "private industry" at a higher salary. The question was repeated at different increments above the counselor's present salary, in an attempt to arrive at a "sell-out price."

2. Counselor responses to a question asking about their use of clients' expressions of thanks or praise. The question was designed to ascertain if the praise itself was

sufficient gratification, or if counselors attempted to use it for their own advancement by reporting it to superiors.

3. The kind of work YEA's counselors go into when they leave the agency.

4. Counselor reports of how they happened to be engaged in the work, their occupational career, and their own accounts of the gratifications they obtain from the work. Sometimes, these data emerge in response to a direct question. At other times, the information emerges while talking about something else. Finally, they were asked what they would miss about the job if they were to find themselves doing other kinds of work.

Salaries as Work Incentive

It would be unreal to expect any profession to offer or provide only the rewards of the work itself. Poets may work for nothing, but few others do. And even they often claim high prestige as reward. Doctors and lawyers make no sacrifices in income and prestige for the privilege of practicing their professions. The internal and external rewards of an occupation are not an either-or proposition. Both are almost always found. The question of interest is: in which direction does the occupation lean?

Counseling has its external rewards: white-collar work, professional or semi-professional status and prestige, and considerable autonomy in doing the work. Salaries are, of course, an external reward. But the fact that the agency salaries are not very high, compared with other professional occupations, suggests either that income may not be the primary inducement and reward or that most of the counselors are not qualified for other higher-paying occupations. In comparison with what is available to them elsewhere, the salary is probably more of an inducement than it would be for professionally-trained personnel. Moreover, the counselors typically come from blue-collar families. The reported occupations of fathers included, for example, Transit Authority shopworker, machinist, auto mechanic, barber, and railroad laborer. The interviews suggested that money is not the over-riding goal of the counselors, although they are concerned about money and complain about being underpaid. They all wanted more money and thought they deserved it. Yet when questioned as to whether they would accept a job in private industry paying more money, most counselors expressed great reluctance even though they were questioned about a salary increase of up to $4000 a year.(18) When the hypothetical increase was greater than $4000, most began to waver; but all indicated a strong preference for a job which would be similar to what they are doing now.

In the interviews, counselors were asked if they were paid adequately for their work and, if not, why they didn't ask for more money. All claimed to understand the agency's financial straits, and all recognized that they had a job to do. Most hoped that things would get better, and felt that they would ultimately leave for similar kinds of work--i.e., where they could be of service.

Not every counselor had accepted the agency's fiscal problems as a sufficient reason for limiting salary expectations. Counselor A said he was "constantly open to offers." This counselor, when asked if he would accept a position in private industry offering more money, replied that "money would not be a factor." If he liked the job, he said, "it wouldn't require any increase." But he added that the type of job would have to be "serviceable" to him; that is, it should be challenging, and represent an opportunity to use his abilities. In that case, he would "have to be sure I have the tools /ability/ to make it." However, the counselor's apparently exclusive concern with his own career is seen elsewhere as accompanied by a developing interest in "working with kids."

Counselor B indicated a willingness to consider a private-industry job with only a $500 increase (the lowest increase asked about), but "it would depend on the job." This counselor also said that "counseling is not a job," implying that it was something more than a job, almost a calling. However, he is married, with children, and owns

a home. His interest in employment in private-industry probably reflected real economic need more than anything else. He expressed an intense feeling for his work and had a long career in counseling.

The counselors' responses to the money question may be depicted summarily as shown below.

TABLE 6.1 ANNUAL SALARY INCREASE NECESSARY FOR ACCEPTANCE OF A JOB IN PRIVATE-INDUSTRY

	Annual Salary Increase			
COUNSELOR	$500	$1000	$2000	$4000
A	NO	NO	NO	NO
B	PROBABLY	YES		
C	NO	NO	NO	"TEMPTED"
E	NO	NO	NO	"POSSIBLY"
D	NO	NO	NO	NO

Thus, only one would be tempted by a $500 increase, and two more would be tempted by a $4000 increase. All felt that the kind of job offered would be an important factor in their decision.

It may be that $4000 is not sufficient to test the commitment to counseling work. However, in view of the relatively low salaries of the counselors (averaging between $9--10,000) and the temptations to consume in the United States, the resistance of the counselors appears to be rather impressive.

The Response to Client's Gratitude

When asked how he would go about letting his supervisor know about thanks received from a client, Counselor A was at first contemptuous and proud, saying he would "just let the supervisor judge me by how I produced." Then he added that "If I was working with the type of supervisor who needs this, I would have to find some way to let him know. It's good politics. He should know if he is a supervisor."

Other counselors were more direct in their valuation of the client's expression of thanks. When asked the same question, Counselor D said:

> "I get that a lot. But I never say much about it unless it comes in a letter, which we might be able to use for fund raising. I don't go out of the way, though. I just don't feel it's necessary to mention it otherwise."

The counselor felt that a call from a client thanking him, was "elevation enough--it's just a personal thing."

In talking about his reasons for getting into this occupation, Counselor B said he had "a feeling within me to want to see an individual getting on his feet. Counseling is not merely a job."

Counselor C said that she would record the information in the client's folder. She cited two instances of this sort. "I shared them with my supervisor," she added. In response to a direct question about the relative value of praise or gratitude from the client versus praise from her supervisor, she said that "the client calling to thank you means more than praise from the supervisor."

Counselor E responded to the same question by saying that he would bring the praise or thanks to the attention of the referring counselor, but not to his supervisor. His supervisor, he says, has put him down in the past. My impression was that he felt it would be demeaning to try to show in this fashion how competent he is. "I've gotten hundreds of letters of thanks," he said, but refuses for personal reasons to show them to his supervisor.

This question, though not conclusive, allows us to test in a simple but admittedly inadequate fashion Sorokin's proposition that altruistic love is its own reward. Assuming that the clients' expressions of praise or gratitude are unsolicited, we can consider what the counselors do with such unsolicited rewards. Is it sufficient and gratifying in itself? The answer seems to be that in many cases it is not. Only two counselors indicate that the reward is

sufficient and meaningful in itself. The others show varying degrees of using the praise to (presumably) further their own interests.

If we compare these findings with the "salary-increase" question previously discussed, we might conclude that on the combined indicators of altruism, Counselor D ranks the highest on both. Some of those who ranked relatively high on the "salary" indicator do not rank so high on the "gratitude" indicator (Counselor C and Counselor E, for example). Counselor B did not rank high on the salary indicator, but ranks higher on the gratitude one though he did not respond directly to the question. And Counselor A showed on both measures a rather individualized response based on such unanticipated factors as his "production," pride, and career interests. Overall, though, he shows clearly a pragmatic attitude: showing the supervisor any letters of praise if the supervisor expected or responded to it. The combined indicators point to one "pure" altruist among the counselors, with lesser degrees of altruism shown by other counselors. However, we should be wary of attaching much significance to the responses to these two questions, in determining the meaning of the work for counselors, since both questions confront altruism directly with economic goals. We must consider other evidence.

Counselors' Post-Agency Employment

An attempt was made to find out the kinds of jobs taken by counselors who have left the agency in the past 4--5 years. Only two have gone into private industry, and both of these went to work for an airline company as part of a minority-group training program. Most others have gone to government agencies. Two went to a program providing special services for disadvantaged, minority-group students in the Center City's public university; one went to the State Narcotics Control Bureau; two went to the State Employment Service; one went to the city's Department of Youth Services; one went to a church-related narcotics program. Two returned to school for advanced degrees. This consistency probably reflects limited choices and difficulties in transferring to a different field at the same or higher salary. But some explanation appeared discernible in counselors' comments during the interviews: As youths (even as a child in one case) some had either been helped by a counselor, social worker, or similar professional, or else having needed guidance of some sort, and not receiving it, they recognized a need to help others. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that clients of the agency frequently show a "social service interest" on psychometric tests used to assess vocational interest.

Little information was available, at the time the study was done, on those who had left recently. One Black counse-

lor left to accept a job with a state agency which raises money for the construction of college dormitories. His duties involved seeing that minority-group workers were employed on the construction of the dormitories. Another counselor (White) who was laid off in the Spring of 1976 found a position as a teacher in a private school.

The single exception to this pattern (though it has not as yet occurred) involves the Director. When I interviewed him in 1976, I asked him about his plans for the future, if the agency should close. At that time, the Addict Program contract had been lost, and the prospects for new funds were not good. The Director said that he was thinking of leaving the field entirely and seeking some kind of position in business. He was not interested in a "minority-group affairs" position within business, but did not know what his chances would be of obtaining a "regular" position. He mentioned one bank in the city which he said sometimes hired people with his background. All this was very tentative--except for the kind of move he was contemplating. He wanted to see the agency through its "present crisis" and then would look around for a position. Since then, the agency has obtained new funds for a smaller-scale addict program. In the Summer of 1977, the Director was still employed at YEA.

Perhaps little can be made of these findings when considered alone; keeping in mind that the availability of positions for counselors is limited by their specialized

experience and, in some cases, by limited education ("limiting" either in the sense that they do not have B.A. degrees or because the degree is in a field which is in little demand in business). But the career patterns of counselors support the other findings that suggest a sense of purpose or mission in this type of work--that is, some inner meaning. The jobs which counselors have held prior to coming to YEA also suggest a certain consistency in purpose.

Where Counselors Come From

Counselors were asked how they happened to get into counseling. Their responses are summarized below.

Counselor A (Black male) said that he became a counselor by "accident." There is, in this counselor's history, an element of accident involved. He had worked as a computer operator and programmer, employed by a non-profit organization. Then he had a summer job with a large oil company; the job involved staging variety shows in various low-income areas of Center City. "We looked for talent in the communities," the counselor reported; "I enjoyed doing that, working with kids." Then he found out about a job as an instructor for a federally-funded training program. That program provided pre-vocational training, concentrating on remediation, information about jobs, and attitudes, for the disadvantaged and unemployed. When the program was

terminated, he happened to meet YEA's Director at a testimonial dinner for a Regional Manpower Administrator. They had discussed a job at YEA, which he eventually accepted. Thus the counselor's job was "accidental." But the accidental opportunity was consistent with a patterned interest that had developed over time.

Counselor B (Black male) cited his experiences as a camper as a youth. He "admired the counselors" and liked the idea of helping people. He later worked for a Mission Society, "in a super Boy Scout atmosphere," working with a youth marching band after school hours. Subsequent to that he was on the full-time staff of the Mission Society. Later, he worked in "counseling and group work" for a large anti-poverty organization. This was followed by a position in a federally-funded "industrial education" program. "I started at the age of eight dealing with people.... It helped me through school by helping others with their school work.... There is a feeling within me /that wants/ to see an individual getting on his feet.... Counseling is not /just/ a job."

Counselor C (Black female) reported that she had done some teaching for a while after graduating from college. It was a "relaxed atmosphere," working on a "one-to-one basis." In college, she said, she was interested in sociology and anthropology, but they were "not lucrative" enough /with a B.A. degree/. Counseling was a "compromise

choice." She liked the idea of "working with people." An advisor in college "tried to interest me in social work, but I saw no chance to do any exploring in social work." The counselor added, however, that while she "enjoyed /doing/ counseling now, I don't want to stay in it forever." "I really enjoy the counseling," she concluded; "speaking to the kids and all that. It is a challenge. But placement is more difficult. You have to depend on the outside /employers/ for that."(19)

Counselor D (White male) did not mention employment in response to the question. "I originally wanted to be a School Psychologist. But I had a lack of guidance in school. I did not take certain courses required for a School Psychologist degree.... But I wanted to work with people on a one-to-one basis. I might even go back and get the necessary courses for School Psychologist.... Vocational Counseling was the only course I could get into without going back too far. It was not my first choice. But I can save a lot of kids from making the same mistakes I made."

This counselor, we might point out, was the only one of the non-supervisory counselors with a Master's degree in Guidance, although he was trained for student personnel services in colleges and universities. His personnel records at the agency show that he has worked at a school for the deaf, a settlement house, and at two institutions for adoptive and foster children. Prior to that, he held two teaching positions, and was a caseworker for the city's

Department of Youth Services.

Counselor E (Puerto Rican male) worked as a salesman for a time, before going to work for a Puerto Rican anti-poverty organization. He reported that he used to make "informal placements" while employed as a salesman, and developed an interest in the work. "Many of my friends were in the placement profession." There was an element of "chance combined with interest" connected with his entry into counseling, he said. Later in the interview, the counselor expressed a "deep feeling" of satisfaction which he gains from helping others. He said his father used to help others often. "He got kicked in the ass a lot, but he still helped people. I guess this was inculcated in me."

This counselor was later involved in a kickback scheme in the agency. In exchange for subsidizing some of an employer's workers (including those who were not referred by YEA), he was obtaining payment from the employer of a certain percentage of the subsidy (which could run to hundreds of dollars for one employee). Apparently, he was using narcotics. He was also, I was told by the OJT Supervisor, selling narcotics to YEA clients. It may be that these activities were motivated by his need to finance his own habit. Whether we should discount his claim of a "deep feeling" of satisfaction from helping people is not clear to me, even though the evidence seems to indicate the contrary.

Counselor F (White female) said that she had a friend (Counselor G) who was working at YEA and who told her about an opening for a job developer. She was not considered suitable for that position, but was hired as a counselor.

This counselor is in a Ph.D. program (anthropology) at a local private university. She claims she is not interested in teaching or research, but wants the degree for "credential purposes" in writing non-fiction. She says she has developed an interest in "one-to-one relationships" as a result of working at YEA. Later, we will examine more closely her own accounts of her work and its gratifications, and may conclude that her involvement in the work is considerably more intense than this suggests.

The counselor graduated magna cum laude from a private university, with a major in sociology/anthropology. She has worked as an editorial assistant for a big city newspaper (9/70--9/71), and as an Acting Registrar for a school of practical nursing (10/73--2/74).

Counselor G (Black male) says that he got into the field of counseling "by luck and by knowing certain people." His work history, however, suggests a pattern of attempting to break away from "social work" but returning to it. From 1964--66 (the earliest job shown on his resume; he graduated from a Texas college in 1964), he was a Social Caseworker in Ohio. He then worked as an insurance salesman from 1966--67, and as a "testing specialist" for an Army recruiting

station in Rhode Island from 1967--69. From 1971--73, he was an Assistant Manpower Resource Manager in a Model Cities program in Ohio. He came to Center City after that and tried his hand in the theater--"as an actor, a stagehand, anything." But he gave up on it. "I was getting too old (29) to be so hungry! If you don't make it big /In the theater/ when you're young, it's best to get out. Whereas a job like this /at YEA/ is more stable, it's less hectic."

This counselor is also in a Ph.D. program (sociology) in the same university where Counselor F is enrolled. He does not know what he wants to do with the degree, however: College teaching does not appeal to him.

Counselor H (Black male) refused to talk about any "personal" matters in the interview. He was only recently employed by YEA. His personnel record shows a pattern similar to that of Counselor G's: a departure then a return to counseling. His work history shows that he had previously worked first as an employment consultant for a private employment agency, then for the Urban Redevelopment Authority of a large northern city where he "planned community activities, counseled community residents, etc." After that, he worked as the Supervisor of Dispositions in the court system of another large city. There, he "maintained court statistics, visited prisons and interviewed defendants" and directed the pre-trial services program. Subsequent to that, he was a broadcast engineer for a Center City TV station, and was in a management-training program in a Center City

bank. Counselor H has an M.A. degree in Public Administration.

Counselor J (Puerto Rican male) described in great detail how he came to counseling.

"Years ago when I was growing up, there were a lot of people who helped me. If it hadn't been for those people helping me, I wouldn't be where I am--reciprocating what was given to me. The first time I was influenced was--years ago, I was on welfare. And one of the turning points in my life was visiting a welfare office for the first time--just listening to a person--his name was Bob, that was handling my particular case (I was under my mother's welfare thing). Just listening to him--and in terms of what he was able to do--/he/ gave me an idea of what I wanted to do. In other words, that's what started me." The welfare worker motivated him to think of going to college--"it became a very important thing in my life"--and to want to "get off welfare."

The counselor described his later experiences working in a local anti-poverty organization:

> "There I was exposed to the other elements of anti-poverty programs that I really didn't like. And this also stimulated me in terms of effecting some kind of change. I thought the change that was being effected /in that program/ was motivated toward monetary gains more than anything else.... One of the biggest problems /there was/ when you put people in a situation where they're earning salaries they've never earned /before/--they tend to become more involved with the salaries they're earning than with their purpose or function."

Counselor J described his subsequent work with the Mayor's Office of Volunteers, where he interviewed people who wanted to do volunteer work, and referred them to various agencies. It involved "working with all kinds of people, frommiddle class to upper class, all kinds of races, colors, and creeds.... It really motivated me more...."

"Then I found out there was an opening here /at YEA/, and I applied as a counselor. But I wasn't accepted as a counselor. I was accepted as a job developer. And that gave me the other side of the coin, which was the employer. And then finally there was an opening for a counselor here, and I was given the position."

The personnel records of several other counselors were also examined. These were counselors who could not be interviewed because they were laid off in 1976 before we resumed the interviewing of counselors. Their employment histories do not differ in any noteworthy respect from the patterns reported above and need not be presented here. Post-placement Monitors do show a different pattern. They are often ex-clients or could-have-been clients; thus because of this and their youth, do not have the same kinds of employment opportunities or experiences.

Based upon the information obtained from the counselors, and the information in their personnel records, we can classify the counselors into two main types: "altruists" and office-holders. The "altruists" can be further classified into "prodigals," "migrants," and "converts."

Office holders are those who appear to value the position itself as much as or more than the work itself. "Working conditions" such as one-to-one relationships are detached from the purpose of such conditions. The status of the occupation, such as it is, is of disproportionate importance. There is little sense of commitment to the work itself. Counselor C says that she does not want to stay in counseling forever; counseling was a "compromise choice" to begin with. Counselor E is, with some hesitation, also put into this category--but not solely because of his self-interested activities. Instead, we rely more on his emphasis on the "professional" nature of the occupation, and his report that he became interested in the occupation because many of his friends were in "the placement profession." When Counselor E was asked what kind of future he saw for employment counselors, he replied:

> "Personally [for me], becoming head of a project or having an employment agency of my own. Also, I hope to go into politics. I am working on B____'s campaign [for Mayor] now."

The prodigals are those "altruists" who return to counseling after a period of doubt, denial, and exploration of other occupations. They begin their careers in "social work" and return to it. Counselor G and Counselor H can be considered as belonging in this category. Counselor H, though he did not wish to answer "personal" questions,

had an employment history that fit this pattern.

Migrants are those who over a period of years and a succession of different jobs appear to have been "working towards" counseling work. Their interest develops gradually over a period of time. There is an aspect of each job which leads closer to an ultimate job as a counselor. This is more clearly seen in Counselor A's career than it is in Counselor D's. The latter said that vocational counseling was not his first choice. However, through a succession of jobs, he "became" a vocational counselor. It may be that this counselor is a "convert." His interest in counseling appears to have developed before he began professional training, and there is some reason to presume a "conversion experience" in his past. However, there is more of a balance between idealism and pragmatism in his responses than in those classified below as "converts." To be a good counselor, he said, "you have to be both realistic and idealistic.

Converts are those counselors who reported specific experiences which appear to have changed their lives. Counselor J and his experience with a social worker exemplify this most clearly. Counselor B is included here, even though he appeared to be alluding to several such experiences, because the process appeared to have a beginning in his camp experiences. Counselor F is included in this group because it appears that her present job (her first one in "social work") seems to have been a converting ex-

perience in itself. Getting the job was something of an "accident." But the job crystallized or brought to the surface heretofore latent desires. Some evidence for this will be presented--shortly.

In summary form, the classification of the counselors into these four types is as follows:

TABLE 6.2 DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES AMONG COUNSELORS

OFFICE-HOLDERS	PRODIGALS	MIGRANTS	CONVERTS
Counselor C	Counselor G	Counselor A	Counselor B
Counselor E	Counselor H	Counselor D	Counselor J
			Counselor F

The "converts" are more like saints in one respect: the conversions were based on uplifting experiences rather than personal tragedy and grief. In another respect, the counselors as a whole are more like good neighbors when we consider the social stratum from which their parents came. Table 6.3 shows the fathers' occupations reported by the counselors.

TABLE 6.3 YEA'S COUNSELORS: SEX, ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Counselor	Sex	Ethnicity	Father's Occupation
A	M	Black	Railroad laborer
B	M	Black	Mechanic
C	F	Black	Transit worker (clerical)
D	M	White	Barber
E	M	Puerto Rican	Machine operator (factory)
F	F	White	Furniture-store owner
G	M	Black	Grocery-store owner and "numbers"
H	M	Black	No information
J	M	Puerto Rican	Lived with mother (on welfare)

Meaning of Work to Counselors

There are some obvious disadvantages to using counselors' statements about their work and their expressions of its meaning for them. Foremost among these is how to interpret such statements--if we suppose that counselors think they are supposed to be committed to their work, or wish to convince themselves. We might in that situation expect a barrage of high-sounding and self-righteous statements. We cannot eliminate this possibility, although we have tried, through presentation of more "objective" data such as employment histories, to reduce this kind of error. Never-

theless, such statements are useful. It is only when counselors are encouraged to talk about their work that we get a sense of its meaning to them.

We will rely primarily on the 1976 interviews for this material. The meaning of work was explored more thoroughly in these interviews than in the earlier ones. Even so, from the earlier interviews, we have seen the importance of "helping individuals get on their feet," and we have seen counselors working for several years with one client to develop "motivation," despite false starts. We have also heard a counselor describe how early contact with a social worker provided him with a model for his own life.

The interviews convey a sense of the inner meaning of the work to some counselors, especially of the "convert" and "prodigal" types. They indicate that the "altruism" of counselors is focused upon selected individuals, rather than upon all clients. The favored clients are those who demonstrate "motivation" by "keeping in touch" or those who somehow "touch" a counselor by, for example, resembling the counselor himself as a youth. Counselors are thus able to maintain a continuity and intensity of altruism. In doing so, they in part meet organizational demands that they interact with an <u>extensive</u> group.

<u>From the Interview of Counselor J</u>

Counselor J adds more explicit statements of interest to us here. The counselor was asked: What are some important qualities for a counselor to have? He talked about

understanding one's own limitations, treating each client as an individual despite a pressure to stereotype them, and the need for keeping abreast with such changes in the external world as the job market. He added: "Also, I think you really have to--not <u>like</u> what you're doing /but/ <u>love</u> what you are doing."

He was asked how he dealt with the frustration of not being able to do something for everybody who came into his office.

> "That's where the <u>love</u> come in. Also, understanding that there are logistic problems involved in terms of time and caseload. You <u>try</u>. Obviously, you go with the intention of helping every single client....But you can't help anybody that doesn't want to help themselves...and you have to allocate your time to those who are really ready to do something with it...and weed out the others. It's difficult dealing with the frustration. And I think the satisfaction of <u>one kid</u> calling back, ecstatic that he's got a job--I think that holds you, in terms of what you think may be failures in other areas, not being able to place all of them."

The counselor's feeling for the clients derives from his own experience:

> "It's like looking into a mirror and seeing yourself. You see kids and you remember when you were young."

The gratification appears to be partly narcissistic: "You can see a large portion of yourself in them, and in some sense it brings you closer to yourself." Counseling can be an "ego booster," the counselor said, "but at the same time, you know you're helping in some sense."

From the Interview of Counselor F

This counselor, the White female daughter of a New England furniture dealer, was asked what she would miss the most about the job if she left it. She replied:

> "The clients mostly. The new people coming in--it's quite an adventure, meeting new people, having the time to talk, etc. And then you'd miss the ones you're already working with, whether they're working on jobs or you're working on placing them. But the clients is the main thing I would miss. There's an incredible feeling of accomplishment for me when something works."

She cited as an illustration a case where she had problems getting a client placed. She had to do some "special solicitation" for him--calling various employers to find a job for the one client.

> "Finally, he got the job. I was walking home after work and I discovered I was feeling very elated. For a second, I couldn't think why. I thought it was something special that happened on my lunch hour, or that my boyfriend had called me during the day. Then all of a sudden I zeroed in on it, and I realized that I was ecstatic for Ted [the client]! And when that happens, it's really powerful! It's just as if

> you had done it yourself. Just as if you had gone out and gotten the job. I've been through unemployment myself, had very hard times, and I know that feeling when you've had a good interview, or especially when you've been hired."

At another point, the counselor was responding to the question of what she does when clients are not realistic in their expectations and behavior.

> "I have a couple of three-and-four-time losers [clients who have lost three or four jobs] that are fighting this thing out. All the counselors have the same kind of client in their caseloads. All you have to do is mention his name and everybody goes on: 'Not again!' And I have fought the rejection of such clients very hard. I've had to literally steal jobs from other counselors. People will say 'I'm not giving you this job if you're going to send so-and-so.' But there are times you have no choice--if the person is desperate and...still calling you for work. That to me is very important--if the person keeps in touch, I'll take a chance every time. But I don't spend my time going back over folders when I haven't heard from the person in a month or two. There are too many people that call."

From the Interview of Counselor G

This counselor is a Black male. He adopts an external or "community" perspective when talking about the work of the agency and evaluation of it. That is, despite the problems, such agencies should be judged on their placement records.

The counselor was asked, "What gives you satisfaction on your job?" He replied:

> "Any time I can place a kid on a job, I'm satisfied. There are satisfactions in other ways--in offering a kid, a lot of kids, information that they will never have before. [sic] Factual information. Insights I don't aim for.

> That's a waste of time. I don't see where I'm going to get all this wisdom suddenly, when I couldn't apply it to my own life."

What are important qualities for a counselor to have? he was asked.

"You gotta like people. All kinds."

When asked if he ever got any clients he did not like, he replied:

> "Yeah, yeah. But then a counselor has to realize there are people he can't like and there are people he can't work with. I find I can't work with subtle kids. I can work better with manipulative kids. Sometimes they have both drives. I find the manipulative kids have a goal, and if it's necessary to manipulate a bunch of bureaucrats to attain the goal, they go out and do it. They don't look at bureaucrats as some holy person...."

The counselor appears to accept certain kinds of clients as they are.

> "They /clients/ know why they are here /at YEA/. But they don't know why they were sent here. I had one kid, he was making out all right on the street--he ran into his parole officer. The parole officer said, 'What are you doing /these days/?' The kid said, 'Nothing.' He was happy! They /parole officer/ sent him right here /to YEA/. And the kid was hurt. I could never send him out to a job. He would never go. But he made the rounds."

When asked how he dealt with such clients, he replied:

> "I tell them, 'If you don't want to work, and you just want to come here and fool your parole officer--fine! Come in and fool him.' Let him /parole officer/ come up with his own conclusions."

Several similar stories were reported by this counselor. It appeared that in such ways he shielded clients from the pressure to work if they were not ready. In this, he relied upon the client's own assessment of his needs.

When this counselor was asked what he would miss about his present job if he found himself in another line of work, he replied:

> "The freedom it gives me to do what I can do at this particular time. This job gives me a lot of freedom to do what I think I'm good at doing. I think I'm pretty good at...working with kids, and placing them. This job gives me the freedom to do it my own way....That's it--to do my own thing in my own way--with the results being the same as if the agency closely monitored my work."

Summary

The interviews and other data appear to support the view that the work of helping the clients (in various ways) has an important meaning to the counselors and offers a type of satisfaction probably different from that provided by many other (perhaps most) jobs. There appears to be both an emotional and a moral gratification in helping others who are defined as needing and deserving help. There are other rewards evident: one counselor refers to the work as an "ego-booster;" another refers to a "sense of accomplishment." In other words, there are certain kinds of "ego gratifica-

tions" as well. But the heart of the work appears to be the desire to help the client. Why this should be so is not completely explainable on the basis of this data. We have seen some evidence that counselors recognize themselves in the clients and respond to this reflective image. Even for Counselor F, a white woman working with black male clients, identification may be based on "unemployment" and/or the "desparation" of the client. One can distinguish between two kinds of altruism: "community altruism," based on helping one's own kind, and an altruism based on helping dissimilar others, but the evidence is not sufficient, perhaps not even adequate, to support this distinction. A more relevant distinction can be made between an altruism based on accepting the object of its ministration as is and an altruism based on the desire of improving that object by proselytizing, uplifting, or transforming it. Counselor G exemplifies the former type; the other counselors fall into the latter category.

Finally, we have noted that counselors focus their attention only on certain clients. Even Counselor G prefers not to work with "subtle kids." Others withhold attention, time, and "attachment" to the client until he has offered evidence of his motivation. Some clients appear to touch the counselor by revealing themselves as being prior images of the counselors. But even they must demonstrate "motivation."

SECTION II: Tentative Conclusions

The purpose of this section, we recall, was to present findings on the Youth Employment Agency, its clients and the counselors who work there. If it was found that the agency experienced recurrent fiscal problems, and the agency's clients are hard to place on jobs, and the work appears to have a significant degree of inner meaning to the counselors, then seven hypotheses are to be tested.

It was seen that YEA experienced recurrent fiscal problems, due to the dependency of the agency on external funding sources in a situation where funding organizations grow increasingly knowledgeable and demanding in their requirements for accountability. The agency lost three contracts in a four-year period.

Clients were seen to be difficult to place on jobs. In the existing labor market, clients were not in demand, owing principally to their lack of education, work skills, work experience, and work "motivation," and to their stigmatization as "addicts" and "criminals." Center City's job market was characterized by a decline in the entry-level, low-skilled jobs (especially in manufacturing and service sectors) which have traditionally been filled by the type of clients the agency handles. Projected expansion in the local job market was in technical and clerical occupations, but the education and training requirements for these jobs offered little hope for improvement in the prospects of

YEA's largely uneducated and unskilled male client population.

The evidence offered also indicated that for the counselors, the work itself is meaningful and gratifying. External rewards (working conditions, salary levels and promotions) such as are found in all occupations were seen as important also, but as (1) limited, in the agency studied, and (2) less important, compared with the balance of such rewards in many other occupations.

In presenting this information, we have attempted also to provide a broader framework for comprehending the work of the counselors and integrating the findings of the hypotheses. We have stressed the importance of two factors: definitions of the work (and thus of success), and control over the definitions.

Definitions of the work were discussed in terms of the agency's mission, definitions imposed by external funding organizations, the counselors' altruistic definitions, and the clients' definitions. The definitions advanced by the agency were embedded in self-images presented by the agency and in contracts between YEA and external organizations.

The counselors were seen to differ somewhat in the degree and kind of altruism observed. The counselors were classified as being either "officeholders" or "altruists." Using two indicators, it was observed that only one counselor could be called a "pure" altruist. All altruists were classified as either prodigals, migrants, or converts, de-

pending on the observed career patterns and expressed reasons for choosing counseling. The concept of organizational altruism was proposed, to distinguish the counselors' work from that of other professionals who practiced independently or who possessed professional strength or both. For YEA's counselors the organizational demands were met partly By a focus on certain clients who demonstrated motivation to work.

The agency and all parties involved were seen as comprising a complex network of dependence relations. For example, counselors were dependent on the agency for their job and the resources for their work; the agency was dependent on external funding organizations; clients were dependent on counselors and agency for placement; counselors were dependent on clients' responses for gratification; and the agency was dependent on the founder and Chairman for money and political contacts.

Looked at from another perspective, we have attempted to portray the work of the counselors in terms of a shifting balance between those forces within the agency which have remained relatively constant and those which have changed: i.e., to see the organization's changes in terms of the ratio and strength of these factors in relation to each other. Some of the constants in this equation are the clientele and the Chairman-founder with his inner vision of the agency's mission. Some changes observed were an increased dependence on external organizations for funding, increased demands for accountability, longer tenure for

counselors, the job market, organizational structure, and possibly the mission of the agency. It is the interaction of such variables which we shall analyze and discuss more fully in subsequent chapters. What is at stake at all levels--agency, counselor, and client--is success, based upon definitions of the welfare of the agency and the clients. The definitions are embodied in the agency mission, the contracts with funding organizations, client expectations, and the counselors' altruistic beliefs. These definitions are sometimes in conflict. Even when certain definitions are agreed upon--for example, the necessity of job placement for clients--other definitions which specify the target population may be the source of disagreement. These disagreements are frequently associated with conflicting pressures on the counselors: serving both agency and client sometimes results in serving the agency (and oneself) first by focusing on contract fulfillment rather than the individual clients. The Board as self-appointed custodian of the agency mission and with no immediate interests at stake, believes that it can remain detached from this particular conflict.

Chapter 6, Notes

1. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Altruistic Love (Beacon Press, 1950).

2. Joseph Allen Matter, Love, Altruism, and World Crisis: The Challenge of Pitirim Sorokin (Chicago, Nelson-Hall Co., 1974), p. 91. Matter cites an article by Budd which appeared in American Quarterly, v. 8 (1956), pp. 40-52.

3. Ibid, pp. 91-2.

4. Ibid, p. 92.

5. Pitirim A. Sorokin, ed., Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spritiual Growth (Beacon Press, 1954). This is from the Preface (p. v) written by Sorokin.

6. Ibid, p. vi, Preface.

7. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Altruistic Love (Beacon Press, 1950), p. vi, Preface.

8. Ibid, p. 13.

9. Ibid, p. 123.

10. Ibid, p. 59.

11. Ibid, p. 60.

12. We must remember that these are a minority of "good neighbors," however. Sorokin believes that they constitute more than the 3% his data show. But he does not say that they are anywhere near a majority.

13. P. Sorokin, The Ways and Power of Love (Beacon Press, 1954), p. v.

14. Ibid, p. 16.

15. Ibid, p. 16.

16. Ibid, p. 21. The "great altruists" would appear to be one type of charismatic figure as discussed by Max Weber. Perhaps they are the principal type.

17. Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist (Atheneum, 1973).

18. This question was not asked in the later interviews. The point was pretty well established by the earlier interviews, and since new questions were added to the interview guide, it was concluded that this question

was one which could be eliminated (in that form, at least) to make time available for other questions. For two reasons, this may have been an error: (1) personnel changes may have resulted in different responses, and (2) later counselors may have been more willing to take private industry jobs simply because there were fewer social service jobs of this type available in 1976. However, there is still reason to believe that money is not normally a major inducement in attracting people to this work.

19. This is the counselor who, according to the Director, had the highest placement rate during the short experiment with the placement "quota system."

SECTION THREE

The Hypotheses

Chapter 7

The Definition of Work and the Demands of External Funding Organizations

In Chapter 3, we suggested as a hypothesis that the definition of the work in the Youth Employment Agency would be importantly influenced by external forces, and would vary within the agency with source of funds, the frequency and the quality of relationships with the funding source, and with the funding organization's definition of its own work.

These hypotheses are to some extent supported by the data. However, the findings suggest that the overall hypothesis is deficient in at least four ways. First, while the definition of the work is "importantly influenced" by the external funding organizations, it is also influenced by the importance of definitions of work established and imposed by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the agency, and by the administrators through theirihiring standards and their standards of performance, and by the counselors' own attempts to gratify altruistic impulses.

However, not all work definitions influence the work performance equally. The most decisive definitions appear

to be those imposed by the funding organizations and by the Chairman. The power to impose standards and gain compliance is thus an additional influence on the importance given to definitions of work. In addition, the contracts sought and accepted (thus, the definitions accepted) are to some extent limited by definitions emanating from the Chairman.

The contract, once negotiated and signed, is important in defining the work. However, contract proposals and negotiations include attempts by the agency to define the work beforehand. This bargaining over the definitions, especially success in bargaining, is a second feature limiting our leading hypothesis in the area.

Thirdly, there are variations in the definitions of the work to be done by the agency offered by different contractors. These variations are embodied in the respective contract commitments for performance (i.e. accountability standards) and in contract requirements for differential services and specialized personnel of the agency. The one uniformity is the emphasis on job placement--the reason why a contractor would come to the agency. But changes in the institutional structure of the placement business have resulted in increasingly standarized contract requirements as funding is more and more centralized in one city department.

Fourth, clients also define the work as being essentially job placement. This definition thus surrounds the coun-

selor on all sides. The importance of placement to the client legitimates it for the counselor, but does not always satisfy the standards of judgment as to what is truly best for the client nor does it fully satisfy the impulse to "help the client."

We will discuss these modifications of the hypothesis in subsequent chapters. In this chapter, we shall consider the evidence relative to the hypothesis as stated.

Funds which the agency receives can be classified with respect to the power of the definitions they impose upon the agency, and consequently with respect to the agency's "room to maneuver" in meeting the requirements imposed. The types of funding, in order of the freedom allowed to the agency, are:

Type of Funding	Example
1. Private money	Funds raised by Chairman
2. Best-effort contracts	Delinquency Program
3. Performance contracts	Addict Program
4. Purchase-of-service contracts	Crime-Prevention Program

Private money has no conditions or requirements attached to it. This includes the money raised by the Chairman with his annual fund-raising letter, and foundation grants for "general purposes." As we saw earlier, this kind of money now represents a very small part of the agency's annual income.

Best-effort contracts are those which specify a minimum number of clients to be seen and accepted for service. The agency is required to make its best effort in placing the clients on jobs but there are no specific requirements. These contracts are apparently a thing of the past. The Delinquency Program, of this type, was not renewed by the state in 1975. The Youth Program, formerly a "best-effort contract," is now a "performance contract" as the allocation of government funds have been centralized in one city department and as funding organizations have grown more knowledgeable about the work of placement.

Performance contracts are those which specify:

(a) Goals, such as job placement, retention, and skills training quotas;

(b) Tasks, such as registration, orientation, counseling, follow-up, and teaching;

(c) Resources, such as video-tape equipment, specialized personnel, skills-training allowances, and stipends; and

(d) Penalties for failure to perform according to standard.

These contracts include funds for specified positions at specified salaries, plus allocations for specific equipment and anticipated costs (phone bills, etc.).

Purchase-of-service contracts pay only upon delivery of specified services such as placement on a job, and

retention on a job for specified periods. No positions are directly funded. No specific equipment or other expenses are covered. All the necessary costs of placing and keeping clients on jobs are supposedly included in the per capita fees.

Performance and purchase-of-service contracts are the most important of these types at the present time.

Performance Contracts: The Addict Program

An example of a contract of this type is the one between Center City's Department of Employment and the Youth Employment Agency. The value of the contract is $210,361. This amount included stipends and tuition for skills-training. The contract funded the equivalent of twelve positions:

1 Skills Training and Project Manager
1 Bookkeeper
3 Placement Counselors
3 Post-Placement Counselors(1)
1 Remedial Education Instructor
1 Clerk
1 Job Developer
½ of the Psychometrist's salary
¼ of the Associate Director's salary
¼ of the Fiscal Administrator's salary

The contract requires YEA to "operate and administer a manpower services project to provide services as defined below to 488 unemployed or underemployed rehabilitated drug addicts in Center City."

The official referral sources are designated, as are the criteria for client acceptability.(2) The services (or tasks) are specified as intake, orientation, counseling, testing, job preparation, referral to job, remediation, and vocational training. Some tasks, such as referral, are spelled out in some detail. For example, YEA is required to "offer each person accepted for manpower services at least three job referrals." And if an enrollee does not report for a scheduled interview with the employer or is not hired, the contract states that the agency "shall make every effort to contact the client and make another appropriate referral.(3)

As for minimum placement and retention requirements, YEA agreed to place at least 256 enrollees (52% of the minimum 488 enrollees), with at least 50% of them being retained by the employer for at least 30 consecutive working days. The retention requirement could be met on "either the first placement or any subsequent placement."

The agency (YEA) could fail to perform satisfactorily if it fell "substantially below the minimum placement levels set forth" in the contract, or if its unit costs for placement and retention exceeded the allowable limits. In these cases, the budget of the agency could be "adjusted"--i.e.,

reduced.

YEA was also required to allow the funding agency "full access to the contractor's accounts, books, records, and any other information relative to the operation of the project...."

The funding agency assigned a Program Monitor to examine the reports and keep track of the performance schedule month by month. Deficiencies such as falling behind in placements were noted in the Monitor's monthly evaluation (submitted to his superiors and to YEA). The Monitor also came to YEA's office, usually each month, armed with the list of individuals claimed as placements by YEA, for the purpose of verifying placements. This was done by selecting a few names at random from the list, and having a counselor call the employer to verify that the client was still working--while (unknown to the employer) the Monitor listened in on the conversation.

A Purchase-of-Services Contract: The Crime-Prevention Program

This contract is funded by the city's Joint Council for Crime Prevention, which was set up to coordinate programs of this type using city, state, and federal funds. As noted earlier, there is no definite contract amount. There is a total of $140,800 available. However, to get any of it, YEA must actually place clients and keep as many as possible on the job for specified periods. There is a "projected staffing" of 2 Intake and Evaluation Counselors, 2 Post-Placement Counselors and 2 Clerk-Bookkeepers. No

positions, as such, are directly funded, although the agency's table of organization shows that one Intake Counselor, one Post-Placement Counselor, and one clerk are assigned to the program. "Skills Training" and "Remedial Education" are indicated, but these do not involve the assignment of definite personnel. Rather, clients in this program have access to these services. "Skills training placements" bring in a fee. Remedial education, however, does not do so directly. Income is based on results: job placements and retentions, and enrollment in vocational training facilities.

The services performed are "vouchered" each month: a claim for payment is submitted, with the services classified and enumerated. The fees are supposed to cover the costs of servicing approximately 250 clients by providng

Pre-employment orientation and counseling;

Remedial instruction as needed;

Placement into approved vocational skills training programs where appropriate; and

Post-placement counseling.

In this program, YEA is required to place a client in only "one subsequent job if he or she loses the first job for whatever reason"--unlike the Addict Program, which required "three referrals" but no subsequent placement.

The responsibilities of the Post-Placement Counselors are enumerated: they are responsible for "ongoing personal assistance to all employed clients, including counseling on

job-related problems, personal financing advice, and development of long-range career goals."

A Comparison of the Two Contracts

Both of these contracts clearly define the agency's work. The work definitions include counseling, placement, retention, post-placement counseling, remedial education, and skills training. Acceptable clients are defined. Specific tasks in some cases are spelled out with considerable detail.

Some differences in the contracts are quite obvious: for example, the different ways of obtaining payment, and thus differences in the "security" of the agency in being able to meet payrolls or not, etc. Other differences include the requirement of providing different subsequent placements, and the difference in the specification of the Post-Placement Counselor's duties in the same program.

However, these differences are relatively unimportant in the context of work definitions. More important is the addition of new specialists to the agency, which re-defines the actual work of the counselor. Post-placement Counselors, for example, mean that the Placement Counselor's work no longer includes primary responsibility for what happens to the client as long as he is working. For the agency, however, the task remains entire and whole.

Also, the "payoff" in both contracts is placement and retention. This is most clearly exemplified in the Crime-Prevention Program, where fees are not paid unless place-

ment and retention actually occur.(4) In the Addict Program, there is no "credit" towards contract fulfillment in number of clients in remedial education or skills training. Contract performance is judged solely on placements and retentions, both in numbers of each and in unit costs for each.

The work of the counselors assigned to the respective programs was not observed to differ in any way, nor did the interviews suggest any differences. The counselors do attempt to utilize the remedial education and skills training services for their clients, despite the fact that this is not particularly advantageous for the agency.(5) But at the same time, their attention is overwhelmingly directed toward placement (retention is someone else's responsibility). Counselors seldom attempt to enroll clients in remedial education during the day. Only if the client can be placed first does remedial education (in the evening) become feasible. The counselors are aware of this implication of the performance standards which are first negotiated by and then imposed by the agency.

Awareness of Performance

We saw earlier how the Addict Program Supervisor responded to a decline in the scheduled rate of placements by re-assigning some of the work, adding new tasks, and emphasizing the importance of compliance by threatening to fire those who did not pitch in. Knowledge of these failures came from the Associate Director's statistics. His report

of April 26, 1976 was referred to earlier. In that report, covering the first six months of the new contract, the Associate Director noted that while enrollment and placements in the Addict Program had shown improvement compared with the first three months, they were still less than the schedule called for. Intake was "down 16.4%" and placements were "down 44.8%." For this program, the Associate Director had projected the number of enrollments, placements, and retentions needed each month remaining, in order to satisfactorily complete the contract. When we compared these requirements with the average monthly performances to that point, it appeared that YEA was going to need half again as many enrollements and twice as many placements and retentions each month to finish up on schedule. This, of course, would be difficult.

Statistics on the Addict Program were defined by and focused exclusively on the performance standards set forth in the contract. The Crime-Prevention Program, having no placement and retention quotas, was analyzed in more meaningful terms for the agency: income ("vouchered placements"). This report and others like it were apparently not distributed to the counselors. They are discussed at Executive Staff meetings, however. Thus, supervisors are aware of the performance of their own and other programs. And supervisors apparently communicate performance statistics to their staff, as necessary. The record of the Ad-

dict Program staff meeting exemplifies this. We can also see this awareness in the interviews with counselors.

Counselor Awareness

The counselors are fully aware that the agency lives and dies by placements--and to a lesser degree, though increasingly important--by retentions. Excerpts from a few of the interviews bearing on this point are shown below. We note that while the counselors are aware of the importance of placements to the agency and to them in preserving their jobs, they also frequently voice the complaint that it does not lead to good work, despite the fact that placement is also what the clients expect. Counselor G is the sole exception to this tendency to see placement as "not enough," at least not for all clients.

The attitudes of counselors towards the emphasis on placement were somewhat varied. Most of them viewed placement as preventing the kind of counseling that clients needed. One said that "the counselor has to push out a lot of products and cannot put out his best effort," while another said that "qualitative work is really needed." The same theme was repeated by two other counselors, one of whom said that at YEA there was "not enough emphasis on quality work" and too much emphasis on the "numbers game."

Two counselors suggested modifications in the use of the placement standard. One advocated the use of "successful placements" as a standard--though whether retention,

satisfaction, or some other measure would be used was not specified. The other said that placements achieved by a counselor should be "watched," but only in conjunction with other measures such as retention and "taking chances" with marginal clients. Only one person (Counselor J) saw placement of the client as being useful in facilitating the kind of counseling that many counselors said they desired to do. This counselor said:

> "It's easier for him to think with a straight head when there's money coming in...a person is more rational.... And then you get into the other areas /of personal problems/ slowly."

Counselor G was asked if there should be a placement quota for counselors. "Yeah, definitely," he responded.

> "There are people in the field interested in qualitative things. Just what these qualitative things are, nobody has been really able to define. Or, once defined, not everybody has been able to agree on which ones to use."

The same counselor did note, however, that there is a time when "these qualitative things have to be used." And he remarked about the clients:

> "But you just can't forget that these kids are 16 or 17 /years old/. That they are still not mature enough to want a steady job."

For most other counselors, this problem calls for more "extensive counseling" (and other services) so that they can learn to "read" and influence the client. Lacking in their opinion, the time to do this, they let the client demonstrate his "character" through his behavior (keeping appointments, for example) and concentrate only on those who pass this test. Counselor G, by contrast, appeared to work with clients more on their own terms. If a client wanted to come in just to satisfy his parole officer but did not want to work,"that's okay."

The interviews suggest that while placement is a desirable and legitimate definition of the work, a definition consisting solely of placement is resisted. This narrow definition appears to be imposed on the counselors by the agency and its contracts, with the possible exception of Counselor G. However, this is not to say that it is imposed solely by the funding organizations, even though the definition dominates the contracts and the performance requirements contained therein. The definition is shaped by several factors, as we have seen. Thse include the agency mission, the clientele, the experience and repertoire of the agency, and contract negotiations. It is in negotiations (and fund-raising in general) where the mission is brought to market. Negotiations are a partly informal and partly formal process. Informal discussions and understandings, if successful, lead to formal discussions and bargaining. One such informal discussion took place while

the research was going on. It was a meeting, in 1976, between officials of the State's Juvenile Bureau and the administrators of YEA.

A Meeting With Juvenile Bureau Officials

The Bureau's clients were, until 1975, serviced under a contract with YEA. It was YEA's first and oldest contract. The clients were youths released from the state's "Training Schools" (reformatories, in older terminology). In 1976, the Bureau's clients were accepted at YEA through the Crime-Prevention Program. This arrangement was designed by YEA to maintain contact with the Bureau, in the hope that another contract might be obtained in the future. The official purpose of the meeting described here was to allow the Juvenile Bureau officials to explain the kind of information they needed on Bureau clients, both to assess their program and to present to the state legislature in support of the Bureau's budget requests. The meeting also provided YEA's administrators with an opportunity to express their interest in a new contract of some kind and to describe what they envisioned it might be. The team of Bureau officials, headed by the director of the Program Development department of the Bureau, seemed receptive to such a discussion of a future program (though they were not in a position to make any commitments).

The Director opened the meeting by observing that YEA had been previously funded by the Bureau and that even though they were not then funded, they were nevertheless

accepting Bureau clients through the JCCP (Crime Prevention) contract. He pointed out, however, that funds for that program were running out, and renewal was unlikely because it was a demonstration program, and because the funding organization was having its own fiscal problems. "It is hoped," the Director added, "that this evaluation /of Bureau clients/ will help us persuade people to fund us."

The Bureau official responded that the Commissioner of his department had a "special interest" in employment programs, and that the Bureau was "in the process of reviewing the entire employment area." There was a need to have "answers for the State Budget people" when funds were requested. Thus, the Bureau was "taking stock of its supportive services" and was interested in finding out if the typical Bureau client was employable and what a "realistic range of jobs" for Bureau clients might be.

A discussion followed about the kinds of information needed by the Bureau and the forms on which it would be supplied. Then YEA's Associate Director described what YEA would want. Except for one item--money for clients' lunches, transportation, and clothing, his list was based upon the specialized resources and function of his agency. First, "YEA does not want referral workers contacting clients on the job." Outside referral workers often alienate employers or alarm them by the use of titles such as Youth Parole worker. "Over the years, many well-meaning workers have lost employers for YEA," he said. Secondly,

the Bureau's referral workers should "keep the applicant's other life and problems away from the job." In other words, Bureau workers should handle everything but placement and those things directly related to it. The Director later stressed that the Bureau workers should "do what they are mandated to do--deal with the family, court, and psychological problems of clients."

At one level it seemed that the Associate Director was talking about expectations in the experimental data-gathering project. But in fact, this was mingled with descriptions of his definition of the agency's work, emphasizing specialization in placement. The Associate Director repeatedly emphasized placement as the desired goal, even though in another breath he would talk about remediation as a "holding pattern." He was aware of the "value of skills training." But placement was the payoff. There was no discussion of alternative outcomes, even though the Bureau official himself had raised the question of placeability of the clients and alternative outcomes.

The YEA administrators were not trying to sell the Bureau on a specific new program. In that case, they would probably have made an effort to outline a more "exciting" and "innovative" program. Instead, they were simply defining the agency as they defined it to themselves (especially as did the Associate Director): an agency specialized in placement, with few resources and no great experience for dealing with other matters.

The Importance of Funding Sources

If we interpret the hypothesis that the agency's work is importantly influenced by external forces literally, there is much support for it in the findings. However, we have seen that the contractual definitions are negotiated, and that in the negotiations YEA itself (and its chief personnel) defines its work as placement. The definition is supported by clients of the agency. It is principally in the enforcement of definitions that external organizations are decisive, and when some variations from one program to another can be observed. An example is the monitoring and placement-verification procedures found in the Addict Program. Thus, the hypothesis as originally stated, and in the sense of its intended meaning, is not supported. Both parties to the contract negotiate and agree upon a mutually acceptable definition, with concessions here and gains there. Contractual relationships in general, involving an exchange of money for services, and the accountability required to influence the performance of work, and the explicit performance standards of the contract become dominant for the life of the contract. The agency's adaptability to changing circumstances is also circumscribed by contractual requirements; adjustments necessary to meet the performance requirements must either be approved by the funding agency or be accomplished "behind the scenes."

We have seen in this chapter that at the counselor level, at least some of the work is based upon work defini-

tions other than placement itself. One counselor reported that placement was instrumental in achieving the real purpose of his work as he saw it: "dealing with personal problems" which hindered the client in working. Another counselor stated that "there are many opportunities here for extensive counseling" if the counselor desired. "You are alone in that office with the client," she said. "But you have to be discreet about it," she added. Many of the counselors both work with and work around the official definitions of the work in this fashion--even though they are aware of the emphasis on placement in the agency, and aware of the agency's on-going performance, as we saw. The agency itself does this, as we shall see in Chapter 11, in the sense of defining its work as total placements rather than the number of individuals placed.

Viewed in broader perspective, this chapter attempted to show that, for the agency, the negotiation of contracts entails a loss of freedom to define its work. Though YEA may select certain departments to negotiate with and not others, and though it may propose certain program services and not others, this freedom must be contrasted with the relatively greater freedom associated with the private funds which in the past formed a larger part of the agency's budget. The new "freedom" is more that of the market: the freedom to find a buyer for the services one desires to sell. In the long run, negotiation with outside bureaucracies, who have their own expertise, may alter YEA's

definition of its work, if it stays in the game. This is probably so because YEA has no monopoly on its services, and because external organizations negotiate partly on the basis of existing and ever changing knowledge and beliefs. The techniques used by other agencies and the results obtained are included in the knowledge brought to negotiations, as is the demand for specific kinds of labor. Beliefs about the value of work as a socializer and the benefits of supporting work programs of this type are also subject to change. In this sense, YEA can market its placement-oriented servies only if there is a market for them.

Chapter 7, Notes

1. These personnel also spend part of their time in the morning conducting Group Orientation and the Job Preparation Workshop for new clients.

2. These were discussed in Chapter 4, and included such things as age limitations, minimum time (6 months) in rehabilitation, "clean urine," and specific and non-specific behavorial standards.

3. As observed earlier, this was frequently done by the Addict Program staff--but principally because the program was not getting enough enrollees. The "every effort" phrase is probably non-specific enough to be ignored otherwise. We shall discuss this later under the heading of "weeding"out clients who do not "keep in touch."

4. Lesser fees can be earned by placement in a skills training program also. But, as noted, there are practical problems involved (client qualifications, limits on stipends) which lower the number of such placements.

5. Some evidence for this can be found in the Associate Director's report submitted to the funding organization for the Addict Program. The report covered the period from Sept. 1, 1973 through Aug. 31, 1974--the first year of operation of the program. During that period, 68 clients started a skills training program of one sort or another (50% were in the secretarial area, the report shows). Of those, 26 failed to complete their courses, 22 completed their courses (16 were employed at the time of the report) and the remainder were still in training. The same report claims that "150 clients received 1134 hours of remediation." This is an average of only 7.56 hours per client, suggesting that most of the remediation may have been concentrated on fewer clients. However, it appears that the numbers enrolled in skills training and remediation declined in later years.

Chapter 8

Organization Leadership and Its Function in Minimizing the Impact of Failure

The hypothesis here investigated is that, given an expected high rate of failure in placing clients on jobs, a major function of organizational leadership will be to protect and immunize the organization and staff from the consequence of failure--in order to enable the organization to continue functioning, to control internal competition, and to minimize conflict. The hypothesis, thus, has two parts: one part having to do with the rate of failure, and the second part having to do with administrative behavior when failure occurs.

The Rate of Failure

This part of the hypothesis is supported by the findings, except for the Addict-Program, when failure is defined as the inability to place at least half of the individual clients on jobs within the first year of service.

It is important to note here that the apparent incidence and the impact of failure are reduced by several means. In subsequent chapters, we shall consider the counselors' practice of "weeding out" unplaceable clients, and their

attribution of failure to "defective clients," economic conditions, Board decisions, etc. We shall also examine the agency's means of reducing the appearance of failure in its statistical reports, and its attempts to reduce the incidence of general failure through internal techniques.

The Files

A sample of client records was selected from both the active files and the most recently inactivated files. The latter are files on clients who have not been serviced by the agency in two years. At the time the study was done, these records were "retired" or inactivated in July 1975; thus the clients had not been serviced by the agency since at least June 1973. Applicants for part-time and summer jobs were mixed in with full-time applicants. These were excluded from this study. Part-time jobs which fit a student's school hours are extremely hard to find, and thus failure is almost guaranteed. Summer applicants face a similar situation except that it is the result of a huge surplus of summer-job applicants from all over the city, including college students, and they do not well represent the regular YEA clientele, since they are not dropouts.

After eliminating the part-time and summer applicants from the sample, 168 cases remained: 79 from the inactive files and 89 from the active files.

The definition of "success" in this analysis is placement of an individual on at least one full-time permanent

job within the first year of service. Counselors themselves do not regard placement on temporary jobs as "success," nor do the funding organizations. The agency does, if allowed. The "first year of service" criterion is necessary because clients do not all come to the agency at the same time. If we want to be able to make any sort of comparison with the agency's reported placement rates--which are based on activity for a one-year period--it is necessary to establish a comparable time period. The placement figures presented here are not directly comparable with any agency reports, however. To do that would require selecting a sample from among the clients seen during any one reporting year. This could have been done, though it would have been a more time-consuming task. To select a sample on that basis (one or two reporting years) would have restricted the range of cases in time, and would have concentrated attention too much on the comparison with agency statistics. The procedure followed here allows a comparison with the agency's reported "success rate" and at the same time allows us to analyze the success rate by the operational definition over a longer span of time. As we shall see in Chapter 10, the agency usually reports on the increase or decrease in placements, compared with the previous year. This includes temporary and part-time jobs, and is thus not a suitable definition of success for our purposes. At the same time, we can observe how many placements the agency claims from the same sample. The fol-

lowing table shows how many placements were achieved by our operational definition (and the placement rate or percentage) for the entire sample of client files, and the number of placements which the agency would claim.

TABLE 8.1 INDIVIDUALS PLACED ON FULL-TIME PERMANENT JOBS IN FIRST YEAR, COMPARED WITH TOTAL PLACEMENTS FOR FIRST YEAR OF SERVICE

N =	168
Full-time (F/T) Placements =	51
Placement Rate =	30%
Total Placements Claimed by Agency =	141

For the same activity with the same group of clients, the agency would claim almost three times as many placements as could be claimed by our definition of placment success. If the agency attempted to prove its success in a similar way--by reporting the ration between the number of clients seen and total placements--the result would be more placements than clients for some groups. For example, the Addict Program would report that 142% of the clients were placed, and the Delinquency Program would have reported that 137% of the clients were placed on jobs. The

inflation of placements would reflect temporary and repeated placements of the same individual and, as we shall see, the exclusion of some clients from the base through "weeding out."

Clearly, this would not do. The placments reported cannot exceed the number of clients seen without calling into question the agency's statistical procedure. Whether this explains the technique for claiming success used by the agency or not is unknown. It can only be suggested that the success rate according to the operational definition used here would be unacceptably low. Total placements would yield an unacceptably (and unbelievably) high rate of success, if reported as a percentage of clients.

Not all client groupings are equally placeable; that is, they are not placed in proportion to their numbers. Three factors were observed to be associated with placement rates: sex, age, and source of referral (or "program"). Table 8.2 shows the difference between male and female placements.

TABLE 8.2 MALE AND FEMALE PLACEMENT RATES

	Male	Female	Total
N =	129	39	168
No. Placed on F/T Job	42	9	51
Placement Rate	32.5%	23%	30%

Younger clients (16--19 years of age) are placed less frequently than older ones (20 and over), as Table 8.3 shows. The difference is less than the counselors seem to think it is. But with respect to the counselors' opinions of younger clients, we shall see later that older clients are thought to "open the (employer's) door" for younger ones. It is possible that the less-than-expected difference is partly attributable to that factor.

TABLE 8.3 CLIENT AGE AS A FACTOR IN PLACEMENT

	AGE		
	16--19	20+	Total
N =	116	52	168
Individuals Placed on F/T Jobs	31	20	51
Placement Rate	26.7%	38.5%	30%

However, when age and sex are combined, it appears that the older male clients are the most placeable group, and the older female clients are the least placeable: 44% of the older male clients (19 out of 43) were placed on full-time jobs, compared with 11% (1 out of 9) of the older female clients. The placement rate for younger clients was the same for both sexes: about 26%.

Various factors are involved in this difference, and they work in both directions. For example, younger male workers are adversely affected by legislation and insurance requirements which generally specify that factory workers be 18 years of age or older. This limits the availability of jobs for younger workers. On the other hand, younger workers are probably more willing to accept delivery and messenger jobs (which are included among the full-time jobs as long as they are offered as full-time and permanent jobs)--while older clients are less likely to accept such jobs.

Younger female clients show the same placement rate as younger male clients. The lower rate for older female clients may be due in part to three factors. Some of these clients are well-qualified for employment, and because of this, do not remain with the agency if a desirable job is not immediately available. The agency does not actively solicit such "better jobs" since it has few clients qualified for them. Other of these clients are unmarried and have one or more children, and either live at home with parents or are receiving welfare payments. They are caught in the familiar dilemma: to work at low wages, or remain in a familiar family situation. Beyond this problem, they are sometimes unable to qualify for even the low-wage jobs. Finally, the size of the sample of older females is small enough (N=9) that it may simply be insufficient as a basis for analysis.

The reasons for this difference regarding the older female clients are not definitive. The above explanations are based on impressions gained from going through the files for other purposes. Though the problem of the sample size cannot be discounted, the general impression is that these clients bring special problems which the agency is not equipped to handle.

There are also some fairly sizeable differences observable when we compare clients according to which program they are referred to (or conversely, from which external agency they are referred). The nature of the program and its clientele--whether addicts, probationers, or some other special group--clearly has something to do with the placeability of the clients. However, there is reason to believe, as the counselors claim, that the placeability of clients is influenced to some extent by the referral agency's work in screening and preparing clients for YEA. The following table compares probationers who are referred to the Crime-Prevention Program by designated outside referral sources with probationers who are referred through other sources. The placement rate is shown, as with other groups heretofore. In addition, the number and percentage of clients who appeared for one interview only is shown. This latter is treated as an indicator of "early disaffiliation" from the agency. The inference is that clients who appear for only one interview may be less "motivated" to seek the kind of employment offered by YEA.

We see that 46% of the JCCP program (Crime-Prevention) did not return to YEA after the first interview. Other probation clients had a somewhat lower disaffiliation rate on this measure (38%), though their rate was still fairly high. There is a substantial difference in the placement of the two groups, however: 6% for the "program clients" and 50% for non-program probationers. Whether this is evidence for different degrees of screening and preparation by referral agencies is not clear on the basis of this evidence. The findings do not contradict such a hypothesis, however.

TABLE 8.4 "PROGRAM" AS A FACTOR IN PLACEMENT AND EARLY DISAFFILIATION AMONG PROBATION CLIENTS

	All Probation Clients (N = 31)	Crime-Prevention Program Clients (N = 15)	Other Probationers (N = 16)
No. Individuals Placed on F/T Jobs	9	1	8
Placement Rate	29%	6%	50%
One Interview Only	13	7	6
Early Disaffiliation Rate	42%	46%	38%

We also found "program differences" in the Addict Program, this time in the opposite direction. The placement rate for clients in the Addict Program is 67%, while their "disaffiliation rate" is only 17%. The differences, when compared with "non-program addicts" coming from other sources, are considerable--lending support to the counselors' contention that program content contributes to placement.

TABLE 8.5 "PROGRAM" AS A FACTOR IN PLACEMENT AND EARLY DISAFFILIATION OF ADDICTS

	All Addicts (N = 19)	Addict Program Clients (N = 12)	Other Addicts (N = 7)
No. Individuals Placed on F/T Jobs	9	8	1
Placement Rate	47%	67%	14%
One Interview Only	7	2	5
Early Disaffiliation Rate	37%	17%	71%

The rate of failure must also be seen within the context of client types. That is, even aside from age, sex, and program, the clients are probably not uniform commodities. When we analyzed the case files, we observed a number of types whose characteristics probably influenced the

placement rate both positively and negatively. On the negative side, for example, a few clients were virtually illiterate; others did not return after the first counseling session and thus could not be placed. On the positive side, some clients appeared to be better able to withstand initial rejections by employers and returned several times to the agency before a job placement was made. Others, who might be labelled "professional clients," were placed repeatedly by the agency's counselors over a period of several years. One client of this type was placed on 11 full-time jobs and 20 temporary jobs over a six-year period before he was finally rejected by the agency for being too dependent on it and unable to hold a job. Within rather broad limits, however, such clients were an asset to the agency: they were usually placeable, and because they did not stay on a job long, they could be placed again and again.

In order to conserve space, we cannot present the detailed findings on client types here. However, we should keep the types in mind when discussing the rate of placement failure, and later when discussing the "encouragement" of some clients in the first counseling session and the "weeding out" of unmotivated clients (see Chapter 13).

Summary on the Rate of Failure

The expectation that there would be a considerable rate of failure in the work of the counselors, when failure

is defined as inability to place clients on jobs, appears to be supported by the evidence available. The placement rate for the client sample was 30%, when placement of at least half of the individual clients on full-time permanent jobs within the first year of service was used as the definition of placement success.

This high failure rate can be expected because of the mission of the agency to place individuals who are regarded by other employment agencies as unplaceable. Thus, the relatively low placement rates are not necessarily evidence of failure of the "mission." They may indicate the accomplishment of a very difficult task. But the results would appear to be failure because of expectations generated by the claims of the agency. That is, the accomplishments may be obscured by agency claims that cause expectations of even higher rates of success. In this sense, the agency may be a victim of its past successes or of its public relations. It helps to generate the expectations that are extremely difficult to fulfill, and these expectations become the basis of contractual demands upon it by external organizations. To the extent that these demands are expressed in budgetary terms, payments for placement and for retention, the agency may be fiscally strangulated for performing a very necessary and valuable job according to criteria which are beyond its (and any other agency's) capacity.

Evidence was also offered to show that failure is not equally predictable among all clients. Clients referred by some programs are more likely to be placed than those referred by other programs, where a "creaming" of placeable candidates may already have taken place. Older male clients are more likely to be placed than younger clients of both sexes, and are more likely to be placed than older females.

Finally, we suggested a possible relationship between "client types" and placement results: whether a client is placed or not may depend in part on what kind of client he or she is, in terms of "character" and "motivation," and in part on what happens to the client at the agency as a result of the interaction of specific counselors and client-types. No evidence was available to distinguish between these two factors as to their relative importance.(1) However, it appeared that the ability to withstand employer rejection was a trait that distinguished one type. Extreme dependency was suggested as the distinctive feature of the "professional client." A third type was described in terms of serious deficiencies with respect to intelligence or academic skills.

Organization Leadership and the Impact of Failure

Having established that there is a considerable rate of failure in the agency's work, we turn now to the second part of the hypothesis: that an important function of organizational leadership will be to minimize the impact of

failure to attain the operational goal of placement--to enable the organization to continue functioning, and to control competition and conflict.

Whether this part of the hypothesis is supported or not depends upon the definition of failure and the kind of failure involved. For this reason, it is necessary to distinguish between immediate, or day-by-day failure to place clients on jobs, and ultimate failure to deliver satisfactorily on the contract. When we consider immediate failure, the hypothesis, to the extent that it can be operationally specified, appears to be supported in certain respects, and not supported in other respects. The hypothesis is not supported when ultimate failure is considered.

Failure of the day-to-day variety--low placement of given clients or of a "satisfactory" number of clients--can be termed Work Failure. Failure related to organizational goals--loss of contracts and the performance necessary to gain contracts--will be defined as Organizational Failure. "Organizational failure" has three stages characterized by different activities. The stages are (1) "impending failure," (2) "achieved failure," and (3) "post-failure."

Before discussing the findings, a few preliminary comments about administrative function are required. Except for Max Weber, many of the most prominent writers on organizational theory have offered prescriptions as to what

administrators should do (in addition, of course, to their analyses of how and why organizations behave in the ways they do)--that is, what the administrative function should be. Chester Barnard, himself an executive with the New Jersey Telephone Company, conceived of organizations as essentially moral and cooperative in nature. Perrow writes that for Barnard:

> "Organizations...cannot fail to have a moral purpose. Society itself finds its form, its 'structure and process' through formal organizations. The only goal of business, he says, can be service. It is not profit nor power nor political ideology and certainly not personal gain. The common purpose of an organization must always be a moral purpose, and to inculcate this moral purpose into the very fiber of the organization and into the members of it is the only meaningful task of the executive."(2)

Selznick, as we have noted, sees the prevention of organizational drift (and institutionalization) as the prime function of organizational leadership. This is done by setting goals, and avoiding both "opportunism" and "utopianism." Opportunism is the "pursuit of immediate, short-run advantages in a way inadequately controlled by considerations of principle and ultimate consequence." Utopianism involves a "flight to abstractions" in the hope of avoiding "hard choices." Some manifestations of utopianism include <u>over-generalization of purpose</u> (e.g. "to make a profit") and a "<u>retreat to technology</u>"--the hope or belief that "the solution of technical problems will solve institutional problems."(3)

March and Simon discuss the absorption of uncertainty by management and information specialists as both a means of organizational control and a corrective for the limited rationality which participants can bring to organizational affairs. The technical vocabulary and classification schemes of an organization provide a framework which restricts the scope of thinking and communicating within the organization. "Hence," the authors assert, "the world tends to be perceived by the organization members in terms of the particular concepts that are reflected in the organization's vocabulary." The absorption of uncertainty takes place "when inferences are drawn from a body of evidence and the inferences, instead of the evidence itself, are then communicated...."(4)

For James Thompson, "co-alignment" of the organization's technology, task environment, domain, and organizational structure is the basic administrative function.(5)

The domain of an organization is similar to what we have called the "mission" of YEA. It refers to the range of products to be produced or services rendered, and the consumers for whom they are intended. The task environment refers to the specific elements of the environment which are important in achieving organizational goals. In YEA's case, funding organizations would be an example.(6)

These are all rather large-scale theories. Insofar as they offer prescriptions for managerial behavior, the prescriptions are intended for organizational survival and, to

a lesser extent, increasing efficiency and production.

These concepts can be seen to apply to our study. The "moral purpose" described by Barnard is manifested in YEA in the form of altruism and philanthropy--though we note that it need not be "inculcated" into the staff. Moral purposes are partly brought into the agency through the recruitment of altruistic counselors. Similarly, Selznick's dichotomy of utopianism and opportunism could be used as a starting point for analyzing the conflict between YEA's Board and its staff. The Board may tend to be "utopian" in some ways: for example, its "overgeneralization of purpose" or mission, and its neglect of "institutional problems" except when they are accidentally discovered. The staff, especially the administrators, may be "opportunistic" in their pursuit of "short-run advantages" such as contracts which lead to serving a new clientele in new ways, or striving to fulfill contracts in ways which give less attention to "considerations of principle and ultimate consequence" than to immediate contract demands. Yet how are we to say whether the "ultimate consequences" of agency action are best taken into account by the staff's insistence on the need for additional resources, or the Board's definition of agency mission? In another vein, who is it that avoids the "hard choices?" In some ways, it appears that the "utopian" Board faces up to such choices more readily than the "opportunistic" staff in its willingness to cut back on government funding or to close the agency in the face of union-

ization. The absorption of uncertainty referred to by Simon and March is a management function at YEA. We shall see, however, that YEA management generates uncertainty. Such uncertainty appears for the most part to be generated unintentionally.

Placements, as we have seen, are all-important as the indicator of success, with little time and few resources available to be given to "quality work." On the other hand, placements are not the whole story; the overall quality of the counselor's work and his "attitude" are also regarded as important. The counselors have great difficulty specifying which of the two criteria is most important under specific changing conditions. There is reason to believe that some uncertainty is generated intentionally. That is, management may neglect aspects of their function that they in principle regard as necessary. The absence of systematic evaluation of the counselors' work leads to a sense of autonomy among counselors. Yet at the same time, the counselors never know where they stand. If, when contracts are lost and when counselors must be laid off, there is no record of quality of performance available. This appears to be advantageous for the agency. The counselors believe they are evaluated by their placements and thus tend to behave on that assumption. At the same time, the lack of any actual performance records gives the agency freedom in making layoffs. To some extent, this has been rectified by the current but as yet untested policy of providing each

counselor with a written evaluation each year. But as we shall see, the terms are sufficiently vague to give the administrators enough room to maneuver.

Thompson's statement of the administrative function as "co-alignment" is, on the surface, the least troublesome one. This is not surprising, since it represents an attempt to reconcile several major theories, including the ones discussed here. In Thompson's work, organizations are seen as predominantly concerned with the uncertainties of the environment, especially those of their own particular task environments. The administrative function of co-alignment is made possible, in a changing environment, by constant surveillance of the environment through boundary-spanning units like market research and decentralization. Thompson's framework is a useful one. However, with respect to our own study, it seems to neglect certain factors which we have found to be important. In the most general sense, it implies that a balanced co-alignment of technology, task environment, domain, and organizational structure is feasible. In contrast, we have found more appropriate the notion that some of these elements, such as the task environment, dominate others, and that while YEA's domain (its purpose or mission) is co-aligned with its task environment through contract negotiations, the demands for accountability imposed by external organizations lead inadvertently to substantial modifications in its domain. Moreover, it is not clear that Thompson's model fits service organizations such

as YEA as well as it does product organizations, with respect to technology. The technology at YEA seems highly dependent upon the domain selected, rather than being an independent factor to be co-aligned. And domain may be modified by the task environment, as suggested above. Finally, we note that Thompson envisions organizations where administrators are vested with authority over all the factors mentioned. At YEA, administrators must deal with a Board that has ultimate authority but which is principally interested in and knowledgeable about the organization's domain. The administrators must deal with the task environment, organizational structure, and problems of technology under this constraint. The observed conflict, dominance, and subterfuge can be discussed only if we do not restrict our attention to the problem of co-alignment.

For the most part, however, we are considering here only a very limited aspect of administrative function. If the general theories cited above are concerned with administration aimed at long-term organizational survival, we are concerned with how the administration reacts under conditions which directly threaten the organization. In reviewing the findings on this topic, we must keep in mind that YEA is unlike many other organizations in two important respects: It is highly dependent on a few organizations for money and clients. Secondly, its contracts for services usually fund specific positions, with little surplus. Thus, there is little opportunity for the agency to accumulate

"fat", capital which can be used up in hard times. When contracts are lost, the agency has few alternatives to laying off the number of people whose salaries will equal the salaries funded by the contract. They need not be (and often are not) the individuals who are assigned to the program.

Work Failure

In terms of work failure, the official evaluation and communication of failure or success, the hypothesis seems to be strongly supported. Not only is the impact of failure "minimized," it is almost prevented. There is little systematic evaluation of the counselors' work, thus no organizational definition of failure. The agency collects and reports on a great quatity of statistics about its performance. But none of them assess individual performance. In this sense, counselors can hardly fail by official organizational standards, but they can and do by unofficial, more ambiguous and uncertain standards. No matter how we try to define success or failure--the number of clients serviced by counselors, the placement rates of the different counselors, their respective retention rates--no records are kept. Thus, no evaluation is possible; and without evaluation, there is no evidence of failure.

The agency's unwillingness to evaluate consistently and systematically the counselors' work, counselors' opinions to the contrary, is a puzzle. The agency as a

whole is evaluated by such standards. Why should it not evaluate and reward its counselors in the same way? The Associate Director's influence in this area is suggested by two events which occurred in the early stages of this study. The first occurred in a discussion I had (on August 8, 1973) with the Associate Director concerning two studies on the evaluation of counselors by use of the number of clients serviced. One study was made by me, based on information contained in the Daily Sheets for the month of October 1972. The other study was reported in the June 1973 issue of the Journal of Employment Counseling in an article by David P. Meyer, entitled "How Much Is Enough? The Caseload Problem." The second event was an Executive Staff meeting a few days later.

The data for the month of October 1972 on that month's Daily Sheets showed how the workload was distributed among the counselors. The number of clients seen by each counselor during the month was tabulated. The results were as follows:

TABLE 8.6 NUMBER OF CLIENTS SEEN BY EACH COUNSELOR DURING OCTOBER 1972

COUNSELOR[7]	NUMBER CLIENTS SEEN	AVERAGE PER DAY WORKED
D	33	2.54
E	102	5.37
X	44	5.50
Y	113	5.95
C	129	6.45
B	159	7.95
Z	57	14.25

The article by Meyer addressed itself to the problem of how many clients a counselor can handle, and still do an effective job. The article proposed and defined six "critical variables of the caseload problem" and presented a matrix "to determine the ability of an employability development team to carry a greater or lesser caseload," and offered "examples of the application of the matrix to a number of different (program) settings."

Two principal reasons for not evaluating the work of counselors in some sort of quantitative way might be that, first, counselors are overworked as it is; to evaluate their work would be meaningless and unfair. Or, alternatively, "it can't be done:" there are too many variables. Both studies were focused on these possibilities.

The Meyer article suggested that under conditions similar to those found in the agency, considering the variables listed, a caseload of about 25--30 individual counseling interviews per week could be carried. If we multiply the daily averages shown earlier (Table 8.6), we can estimate the counselors at the agency could handle the following numbers of clients each week:

TABLE 8.7 ESTIMATED WEEKLY CASELOAD, BY COUNSELOR

COUNSELOR	NUMBER CLIENTS SEEN PER WEEK
D	12.70
E	26.85
X	27.50
Y	29.75
C	32.25
B	39.75
Z	71.25

These data together with a brief summary of the Meyer article were presented to the Associate Director at one time. No conclusions were drawn, except for whatever might be implicit in showing the studies to him. The reaction to both was that they were "interesting." I pointed out the number of clients seen by Counselor Z and asked him what he thought of it.

"It just shows it can be done!" he said with apparent delight. "I know. I used to do it."

The Associate Director expressed no interest in doing this kind of analysis--despite his characteristic interest in statistics. Apparently, there was no need or desire for evaluation of that aspect of counselor performance.

On August 13 (5 days later), there was an Executive Staff meeting. The subject of evaluation of counselors

came up, in connection with the new ex-addict program. Our study of the October 1972 Daily Sheets was mentioned. The Director said that this kind of information could be useful, and the agency would have to do more of this in the future to help spot the productive counselors. The contract agencies are looking more and more into results, he said. The Associate Director agreed with this.

The Associate Director agreed to the need for this kind of information only after the Director took a position favorable to it. This position was not consistent with all he had said before, or has said since, but more importantly, it was inconsistent with anything he has done as the official in charge of daily operations. This official, unlike the supervisors described in Blau's study of a state employment service, remained skeptical of the feasibility and fairness of such evaluations.

Job Hoarding

The agency administrators found it necessary to reduce competition and conflict among counselors over the hoarding of jobs--though not, apparently, to minimize the impact of failure. Rather, the rules devised over a period of time, prior to 1973, seemed designed to minimize the possibility of a concentration of failure, or conversely, to distribute more equally the opportunities for success; i.e., job openings. There are two ways job openings can be hoarded. One is by signing out a job opening posted on the board, even if the counselor has no one in his office at the time who

is suited for the job. The second method of hoarding, probably the most widely used one, is not to report to the agency the job openings a counselor receives directly from an employer. There is no time limit on these orders, since there is no independent record of the order.

The agency and counselor ideal is that job orders should be shared. The counselor ought not "sit on jobs" if he is unable to use them. There was great ambivalence on this, however, probably because most counselors "hoarded" jobs to some extent, i.e., held them for use by their own clients. The rule eventually devised by the administrators was that counselors could "hold" a job order for approximately 24 hours if they had a client who seemed suitable, provided they could make a referral in that time. If the counselor could not contact the client and make the referral within a day, he was obligated to advise other counselors of the opening, usually by having the job developers post it on the Job Board, a bulletin board reserved for the posting of openings. "Holding" and "hoarding" job orders are virtually the same; the only difference was that "holding" was supposed to be limited in time.

This rule appeared to work quite well. At that time (1973), counselors were supposed to maintain a file on clients who had been registered and were "available" for certain types of jobs and who were supposed to be waiting for a call from the counselor. The compromise on hoarding was probably necessary to allow counselors to implement

that system. By 1976, counselors had stopped maintaining "available for work" files, except for a few special clients, and were "weeding out" clients who were not sufficiently "motivated" to "keep in touch." There were too few jobs available. Counselors not only weeded out the marginal clients, but were themselves more aggressive in policing hoarding. The "24 hour rule" was still in effect, but appeared to be seldom used: The counselor did not wait 24 hours before asking another counselor whether the other had sent a client out on a particular job opening desired for one of his own clients.

The Quota System

The agency did implement a placement evaluation system in 1975 (though not as an immediate response to the Addict Program), but it was imposed for only two or three months. Each counselor was supposed to make five placements per week. As we saw earlier, the system was abandoned because it was said to be causing too much conflict among the counselors. Neither of the two top administrators seemed to know if placements went up or down as a result of the "quota system." They talked about it as something they would rather forget about.

The Associate Director said that evaluation of counselors "depends on many factors" such as the job market, though there was a level of placements below which no one should go. He also argued that one "cannot look at limited time spans--a day, a week "in evaluating a counselor's work.

There are too many uncontrollable fluctuations. The quota system was not "punitive" in intent, he said, but because of the "fear element" deriving from the Director's "methodology," his ways of dealing with people, the counselors interpreted the system as punitive.

The quota system was thus adjudged a failure. The counselors did not like it. The Associate Director had probably never liked the idea. And the Director was not sold on it sufficiently to hold out against all the resistance. In addition, one of the victims of the system was one of the female counselors whom he liked. She had the highest placement rate under the system, but was "ostracized" by other counselors as a result.

The counselors themselves seem to have no alternatives to deal with the evaluation problem. They are not happy with the uncertainty of the present system but are troubled by precise measurements of their work. On May 24, 1976, a meeting between the Staff Council and the Director was held. The Staff Council was elected by the counseling staff to deal with the administration on grievances, work conditions, etc. The Staff Council developed in the aftermath of the abortive unionization.(8) The record of the meeting, obtained from the files of the agency, indicates that the counselors do not endorse a quota system, yet they can advance no criterion other than effort, precisely the method used by agency administrators to evaluate counselors, now and in the past. One counselor said at the meeting:

> "Who is performing and who is not should be obvious to supervisors without counting placements. If a colleague who is obviously trying to make placements and is falling short...their fellow workers should try to find out the problem and help that counselor."

Much of this meeting was devoted to discussing the criteria by which counselors and job developers are evaluated. "What is the rating system?" is the way this discussion is headed in the minutes. The counselors were reportedly in agreement in asking:

> "If people are on staff on a permanent basis (i.e. not on probation), doesn't everyone have a satisfactory rating?"

At the time research for this study was terminated, the agency had two means for evaluating the work of counselors. These were the "annual evaluations," and a "review of placement statistics." The Associate Director described the latter as a "countdown somewhere of each counselor's activity--of raw placements." But he added, "I don't keep up with it each month." There was no evidence indicating that these figures are used at all. If they are used in the "annual" evaluations, there appears to be no standard against which they are measured.

The Annual Evaluations

The evaluations cover three areas: punctuality, job performance, and "attitude and growth outlook." The most recent evaluations of Counselor J and Counselor G are summarized below. Both of these counselors were retained after the May 1976 layoffs. However, Counselor J was scheduled to be laid off at the end of June 1976 if no new funds were obtained, despite what appears to be a good rating on most items. It is difficult to say whether this had any relationship to his union and Staff Council roles. We can observe that there are numerous "good effort" qualifiers in the evaluations. These appear to be indicators that performance in these areas is not all that it should be.

Punctuality is evaluated in terms of reporting to work on time, and adhering to the "lunch hour policy," i.e., taking no more than an hour for lunch. Counselor J, it was noted, had "difficulty in arriving to work on time," but showed attempts "to make up for the loss in time by working late." Counselor G was said to make a "good effort in reporting on time." Neither counselor was guilty of taking long lunches frequently.

Job performance is evaluated in terms of keeping client records up to date, the counselor's placement rate, turning in reports on time, establishing rapport with clients, relations with employers, and promptness in seeing clients when they arrive. Counselor J's evaluation stated that his record-keeping was "usually up to date," although it was

noted that his "style in writing could be better." This counselor's placement rate was described as being "excellent." Counselor G, on the other hand, was cautioned that his record entries were "very brief," and that there was "limited explanation of client activity shown." His placement rate was characterized as "acceptable." Both counselors were said to make a "good effort" towards handing in reports on time, to have good rapport with clients and employers, and to see clients soon after arrival.

"Attitude and Growth Outlook" is evaluated according to whether or not the counselor has a good relationship with other staff members, the counselor's attitude in the performance of duties, the "acceptance of direction" from supervisors, independent decision-making ability, and the interest shown in the work. Both of these counselors met these standards, according to their evaluations.

We should note two features of the evaluations. Most of the items are either not measurable or are not measured. Exceptions to this are attendance and punctuality--perhaps the most "objective," measurable items but not necessarily the most important. Other items are based on the supervisor's impressions and on the absence of negative information--e.g., with respect to rapport. Thus, even with the institutionalization of formal evaluations, the agency resists the measurement of work; it is felt that such measurement does not provide the answer.(9) The evaluation can be seen as really assessing (or attempting to do so) only a

few things. These are technique, decision-making ability, attitude towards work and agency, and "busy-ness."

Decision-making ability is of minor importance, being represented by one item. Technique is assessed by "placement rate" and "rapport"--neither of which are observable or measured.[10] The majority of the items--and the most observable ones--thus assess two things: attitude and what is referred to here as "busy-ness." It is not always easy to distinguish between the two: "handing reports /In/ on time" might be said to represent a desired attitude about timely reports as much as it reflects the busy-ness necessary to do the reports on time. In other cases, the differences are a little clearer: "accepts direction" is an evaluation of attitude; "reporting to work on time" is an evaluation of (full-time) busy-ness. The items are classified below according to whether they appear to represent evaluations of "attitude" or "busy-ness."

Attitude	Busy-ness
1. "interest in his work"	1. "reporting to work on time"
2. "accepts direction"	2. adhering to lunch-hour policy
3. "willingly performs" assignments	3. Maintaining records
4. "good relationship with co-workers"	4. Good effort in accomplishing placement goal
	5. timely reports
	6. "sees clients soon"

"Attitude" is discussed under hiring standards in Chapter 12. "Busy-ness" may be said, in the end to reflect a favorable attitude towards one's work and the working conditions. But just as the counselors "weed out" clients who are not "motivated," do not "keep in touch," administrators and supervisors appear to classify and rate counselors according to whether they keep busy. In lieu of any other acceptable standards of performance, busy-ness becomes the operating standard. It both expresses the attitude desired by the agency, and embodies the Associate Director's belief that the counselors will make placements if they keep busy. "I can't believe, " he said, "that if there are jobs out there, the counselors won't send the kids out." And if there are jobs, all that remains is to see that the counselors keep busy. Attendance and punctuality, and taking no more than the prescribed lunch hour become more important. More attention seems to be paid to this category of standards than to any other.

Stanton, in her study of volunteers in a mental health agency, describes something similar to busy-ness among the professional workers of the agency (though we note that it is intended to convey a different message).

> "The work load of the professional staff requires that coffee breaks and lunches be frequently missed, or used as an out-of-the-office opportunity for uninterrupted continuation of work. Overtime (unpaid) is the norm; deadline jitters are commonplace.
>
> "If the habitual pace is described by the staff as 'hectic,' outside observers tend to use different

> adjectives. By other...agency personnel, the office is described as 'frantic.' Some Board members call it 'dedicated,' but others appear to perceive the activity as too aggressive. One Board member commented: 'Nobody expects such heroic efforts....Anybody who works like you do just has to be neurotic.' The Executive Director appears to regard all such feedback as complimentary--evidence that the organization is effectively conveying an impression of vigor."(11)

Hardly anything could less resemble the pace of work at YEA than this (with the exception of Counselor D, who was described earlier). Busy-ness at YEA means working, but not frantically. It means "motion," but more the motion of a watch than that of a wind-up toy. Busy-ness at YEA means appearing to be not unoccupied. The agency is even willing to accept the appearance of busy-ness. No one can or wants to peer over the shoulder of a counselor to see what he is writing while seated at his desk. On the other hand, conversations with other counselors, even if they are discussing a case makes the Associate Director uneasy. Such discussions may turn into personal conversations. Some of the evidence of this emphasis on busyness leads us to the findings that contravene the hypothesis that leadership will minimize "work failure." The argument may be summarized as follows:

The administrators do minimize the impact of failure in the day-to-day work by resisting the tendency to measure and evaluate the counselors' work according to placements or other specific standards. In part, this is because the staff resists such evaluations; but we have also seen that the Associate Director believes that there are "too many

variables" involved to permit a fair evaluation.

But, the administrators do evaluate counselors in some fashion. "Busy-ness" and "attitude" were cited. The impact of failure to keep busy is not minimized. Moreover, if all counselors are busy, there are other more subtle standards of evaluation being employed to discriminate among counselors. These are not easily classifiable: They may reflect evaluations of attitude as directly perceived; they also involve other things such as the appearance of and style of work preferred by supervisors. There is considerable uncertainty for the counselors: Until the standards are discerned, virtually any act may represent "failure" in the eyes of the superiors.

The following material, from the interview with Counselor F, illustrates the importance of busy-ness here in the form of not talking with other counselors, of uncertainty over the more subtle standards of evaluation, and the role of third-party messages in communicating unacceptable performance.

I asked this counselor about the staff's decision to affiliate with a union. In response, she mentioned the many "personal" and unique reasons which various counselors had. "There is a mood here--of intrigue--unlike any place I've ever worked," she said. The counselor continued: "I know when I came here, I was told not to be too friendly with people because you can't trust anybody. Now this is one of the administrators saying this to me!.... At times, it came

down to particular people." The counselor recalled an incident that had angered the Associate Director:

> "He saw me talking to a fellow counselor that I did spend a lot of time talking with about work--and instead of coming right out and saying 'OK, break it up!,' he got very upset and went into J___ H___'s office and said 'Break them up! Right now!' He was really angry. So I went to see him and said, 'I really want to talk this out. It's very upsetting to me. I've never had a problem at any job in my life... I work hard, etc.' He agreed with all that. But he kept saying, 'Well, it's appearances /that count/--blah, blah.' There's a big thing about appearances here."

The counselor was then asked if any of the counselors seemed to be successful in predicting what pleased the administrators. She replied that everyone who "survived the layoff must please them in some way. But I don't know in what way." She then returned to the subject of third-party messages: "I have almost never gotten any information directly to my face--about my work, my own 'style,' whatever. It has always been oblique or third hand."

Earlier in the interview, the counselor was asked how her work was evaluated. She replied that "placement was part of it," but was not a major part. "Work is really evaluated very subjectively here," she stated; "I'm not even sure that it's work that is being evaluated here." What then? she was asked. "Style," she said; "professionally and personally." Her supervisor, she said, "wants me to ask her advice" about client problems, and "she loves to get involved." For this reason, the counselor made a point of "going in with some relatively minor problem, and chatting." She added: "If you just sit in your office and

work very, very hard and make lots of placements--that's not the whole thing."

The Associate Director cited "productivity" and "attitudes" as factors in deciding who to lay off after the Addict Program was not funded again. Productivity apparently did not primarily mean placement success. In describing the reasons for laying off one particular counselor, the Associate Director cited as reasons his reports were not turned in on time; he was a "clown" (i.e., he clowned around); he talked too much with other counselors and staff; and he made too many personal phone calls. He summarized: "We all liked him. He would promise to change, but after awhile, he would slide back again."

The agency's reluctance to fire counselors added to the uncertainty. The counselors could not easily gauge the limits of tolerated behavior except for certain offenses related to the clients, such as selling narcotics, marijuana, or pills, to them. The Associate Director, continuing to discuss the counselor who was laid off, pointed out that the agency delayed firing him, gave him additional chances, spoke to him, warned him--but all failed. He said, "You had to keep after him. He was tottering constantly. The layoff was an ideal opportunity to get rid of him."

The situation, for counselors, involves a great deal of ambivalence and uncertainty. They want to know that there are standards and what the standards are, in order to relieve

the uncertainty. Yet they also want the standards to be vague, based on such intangibles as effort and the quality of one's work. The agency partly satisfies this desire by evaluating effort in terms of busy-ness. But the busy-ness standard produces its own problems. It may be carried to ludicrous extremes, as it seems to be when counselors are discouraged from talking with one another.(12) But the more significant problem is that, despite the failure of an occasional counselor on this score, the standard is too easily satisfied. When most or all counselors "keep busy," there is little basis for differential evaluation. When contracts are lost, somebody has to be laid off, and the formalized standards for job evaluation are inadequate in making layoff decisions. In such situations, more subtle and personal standards become operative. Counselors usually do not know to the full extent what the operative standards are. They may learn some of them, as we saw eith Counselor F and her supervisor. But those who are told what their failures are--for example, the counselor who clowned around--are encouraged to believe that the agency will be patient with them. When layoffs must be made, they learn what the "score" actually is, but too late. Up to that point, their retention on staff leads to uncertainty over work standards among other counselors. Even when the "non-productive" counselors are laid off, there is no certainty as to why they were laid off.(13) The only certainty is their layoffs were not based on their being assigned to the cancelled

program--since "contract lines are crossed."(14)

Uncertainty, induced by the precarious fiscal situation of the agency and by vague and personal standards of performance, appeared to be the dominant means of control and discipline exercised by the agency. Making placements is one means of performing satisfactorily, but as one counselor reported, that is not enough; supervisors expect more without always clearly specifying what it is. As the agency becomes more dependent on contracts and as the contracts themselves become more uncertain because of the availability of funds, the uncertainty of who will be laid off in the event of contract loss discourages counselors from "making waves" and encourages them to "keep busy."

Organizational Failure

Organizational failure is a simple fact, the loss of a contract. The response takes place in three stages. The first is prior to the event, referred to here as "impending failure." The second stage is concurrent with the event and is termed "achieved failure." We refer to the third stage as the "post-failure" stage. We can consider these stages only briefly, since not much data is available; the concepts were not developed until the data-gathering was completed.

"Impending Failure"

For some time before a contract is terminated, there are clear intimations that contract renewal is doubtful. Per-

formance standards are not being met, or the funding agency has indicated that funds may not be available for renewal of the contract. Usually, however, nothing definite is known that can be communicated to the staff, nor is it always desirable to panic the staff with premature official pronouncements. At this time, the supervisors play an "opening game" in which they attempt in advance to lay the blame on each other for the impending contract problem. At the same time, they disseminate rumors of "bad news" among the staff to spur them on to more intensive effort in an attempt to save the contract. The "bad news" is tentative and vague, but the rumors promote a sense of malaise among the staff.

Some evidence for the "supervisors' opening game" comes from minutes of the Executive Staff meetings. The minutes of the November 17, 1975 meeting show that the Associate Director noted performance problems in the Addict Program:

> "There has been a <u>decrease</u> in the number of <u>placements</u> and <u>other positive terminations</u>. The drop in the number of clients entering YEA is the cause for this drop in placements. This recruitment problem has been tackled from all angles but has not improved."

At the same meeting, the supervisor of the Addict Program saw the problem differently, attributing the blame indirectly to the counseling supervisor. The Addict Program supervisor stated that:

> "He is unhappy with the decision of having Addict Program counselors seeing other clients.... Previously, the Addict Program counselors would spend their time trying to get re-entry clients to return to YEA and place them on jobs. He feels that the lack of intake is not the full reason for the drop in placements. In addition, when there is an overflow of Addict Program clients, other counselors should help out."

At the January 16, 1976 meeting, the Director noted that the OJT supervisor and the Addict Program supervisor "have an enormous responsibility to turn the contracts around...." Most of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of what the job development unit should do to achieve this end. The Director stated that

> "Fundamental changes are necessary in job development.... It has to be more flavored...given a more scientific approach...becoming more focused instead of having a shotgun approach. It needs more of a salesman...and more field operations...."

By March, performance on the Addict Program was lagging at all levels. At the March 8 meeting, the program supervisor attributed failure to place more clients in skills training programs to a lack of money to pay tuition. This prompted the Fiscal Administrator to say that she was "doing everything to get the money." The Associate Director now placed the blame on job development, noting that "full-

time jobs are down almost 50% from last year. This is taking its effect on the Addict and Crime-Prevention programs." He also criticized the supervisor of job development for spending "two-thirds of her time" on other tasks.(15) He recommended that she "devote all her time to job development." The Addict Program placements were 50% lower than they should be, he noted--"the same percentage as the loss of full-time jobs in job development." The Director "suggested that we cut down on non-contract appointments and have a line counselor, i.e. one not assigned to a specific program, to help the Addict Program staff. The Counseling Supervisior objected to this because she felt that the Addict Program counselors were not doing their share of the work. The supervisor of the Addict Program responded to this by saying that "only 41 of the new clients were referred by the designated referral unit. The other 112 were recruited by Addict Program staff. The counselors recruited twice as many old clients." The supervisor added that "the Addict Program does not need another counselor--it needs more jobs." The Director tried to solve this problem by suggesting that "the counselors develop jobs, under the direction of job development."

There was, of course, no final answer to the question of who should bear the blame for the problems. In a most important sense, it did not matter. When the layoffs came, no supervisors were let go. But at this stage, the supervisors had no other means of responding to the impending

failure than that of attacking each other.(16)

"Achieved Failure"

This stage begins with YEA's receipt, from the funding agency, of the official notice of the loss of the contract. In it, the agency makes its decisions about who to lay off and who to retain. We discussed this in the cases of the loss of the Juvenile Program contract and an earlier offender-rehabilitation program.(17) In Chapter 11, we shall examine more detailed data on the layoffs associated with the loss of the Addict Program contract. We shall therefore postpone discussion of this stage until we reach Chapter 11. But it can be noted here that this stage is referred to as the supervisors' "end game" because it is here that the previous planned moves of the supervisors become evident to the counselors. Only at this stage do the counselors find out what their "score" is.

"Post-Failure"

This stage is not easy to describe. It is essentially a subjective state following the "shock" of failure. The conceptualization of a post-failure stage is based as much on impressions as it is upon exact data. Nevertheless, some data is available to illustrate the processes of withdrawal that takes place between administrators and staff, the administrators' search for new contracts, and the "demoralization" and "caution" of the counselors.

It was my impression that during this stage the Director spent even more time alone in his office than usual. On June 25, 1976, in one of my many conversations with the Associate Director, I remarked that I saw no evidence that the Director was making any attempt to "get closer to" the staff members remaining after the layoffs or to "reassure them" in any way. The Associate Director replied that the Director "is like a general who has lost his country, but is still in his little room--giving orders just like nothing happened." However, we must bear in mind that the layoffs closely followed the brief unionization of the staff. The Director's withdrawal may have resulted more from unionization and his sense of the disloyalty of the staff. Thus the direct evidence of "administrator withdrawal" is extremely limited and speculative.(18) One must note, however, that not one general staff meeting was held in the four or five weeks which elapsed between the time the staff was notified of the contract loss, and the time we completed our field work.

There is more certainty about the administrators' immediate search for a new contract to replace the one lost. If the administrators are demoralized, they do not show it by purposeless drift. The minutes of the May 17, 1976 Executive Staff meeting show that the Director announced the loss of the Addict Program contract, due to a cutback in the type of funds that the city's Department of Employment was using to pay for the program. Ten days later, the

agency submitted a proposal to the Department of Employment for a new program, using another source of funds (CETA). The proposal called for a combined Youth and Addict program, with a toal cost of $358,409.(19) Ten positions would be funded for the ex-addict part of the program, approximately the same positions as under the old contract, but under some new titles. Included in the proposal were skills-training funds and stipends--though scaled down to 25 students. By 1977, the agency had a new Addict Program in operation, though I am unable to say if it resulted directly from this proposal.

The counselors' version of the post-failure stage is somewhat better documented and speaks for itself. Counselor J was asked how he would describe the morale of the counselors who were remaining after the layoffs. He replied: "Morale is at a low. I think when you walk around, you can't help seeing it. It's staring you in the face." He mentioned the "empty offices," and the "flashbacks, of people just laughing, or just people...." What about the Staff Council? I asked. What is it doing? He said, "People have no gripes now. They are just worried about keeping their jobs. Everything else is secondary." The former chairman of the Staff Council was one of those laid off. For Counselor J, the lay-offs made the Staff Council and the union "useless;" "I mean the actual thing the union was started for occurred. And nothing could be done to stop it. Nothing could be done now." The counselors were

extremely insecure, he said. They felt that "if things could happen that quickly" in the Addict Program lay-offs, then "the same thing could happen again. They're on their toes."

If the Council were active, we asked, would staff contact with the Board still be a main issue? How important was that? He replied:

> "I think at this point people just don't care.... The only issue pepple have is just trying to keep the job they have... and not making waves."

If the Council were active still, he added, its members would be "a lot more conservative and cautious." Was the Chairman of the Council laid off because he was an activist; do people here read it that way? the counselor was asked. "Some people read it exactly that way," he said.

Counselor G characterized the staff at this stage as showing "more confusion than anything." But he also noted: "A lot of people now are worried about further cuts...they are not putting forth as much effort."

Conclusion

The hypothesis regarding the "function of organizational leadership" in the situation where there is "failure to attain the operational goal of placement" was neither clearly proved nor disproved. To assess the hypothesis, it was necessary to specify in detail the kind of failure involved: individual failure in day-to-day work, and failure of

the organization to deliver a level of performance required (in this case, by contract).

The hypothesis was supported by the findings if we consider only individual failure to achieve placement. Little effort was made by the agency to define failure in specific, operational terms, let alone increase or decrease its "impact" on counselors. No records showing how many clients each counselor sees, or refers to jobs, or places on jobs are used. The operative performance standard observed was labelled "busy-ness," the appearance of being busy. This standard embodied the administration's belief that the necessary work of the agency would get done if the counselors kept busy seeing clients, entering information in the records, etc.

However, the substance of the hypothesis was that the leadership would attempt to minimize the impact of failure in order to control competition and conflict and to enable the agency to continue functioning. We observed that this did not appear to be the case. The standard of "busy-ness" (and "attitude") emerged partly from the belief by the Associate Director that "too many variables are involved" to evaluate counselors' work on the basis of placements or any other single criterion--and partly from the resistance of counselors to such specific criteria. Thus, the hypothesis was not confirmed, as it related to intentions of organizational leaders.

The vagueness of the "busy-ness" standard, and the conclusion that it was easily satisfied led to the inference that more subtle and more personal standards were in operation. These were seen as the connecting point between "work failure" and "organizational failure." In the latter instance, when contracts are lost and layoffs must be made, these subtle and largely unknown and unofficial standards become decisive with reppect to who is laid off and who is retained. At this level of failure, the leadership does nothing to "minimize the impact of failure." On the contrary, there seems to be a certain satisfaction derived from getting rid of the "dead wood," counselors who are regarded as non-productive. In part, this satisfaction" may result from the accumulated exasperation of trying to "straighten out" counselors who are not meeting the personal standards desired. The reluctance to fire counselors of this kind appears to be one factor contributing to the counselors' uncertainty over what the standards are. We inferred that this uncertainty was an effective form of agency control over counselors.

Finally, three stages of organizational failure can be discerned. In the first, "impending failure," when it appears that the contract is in trouble, the supervisors attempt to pin the blame on each other, in anticipation of achieved failure. In the second stage, "achieved failure," after it has been announced officially that the contract is

lost, the supervisors reveal their operating personnel standards to the counselors in the form of layoff decisions. During the "post-failure" stage, the personnel recuperate from the trauma of the organizational failure and plan new strategies. This stage is characterized by some withdrawal between administrators and staff, the search for new contracts, and demoralization and caution on the part of counselors. It was acknowledged, however, that the evidence that documents these "stages" was often impressionistic.

Chapter 8, Notes

1. In Chapter 13, we examine some of the client-interview data obtained after the first counseling session. However, the comparisons there were not designed to measure client "character" and "motivation." The interviews were designed to shed some light on what happens to the client in the counseling session, but lacking any information on client "character," etc., there is, unfortunately, little that can be said on this score. We do see, in Chapter 13, however, that the client apparently responds in certain ways to the initial counseling session, that this response is measurable in terms of optimism or pessimism regarding the chances of employment, and that this response was correlated with the effort made by clients to keep in touch--thus, with placement.

2. Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay (Scott, Foresman and Co., 1972), p. 77. We cannot help but note how this concept fits organizations like YEA more than it does (at first glance) other kinds of organizations, especially commercial and industrial ones. Yet there is a sense in which most or all organizations are indeed "moral" if we consider them as expressing and inculcating certain moral values dominant in their particular cultures.

3. Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (Harper & Row, 1957). See pp. 143 and 147-8.

4. James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. 164-5.

5. James D. Thompson, Organizations in Action (McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 147.

6. Ibid, p. 26 and p. 27. Thompson credits Sol Levine and Paul E. White for the concept of "domain." See their study entitled "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships" in Administrative Science Quarterly, March 1961, pp. 583-601. William R. Dill is credited with developemant of the concept of task environment used by Thompson. See Dill's "Environment as an Influence on Managerial Autonomy" in the March 1958 ussue of Administrative Science Quarterly, pp. 409-43.

7. Counselor X and Counselor Z were on staff in October 1972, but not in 1973, when counselors were interviewed. Counselor Y is still on staff, but is the one who re-

fused to be interviewed. Thus, the X,Y, and Z designations, to avoid confusion with the counselors who are included in this study. In this table, Counselors B, C, D, and E are the same ones referred to throughout by these designations. In October 1972, Counselor A was still a job developer; thus, he is not included in the table presented.

8. The Council was composed of five members. Three were laid off within the next two months (two of them were laid off four days after this meeting took place). Counselor G and Counselor J were on the Council, and were still on staff in June 1977.

9. From what is known about goal displacement and the "fallacy of the single criterion," this reluctance may have many things to recommend it, though we must note the problems it causes with respect to uncertainty and ambiguity.

10. In any event, it is difficult to comprehend what might be meant by "good rapport." The observations of counselors working indicated that most counselors employ a rather direct and didactic style.

11. Esther Stanton, Clients Come Last: Volunteers and Welfare Organizations (Sage Publications, 1970), p. 110.

12. Counselors talking with job developers does not seem to be viewed in the same way: there is legitimate reason for them to talk about job requirements, employer quirks, etc. But counselors do not need to talk to other counselors; their work is seen as independent. We note that the annual evaluations rate independent decision-making, and not consulting with colleagues.

13. Perhaps we can only conclude from this that the problem of standards is an extremely difficult one. No matter which course is chosen, some undesired consequences can be anticipated.

14. If a counselor is assigned to a program which is cancelled, he may be retained (if he is "productive")--while a counselor who is assigned to another program may be laid off (if he is not considered to be "productive").

15. At that time, the Job Development Supervisor also coordinated the drafting-training program.

16. It must be noted that the behavior described here may not be always observed. The minutes of Executive Staff meetings prior to the loss of the Juvenile Program contract show that more attention was given to salvaging the contract if possible. The degree of optimism or hope in this respect may have affected the "cannibalistic" behavior which preceeded loss of the Addict Program contract.

17. See Chapter 4: "When Contracts Are Lost."

18. Some inferences may be drawn, however, from the counselors' remarks, to be presented shortly.

19. The ex-addict component was even slightly larger (in dollars) than the program just lost.

Chapter 9

Statistics and Success

The hypothesis to be tested is: Given its placement problems the agency will avoid manifest falsification of its success rate by not collecting those kinds of data that confirm failure and will collect the kinds of information which will appear to maximize success.

The meaning of the hypothesis is that the administrators will avoid the necessity of lying by cultivating ignorance. Ignorance of what the agency is actually accomplishing would be maintained through selective statistics, statistics that appear to be based on contract requirements.

The hypothesis is substantially supported by the findings. However, as contract requirements become more stringent and specific, "ignorance" becomes harder to achieve. The ability to protect oneself is thus dependent upon contract standards. If standards are vague and based upon the requirement of "best effort," the agency can deceive itself and its contract agencies through the statistics it collects. When contract specifications encroach on this freedom, the agency resorts to other techniques to protect itself from too rigid requirements. It negotiates

favorable definitions in the bargaining for contracts, such as standards for acceptable clients. It also exploits loopholes wherever it can, in the form of "double counting" and multiple placements. And finally, it claims success for peripheral tasks such as the wide range of jobs in which clients are placed, and the acceptance of more than the required number of clients. But there is reason to believe that blind tradition is a factor involved in the kinds of statistics collected and reported by the agency. The technique of reporting total placements rather than individuals placed as evidence of success antedates any contractual relationships that the agency had. The practice did not originate with the present administration but as previously indicated, the technique usually works currently to the advantage of the agency. One example is offered, however, where this may not have been true--i.e. where the actual placement rate may have been greater than the placement rate implied by the agency's report.

Stanton described the process of "concealment" of reality in the mental health field which she studied. Mental health agencies, she said, "distort information in meeting the United Fund requirements for quantifiable public relations data." The "number of people served" by these agencies is arbitrarily defined as "all the patients in all the mental hospitals, all the people who request booklets, all the volunteers who are provided educational

experiences by participating in the work of the Association (including those who contribute to the Christmas campaign), and all the people in the audiences at Association functions or at meetings addressed by a member of the Speakers Bureau." Stanton observed that the total is "an impressive public relations figure."(1)

The mental health agency which Stanton describes attempts to define success in terms of how many people were contacted in any way. These people are, by the agency's definition, "served." The Youth Employment Agency uses similar bases for defining success: number of clients seen, number of interviews held, number of referrals, etc. The most important one, however, is placements. And the agency attempts to define success in this area in terms of making placements, as opposed to placing individual clients. Insofar as they are permitted (and even the new programs have trouble policing this), the administrators claim success on the basis of total placements (including multiple placements for the same client). Where this produces impossible results (more placements than clients accepted for a program), success may be claimed in terms of an increase in placements over the previous year, or the comparable period in the previous year, or the previous period in the same year. Only when no basis for success can be found, which occasionally happens, are the reasons for failure carefully documented.(2)

An organization needs to know what it is doing, in order to plan effectively, to modify its procedures when necessary, and to know how effective it is in pursuit of official goals. YEA is ostensibly in the business of helping individuals in certain specific ways aimed at placing them on jobs. Knowledge of the number of individuals helped through job placement would seem to be necessary information. The number of placements is not the appropriate measure for this purpose because it includes multiple placements for the same individual. More than that, in the agency's statistics it includes placements on "day jobs" such as temporary messenger and deliver jobs. Some of these may be converted into permanent jobs if the employer is satisfied with the work of the employee. Most are not.

The agency has no knowledge of the number of individuals placed on permanent jobs. But administrators have reported to contract agencies that as many as 78% of the clients are placed. This figure is derived by comparing the number of clients seen with the number of total placements made by the agency. The number of placements, as noted, includes multiple placement and day jobs.

This measure of success was not inconsistent with the "best-effort contracts," though it did not begin with them. Such contracts usually called for registering and attempting to place a given number of clients. There were no reporting requirements based on the number of individuals

actually placed. The contract agencies were at that time not so unrealistic as to believe that all or even most of the clients sent to the agency were easily placeable. Difficulty in placement was the major reason why the YEA was selected as a placement agency. However, we may presume (and the wording of the contracts support the notion) that the funding agencies were, despite the difficulties in placement, interested primarily in placement of as many individuals as possible, and not the total number of placements achieved by the agency.

Discussions in 1973 with the Associate Director on this subject resulted eventually in the production of some statistics on the number of individuals placed in the then-current fiscal year. These are presented below. No attempt was made to find out why such statistics were not gathered in the past. We may suppose that part of the reason was to avoid knowing what the statistics would show. By not knowing this information, the agency is in no position to evaluate its performance--or to falsify the reality of failure. The lack of "real" statistics enables everyone to believe that the agency is performing satisfactorily.

For the period November 1, 1972 through June 30, 1973 the agency's performance is shown in the following table. The figures were obtained through a special analysis ordered by the Associate Director as a result of our discussions. The results are summarized below.

TABLE 9.1 AGENCY PLACEMENTS: November 1972-June 1973

	Number	Percentage
Clients Seen	2008	100%
Placements Recorded	1045	52
Individuals Placed	670	33

The number of individuals placed includes those placed on temporary or day jobs. Apparently the Associate Director did not wish to separate those out.(3)

We can, however, gain some idea of how many of the 670 individuals placed were placed on temporary jobs. The Daily Sheets for the month of May 1972 and October 1972 were analyzed for the ratio of temporary placements to all placements. Of the 171 placements made in May, 1972, 47% were on temporary mobs. Of the 163 placements recorded in October, 1972, 47% were on temporary jobs. Using this percentage we can estimate that of the 670 individuals placed in the November 1972-June 1973 period, 355 were placed on permanent jobs (out of the 2008 clients seen)--a placement rate of 17.6%.(4)

This does not appear to be an impressive performance, and would hardly satisfy any contract. But our purpose is not to judge the performance--especially since the difficulty of the work is granted. We need only to note that apart from this exceptional incident, the agency does not

know what its actual performance is. The administrators, we conjecture, do not want to know because then they would have to deliberately and consciously lie about the agency's performance. As it is, they do not have to lie because they do not know the truth.(5)

The claim for success based on total placements did not begin with the best-effort contracts, nor did it originate with the Associate Director. The minutes of the January 14, 1942 meeting of the agency's Board of Directors shows that the staff reported its success for December 1941 in terms of "number of boys handled" and "number of jobs obtained" (placements). The figures presented to the Board for the month showed:

Total Placements, December 1941

Boys Handled			Jobs Obtained		
White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
53	50	103	29 (55%)	30 (60%)	59 (57%)

At that time the agency handled only males. There is no indication of how many jobs obtained were multiple placements for the same client.

We can see more clearly the early identification of total placements with success in the agency's report of its activities for the period of February 1--August 21, 1947. This report is remarkably detailed, giving the name and

home address of every client seen during the period, the date of registration at the agency, the referring agency, the date of placement, name and address of the employer, the job in which the client was placed, and the salary or wage rate.(6)

The summary at the end of the report showed the following (we note that by then, females were also accepted):

Summary: Total Placements, February 1-August 21, 1947

Boys	Number	%
Total Applicants	137	100
Total Placements	82	60
Girls		
Total Applicants	67	100
Total Placements	26	39
Total Number of Applicants	204	100
Total Number of Placements	108	53

That the "total number of placements" did not mean "number of clients placed" was verified by counting the number of clients placed at least one time. My analysis showed that 97 (rather than 108) clients were placed at least once; of these 87 were placed on one job, 9 were placed on two jobs, and one was placed on three jobs--a total of 108 placements.(7)

We see in this a traditional use of total placements as the measure of success. Apparently, this technique was "inherited" by the current Associate Director. In learning his job, he continued to collect statistics in the same way his predecessors had collected them. This, of course, does not explain why he continues to do so when he faces new demands for greater accountability in the recent past.

The usual practice for the Associate Director is to present a report of placement success to the Board of Directors based upon comparisons with previous periods, with no placement rates calculated. Placements are either up or down. The report of April 26, 1976 (for the period November 1975-March 1976) begins: "Our overall job placement statistics are slightly ahead of last year's figures: up 4.6% for the same time period...."

The same report must deal with lack of success in the Addict Program (previously discussed under the heading of "impending failure"). The failure here is attributed to reorganization of the referral system and a resulting decline in intake. However, the situation is reported as showing some improvement, i.e., that the rate of failure is decreasing, as we see in the following excerpt.

> "As a result of the reorganization of the Addict Program referral system our intake level for the first three months of the contract was down 52.4%. Due to YEA's effort in special recruitment of the ex-addict population from outside sources, there was some improvement (now down only a total of 16.4% for the first six months of the contract...).

> Wheras the total of...placements for the first three months was down 56.7%, the placement level for the first six months of the contract is now down [to only] 44.8%."

The administration thus claims success in counteracting declining placements by an only moderately successful recruitment program.

The Associate Director's report to the Board dated April 15, 1974 accomplishes two things: It attributes failures in the previous fiscal year (Nov. 1972-Oct. 1973) to loss of jobs in the city and competition for the remaining jobs. But the failure of the previous fiscal year makes the progress of the current year all the more remarkable.

> "Placement activity during our last fiscal year (Nov. 72--Oct. 73) indicated a 27% decrease from the previous year....this was directly due to heavier competition and heavy loss of job markets in the Center City area.'
>
> "This decrease in placements continued into November 1973, our new fiscal year, when there was a 34% drop in that month compared to [the same month in 1972]. The turning point in our overall placement activity occurred in December 1973. The December thru February placement statistics indicates a 15% increase compared to the same period last year. The March 1974 statistics not reflected in this report indicate a healthy 37% increase compared to last March. Placements have increased four out of the five months in our new fiscal year compared to the previous year."

We note that one of the advantages of this method of accounting is that bad years or bad months are useful later on for comparison purposes--though reasons must be found for the decline in "placement activity." In this case, the state of the job market is used for this purpose.

The contract agencies present a somewhat different problem than the Board of Directors. The Addict Program contract, for example, states that "The Contractor agrees to place at least 256 enrollees." Enrollees, we recall, are clients who are accepted into the program on the basis of meeting the standards imposed by YEA. The 256 enrollees who are to be placed represent 52% of the 488 enrollees who are to be accepted under the contract. These terms clearly do not envision program success in terms of "placement activity." Despite the bureaucratic jargon, "enrollees" are distinct individuals, not placements.

The crucial measure for YEA is the number of unduplicated placements with a thirty-day retention record. A total of 256 enrollees are to be placed on jobs (with half of them staying on the job for attleast 30 working days). In his report to the Board of Directors dated April 15, 1974, the Associate Director said that "approximately 250 placements...have been made" in the October 73-March 74 period. This almost certainly refers to total placements, not the number of individuals placed. The same report says that "135 (71%) out of 191 placements remained on the job 30 days or more."(8) There is no report on the number of enrollees placed.

The report submitted to the funding agency, Narcotic Rehabilitation Agency (NRA), after the first year of the program uses the same technique of making "total place-

ments" appear to be "enrollees placed." This report shows the following activities (among many others) for the year:

Appointments for initial screening--	1156
Appointments kept--	681
Appointments not kept--	475
Number of Placements--	384
Clients accepted into skills training program--	81
Clients reporting for skills training program--	68

The 681 "appointments kept" appear to represent the number of enrollees in the program. If 384 of them were placed, the placement rate would be 56%--quite creditable. However, as noted above, the target is placement of 256 enrollees. The 384 placements claimed exceeds that. This appearance is strengthened on page 8 of the report. Under the heading of "Follow-up and Retention Statistics" it is claimed that "384 clients were placed on jobs and 68 clients were placed in training programs" [underlining added]. The latter figure is probably a genuine client count. The number of clients placed, however, is open to question. A footnote on page 1 says that of the 681 clients who kept their initial appointments, "245 of these clients were rejected by YEA." This seems to mean that 436 enrollees were accepted into the program. If there were 384 individuals placed out of this number, the placement rate would be

88%, a virtually impossible percentage for any group, let alone a "disadvantaged" one. The result is that we simply cannot tell what the performance was on this contract, either in terms of a placement rate, as defined here, or in terms of individuals placed. The funding agency was in the same position. Apparently it never found out how many enrollees were placed. Relying on its monitoring system, involving phone calls to the employers of only a sample of reported placements, the funding agency (NRA) did not check for multiple placements. The agency could not credibly claim the placement rate of 88% implicit in its statistics, and did not do so. But it apparently did manage to create the impression of placing 384 enrollees, and the impression of a believable 56% placement rate. In this case, we do not believe that the agency consciously exploited any loopholes. Rather, it seems that its persistance in treating total placements instead of individuals placed as a measure of success found a weakness in the funding agency's monitoring technique.(9)

This report did not need to claim success based on peripheral tasks, since the appearance of success was established (and apparently acknowledged by NRA) based on placements. Nevertheless, success in several peripheral tasks were claimed--perhaps as insurance. These included:

(a) Number of jobs developed (2373);

(b) Range of jobs in which enrollees were placed; a

list of 76 different jobs was included;

(c) A study of the reasons for rejecting clients;

(d) A study of why clients lost or quit their jobs.

In other programs, by accepting more than the required number of enrollees, by making psychometric evaluations (if not funded)--or by doing any other service not required in the contract, the agency could advance an additional calim for success--and did so, especially if success in placements was lacking.

There is a possible irony in all this, with respect to the Addict Program. The sample of cases from the files of the program which were used in this study showed that 67% of the clients were actually placed on at least one full-time permanent job. If this figure is at all accurate, the agency could have established a legitimate claim to success on placements. However, it was unable to do so because the statistics are not collected in such a way as to make this claim. And in any event, the approach would not have indicated success for other programs to the same degree.

"Double-counting" is the other form of exploitation of loopholes referred to earlier, in order to show success. This involves referring an Addict Program client to the On-the-Job Training (OJT) program. The latter subsidizes employment and training in private firms. When the client is hired by an "OJT employer," both the OJT and the Addict programs claim a placement. This is justified by the

Director because both OJT and the Addict Program have to service the client, one to assess the client and make the decision to refer him to OJT, and the other to place him. Double-counting is useful for all funded programs, not just the Addict Program. Some evidence of this can be seen in the OJT placements reported for March 1976. Of the 48 clients placed that month by the OJT staff, only 9 were referred to YEA by non-contract agencies. The remaining 39 placements were credited both to OJT and one of the three other contract programs within YEA, either the Addict or the Youth or the Crime-Prevention programs. However, this does not solve the problem of placement for the other programs: OJT accepts only the better-than-average clients from them.(10)

Finally, the negotiation of favorable definitions become of greater importance to YEA as its contracts have come to include more specific standards of performance. When the contract calls for placement of a certain number of enrollees, the agency can try to make sure that the clients it accepts, its enrollees, are "placeable," so as not to waste counselors' time. However, this is a double-edged sword, as we saw. Too many rejected clients reduces the intake level, and attainment of the quota is in doubt. What seems to happen is that the definitions are relaxed if intake is lagging. Not only are they relaxed, but the staff goes out and re-recruits clients who have been formally rejected for not keeping appointments, etc. In 1976, intake into the Addict Program was lagging primarily because the age of

most ex-addicts taken in by the city's various facilities was well above the traditional age limit, 21, of the agency--and was even above the special limit allowed for that particular contract, 23 years of age. Addict clients accepted in 1975 were, on average, 28 years old. This "drift" proved to be an important factor in the Board of Directors' decision to limit the services of the agency to those who were 16--19 years old, as discussed earlier.

Thus, the favorable definitions negotiated for the Addict Program were of less value in recent years, as intake lagged. The agency re-recruited and accepted clients who did not meet one or more of the criteria for acceptance into the program. These criteria were described elsewhere, but are summarized below for convenient reference.

Criteria for Rejection of Addict-Program Clients

1. Severe educational deficiencies, such as reading below the 5th grade level;
2. Serious lack of motivation;
3. Evidence of narcotic use;
4. Failure to keep appointments, or repeated lateness for appointments;
5. Poor appearance, preventing referral, with lack of improvement within a reasonable period;
6. Rejection of reasonable job offers;
7. Poor attendance in program;
8. Chronic punctuality problems in program;

9. Other conditions not listed above which seriously impair the ability of the client to participate successfully in the program and/or obtain employment.

Conclusion

Evidence was offered to show that the agency directly or indirectly falsifies its success rate, both as it is defined here (the placement rate for individual clients) and as it is specified in contracts (placement of a given number of individuals). The "falsification" takes the form of presenting the toal placements, including multiple placements and double-counting of placements, as though they represented the number of individuals placed. Two reasons suggested for this are that the agency administrators do not want to know the "true" success rate, either the number or the percentage of individuals placed, because it would not enhance the chances of getting contracts and might not enable the agency to show satisfactory performance on the contracts obtained. In part, this self-imposed ignorance is a tradition of the agency, i.e. to report total placements as evidence of success.

As contracts have become more stringent in recent years, and have specified detailed performance standards, the agency has developed other techniques for promoting and/or claiming success. These include exploitation of loopholes (especially, "double-counting," where the same

placement is credited to more than one program), claiming success on peripheral tasks (those not required by the contract), and negotiating favorable definitions prior to signing the contract. However, these techniques are not needed (though they may be used) as long as the agency can make acceptable claims for success based on total placements. Total placements includes multiple placements for the same individual. Despite what appears to be a vigorous process of verifying placements in the Addict Program, it was observed that multiple placements were not detected, and the agency was seen to advance a credible and acceptable claim for success by making its report imply that the "total placements" achieved were "clients placed."

Chapter 9, Notes

1. Esther Stanton, Clients Come Last (Sage, 1970), p. 136-7.

2. This is not meant to deny completely the legitimacy of the reasons advanced. It is reasonable to suppose that the reasons (e.g. declining job market) often do have a real bearing on the outcome. We only note that the reasons are given if no basis for success can be found in the way described.

3. The number of placements was considered by the Associate Director to be lower than usual, due to the decrease in the supply of temporary jobs.

4. The rate of 17.6% is based on the formula suggested earlier: the number of clients placed on full-time permanent jobs divided by the number of clients seen.

5. This may be another reason why the administrators do not wish to record and tabulate the placement successes of the counselors. However, if they did do so, they might very well tabulate the total placements of each counselor by the week or the month or some other period--which is apparently what was done when the placement "quota system" was in effect.

6. Wage rates for the clients at that time ran from 55¢ to 70¢ per hour. Salaries paid to clients ranged from $22 a week to $36 a week.

7. The placement rate of 48%, by the more rigorous standard used in this study, would probably be quite acceptable in more recent times.

8. No explanation is given as to why retention for the full 250 placements which are claimed is not given. The reports often use groups of different size in this way, making them difficult to interpret at times.

9. In one other respect, the performance reported clearly did not measure up to the contract requirements. The contract required three referrals be made for each enrollee. There were 436 enrollees (681 minus the 245 clients who were rejected by YEA); thus, the report should show at least 1,308 referrals. However, only 1,076 referrals were claimed. Apparently this failure was not noted by the NRA. For that matter, the number

of enrollees (436) fell below the 488 required by the contract. This may explain why the 245 rejections were footnoted.

10. We recall the assertions of Counselor J, who had to "play the same game with OJT" as he did with employers: "get a few good ones in first, so they will trust my judgment."

Chapter 10

Organizational Leadership and Attempts to Re-define the Agency's Mission in Response to External Exigencies

Our leading hypotheses are: The agency's leadership will attempt to alter the agency's primary mission in response to ever changing exigencies. In doing so, it will attempt to indoctrinate its professional staff with new definitions of its mission. But professional staff will respond in terms of past indoctrination and its own sense of its professional mission. This "lag" will be a source of continuous strife, but also a means of stabilizing the agency and limiting both the acceptance of external demands and the willingness of the agency to respond to sudden shifts in these demands.

To investigate the hypothesis, we need to know whether or not the exigencies actually change; whether these new exigencies require a change of mission, and whether the leaders actually alter the agency's mission. If these occurred, we would need to know whether the leaders attempted to indoctrinate the staff with the new mission; whether the professional staff resisted the indoctrination, and for the

specified reasons; and finally, whether or not both "strife" and "stabilization" against new exigencies occurred.

We consider the first question regarding the change in exigencies as answered already. The transition from best-effort contracts to contracts imposing new and more detailed requirements in recent years entailed just such changes, as does the agency's increasing financial dependence upon government contracts.

Based upon the evidence contained in the contracts and in the interviews with counselors and administrators, we have concluded that the external forces acting on the agency impose certain demands which, if accepted, affect the agency's mission. The external demands include the following elements: job placement and retention for "disadvantaged" clients who are up to 30 years of age. YEA's status is that of "supplier" in this situation; it is merely one among many suppliers.

YEA's mission, on the other hand, includes these elements: placement services for younger clients who are "in trouble" with the law. The agency's desired status is that of a unique supplier of services. For the counselors, however, the mission includes preparation of clients for job placement; i.e., counseling and coaching of various kinds. In addition, the counselors accept certain elements of the external demands, including servicing older clients and those who are not seriously "in trouble." Such clients are described as disadvantaged: they are poor members of min-

ority groups who are unemployed and need the counselor's help. Such clients may or may not be in trouble with the law.

Thus, as a framework for viewing the findings, we suggest that the external demands differ from the agency's mission with respect to the services provided, and the age and status of clients. In addition, the agency's position as an undifferentiated supplier is not the same as the position desired. Within the agency, we note the different missions as perceived by the Board and staff.

To deal with the problem of leadership behavior in this hypothesis, we shall need to distinguish between the Board and its Chairman, and the agency administrators.

The question of indoctrination of staff will lead us to discuss the administrators' past inability or reluctance to implement policy decisions.

The professional staff's hypothetical resistance to indoctrination into new missions will involve some consideration of what kind of mission or orientation the counselors have: "professional" or otherwise. We have initiated discussion of this in Chapter 9, where we saw that counselors were highly dependent upon the agency and controlled by uncertainty. In Chapter 12, we shall discuss the level of professionalism of the counselors. In the present chapter, we must make some reference to this problem if we are to understand the findings.

Finally, in considering the problem of "strife" in the hypothesis, we must ask who the principal parties are in any conflicts observed and what the issues are.

In discussing the findings, we draw attention to five factors which seem important in the agency. These are:

"Ineffective" and powerless administrators;

Conflict between agency mission and external exigencies;

Conflict over mission within the agency;

"Organizational drift" away from the mission; and

Counselor internalization of the agency's situation.

We conclude that the findings do not in general support the hypothesis in the sense in which it was intended; i.e., involving a simple, direct, and positive relationship between the external forces and the agency's mission.

As a means of organizing the findings, we shall present material on and discuss certain crucial events observed in the agency. These include examples of the administrators' inconsistency in following up on policy decisions; the Board's re-affirmation of the agency's mission with respect to the statuses of age and "trouble;" the Board's consideration of a new mission for the agency; unionization of the staff; and loss of the Addict Program contract. We shall also discuss findings related to the problem of conflict between the counselors and the Board of Directors.

Administrative Follow-up

The agency administrators often seem unable to follow through on the Board's and even its own decisions. This

may be the result of the division of labor between the Director and Associate Director, and their respective personal and administrative styles. The Associate Director, in charge of daily operations, has been described as a person who likes to run the agency in a "humanitarian" way; i.e., he does not like to "push" people. He also confesses to a dislike as well as a like for and fear of the Director; as a result, there appears to be a lack of even routine communication between the two at more than formal levels. The Director says that the staff has a legitimate complaint about the indecisiveness and lack of consistency and direction by supervisors and administrators. He summarizes their complaints as: "If you go to one person /supervisor/, you get one answer; if you go to another, you get a different answer." There thus seems to be little agreement on policy and, necessarily, little follow-up. The Director also expressed during the interview his belief that when YEA moved to the larger offices, "We did not make the necessary administrative adjustments;" that is, the agency tried to get by with the same organizational structure.(1) Whatever the reasons may be, it seems clear that the problem exists and suggests that the administrative staff does not present a clear picture, through its administrative action, of the agency's mission, as suggested by our initial hypothesis.

The administrators show an inconsistency in following through on a variety of decisions, ranging from staff

punctuality to decisions on implementing new programs. In some cases, the Associate Director's lack of follow-up may be intentional. However, this is not the general rule. The minutes of the Executive Staff meetings suggest something that we might term "dissonance of expectations:" The Director expects that someone at the meeting will pick up his "suggestions" and implement them without his giving a direct order or assignment. The supervisors, on the other hand, expect the Director to make a definite assignment if he wants something done.

Policy Toward Lateness and Absence

A memo of October 22, 1970 to the staff from the Associate Director dealt with the problems of lateness and absence. The observed lateness, absenteeism, "and other forms of disregard for office schedules," he pointed out, "may not be intentional, nevertheless these situations are a disservice to employers, staff and most of all to applicants." The Associate Director called for "a greater effort from each individual" to reduce lateness and absenteeism. He appealed to the staff's "spirit of cooperation and ethics" and requested that "time sheets be filled out in accordance with our policies."

The memo outlined the procedure for signing in, and concluded: "I hope this will alleviate the difficulties that we have had in the past."

On March 1, 1971, the Associate Director sent another memo to the staff. In it, he cited the number of man-

hours lost because of lateness and absences in the previous seven weeks, then added: "I have concluded that almost everyone has abused this situation and I feel that it is my duty to respond to this problem." In the future, he said, time sheets were to be filled out accurately at the time of arrival in the office, and "days not signed in for will be considered as absent days." He warned that "there will be an immediate response" to any further abuses by a "firm warning from the administration and then, appropriate decisions will be effected."

A study of the recorded absences in the agency for selected months before and after the March 1st memo shows the ineffectiveness of the absenteeism campaign.(Table 10.1). The month immediately preceding, February 1971, is selected to show the absences prior to the memo. March 1971 absences are shown to reveal the immediate impact of the memo. March 1972 and March 1973 absences are shown to afford a glimpse of the trend since then. Vacation days are not tabulated; only days charged to sick leave or personal leave are counted.

TABLE 10.1 EFFECTS OF ABSENTEEISM CAMPAIGN

MONTH	DAYS ABSENT	
	Counseling Staff	Admin. & - Supervisors
February 1971 (Pre-campaign)	25	11
March 1971 (Post-campaign)	26	2
March 1972	41.5	2.5
March 1973	30.5	0

It is clear that the campaign had no effect, either immediately or in the long run on the counseling staff.(2) However, administrators and supervisors dramatically improved their attendance.

Lateness was not studied because it was not reliably recorded. Each staff member signed himself in at the time he arrived for work, and the information was not considered reliable.

No one was fired for lateness or for excessive absences, and after March 1, there were no further memos or meetings on the subject, even though there had been no resolution of the problem. One counselor came in between 9:30 and 10:30 virtually every morning. He was "talked to" repeatedly, but is still on the payroll.

Policy on Allocating Jobs to Clients

Another example illustrates not only the lack of follow-through, but also how, by failing to follow through, administrators can sabotage precedures which come from staff suggestions. At a staff meeting on January 17, 1972, the counselors had suggested a system for keeping track of clients who had not been placed on jobs, and for giving those clients priority, based on "seniority," to the jobs which were developed, rather than filling jobs exclusively with clients who happened to be there when the jobs come in. "This suggestion is being implemented and I will coordinate it," the Associate Director stated in a memo dated January 21. The new system required counselors to provide a brief profile of clients who were not placed each day. The Associate Director was to review the sheets received from the counselors and "by comparing the sheets with job orders, attempt to match clients to jobs as quickly as possible." The job would be held open for the client for a limited period of time; if not used, the job would "go back on the board in the job development office." The Associate Director added that the new system would "enable counselors to respond to clients, jobs, and follow-up more realistically," provide vital information needed for "overall analysis, evaluations, controls and appropriate decisions by individual counselors and myself," and would "improve communications between various depart-

ments." He concluded: "this will not act as an additional piece of red tape;" instead it would "help the individual counselor as well as job-development and follow-up personnel."

The plan was implemented for a few days, then forgotten. Some counselors maintained the Available-For-Work Sheets used to implement the plan for some time afterward, as a matter of convenience, a jog to their memories. But not all of them did. Maintenance of the sheets was an official procedure of the agency but not uniformly practiced. The Associate Director ultimately stopped reviewing the lists of clients waiting for placement and using them for placement. This was apparently not done to sabotage deliberately the procedure, but the effect was the same. One effect of this kind of neglect of procedures is to foster the staff members' belief that the only policies and procedures which count are those which are aggressively followed up by the administrators. The only procedures which the agency continuously insisted upon were (a) the Sign-in Sheets, (b) the Daily Sheets and (c) the Follow-up Cards. The Follow-up Cards record information about how long a client remained on the job after placement, the kind of job, employer comments regarding performance, and wages. The Sign-in Sheets record counselor absences and lateness. The Daily Sheets are a log of the clients seen each day and the disposition of each case. These records are the administrative imperatives in the agency.(3) From the counselors' perspective,

the "discipline" of the agency focuses upon the production of records. Other policies are made sporadically salient by the administrators by unusually agressive follow-up in order to make the counselors pay attention to them. This is seldom done--perhaps because few other things seem to be important. More attention is given to making decisions than is given to the implementation of decisions. Thus, the "decisions" do not become the basis for action.

Policy on Client Orientation

The minutes of the June 26, 1974 staff meeting indicate it was an open-agenda meeting, with no planned business. These are set up occasionally by the Director, to keep in touch with the counselors and their problems, and to give counselors an opportunity to express themselves and perhaps to contribute to the solution of agency problems.

During this meeting, the staff discussed some new ideas for Orientation and preparation of clients. Suggestions were flowing freely. One counselor said that "We could provide more job preparation for clients who need it, using films," and could "utilize the reception area better." Another suggested the use of "brochures with pictures." A third wanted "to combine films, talks, and the present orientation material."

Someone then asked: "Didn't we have something like this this at our old address?" The Director replied:

"I wanted it. But instead of a full-scale orientation, it somehow ended up as only a simple registration" [underlining added].(4)

Later in the meeting, the Director said: "Job placement, job development, and Ernie [Orientation leader] should get together and make a specific proposal concerning orientation, films, etc. by July 15." The Director then suggested that "the staff should attempt to define YEA's future policy," since there was to be a Board of Directors meeting in September to discuss the agency's future goals. "Cliff, you'll take care of this," he added.

We found no record which indicated that either of these things were ever done--or that anyone attempted to see that they were done. Perhaps the main purpose of this meeting was to allow staff members an opportunity to express themselves, to create the semblance of participation. Even if this were so, we learn that the Director had wanted a genuine orientation program but that "it somehow ended up as only a simple registration."

Policy on Staff Training

The Executive Staff, at its September 16, 1975 meeting, discussed the topic of "professionalism in the agency." The minutes of the meeting note that "It was stated that at times we are not that careful about training new personnel." Seminars were discussed as a remedy for this. It

was agreed that:

> "Seminars will be conducted by staff members and outsiders. This will provide general information. New counselors will need a more intensive training mechanism to deal with one-to-one relationships."

The seminars were never set up, and none of the counselors reported any training of this kind. Moreover, the Director's plan for seminars focused on the indoctrination and evaluation of the weaknesses of counselors, rather than the training of them. The meeting of the Executive Staff on December 16, 1975 discussed the plan of the seminars further. The minutes of that meeting show that the purposes of the seminars were "to see if the general staff and administration are operating toward the same goal; to weed out those staff members who have attitudes that are not compatible with the goals and philsophy of YEA; and to find out if the staff is capable of growing professionally."

Policy on Job Development

The Executive Staff discussed, on January 16, 1976, some of the problems of the agency, including the problem of Job Development. The minutes note that the Director had prepared a "streamlined plan for the agency regarding job development, placement counselors, and post-placement counselors." There followed a full page of the "fundamental

changes" which were necessary in job development. These were referred to earlier: "more field operations" are needed (as opposed to telephone solicitation)--as are "regular mailings" to employers, "a more scientific approach," better "salesmen," i.e., job developers, development of jobs in outlying sections of the city, etc. But job development continued along in the same way, relying principally on telephone solicitation. The supervisor of job development expressed the opinion that this was the most efficient way.

Numerous other examples of this phenomenon of a "casual" attitude towards policy and suggestions or ineffectiveness in implementing them could be given. However, these seem sufficient to make the point that while the decisions made in the agency seem to be rational and addressed to real problems, they are implemented with little zeal and consistency. Counselors are at times involved in making decisions, but they seldom see the decisions carried out. Partly for this reason, counselors view the administrators as ineffective. With respect to our hypothesis, we have presented these findings as support for our conclusion that the administrators demonstrate little ability to indoctrinate staff with new missions.

Organizational Drift and the Board's Re-affirmation of Agency Mission

In Clients Come Last, Stanton describes a mental health agency where the over-all and policy-making power of the

Board of Directors is an illusion. The professional staff, while formally de-emphasized and subordinate, constitutes the "informal organization" that in fact determines as well as implements policy. "Board members have neither the time nor the inclination to handle the complexities of programs entailing months of preparation and the coordination of hundreds of volunteers."(5) She also observes that "since the Board of Directors is reorganized annually, it is management which comes and goes and the employees who must train (and sometimes even select) the administration."(6)

Stanton's findings are not at all consistent with our own. At YEA, it is the Chairman who is the permanent feature of the organization. Executive Directors and the staff come and go. The Chairman of the Board has the limited legal authority of his position, but as the "patron" of many Board members, he has economic and personal power over them. As a principal economic benefactor of the agency, he has power added to his authority over staff. And as founder of the agency, he has both the interest and the inclination to exercise authority and power.

In recent years, the Chairman and other Board members have expressed concern that the agency was too dependent on outside government agencies and contractors. The danger was that the agency would become so involved in the pursuit of new contracts and a mania for growth that it

would lose any sense of its original or own purpose and uniqueness. We have observed that heretofore this has not as yet occurred: the contracts sought and obtained have been largely consistent with the existing mission of the agency. Partly, what seems to have troubled the Board members is the detailed accounting to government agencies which is required under these contracts. However, a fear of drift and purposelessness persisted. When the Chairman learned, in a conversation with a staff member, of some of the means by which the agency was fulfilling its contracts, he apparently had proved that his fears were not groundless. The Chairman learned that the average age of the clients in the Addict Program was 28; he also was told the criterion for "correctional" cases was sometimes "stretched" by the agency to enable some clients to qualify for certain services in the Crime-Prevention Program. The staff member who discussed these things with the Chairman at a meeting at YEA apparently assumed that the Chairman already knew about it. The Board issued a public statement shortly thereafter announcing that YEA's "original mission" was more important than ever. More specifically, the agency was instructed to limit its services to clients who were 16--19 years old, and who were school dropouts and had "some correctional history." The statement began by noting that for forty years the agency had "taken as its single challenge one of the most intractable

problems of modern society," the young unemployed drop-out who was "in trouble with the law." The agency's goal had "been simple: to find jobs for these men and women." Despite the agency's past successes, new problems had emerged: economic and social conditions in the city had "deteriorated significantly" and consequently "the city's pool of unskilled, inexperienced young people continues to grow," contributing to "soaring crime rates, the spread of drug addiction, burgeoning welfare rolls, and a growing sense of alienation and despair."

The statement noted that during the past few years, the agency had "done more work on a contract basis for government agencies," and that as part of this expansion, YEA had been asked "to broaden its activities beyond direct job placement into training and general counseling, and beyond troubled teenagers to include adults and those who do not come from correctional backgrounds." However, recent cutbacks in "public monies" for employment programs had forced YEA "to ask some hard questions about its priorities."

The Directors concluded: "Our answer now is clear. We believe YEA should focus even more sharply on its original and basic mission" even though this might mean "foregoing certain grants which carry other perhaps more achievable priorities." The mission was defined as "finding jobs for 16 to 19 year old boys and girls who are out of school, and with some correctional history." The state-

ment ended on a note of determination:

> "YEA will hold to this course for as long as we are able. We believe that a society that provides work and education for all its people is a proud, healthy and honorable society, and to that end we pledge our resources and our faith."

The statement has a certain eloquence, reminiscent of the Founding Fathers and the Declaration of Independence with its mutual pledge of "resources and faith." Funding cutbacks as well as the drifting of the organization apparently caused the Board to consider anew the question of purpose. The statement is evidence in support of our conclusion that the primary mission of the agency is not wholly and directly determined by "external exigencies," here in the form of the demands of funding agencies. There is evident some vacillation: the Directors have in the past succumbed to the temptation of government funds and accepted the new tasks and new clientele required. However, the significance of the statement is in its expression of a continuous struggle between the agency and its contractors. The struggle is for control over the agency's fate and purposes. We observed here that agency "drift," initiated by the staff had the effect of modifying the mission of YEA. The drift appeared to be a resultant of counselor internalization of demands imposed on the agency by external organizations. In this case,

it was corrected by the Board, but we must remember that the discovery was accidental. Elsewhere, we report that the agency was funded for a new and somewhat smaller version of the Addict Program in 1977. We might expect that recruitment of older clients or other unofficial innovations will continue, or else the program will not be able to meet its quotas. The counselors, moved by the conflicting forces of altruism and internalization of the agency's dependence on placements, are also in conflict with the Board over the purposes and procedures of the agency.

"The Project:" Consideration of a New Mission

Shortly after re-affirming the mission of the agency, the Board began to experiment in earnest with defining a new mission. The search for a new mission was not decided upon suddenly. In the August 1974 Conference on Youth and Work, questions about the agency's mission were being raised. The Board members were divided over what the mission should be. Some were in favor of continuing to do the agency's current job of both placement and preparation of clients for jobs, while others wanted to return to the original mission of placement with less emphasis on training and preparation of clients. Still others sought new bases for agency uniqueness. There was no longer anything unique about finding jobs for disadvantaged youth. The concept of "advocacy" had been introduced at that time. The study of the disabilities of offenders, using

agency staff and foundation funds, was written at that time.

"Advocacy" embraced the notion that disadvantaged groups should be teated as a "cause;" i.e., studied, documented, and championed by YEA in such ways as testimony before public bodies, media releases, lobbying, etc. Advocacy would mean becoming a pressure group. The treatment population would remain the same (youth in trouble), but the agency's function and thus its techniques would necessarily change.

In the summer of 1976, "The Project" (as it was called) was inaugurated. The purpose of The Project appears to be to explain youth crime by getting "street kids" to discuss their lives, the effects of discrimination, poor education, etc., and to videotape these discussions for showing on TV and/or to prepare a "white paper" on them for release to the media.(7) New personnel ("consultants") were hired for the task. Numerous reports have been written about The Project since its inception, analyzing its defects, what it is accomplishing, the kind of group leader needed to stimulate discussion by the client-participants, etc. The reports emphasize the essentials of The Project: to facilitate or manipulate the interviews of "street kids," through the use of "resource persons" and coached interviewees, so that they will be able to make "media interesting" statements about the causes of their "failure to succeed" and the resulting street crime. All this is to

be aimed at the "seduction of the public into working on behalf of this population." One such report, presented by the Project Coordinator in November of 1976, covered Phase I of The Project (Oct. 25--29, 1976). In the first phase of The Project, he said, it was confirmed that "when jobs are not available, there is a strong incentive to engage in deviant behavior, such as, robbery, burglary, prostitution, and drug selling." He reported, however, that "many of these youth put too much blame on themselves rather than the system, for their failure to succeed." Partly for this reason, certain changes should be made in the second phase. For one thing, the group leader should use "the non-directive approach only in the first two sessions to establish rapport, develop a feeling of trust, and encourage group members to take on important group functions." After those goals had been accomplished the group leader should assume the role of "coordinator, energizer, orienter, gate-keeper and expediter, if these important functions are not being undertaken by the group members," and should "also challenge, question, and introduce personal opinion to stimulate the group."

The Coordinator also recommended that, "in order to stimulate the participants," outside speakers and other resources such as films be used: "The speakers could be experts who can provide needed information and/or challenge some of the assertions and opinions of the group." In

addition, the use of "coached clients, such as 'street youth' from organizations like the F___ Society [an organization of ex-convicts]" would further stimulate the interviewees and facilitate the expression of "media-interesting" ideas. It was essential, he said, that "all group members understand the role of the media," and that they "have a common understanding of what is meant by 'media-interesting'...."

Media tecniques and the needs of the media decisively influenced the work on The Project. If that is not clear in the foregoing, it is amply clear in the following evaluation of the videotapes resulting from Phase I. The evaluation was written by a Black member of the Board, a former teacher of the Director and currently a Dean at a large private university. The report is undated but was probably written in the Fall of 1976. In his evaluation of the videotapes, this Director suggested that a person with a "dynamic media appealing voice and presence" be used to "narrate a script on the specific issues outlined in phase one of the project." In addition, he said, "high quality camera work and expert editing" was needed so that "the raw data is rich in content and the participant is caught with interesting eye appeal." And most importantly, "only those responses which will seduce the public into working on behalf of this population should be included."

The "white paper" resulting from the effort was pub-

lished in 1977, and was entitled Our Turn to Listen. Based upn "115 hours of interviews with more than 100 of YEA's clients and a wide range of outside experts," the study was "edited into a half-hour film" and the white paper. The paper cites the testimony of clients, and concludes with a list of ten "key barriers" to the job market for "ghetto young people," and proposes ten "barrier breakers" for alleviating the problem. The barrier breakers focus upon the need for governmental action to alleviate or change the laws and the business, governmental, and union practices cited. In education, for example, it is proposed to "make departure from school at age 16 coincide with the completion of a certifiable phase of education" so that widespread use of the high school diploma as a "passport to the job market" will no longer be such a formidable barrier. Enlarged use of Community Development Corporations is advocated so as to "promote the development of small businesses" which tend to hire more unskilled workers. Also, the "privatization of certain governmental functions" is advocated, so as to facilitate the employment of youths for such jobs as rebuilding city neighborhoods, improving public parks and facilities, and providing services to older and dependent people.

The Project represents a new mission for the agency--if it and similar efforts are continued. With such a

mission, utilizing new techniques and skills, there would be no need for counselors. Placement, as part of the agency's mission, would be abandoned. The new mission would not result from the demands of external organizations or individuals, except those needs for effective presentation. Instead, the evidence indicates that it springs from a desire for uniqueness and (for some reason or reasons which we cannot fully fathom) a concern for a distinct social group, "youth in trouble." These two factors appear to constitute the essence of the agency's mission as defined by the Chairman; yet they may lead to vast changes in the agency's mission when that mission is defined by the way the agency has practiced from its very inception.

Conflict Between Board of Directors and Counselors

We have seen that the administrators are often ineffective in implementing agency policies, and that the definition of agency mission is of primary interest to the Board of Directors. In this section, we consider the problem of power. There is no question about the administrators having the authority to indoctrinate staff with new missions and to manage day-to-day operations, but the ability to employ authority seems to depend upon the ultimate power to define and implement power. We shall argue that the Board is powerful, not the administrators. The administrators are caught between the demands of the contracts and the power of the Board, a dilemma which counselors understand

and sympathize with, but one which causes them to view administrators as unable to affect the agency in any significant way. The Board's definition of agency mission is at times and in part resisted by the counselors. Since the administrators are ineffective and powerless in dealing with the Board, they are also ineffective and to some extent powerless in dealing with staff, even though they possess the necessary authority. The exercise of authority may require that administrators show some strength or nerve in dealing with the Board. When this is not evident, the counselors, in effect, negotiate a truce with the administrators: they refrain from sustained criticism of the administrators' work in exchange for avoidance of "indoctrination" and close supervision of their work. Solid evidence of this "bargain" is lacking, but we can see (or have seen) the hypothesized outcomes: restraint in criticism, little indoctrination, and (elsewhere) the lack of detailed performance evaluation.

The administrators were sometimes criticized on a personal level by counselors. In the interviews, when counselors were asked about the administrators' understanding of and sympathy for the problems counselors faced, several counselors (and one supervisor) took the occasion to complain that the Director had "favorites" to whom he gave special attention such as going out to lunch with them.(8) And both administrators were criticized for making too much

money compared to counselors' salaries. Perhaps such criticism can be expected. Insofar as their work was concerned, the Associate Director was described as "incompetent" by one counselor, and the Director was criticized by three counselors because he was not sufficiently involved in their work and thus could not understand their problems. When asked what changes he would make if he were Director, Counselor A said that he would "make it my business to know what every department was doing." Counselor C also said that the Director was "not involved enough" in the work of the counselors. Counselor F said that she would be "more involved with clients," although she added that this was "no criticism of the Director; it's just something I would do."

However, the counselors express little conflict with the administrators over their work. The problems that counselors encounter are said to be due to the "contract situation" and to the Board's power combined with its lack of knowledge of and genuine concern for the agency and its clientele. The administrators, at worst, were viewed as weak and ineffective in dealing with agencies and the Board.

Most of the counselors asserted that the contracts were a major source of the problems encountered in their work; often they added that the administrators could do little about the contract pressures. Counselor B, when asked if the administration was sympathetic to the counse-

lors' problems, replied that "because of the contract situation, they can't always be sympathetic." He added that "they are doing all they can to solve the problems, but the numbers of clients required by the contracts cause many problems and pressure." Counselor C said, "I understand that the Director has to worry about the contracts." She added later that she had not asked for a salary increase because "the agency budget will not allow it." When asked what changes he would make if he were Director of the agency, Counselor D mentioned more training and more remedial programs for clients--and added that he "would try to raise more private money, so as not to depend on government money. They /government contracts/ limit you." When asked the same question, Counselor G said:

> "I'd look for people...who could keep this place solvent. That way, you don't have to compromise or play politics in sustaining the agency. A large proportion of our money is from government grants. So that dictates that you play some politics, and make some compromises."

The counselors were also in agreement that the Board reserved all genuine power for itself. When asked if staff meetings were tightly controlled by the administrators or not, Counselor F said that "cut and dried" would be a better description:'

> "Usually there's not that much to discuss. For example, when the Director calls a meeting after

he's been to the Board meeting, he simply wants to let us know those things that went on: fund-raising statistics, the status of contracts, etc."

One or two meetings had been "very emotional," she said: for example, "the one where the 16--19 year-old policy was announced." There had been a lot of "heavy going involving this directive from the Board," the counselor said. However, there was little the staff or the administrators could do about the decision, and overall the meeting was "kind of boring" because the counselors could only listen to the administrators "say why we couldn't expect certain things, given this change."

Counselor A, while criticizing the agency's "managerial procedures," acknowledged that the Board was the real problem. He said that the Director, as a type, was "a necessity these days," and added that "you have to have a certain type of Black who can get along with the establishment." One reason the Board hired him, the counselor said, is that "they could work with him." Nevertheless, the administrators should stand up to the Board more. Asked what changes he would make if he were Director of the agency, Counselor A replied that "the first thing I would do would be to declare myself with my superiors" and tell them that "I am not concerned with ingratiating myself with you." Although there was necessarily some diplomacy involved between Director and Board, he would say that "I intend to

get the job done" and not spend too much time dealing with the Board.

Counselor J, asked the same question, replied that "given the amount of power the Director has in this agency, I don't think there is much that could be done."..."The Director has a function," he said, but added: "Mostly, the policies are dictated by the Board."

The picture that emerges is that of an administration which has little real control of events, perhaps because it is caught in the middle between two powerful forces: contract demands and the power of the Board. Board decisions are merely communicated to the staff, with no prior discussion or consultation. The administrators are seen as having some personal shortcomings but all the counselors, without exception, do not hold the administrators at fault for the important problems encountered in the work. This may be letting the administrators off easy, since they negotiated the contracts and since they have access to the Board, but the evidence does not indicate that the counselors hold them responsible. Perhaps the administrators have so often stressed the policy-making powers of the Board that the counselors have come to accept it at face value.

The counselors not only see the Board as having the power to make and enforce policy, they also are in rather open disagreement with the Board over the substance of some policies. For example, Counselor J said that the Board's

decision to limit agency services to clients 16--19 years of age was "completely discriminatory" and was based on the assumption that the younger clients "need more help than anybody." In order for the agency to exist, he said, "we have to make a certain number of placements; however, older clients open the doors that allow the younger ones to get jobs." The Board's new policy, he said, was like "getting some rope and hanging yourself, because the job market is not geared for the employment of 16 to 19 year olds."

For this same counselor, the agency's exclusive emphasis upon placement is also counter-productive:

> "All I'm doing now is saying, 'Hey! You dropped out? Okay, fine! Let me give you a messenger job.' How long is he going to last in a messenger job? What's he going to do after that? You're just recycling the same thing...It will give him some financial help at home. But...unless you have schooling or...some kind of training program for them, it's useless."

The "total power" of the Board is itself a source of conflict. When asked if involvement in union activities played any part in who got laid off after the Addict Program contract was not renewed, one counselor said he "really couldn't say, because one of the grievances of the staff was the fact that the personnel practices that we

have are...backward and archaic...and it just gives administration total power in terms of everything." The personnel practices, he said, mean that staff members "could be fired or laid off...without reason, at any time." The policy had been changed in this way by "the lawyers of the Board" about a year ago.

Perhaps for these reasons, some counselors question the Board's knowledge of agency affairs, and the level of commitment which Board members have for the agency's clients and staff. Counselor J argued that it was difficult for the Board "to say what's really best for clients" when the Board members are "so out of touch with them." Counselor G was asked if the proposal to have staff representation on the Board was important to the counselors. He replied:

> "Yeah, it's a big gripe with the staff...because they are not too convinced of the Board's commitment to the kids. So they /staff/ thought with their input they could convince the Board towards increased commitment to the kids."

This counselor also complained that Board members "don't make a big effort to know the staff. They have their own reasons why they want the agency to survive." What would you say are their reasons? he was asked. "I'm not necessarily saying it's so," he said, "but you get the thing of tax shelter." Also, because the Chair-

man had "so much money and so much influence," Board members are "just delighted that this guy chose them to be part of this agency."

For Counselor G, the biggest question about the Board members' motivation and commitment was raised by the fact that "there are no poor people on the Board." For this reason, he thought that evaluation of the agency's work in terms of placements was desirable and "important" because only in this way could YEA be "held accountable to the community."

Summarizing thus far, the evidence indicates that the counselors are critical of the administrators for their alleged personal shortcomings (incompetence, favoritism, not involved enough in the work, etc.), but that the principal conflict is between counselors and the Board.(9) The Board makes the crucial decisions regarding the mission of the agency which the counselors believe most adversely affect their ability to do their work. When the mission involves job placement (as it has for forty years), the counselors charge that it prevents them from dealing with the full range of needs of clients. When the age limit was lowered to 19, the counselors feared that this would hinder them in carrying out the "placement mission" for the younger clients. This concern was to some extent supported by data presented earlier, where it was shown that a greater proportion of older clients than younger clients are placed; however, this is not sufficient to

say that the younger clients are often placed because older clients are placed first in the companies--which is the counselors' argument. And finally, as the Board experimented with a new mission (The Project), we saw that the counselors' skills would not be needed, if "advocacy" or something similar should become the principal mission of the agency.

The unionization of the agency staff which occurred in 1976 must be seen in light of this conflict (though we shall see that the conflict does not provide a full explanation). Counselors have had a long-standing conflict with the Board over the virtually exclusive emphasis on placement. For the most part, this took the form of "griping" as long as placements could be made. As the city's job market deteriorated, and the demand for unskilled and uneducated labor declined progressively, the counselors experienced more and more difficulty in accomplishing the placement mission. Simultaneously, new contracts emphasized placement quotas and these were monitored by more rigorous procedures. Under these conditions, the Board re-affirmed the placement aspect of the agency's mission, but made it more difficult to attain by lowering the age limit on the clients which the agency would serve. The counselors apparently came to feel that the Board was too far removed from the work of the agency (and too little interested in it) to understand the problems which ensued from their policy decisions. The administration was too

weak and ineffective in presenting the reality the counselors had to deal with to the Board. Moreover, there were by then fewer job opportunities for counselors elsewhere. The "war on poverty" which had spawned numerous programs (and jobs), had become a retreat. The result was that counselors became increasingly frustrated and discontented, but they had no other place to go. They were "stuck" with the job. And the longer they stayed, the more things they could find wrong with the job, the agency, the administration, and the Board.

On May 7, 1976 the Director received a telegram from the Executive Director of the Community and Social Agency Employees Union. The telegram said that "the undersigned union represents the majority of your counselors, clerical employees, and job developers," and requested a meeting "for the purpose of discussing terms and conditions of employment."

By May 11th, the union was out, rejected by its members in YEA, and a Staff Representation Committee had been elected. On May 12, the Committee sent a memo to the staff, announcing the names of those elected to the Committee and the plans of the Committee. The five members elected included the Director's Administrative Assistant.(10) The memo announced that the Committee would meet "every Thursday at 4:00 PM," and that "any matter that needs our attention should be made known to any or all members prior to the meeting," and stated that the "revision of Personnel

Practices will be one of the first major projects." The first meeting was scheduled for the following day (May 13); "time will be devoted to defining our role and making such a committee a permanent part of YEA."

The factors which led to the union affiliation in the first place and the events which led to repudiation of the union are recounted with some uncertainty by the counselors and administrators. Especially the latter: no one seemed able to recall the sequence of events of the May 7--May 11 period. The confusion (in fact and in memory) may have been increased by the notification on May 17 that the NRA would not be able to renew the Addict Program. This was the largest program, in employing staff, in the agency. The layoffs which resulted from this must have seemed all part of the unionization movement; in fact there was some connection, apart from the near-simultaneous occurrence of the events. We shall discuss these events in turn, beginning with the counselors' and administrators' own views of the causes of unionization, their views of what led to the change of mind regarding the union, and the layoffs which followed the loss of the Addict Program contract.

The Unionization of Staff and the Layoffs

The staff was unionized for only four days, we observed. One counselor reported that a few days prior to the unionization, the Director had taken a group of staff members out to lunch after he had "found out we were thinking of going

union." The Director, she said, had "made it plain that he really wanted to prevent it and would do everything he could to meet our demands if we didn't go to the union." When the Chairman of the Staff Grievance Committee returned from the lunch, she continued, he recommended to the staff that they "hold off on the union, and try to deal directly with this ourselves." The staff apparently decided otherwise; shortly afterwards, the Director received the telegram from the union announcing that it represented the workers.

When counselors were asked, in May 1976, what factors had led up to the unionization, their responses indicated that in all likelihood, only one of the grievances could have been resolved by a union, a fact that the counselors were not unaware of. One counselor claimed that "many people were personally motivated because they wanted to make more money." However, no other counselor advanced this as a reason, and this counselor said that as far as she was concerned, "I don't care about the salary; I make more money here than I've ever made." The other counselors did not believe that salaries as such had been an important issue.

When we examine the interviews, the more important factors behind the unionization appear to be: the fear of layoffs; job insecurity, and related to this, uncertainty over the standards for counselor evaluation; the increasing frustrations of the work itself; a lack of understanding

and concern by the administrators towards the counselors' work problems; and the "total power" of the Board and the administration.

Counselor F said that some "were saying that there was gross inequalities in salaries and favoritism; also, there was the fear of lay-offs." She added: "The reason I regard unionization with a jaundiced view is that the things I don't like here are very personal, and no union is going to change them." Many staff members, she said, merely wanted to be "treated in a different way." Her response to those people had been that "these are personal things you're talking about," rather than problems appropriate for a union.

Counselor G discounted the problem of salary inequities. "With any job you find that type of complaint," he said. He agreed with Counselor F that the possibility of lay-offs and the resulting concern over job security had been important factors. However, he believed that the issue, although an important one, had "developed into nonsense." Some counselors, he said, seemed to think that "once you're on a job, that the job should be yours indefinitely." He added that "in this industry, there's no such thing as job security....but people wanted certain changes to be made to guarantee them that job security...."

In Counselor G's view, "the frustration of possible lay-offs" was accompanied by "the frustrations of some people feeling that they are not being evaluated on the

basis of things they think they should be evaluated on." Some counselors, he said, believe that "they should be totally evaluated on the basis of whether they liked kids!"

For Counselor J, the problems leading to unionization were also summarized under the heading of "frustration." There had been the frustration of the work itself, grown increasingly difficult as the job market declined. More important than this, however, had been administrators' attitude; they were "out of touch" with the counselors' work and "what we really go through," and were always looking for things to keep the counselors busy despite the pressures they were under.

> "If they walk around and...see you talking to somebody, they will assume you're just fucking up. But in this type of agency...you have to stop and talk. You can't continuously, for eight hours, get involved."

This counselor went on to say that he did not mean that "you should be messing around all the time." But, he added, "there's a time when you just have to stop and...get your mind off of it for a minute." However, when that occurred, "the administrators say, 'I don't think you're seeing enough clients; let's add some more.'" If not that, the counselor said, they would urge him to "do some follow-up" or to get more placements.

The agency had imposed a "total freeze" on salary increases for the past two years, Counselor J said. But the

worst part of this had been the attitude of the administration: "a sort of attitude that 'If you don't like it, leave.'" The counselor continued, with considerable anger:

> "How can you have incentive, if the people you're busting your ass for are turning around and saying, 'If you don't like it, hand in your resignation?'"

The counselor claimed that the staff was not expecting "tremendous increases." They would have settled for some compensatory time off or some additional benefits; if nothing else, a "pat on the back" and some recognition that "we're doing something" would have helped. Instead, he claimed, the administrators "were saying, 'We're doing you a favor; you've got a job.'"

As did the others, this counselor also cited the possibility of lay-offs. "There's been a lot of talk about lay-offs in the social field," he said, "and the first thing you do is run for some type of security." The union "happened to be there in a situation when they needed it." He added that one of the grievances of the staff was that "the personnel practices that we have are backward and archaic; it just gives administration...total power in terms of anything, and gives staff really no power." This, the counselor said, was "really insulting to the personnel" because they "could be fired or laid off from this agency without reason at any time" and was for that reason "demoralizing."

Clearly, conflict with the Board did not fully explain

the brief fling at unionization. Job security and salary increases were part of the story, as was the feeling that administrators treated the counselors in a high-handed way. However, the conclusion we gather here is that counselors were more in conflict with the Board than they reported when asked directly about such issues. This conclusion is based on review of all the evidence available, including the counselors statements about various Board decisions to re-affirm, re-define, or alter the agency's mission. It is also based upon the counselors' own testimony regarding the meaning of their work. This does not deny the reasons advanced by counselors in explaining the decision to unionize. However, many of the reasons given by counselors were conceded to be personal "gripes" and not amenable to remedy through a union. This leads one to wonder if they were the important reasons. Many reasons were expressions of old gripes. They describe the administrators objectionable behavior for as long as they have held their jobs. On the other hand, the persistence of the demand for staff representation on or direct contact with the Board, which pre-dated the unionization, cannot fail to impress the observer, especially when we recall that the counselors see the administrators as weak and ineffective. There was a General Staff organization as far back as 1974. In the minutes of its first meeting on July 2 of that year, it was noted that the Board of Directors

would meet in August for the purpose of "developing a rationale for the present structural framework for YEA." The minutes show that it was the "general consensus of the staff that we too must verbalize and formulate a philosophy from our particular perspective of daily interaction with our clients." This formulation of agency "philosophy" might "complement, augment, or even contradict the philosophy of the Board of Directors." Accordingly, the staff took the position that the Board should be acquainted with their views "either through the Executive Director, representation /on the Board/, or a position paper."

Two additional reasons for giving greater weight to the Staff-Board conflict than the counselors give it directly are that the "personnel practices" which the counselors complain about and which underlie the job security problem are the province of the Board, and are recognized as such by the counselors. Counselor J notes that "lawyers for the Board" recently defined more clearly the arbitrary power of the agency in making layoffs or discharges for other reasons. Secondly, it was the Director's report that the Board would "close the doors" of the agency rather than accept a union which more than anything else caused the counselors to withdraw from the union only four days after joining. This merely manifested the absolute control exercised by the Board--a degree of control which the counselors were fully aware of. The at-

tempt at unionization was a "message of discontent" to the administrators, and an attempt to deal directly with the Board as an equal or near-equal party.(11)

The Executive Staff met on May 17, 1976. There, the administrators and supervisors attempted to explain why the staff had resorted to unionization. Their explanations were for the most part quite varied. The Counseling Supervisor said that the blame should fall on the counselors themselves because they did not "come to the Executive Committee for resolutions to their problems and to air their grievances." The OJT Supervisor felt that the Executive Staff had fomented discontent by "airing our grievances" against each other "in front of everyone." The Director's Administrative Assistant also blamed the Executive Staff for failure to "project a stronger image" than the union did in "solving staff problems." She also observed that there were some "flaws in personnel practices," and gave as an example the fact that "the conditions under which counselor probation is extended are not spelled out" in detail. The Director had other explanations. The need for "better functioning" of the Executive Staff was demonstrated, he said, as was the need for "consistent direction" by administrators and supervisors: "Go to six different people and you get six different answers." In addition, counselors had been prevented or discouraged from seeing him; his open-door policy had not been effective for that reason. The Director also noted

that "we do not fire people quickly enough," which caused "subjectivity later on."

However, two explanations of the unionization were repeatedly mentioned. One was that the staff merely needed more information about the workings of and the constraints on the agency. The other explanation frequently advanced was that the problem was caused by a few malcontents on the staff.

The OJT Supervisor said that "We should clearly inform the staff about contract job lines and the possibility that they will be terminated if the contract is cut," and that "it should be emphasized to the staff that if we do not spend all our employer-subsidy monies, the remainder... cannot be applied to salaries." The Job Developemnt Supervisor said that "we should explain the workings of the agency" to staff members. The Addict Program Supervisor proposed a similar explanation in saying that the staff needed to "receive reports from the Director, just as the Board receives reports." The Associate Director added that "copies of the contracts, minus the budgets, should be put in the library for the staff to read."

Several members of the Executive Staff also blamed the problem on a few "malcontents." The Administrative Assistant said that "it was one or two people who started the unionization movement." The Job Development Supervisor agreed that "one or two people" who feared the loss of their jobs "started the movement, on the assumption

that the union could save their jobs," and asked what "management techniques would be used in working with the few malcontents." The Addict Program Supervisor noted that when the staff "realized that the people who began the movement were in it for personal reasons," most of them "pulled out."

Partly because the only agreement among the Executive Staff members was on the two explanations involving the staff's need for more information and on a few malcontents as the real problem, the administrators and supervisors were not greatly troubled by the attempt at unionization. The Associate Director said that "YEA is a great agency" and that "we should not over-react to the situation." The Counseling Supervisor was impatient with the discussion because "we have an agency to run and work that is not being done." The Job Development Supervisor said that while communications in the agency could be better, "YEA is no better and no worse than any other organization," and that the Executive Staff "should not over-react." The Addict Program Supervisor observed that "at this time, the staff is mixed up;" however, this was said to require only that "we step in and...guide them."

There are some superficial agreements between the complaints of the counselors and the explanations of the Executive Staff. For example, the fear of lay-offs does appear to have been a factor in development of the union movement, even though the leaders do not appear to have

been exclusively "malcontents." Secondly, the Personnel Practices manual, mentioned by the Administrative Assistant, was also the object of complaint by Counselor J, although his complaint was directed more towards what the manual specified in terms of power relations than to what it did not specify. And "inconsistent direction" by administrators and supervisors was mentioned by one counselor in the interviews.

However, there is no suggestion, in the explanations offered by Executive Staff members, of the "structural" factors mentioned by counselors, including:

(a) The "total power" of the Board and administration;

(b) The alleged high-handedness of the administration;

(c) The frustrations of the work, and pressures to produce placements under increasingly difficult conditions; and

(d) Salary inequities, especially the gap between counselors' and Executive Staff salaries.

We also note that closer analysis of the Executive Staff's explanations shows that each "explanation" is an indictment of some other member(s) of the Executive Staff. When the Director talks about "inconsistent direction," he is referring to the inconsistency of the others. And it is the others who prevent staff from seeing him. When the Job Development Supervisor talks about malcontents, she is criticizing those other supervisors and the administrators

for permitting the malcontents to remain on staff. When the OJT Director says that there is too much open disagreement among Executive Staff, she means that the others talk about her in front of counselors.

The Executive Staff continued to attack each other at a subsequent meeting, without ever discussing the basic complaints of the counselors. The Director had already crushed the union by May 17, by reporting that the Board would close down the agency rather than accept a union. Loss of the Addict Program contract came at just the right time to dramatize this threat. If lay-offs were necessary, the agency could at least use them as an opportunity to "get rid of dead wood" (as the Associate Director described it)--including some of those active in the union.

The Lay-Offs

The topic of the May 19 meeting of the Executive Staff was "What we want from the Director." Minutes of the meeting are quite detailed and the statements by participants appear to be unusually candid. To the outsider, such meetings may appear destructive and cause more problems than they solve. They are not routine at YEA. It appears that the magnitude of the agency's recent problems left the Executive Staff no recourse other than to criticize each other.

At the May 19 meeting, the supervisors criticized each

other, they criticized the Director for administrative deficiencies, and along with the Associate Director, they criticized the Director for certain personal failings.

Criticism of other supervisors took up the least time. The Addict Program Supervisor said that other supervisors and the administrators should "stay in their own area" and not interfere with each other's performance of duty. The Counseling Supervisor observed that two other supervisors were frequently in the back of the office and "many times do not see their staff leaving early."

The Director was subjected to frequent criticism for failures in administration. One supervisor said that "detailed job descriptions for Executive Staff" were needed because no one knew their duties and responsibilities clearly, and that "tighter leadership" was needed. Another said that a "constant state of crisis" was characteristic of YEA's administration. A third complained about members of the Staff Committee meeting with the Director only, rather than with the Executive Staff as a whole. She added that "staff meetings should not interfere with the work day," and that "enforcement of rules" was lax, especially those related to working hours. Another charged that "we make big plans, but never follow through."

The Director was criticized, in addition, for having "black moods." One supervisor said that she wanted an "even climate" in the agency, one which was "free from

worrying about the moods of the administration." She also said that the Director should not make "conflicting promises," and that his "promises should be kept." The OJT Supervisor complained about the Director's "lack of consideration and unintentional disrespect" for her and added the charge that he showed favoritism towards some staff members such as the one teacher who continued "to do what he wants while other staff members are reprimanded." The Fiscal Administrator also referred to the problem of the Director's moods: "The swing of moods in the office that affect all of us should be ended." The Associate Director may have been the most blunt of all. The Director, he said, is "part of the problem" the agency faced. There was a problem in "how he says things." Moreover, he failed to "show confidence in each of us here," and made "unrealistic demands." Finally, he was guilty of "snubbing people who are trying to relate something to him."

The Director replied in detail to the charges. As far as favoritism was concerned, he said, that the teacher who had not conformed to the agency's dress policy would be "terminated as of 30 June 1976 unless he conforms," and that he would send a memo to the teacher stating this.

He had often been accused of favoritism with regard to one counselor, the Director observed, but asserted that he had never interfered with that counselor's "tenure." He asked the Counseling Supervisor if he had ever interfered with her supervision, and she replied that he had not. The

Director than added that the evaluation of counselors was "in the hands of the supervisors."

As for his moods, the Director said that he was "impatient with people who ramble on or are repetitious." This was, in part, the source of his moods. In addition, he said he was "plagued with issues that have already been resolved," so that no further discussion should be required. However, he pledged to do what he could to control his "black moods" since a "less personal climate in the agency is called for."

As for enforcement of rules, he stated existing ones should be enforced "until the new Personnel Practices is written and approved by the Board." He added that "the enforcement of staff hours lies with each individual supervisor."

He then asked the Associate Director what he meant by "unrealistic demands." The Associate Director replied that "it sounded good in the context of what I was thinking." That reply seemed to trigger the Director's anger. The Associate Director's office, he said, "takes too long to pull together statistics."

Yesterday, his administrative assistant "had to re-do the report to the Mayor's office" because it was "poorly done." The Director then warned that he did not want lies and that staff members should be "careful not to be caught in a lie."

In addition, he charged that the agency's paper work was not done on time, and that "the staff has time to fool around." To the Associate Director, he said, "I will require you to get out of your office more and walk the halls." Currently, he said, the Associate Director was "making too many assumptions," and an "unfair burden" was being shifted to the Supervisor of Counseling.

To emphasize the authority structure of the agency, the Director pointed out that "one person runs the agency here--and I am the one who makes the decisions to be carried out." This responsibility might be shared with the Executive Staff, and they were free to express disagreements, but "the final decision is mine." Nor would the staff run YEA, he said: "The Board of Directors run YEA" and only they "designate an Executive Director to follow Board policy." The Board, he said, would "close the agency rather than unionize." However, he said, the administration should "maintain an atmosphere of good will in dealing with the staff."

We might assume that the meeting was even more acrimonious than the record shows.(12) The members of the Executive Staff ganged up on the Director for his moods, his snubs, his favoritism, etc.--but did not, in the process, neglect each other for laxness, for not following through on agreed upon decisions, nor for interference with each other's areas of responsibility. The Director acknowledged his alleged faults, but turned the situation

around to show that the others are really at fault for rambling on, being repetitious, lying, and for other faults. In the end, the other Executive Staff members were put in their place. They too are without any formal authority and share in the decision-making only insofar as the Director allows them to. Only the Board possesses the ultimate authority, and it delegates it only through the Executive Director. In this respect, the supervisors and the Associate Director are in the same position as the counselors.

By May 24, the Director, wielding the Board's threat, had not only broken up the union but forced the new Staff Council to confine its discussions to minor issues. The Council acquiesced to the lay-off of staff in accordance with the personnel practices. In the Staff Council's report (to the staff) of a May 24th meeting with the Director, success was claimed in getting pay day changed to "every other Friday" (rather than the first and the fifteenth of the month), and in having job openings in the agency posted on a bulletin board so that staff members could apply for them. The other two items reported on were acknowledged to be within the prerogatives of the Board or the Executive Director. These reflected two of the prominent complaints expressed by counselors. One involved staff representation at Board meetings. The report said that "Mr. G____ /President of YEA/ will be approached on this when he meets with the Staff." The other concerned

lay-offs. The report simply listed the various factors which are considered by the administrators and supervisors in making lay-offs, and--in the absence of any comment--apparently endorsed them. Seniority was one factor. Job performance ("decided in consultation with supervisors") was the second. The third was the uniqueness of a position; i.e., whether it was a "one of a kind" position in the agency. The fourth was "salary line;" it was noted that "economics may determine that a higher paid person cannot be afforded." In addition to these factors, the Council said that "the Contract under which a person is employed is an important, if not deciding, factor," and that federal "CETA requirements dictate certain racial quotas."

The Director's own version of the meeting, which was not distributed to staff, shows that on the payday issue, he did "not see any problem" with payday every other Friday. As for the posting of job openings, "it was decided a staff bulletin board would be set up and job openings posted there." However, the Director added that "some supervisors absolutely refuse to have certain people on their staffs, and it is not his policy to push people on supervisors."(13) The Director was even more explicit about the staff's (and even his own) tenuous position on the matter of staff representation on the Board.

> "This is the prerogative of the Board. Everyone, outside of the Board members, attends at the invitation of the Board of Directors. The Board is

> under no legal obligation to open the meeting to staff and staff has no legal right to insist on this."

The Director was asked by one of those present "what his own feelings were on this." He replied that his own feelings were "not relevant." On the issue of who decides lay-offs and how, he asserted that "only the Board can approve changes in Personnel Practices" which govern this matter. "Contracts support the bulk of the staff," he noted; "if the source of your salary is removed, you are out--unless the Board chooses to hold on to you."

They lay-offs (in late May 1976) following the loss of the Addict Program were carried out as they had been in the past. Fourteen staff members were laid off. The guiding principle was "getting rid of dead wood." This did not mean laying off only the leaders of the unionization movement and the subsequent Staff Council. There were too many positions to be eliminated for that, and not all the visible sympathizers were laid off. But the most prominent spokesman for the union was among the victims.

Conclusion

The findings did not appear to support the hypothesis in the sense in which it was intended: a direct and positive relationship between external forces and mission. The Board and its Chairman, as the relevant leaders in this case, did appear to alter the agency mission in response to external exigencies. However, their action was of an un-

expected kind and involved the decreasing uniqueness of the agency. The Board's action was in reaction against the external forces. The Board also re-affirmed two important aspects of the mission in response to internal changes in the form of organizational drift. In both cases, however, it appeared that the Board was re-stating aspects of the mission that we abstracted from agency documents; viz., a (1) unique service directed at (2) youth who are (3) in trouble. The external exigencies thus acted both directly and indirectly. Directly, the existence of numerous competitors and imitators on the outside led to a decreasing uniqueness of the agency. Moreover, the requirements of government contracts were bothersome and threatening. For both reasons, the Board took up the question of a possible new function for the agency. However, the new function would, if implemented, represent one possible version of the existing mission of the agency: serving youth in trouble in a unique way. Only in this sense, with the emphasis on "uniqueness," do we maintain that agency mission, in essence, remained largely unchanged, even though its actual operation might vary. Indirectly, external demands affected agency mission through the counselors internalization of the agency's dependent and placement oriented situation, and the counselors' direct and unindoctrinated acceptance of demands for placement and retention for clients. The organizational drift that resulted led the Board to re-affirm part of the mission regarding the

age of clients. Once again, the Board responded by rejecting and reacting against the external demands rather than accomodating them, as hypothesized.

Secondly, the administrators did not seem to attempt to indoctrinate counselors with new missions. We observed earlier that the administrators did disseminate to the counselors "bad news" regarding poor performance on certain contracts, and that this took place in meetings with the supervisors. This may be considered a form of indoctrination. Almost certainly it facilitated the counselors' internalization of the agency's need for job placements. However, we conclude here that the internalization is more important than the "bad news" since the latter is limited to cases where performance by the agency is lacking whereas the counselors seem to act upon the need for placements and retentions regardless of whether or not the program they are assigned to is having problems of any significance.

Third, the counselors responded not to any "indoctrination," but to their own acceptance of external demands as they experienced them in their daily work, and in reaction against the "total power" of the Board. Moreover, they responded on the basis of their own more personal and altruistic mission rather than any "professional mission." For this reason, moreover, no "lag" of the kind hypothesized was observed.

Fourth, "continuous strife" was observed in the agency, and in this respect the hypothesis was confirmed. How-

ever, the strife was primarily between counselors and the Board. Although administrators were criticized by counselors for being ineffective and for other personal reasons, they were seen as powerless in dealing with the Board. Thus, the administrators were not party to the principal conflicts observed.

Finally, "stabilization" of the agency, such as it was, seemed to be due more to the Board's insistence on adhering to the agency mission than it did to counselor resistance to external demands. As noted above, counselor resistance was directed primarily against the Board's "demands" regarding the characteristics of the clientele and the services to be provided, and against the "total power" of the Board to make vital decisions without sufficient knowledge of or concern for the clientele and staff.

The implicit hypothesis that external exigencies would lead to some alteration of the agency mission was supported by two of the findings. One such finding was that client retention on the job became a recognized part of agency mission as a result of contract requirements. The other finding was that in some instances counselors unofficially re-defined the age range and correctional status criteria in order to meet contract quotas for job placements. This involved re-defining the mission with respect to the categories of "youth" and being "in trouble." However, this was not the process of modification envisioned in the hypothesis and, as indicated above, we consider it under the heading of organizational drift, and note further that the

Board attempted to correct this deviation when it was discovered. Thus, only with respect to the addition of a secondary factor, "job retention," to the mission as a result of external demands does this part of the hypothesis seem confirmed. Prior to the recent contracts, the client's movement from one job to another was regarded as a necessary part of the process of maturing and defining one's goals. The counselors regarded it as a favorable sign when clients stayed longer on successive jobs, but were not concerned with the retention on any particular job. Retention has not yet made its way into the Board's official statements of the mission of the agency, but as long as the dependence on contracts continues, it seems to have become a de facto part of the mission.

Perhaps it will clarify the finding to look at the processes involved and to say that all parties in the agency seemed to be in the grip of somewhat contradictory forces. Barnard's observation that it is necessary to inculcate personnel with a sense of organizational purpose may be salient with respect to the counselors, although in a curious way: the counselors bring their own purpose with them into the agency, but they are selected by the agency because of this sense of purpose. Once there, they are caught in a conflict between this purpose, involving their perception of the long-range needs of clients and gratification of their impulse to help clients, and the demands for placement imposed on the agency. Because

they are highly dependent on the agency, due in part to the hiring standards (see Chapter 11) and the decline of job opportunities on the outside, the counselors internalize the demand for placement quotas and act accordingly. The organizational drift which resulted from this process at YEA reflected the counselors' response to the external exigencies. It was countered by the Board through a re-affirmation of the agency's mission with respect to the age and correctional status of clients. This, we suggest, intensified conflict between the Board and the staff.

At the same time, counselors found themselves in conflict with the Board over broader aspects of the mission. Most counselors could not fully accept the Board's use of job placement as the only important service to be provided, since it did not meet all the clients' needs. This long-standing conflict, when combined with that based on counselor internalization of contract demands, and a "weak" administration led counselors over time to demand representation on the Board and to unionization of the staff in the hope that they could deal with the Board from a position of some power. We observed that the union was crushed by the Board's threat to close the agency. In addition, lay-offs following the loss of a major contract further heightened the dependence of the counselors. We might venture to guess that as long as the agency remains dependent on large or numerous contracts, counselors will continue to modify

the agency's mission if they can do so undetected.

The administrators are also caught between two forces: the demands imposed by contracts and the definitions imposed by the Board. They seemed unable to cope fully with either of these, and protected themselves from criticism from the staff by remaining aloof from questions of purpose and indoctrination, leaving staff to focus its disagreements on the Board, and by a truce with counselors whereby the counselors' work was largely unregulated and made failure-proof.

The Board is caught in a conflict with external forces over the purposes of the agency and its survival. As we saw in discussing "The Project," the conflict brought out that part of the mission stressing "uniqueness." The desire for uniqueness led the Board to experiment with a new mission, "advocacy," which resulted in a possible threat to the counselors' jobs. This increased the counselors' uneasiness and, if continued, would probably increase conflict between staff and Board. At the least, less cooperation in implementing the new mission could be expected.

Chapter 10, Notes

1. This may have some bearing on the problem in its present form. However, the follow-up problem as such goes back farther in time than the date of the move.

2. There were personnel changes during the time period studied, but the size of the staff remained the same.

3. This statement does not include "moral" imperatives such as not selling drugs (or anything else) to clients.

4. One counselor also suggested that "we should speak to the social workers about better preparing the clients they send us." The Director replied that "the average social worker today is not efficient."

5. Esther Stanton, Clients Come Last, (Sage, 1970), p. 67. There is some confusion in Stanton's work over what constitutes policy-making, which is one of the functions of a Board. Clearly, "the coordination of hundreds of volunteers" is not policy-making, and the inability of the Board to do this would not interfere with their ability to make policy--e.g. to decide that there should be such a program involving the numerous volunteers.

6. Ibid, p. 72.

7. We must recall that one Board member was head of the news department of a major TV network. Thus, the plan for a TV showing of the results of The Project might not be merely wishful thinking.

8. The Director is criticized for being isolated and not being involved with the staff--and at the same time, he is criticized for liking certain staff members, i.e., having "favorites." Apparently, the counselors and supervisors want him to like them all equally--with each one preferring that he like him or her a little more than the others.

9. There is evidence suggesting that the administration is in principle allied with the counselors on certain things. The Associate Director claimed that it was only through his efforts that the upper age limit was set at 19, rather than at 18, as the Chairman wanted.

10. The administrative assistant later withdrew in recognition of her conflict of interest--but not before effectively "spying" for the Director.

11. Negotiating the agency's mission with the Board would probably fall outside the realm of union activities, but the inference is made that the counselors hoped to achieve this at least. The earlier notion of staff representation on the Board might have been more suitable for this purpose. Whether this would have been possible, given a well-reasoned presentation to the Board, is hard to say. Perhaps the Board would not have found it such a bizarre idea, since acquiescing to it would not have substantially weakened the control of the Chairman. However, this is speculation.

12. This is supported by a comment made by the Associate Director in one of our conversations. The Administrative Assistant, he said, is "good at writing up the meetings, but even she does not get in the full flavor" of the meetings.

13. This might be interpreted as some gain by staff, in that at least they would know about the openings. This would be a gain only if they did not know about them in the past. What little evidence is available on this suggests that in general staff members were not officially and consistently informed about openings, but that unofficially, there was knowledge of them. Thus, the inclination is to see little change here in reality, especially since the supervisors can make particularistic choices. However, the formal acknowledgement of the staff's "right" in this respect might be construed as a gain.

Chapter 11

Hiring Standards for Counselors

The leading hypothesis to be explored is: Recruitment of personnel for counselor positions will be based less on technical and educational standards than on their adaptability to the external exigencies (contract demands) upon the agency.

The hypothesis is largely supported by the findings. However, it is important to recognize that the "external exigencies" (conceived of as represented by the demands of external funding organizations) were not found to be a variable. Recruitment standards for different programs were observed to be the same. Whatever training is provided to counselors is the same regardless of the program. Moreover, counselors are transferred from one program to another for reasons having nothing to do with external exigencies; for example, transfers for budgetary reasons are common. Counselors are also transferred to counseling positions from entirely different positions such as job developers or psychometrists. Thus, the "external exigencies," if they are a factor, are relatively constant even when they originate in a variety of sources. This is not surprising if we recall the argument made earlier that

the contracts which are sought and the "exigencies" they bring are greatly influenced by the mission of the agency, and that the mission has remained fairly constant over a long period of time. Retention of counselors--that is, the reluctance to fire them--was seen to be more directly related to the external exigencies: replacing and training a new counselor can put the agency behind in its placement schedule required to fulfill the contract. But the findings suggest little direct relationship between recruitment standards and the external exigencies.

The findings suggest that we consider the question of the potential availability of personnel who have professional technical and educational qualifications and compare these standards with the attributes of YEA's counselors. Then we can look more closely at the actual recruitment standards used by YEA administrators. Following this, we shall briefly review the backgrounds of the counselors who have been employed, using the standards described. Finally, we shall consider the training of the counselors, once they are hired, and their transferability within the organization.

The agency appears to recruit counselors with relatively little regard for "technical and educational standards," as the hypothesis states, and "internal exigenices" appear to be more important than external ones in determining what the standards are. A major "internal exigency" is the

mission of the agency, as decreed by the Board. Another recruitment principle appears to be the administrators' desire to acquire some control over staff--in the absence of other controls.(1) The external exigencies remain more or less constant, because the mission and thus the sought-after types of contracts remain constant. The control of staff is achieved partly through the recruitment of "adaptable" counselors, and the avoidance of potential "dissidents" which might include professionally-trained counselors with their extra-organizational orientation. There is little need for professional counselors, given a definition of the work that emphasizes placement. But control of the staff is also desired and viewed as necessary because of the immediacy of external exigencies--especially the placement timetables necessary to fulfill contracts. It is in this sense that the relationship between the recruitment standards and the external exigencies can be said to be of importance, even if that importance is indirect and secondary to the mission. Thus, control (or "adaptability") as such seems to be sought by the administrators--whether or not the counselor is being considered for a contract program with a placement timetable or for the regular agency staff as "line counselor." And the primary reason for low priority given to "technical and educational standards" in hiring counselors appears to be the way the work is defined by the mission of the agency--a creation of the Board.

In discussing the level of professionalization of the counselors, we can first view the occupation of counseling in general to see whether it can in fact be called a profession.

Mills, in discussing "Old Professions and New Skills," notes the growth of pseudo-professions:

> "Any position that is 'responsible and steady' and, above all, that carries prestige may become known, or at least promoted by its members, as a profession. Real estate men become realtors; undertakers become morticians; advertising men and public-relations counsels, radio commentators and gag men, interior decorators and special-effects experts all try to look and act 'professional.'"[1]

Mills adds that "one method of achieving this status, as well as of increasing income and warding off competition, is to close up the ranks without forming labor unions, to form professional associations which limit entrance to the fields of profits and fees."[2]

In this light, one can ask if vocational counseling is a self-proclaimed profession or if it meets recognized criteria and would be called a profession by outsiders. We can then look at YEA's counselors to find out if the counselors see themselves as professionals, and if the administration does. We begin by borrowing some of the professional criteria cited by Mills, and adding one or two

others that are often used to define a profession.

In order that an occupation be able to call itself a profession, it usually must satisfy at least the first six of the following conditions:

1. An area of specialization not claimed exclusively by another occupation'
2. A body of knowledge covering theory of the profession and principles and techniques of practice
3. Some form of specialized training beyond the B.A. degree
4. Some form of professional association which grants a meaningful certification to its members
5. A code of ethics regulating, or promulgating principles for the self-regulation of professional conduct
6. A professional communications system, usually in the form of journals, dealing with technique and theory (rather than trade gossip, etc.)
7. Monopoly or near-monopoly of jobs by the professional association. This is related to "strength" of the certification and could be a part of that item
8. Control over entry into the profession by limiting the capacity of training facilities.(3)

The degree of professionalization of vocational counseling, using these indicators, can be summarized as follows:

Characteristic	Applies to Vocational Counseling?
1. Area of specialization	YES
2. Body of knowledge	YES
3. Professional training	YES
4. Professional association	YES
5. Code of ethics	YES
6. Professional communications network	YES
7. Monopoly of jobs	NO
8. Limitation of training opportunities	NO

The occupation thus possesses six of the eight attributes of a profession. This characterization ignores the relative weight or importance of the individual items. There is reason to believe, for example, that monopoly of jobs and limitation of opportunities for entry may be the most significant factors in assessing widespread acceptance of an occupation as a full-fledged profession, and in achieving professional power. These two items may distinguish the strong from the weak professions. They are considered here as additions to the basic requirements of professionalization.(4)

The area of specialization claimed by vocational counseling (or guidance, as it is sometimes called) is in rendering assistance to individuals making an occupational choice. The process involves providing information about

jobs and work, assessing the abilities and interests of the client, and working out an acceptable occupational plan for him. The plan may focus on career or more immediate goals, and counseling may culminate in job placement, consistent with the plan developed.

The body of knowledge claimed as its own (item #2) by the counseling profession is of only limited exclusiveness to that profession. The profession borrows heavily from other disciplines, especially psychology and, to a lesser extent, sociology. Like education, from which it also borrows, it applies the knowledge and techniques of other disciplines to its own problems to develop its special body of knowledge. Most of the research reported in the professional journals is oriented towards helping the practitioner. The one subject on which some autonomous research has been undertaken is in the area of development of vocational choices, studying the sequence and characteristics of the process. There are a great number of theories and theorists, almost as many theorists as there are practitioners, and there appears to be no one theory followed by practitioners. Individual counselors appear to accept as valid that which works for them. And what works is often what the individual counselor believes will work. Thus each counselor can, and perhaps must, construct his own body of knowledge on whatever he wishes to borrow from psychology, sociology, social work, psychiatry, encounter therapy, etc. For the profession as a whole, the exper-

ience of doing counseling and placement provides a unique body of knowledge not derived from one's formal education. Research and experience over time yield information not directly and wholly useful to any other profession.

The academic training available to would-be practitioners in this field leads to a Master's degree. The program usually includes 2 years of full-time work. There are occasional evening programs but (as in social work) the preferred program requires full-time study, since field experience or internship in an operating agency is desired. Professional training beyond the Master's degree is usually related more to "social welfare," program planning and administration than to the practice of counseling.

The American Personnel and Guidance Association, with its specialized divisions, is the dominant professional association. The National Vocational Guidance Association is one such division. Its membership is made up largely of school guidance counselors, both high school and college, but includes agency counselors as well. Another division is the National Employment Counselors Association, for "people who counsel in an employment setting" or "those employed in related areas of counselor education, research, administration, or supervision in business and industry, colleges...and federal and state governments."(5) A third professional association, for rehabilitation counselors, is the National Rehabilitation Counseling Association.

The APGA itself is a fourth organization; however its interests are broader and more diversified, including personnel workers in industry as well as school guidance counselors, government workers, and agency practitioners. There may be other organizations.

The "certification" granted by these associations, in the form of membership certificates, is less meaningful than in some other professions. Social workers, for example, have succeeded in making membership in and certification by the American Society of Case Workers a prevalent job requirement.

The most significant certification in all professions is the state license to practice. Except for psychologists (in some states), this is not required for non-medical professionals in the "helping professions" such as counseling in its various forms.

Professional codes of ethics, especially for the medical and legal professions, were designed to provide rules of conduct for independent practitioners. Counselors, for the most part, are not independent practitioners; they are employees of a bureaucratic organization. There is some question as to whether a code of ethics is needed or can be applied in such a setting. We have included it among our professional criteria because, for one thing, it is commonly regarded as one of the hallmarks of a profession. Beyond that, a case can be easily made for the need of at least general standards and principles to be observed in

dealing with other human beings in an "intimate" way, where trust in the practitioner is alleged to be necessary for treatment and where, for this reason, patients or clients are vulnerable.

A "professional communications system," including journals, conventions, papers, etc., is as much as assertion of professionalism as it is an indispensable condition. For vocational counseling the "claim" way be even more important than the nominal function, since it is not one of the old established professions, and since, as noted before, the profession borrows, from other disciplines, most of its basic theory.

Some of the professional journals published for counselors have been mentioned. To satisfy our purposes here, we shall simply list them, and summarize the interests of the Journals. They include the Journal of Employment Counseling, which publishes articles "illuminating theory or practice in employment counseling;" The Personnel and Guidance Journal published by the American Personnel and Guidance Association for counselors and personnel workers in schools, community agencies, government, and business; The Vocational Guidance Quarterly, where "manuscripts with meaning for practitioners are preferred;" and the Journal of Applied Rehabilitation Counseling which publishes articles that deal with "current theoretical or professional issues, innovative...techniques, or research having primary

significance for the rehabilitation counselor."

It seems clear that there is a "profession" of vocational counseling, according to the criteria specified. We turn now to the counselors at YEA. Using the criteria specified earlier, we can summarize the professionalization of YEA's counselors as follows:

CHARACTERISTIC	POSSESSED BY AGENCY COUNSELORS?
1. Have an AREA OF SPECIALIZATION	YES
2. KNOW & USE ITS BODY OF KNOWLEDGE	NO
3. Had PROFESSIONAL TRAINING	NO
4. Belong to a PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION	NO
5. Know and follow a CODE OF ETHICS	NO
6. Use the PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM	NO

YEA counselors by these standards appear to exhibit only one attribute of a profession. We should note that this "low rating" does not accord with the Director's view of the professionalization of YEA counselors. The minutes of the Executive Staff meeting of September 16, 1975 show that the topic of "professionalism in the agency" was discussed. The Director stated that "we are not interested in creating a quasi-professional agency" and that "Professionalism and Effectiveness are the goals" of YEA. "People who work here will be broadened," he declared--referring to the seminars for

staff which were discussed earlier. In November of the same year, the topic was again discussed. This time, there is more of an open acknowledgement that the counselors are not as "professional" as desired. The Director complained:

> "Our counselors are concerned /too much/ with placements. This has been their orientation. We will have to change this in order to survive and justify our existence. Also, the counselors will have to learn to balance statistics with services to clients."

It is evident that there is an area of specialization in the counselors' work, namely services directly related to job placement of "disadvantaged" youth. The fact that only one counselor has a Master's degree in the field necessitates no further comment on "professional training," and it should be clear that without professional training, there is no generally accepted "body of knowledge" to speak of available to counselors, beyond what on-the-job training and experience produces. Only one YEA counselor belongs to a professional association (the APGA)--the same counselor who has the Master's degree. Finally, with respect to use of the professional journals (the "communications system"), the library at the agency receives most of the professional journals for use by counselors. According to the librarian, the journals are not used. Counselor C remarked that the counseling literature she has read "seems to be repeating what I already know." This counselor did have some undergraduate counseling courses, more training than most have. She added: "Maybe if I read it a little closer..." and left the sentence hanging, implying that she recog-

nized there might be some value to the literature, but she did not find it useful in her everyday practice.

A code of ethics, it was argued earlier, is as much as assertion of professionalism as anything else--perhaps in imitation of the medical and legal models. In 1972, members of The National Rehabilitation Counseling Association considered the problem of the professional as employee in an agency setting at their annual meeting. The organization was at that time engaged in drafting a code of ethics for its members.

Obermann described some of the issues and problems considered. There was acceptance of the proposition, he wrote, that "one requirement of a 'profession' is a stated code of ethics devised, interpreted, and applied by the members of the profession." Members of the group agreed that the "special technical knowledge and skill of a 'professional' person place him in a position of being able to cheat easily and to damage the uninitiated patient or client," and laymen need to be assuured that this will not occur.

Obermann reports that in professions such as law or medicine, the need for codes of ethics was seen as "relatively easy to understand." Some members felt, however, that since most of them were employees of agencies and bureaus, a "code designed by counselors could not be practical and would lead to conflicts with their employers." Despite this, it was agreed that "a code of standards of practice can be useful in helping to define the important relationships with employers

and supervisors...." because "participation by employees of all levels of technical training and expertise in setting the conditions of their employment is an accepted principle of modern management."(6)

The Code is designed not only to protect the client from the counselor (due to the "nature of man"), and the counselor from the client (by offering a defense against malpractice suits), but also to define relationships with employers in a bureaucratic setting. The latter is, of course, a power relationship, although not expressed as such with greater power being held by the agency-employer. The counselors' collective power would be based on ethical standards and the best interests of the client. The counselors will occupy the high moral ground. Obermann even goes so far as to claim that supervisors want this input from the profession, that it represents "an accepted principle of modern management." But because a position of some power in relation to the agency and its supervisors is essential to the establishment of an independent profession we may conjecture that this is the crucial reason underlying the code of ethics. Without some degree of independence above and beyond the status of employee, there can be no profession in an organizational setting. This may be reducing the situation to its power and prestige factors and is probably not an accurate statement of the problem in all its aspects. It does not, for example, account for the counselors' "genuine" concern for the protection and welfare of clients, and a simple desire to define what constitutes acceptable service. However, since the code provides for no

policing of counselors and no sanctions, it would appear that those who obey the code would do so with or without the code. A Code of Ethics is required essentially to stake out a position of power vis a vis the organization employer.

Finally, we note that the Code seeks also to protect the client from the agency, as indicated in the Code in the sections dealing with the counselor-client and the counselor-agency relationship. The counselor-client relationship is described as follows:

> "The primary obligation of the rehabilitation counselor is to his client. In all his relationships he will protect the client's welfare and will diligently seek to assist the client towards his goals."

Although the Code says that the counselor "will be loyal to the agency that employes him," it also requires that the counselor "persistently try to have amended those regulatory and administrative conditions of his employment that require him to act in an unethical or unprofessional manner or that erode the effectiveness of his professional functioning."

The Code of Ethics of the rehabilitation counselors is thus both an offensive and a defensive device with respect to organizational and personal power. It seeks to protect the client from the counselor and, through the counselor, from the agency. It seeks to protect the counselor from the agency and from the client; and it asserts a position of power in relation to the agency-employer.

When the counselors at YEA were asked about the ethics of their work, their replies did not suggest a codified body of standards. Counselor A said that there are "professional ethics" involved because "you are dealing with people out of work" and the problem will "get worse as they grow older." Counselor D replied: "Honesty and sincerity. You have to be truthful with the client. Fair but firm. You have to be realistic. /And you/ do not impose your values on the clients." Counselor E said: "You must stay away from employers who specify the race of applicants in their job requirements, and you have to be wary of communicating with employers about the client's past." Counselor F said: "There are lots of little things. Don't keep clients waiting. Don't lead them on about the possibility of a job.... Apologizing to the client for interruptions by other counselors."

The responses of other counselors were similar. By and large, their responses stressed client-centered values which could be summed up by one item in the rather elaborate APGA Code of Ethics for counselors: "The member's primary obligation is to respect the integrity and promote the welfare of the counselee or client with whom he is working."(7) The more professional aspects of the APGA code are ignored. The APGA Code, for example, calls for the member to "foster the development and improvement of his profession," to accept "a responsibility to the institution within which he serves," to "expect ethical behavior" among colleagues, and not to "seek self-enhancement through expressing evaluations or compari-

sons damaging to other ethical professional workers." YEA's counselors, by contrast, emphasize the client almost exclusively. The counselor must be honest (with the client, not the employer), fair, considerate of the client, aware of his own values so as to not impose them on the client, etc. There is no concern shown for "professional" matters--advancing the "profession," collective identification with other "professionals," and the independent point of view of the professional (with respect to the organization).

The Recruitment Standards in Practice

Ruzek, in discussing the accountability of social workers, identifies two variables which are said to be decisive: definitions of goals, and power. Agencies can easily enforce observability, whe writes, but they find it "more difficult to impose organizational goals or specify techniques," partly because of the "vagueness of bureaucratic goals and techniques in social work," but also because of the professionals' "attempts to control these aspects of practice." If professional definitions are weak and organizational definitions are strong and are reinforced by a public mandate, the agency may be able to impose its goals, she argues.(8)

At the Youth Employment Agency, the three conditions which Ruzek mentions appear to be present: weak professional definitions, strong organizational definitions, and a "public mandate." Ruzek's discussion of social work agencies, however,

assumes that there are "professionals" on staff who for some reason have "weak definitions" of the work. The main reason for this is not discussed in her article, perhaps because she is not concerned with "public assistance" workers, those government employees for whom professional training is not required to do the work. In public-assistance agencies, it may be the case that professional social workers (those with the MSW degree) are not attracted to the work because it is "not really social work." At YEA, this might be an occasional factor also.(9) But a more important factor is what the agency looks for in applicants for counseling positions. "Professional" counselors with graduate degrees have no advantage over others in being employed by YEA. In fact, they actually seem to be at some disadvantage.

Halmos describes other criteria for the selection of counselors, criteria that in his judgment are more appropriate for counseling than those reflecting a high degree of professionalism:

> "Great serenity and exceptional freedom from neurotic symptoms may preclude understanding of, and sensitivity to, those who have many such symptoms.... It seems then that in addition to not wishing to have the very intelligent candidate /for counseling positions/, we ought not to be in favor of the candidate who shows no signs of emotional instability whatsoever."(10)

The following material illustrates the agency's avoidance of both the "professional" and the "neurotic" types in selecting counselors.(11)

In the Summer of 1973, I worked closely with the Associate Director in hiring staff for a new program scheduled to begin in the Fall. The contracting agency was the City's Narcotic Rehabilitation Agency. The project called for new resources such as vocational training and stipends for clients, and new job titles, i.e., not counselors. Since I had been involved in the design of the project and in its contract negotiations, the Associate Director asked me to help in the selection of personnel. It was to be a large contract, for about $250,000. Proposed as a "demonstration project," it would presumably be carefully evaluated. The agency administrators thus wanted to get the best staff possible so that the results would justify its extension and even an expansion the following year.

In working with the Associate Director on the hiring I asked him what he was looking for, so I could help him. He responded:

"I don't know exactly what I look for; you ask me what I'm looking for and I don't know!" His arms flew up, a gesture of the hopelessness of explaining it. Earlier, he had said that he tries to get the "general all around feel" of the person being interviewed. Then in discussing it further he mentioned some of the specific qualities he looked for and how he looks for them. The traits he mentioned were "personal-

ity," the ability to get along with others on the staff, the absence of "hangups," general alertness, experience, and "what he can bring to the agency."

The first three might all be considered under the first heading: personality. The third one refers to no "working hangups" (e.g. excessive rigidity in how to do the work) as well as just general "hangups" which would cause problems in working with others, those on staff as well as outside the agency.

The second distinct trait is intelligence. The third is experience. And the fourth appears to be a composite of the other three, though there may be an element of individual uniqueness involved. His responses indicated there are three desired traits: personality (including getting along with others and "no hangups"), intelligence (see "alertness"), and work experience. Conspicuously absent were professional training and knowledge of theory and technique. The Associate Director was asked, during a conversation when we were talking about one candidate, if he ever talked about technique or counseling theory during interviews.

"Yeah, I get around to that," he said. "Sometimes I talk too much. But it's not a full orientation or anything. I try to give them a general idea of what a counselor does here."

The prospective counselor is not asked about his approach to counseling. If anything of this nature is discussed, it is an explanation or description of how the agency approaches counseling, especially its emphasis on placement. The Associ-

ate Director also made a point of describing good candidates for the new project as being "members of a team, not one doing this, another one that." In short, employees were conceived as being somewhat interchangeable. So much so that there was, later, a problem of "assigning" the good candidates to staff slots in figuring out who would do what. "All around ability" is one answer to the question: What can he bring to the agency? This reflects in part the size of the agency and its lack of resources in relation to needs. In such a situation, a versatile person is more useful and can be more easily shifted to another contract later if need be. But it also reflects the non-professional approach of the agency to its work. Theory and technique, other than the most rudimentary techniques, are not regarded as important.

The two techniques mentioned by the Associate Director--techniques or methods which he uses to "get the feel of" counselor applicants--are expressed in the following statement: "When describing the agency, I see how he responds and what kind of questions he asks. Also, I compare him in my mind with other counselors we have." Basically, the method employed requires giving the applicant a chance to talk, and to think on his feet in response to questions. Experience is already known from his resume. Talking about his experience provides further information on intelligence and general ability.

Of the four applicants we both interviewed during the week of August 13, he rejected two almost immediately. He

interviewed a fifth one himself, and rejected him but did not specify why. Each of us interviewed the four separately. When we discussed the applicants afterwards, I sought his opinion before offering my own. In those cases when I interviewed the applicant first, I would only say that the applicant was "worth seeing" without giving a detailed evaluation of the applicant.

The Associate Director rejected one of the applicants because he seemed to have "too many hangups" and might be too rigid. The other rejected applicant was seen as having insufficient experience (he had recently started on a job) and for "just not making a good impression." The applicant was small and quiet, but there was nothing specifically wrong with him. He had just not projected the right "image." He was lackluster.(12)

The two applicants who were accepted did not have exceptional educational credentials. Both were college graduates; one had done some post-graduate work but not in a Master's program. One of the rejected applicants did have a Master's degree and rather extensive experience. The other rejected applicant had a B.A. in Sociology.

One of the accepted applicants had no more related experience than the rejected applicants did. The other accepted applicant had unusually good experience: He had been director of an industrial education project which had a staff about the same size as YEA's. But it was his personal qualities which impressed the Associate Director. "Personal

qualities," include projecting an image of "concern," "realism" and thus "knowing what it's all about."

In general, it seemed that experience was not the most important of the desired traits--except as it signified "realism," the recognition of constraints an agency operates under. Personality and intelligence seemed to be more important. Self-selection to do work appropriate to the agency brought the candidate to the agency in the first place. Thereafter the agency guides the performance of the counselors--who were chosen for qualities which would, among other things, lead them to <u>accept</u> and <u>use</u> the agency's definition of its mission in their work (even if they desired another definition, which as we have seen, they often do). The agency does not, as a matter of policy, seek to avoid the conflict often found between profession and agency in this manner, but it accomplishes it nevertheless. This is part of the meaning attached to "rigid" counselors, ones who would not accept the agency's definition of mission. What is not avoided, we may note, is the conflict between the counselors' personal impulses to "help the client" and organizational constraints. The requirements of "concern" and "realism" are necessary for the agency's purposes. "Concern" is based upon a certain degree of selflessness which renders certain conditions of the work such as salaries relatively unimportant, and which renders organizational constraints such as the contract requirements and factors like the dominance of the Board, more acceptable. In the end, however, "concern" and "realism" are, if not contradictions,

at least in perpetual tension,

That formal credentials are relatively unimportant in the hiring and evaluation of personnel is seen also in another case. The Associate Director was asked his opinion of some of the personnel on staff at the time. His remarks are summarized below.

Counselor G: "He's very good. A thinker; but lazy."

Counselor H: "I have a very high opinion of him. He keeps busy."

Counselor J: "I would give him a good rating. He is concerned. Also a very nice guy."

The Associate Director also commented in this conversation, on one of the job developers on staff. The job developer was described as someone who "did not have a good resume" when he applied for the job. "But I was really impressed by him when I interviewed him," the Associate Director said. He had told the OJT Director, "Forget the resume. Just talk to him." Either the OJT Director was also impressed or she went along with the Associate Director's enthusiasm.

The Backgrounds of Counselors

Details of the counselors' educational and employment backgrounds were presented in Chapter 6. Here, it seems sufficient to summarize those finding with respect to (a) highest degree obtained; and (b) major field of study in college.

Neither advanced degrees nor specialized training are required for employment at YEA. Of the 13 counselors on whom the information was available, nine did not have an advanced degree (four of these did not have a B.A. degree). Of the four who did have Master's degrees, only one had a degree in Guidance, the "professional degree."

Training of Counselors

If counselors at YEA are not selected on the basis of "technical and educational standards," as stated in the hypothesis, there still remains the possibility that the agency "professionalizes" its counselors through a program of in-service training, and that the in-service training is little if at all influenced by the "external exigencies" impinging on the agency.

Ference, Goldner, and Ritti discuss a profession--the priesthood--where this occurs, although the training is highly formalized in special schools and intellectual, rather than being in-service training. These authors conceive of the priesthood-as-profession as being inseparable from the Church-as-organization.

> "The quality of the spiritual service provided the client is independent of the particular professional providing it.... The organization becomes more important than either the individual practitioner or any association of participants.... The Church is the profession vis-a-vis the laity /with/ the right to withdraw this permission /to practice/ from a priest."(13)

The authors note that the Roman Catholic priest is "a professional engaged in the provision of a spiritual service to his clients.... by virtue of /his7 extended training, esoteric knowledge, dedication, and acceptance of a particular code of ethics and practices...."(14)

The Church resembles the Youth Employment Agency in at least one important respect: the organization is, for the counselors employed at YEA, the "profession." The Church differs from YEA, however, in that it provides professional training to its personnel.

The counselors at YEA were asked about their training at YEA: specifically, who trained them, and what the training consisted of. A selection of their responses is presented below. Since all the responses were essentially the same, there seems no need to show the replies of all the counselors.(15)

> Counselor F: "It /my training7 was pretty bizarre. No one person trained me. My supervisor gave me a few pointers. On one occasion, she went over the paperwork requirements. But in terms of actual counseling, I think she hired me because she felt I had a natural ability to do it, and she pretty much left me alone. The first week I did not see any clients. Once or twice I sat in her office while she did an intake interview. She kept saying she was going to...sit in while I did an interview, during the first weeks, but she never did. I was sort of wishing that she would.... One other thing--I talked to Bob M____ /a counselor7 once. I said that the clients seemed very ill at ease during the initial interview. He was really into that--he had some brochures, and been to some seminars--and we sat and talked for a couple of hours. That was a big help. I would say that more than any training I had, that was the best."

Counselor G: "The training /I received/ was basically mechanical, in terms of office procedures. Nothing to do with the job, if you mean in terms of 'social work skills.' I came here as a Psychometrist, and got into counseling two months later--having become bored with testing.... That was part of my initial interview, that if a counseling job opened, I would be put into it."

Counselor J: "I was trained in the procedures--filling out a form, what forms to fill out, what procedures to follow. I think it was more training in the procedural aspects of the job than in terms of actual counseling. I think the training comes when you are sitting in that office with the first client--and you're obviously not getting a thing from him, and you start talking to get information from him. I think this is the learning process. There's really no other way you can learn it. The job is just sitting down and understanding people.... I think you can be taught certain practical procedures. For example, explaining to a client how he is to go dressed to a certain job, or being punctual. I mean, this is the sort of thing he could sit down in a room and a computer could spiel out to him. But in terms of actually obtaining information from him...I think that just comes naturally from the person--a natural ability...which cannot be taught anywhere."

What stands out in these interviews--aside from the procedural content of the counselors' training--is the absence of any "professional" orientation as far as training is concerned. Since the agency has defined the work in the way it has, the counselors themselves see little need for specialized training. The work requires natural ability and common sense. This should not be surprising, since the counselors were not chosen on the basis of their specialized training. Furthermore, through the practice of "weeding out" clients who are not "job ready," there is little need for whatever knowledge might accrue from training.

We note also that two of the counselors began their em-

ployment at YEA in other positions, one as the agency's psychometrist (he did not have the usual training for this position), and the other as a job developer. This transferability of personnel is seen as further evidence for the low regard for technical qualifications which characterizes the agency. It should be noted that at times such hiring practices have the purpose of holding on to someone who is desired for a counseling position, but when there is no counseling position open at the time. This evidence, however, is supplementary. The recruitment standards have been more clearly established by other means.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that recruitment was based on the external exigencies of the agency was supported insofar as the low priority of "technical and educational standards" in the hiring of counselors is concerned. Evidence was presented to show that while there is a professional group to recruit from, the professionally-trained counselor enjoys no advantages accruing from his training when applying for a counseling position at YEA. More "personal" qualities are desired by the agency. These were labelled "concern" and "realism." In addition, intelligence and the absence of "hangups", rigidities or strong convictions, were emphasized at YEA. The educational backgrounds of the counselors were seen to confirm the low priority of technical and educational standards: Of

the thirteen counselors for whom information was available, only four had advanced degrees, and only one of these had an advanced degree in Vocational Guidance.

However, the "external exigencies" acting on the agency were not observed to be decisive with regard to the hiring standards. The standards were the same regardless of the program for which the counselor was hired. Moreover, counselors are transferred from one program to another within the agency for "extraneous" reasons, such as budgetary considerations, rather than the exigencies or demands of the program. And given the general lack of professional training of counselors, the in-service training for all counselors (whether assigned to a specific program or not) was confined for the most part to the procedural aspects of the work. This finding is not consistent with the notion of external exigencies as used here--and more clearly not consistent with the notion of variable exigencies.(16)

The counselors were seen as hired without regard for technical and educational criteria principally because the work as it is defined by the agency does not require professional training. The counselors themselves adopt this view, in part (it was suggested) because they were not selected for their professional qualifications, and because the unofficial agency procedure of "weeding out" clients who are not "job ready" relieves counselors of the responsibility of having to deal with more difficult cases where professional training might be of some value.

Chapter 11, Notes

1. This is inferred here, based largely on the observed recruitment of "adaptable" counselors and the layoff of "dissident" counselors.

2. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), p. 139.

3. In addition to Mills, we draw upon the work of three important writers in this area in our list of professional criteria. William J. Goode, in "Community Within a Community: The Professions" (American Sociological Review, April 1957), presents eleven criteria of professional occupations. Some of these we have borrowed. However, we have chosen not to include the "service orientation" which he takes for granted; instead, we have discussed something of this kind under the heading of altruism. A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, in The Professions (Oxford University Press, 1933), emphasize the professional's "prolonged intellectual training" and the resulting special techniques and attitudes. Here, we have de-emphasized the degree to which training is "prolonged" and have chosen instead to use "specialized training beyond the B.A. degree," since to strictly use Carr-Saunders' and Wilson's standard serves to limit consideration to medicine and law among what Freidson calls the "consulting professions." Eliot Freidson, in Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1970) argues that the control over one's work (technical autonomy) is the principal distinguishing feature of a professional. However, we have not included this in our list of criteria partly because we have aimed at a consensus of opinion on this topic and partly because YEA's counselors seem to possess considerable autonomy in their day-to-day work, as we report elsewhere. However, it is not so simple to consider them as "professionals" for that reason. Freidson can conclude that technical autonomy is decisive when he discusses the medical profession, one which meets all the other standards we have proposed. YEA's counselors possess few of these other attributes, as we shall see. Thus, we would have to argue why they were "professional" in the sense of technical autonomy, and not "professional" with respect to the other standards. We choose, instead to discuss the findings under other headings such as the conflict over agency mission and organizational altruism, and to use here a more simple definition of "profession."

4. The American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) of which the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) is a division, includes the second through the fifth of the items listed among the "marks of a profession" in its Personnel and Guidance Standard Reference (1972-73 ed.). The first (area of specialization) is taken for granted by APGA. As for the monopoly of jobs and limitation of training opportunities, there is, of course, no mention.

5. APGA Personnel and Guidance Standard Reference, op. cit., p. 5.

6. C. Esco Obermann, Chairman of the NRCA Ethics Subcommittee, reported on the deliberations in the Winter 1972-73 issue of The Journal of Applied Rehabilitation Counseling.

7. APGA Personnel and Guidance Standard Reference, op.cit., p. 9.

8. Sheryl K. Ruzek, "Making Social Work Accountable," in The Professions and Their Prospects, edited by Eliot Freidson (Sage Publications, 1973), p. 235.

9. The Director of (and sole worker in) the Information Center at YEA had a Master's degree in Guidance, but said she was not interested in a counselor's job there because of the excessive emphasis on placements at YEA. In other words, YEA "did not really do" counseling--the same complaint which social workers often make about public-assistance agencies.

10. Paul Halmos, The Faith of the Counselors (Schocken Books, 1970), p. 129.

11. We must recognize that the Director's standards for counselors may be somewhat different than the Associate Director's with respect to professional training. However, the mechanism for hiring counselors at YEA involves the Associate Director and the appropriate supervisor at the beginning (and most decisive) stage. Thus, the Associate Director's standards are (largely) the agency's standards.

12. We see in this case that it is not simply docility that the agency seeks, contrary to what may have been suggested by our earlier remarks about "control." It was observed that applicants for counseling positions who projected an image of "concern" (for the work, the clients, etc.) were often highly favored. Concern may have been gauged partly by the kind of work experience the applicant had, as well as his expressive abilities in talking about the position. A good "salesman" had an advantage. Favored applicants

were also seen to be "realistic" as well as "concerned."

13. Thomas P. Ferenci, Fred H. Goldner, and R. Richard Ritti, "Priests and Church: The Professionalization of an Organization," in The Professions and Their Prospects, edited by Eliot Freidson (Sage, 1973), pp. 174-5.

14. Ibid, p. 173.

15. It should be stated that counselors were not asked about their training in the earlier stage of the research. However, there is no reason to believe their responses would have been different, since the supervisors were the same.

16. It is possible, of course, that the mechanical or procedural aspects of the work did derive from the demands of external organizations and conditions, to some extent. Paperwork is required by the contracts. However, the fact that all counselors were trained in this way, whether assigned to a contract or not, seems to argue against this as a general explanation.

Chapter 12

Optional Standards of Success

The hypothesis here is: When the counselors provide a plurality of services for a plurality of organizations, there will be more than one definition (or standard) of success. These may include (a) placement, (b) building morale, (c) assessment of potential (through tests and counseling), (d) general advice-giving, (e) information-giving (job market, wages, etc.), (f) re-direction of aims ("realism"), and others. In the absence of placement success, counselors will experience and report success in one or more of these areas, successes that are more attainable. This type of achievement will be more approved by their profession and the society at large than by the organization.

In general, the hypothesis is supported by the findings, if we accept as the substance of the hypothesis that there are alternatives to placement for achieving success, and that counselors will report these activities as successes. In short, the experience of success does not exclusively depend on placement.

The findings suggest, however, that the hypothesis is deficient in the following ways:

Placement is the dominant means of defining success, despite the existence of numerous alternatives to placement and the difficulties of placement. Placement is not only approved and rewarded by the agency, but also by the funding organizations. Moreover, it is desired by clients. For the counselor, all pressures converge on placement. Also, it is intrinsically gratifying to counselors: at least one counselor reported a state of elation when effecting a difficult placement, and described placement as a vicarious experience of achievement.

While placement represents success, the failure to place a client does not in itself mean failure. There are many uncontrollable factors in the placement process including culpable defects of the client.

The alternative means of achieving success are reported and presumably are significant to counselors, even when placement is achieved or anticipated. They are not merely excuses for the absence of placement, as stated in the hypothesis.

The alternative means of achieving success which the counselors seek are sanctioned by the agency (unofficially, in some cases, and provided that they are funded and lead to placement in other cases). However, high levels of success by these alternative means is not always possible, owing to lack of resources. Education and vocational training are examples. The hypothesis implied that the alternative means would be sanctioned by the profession and the society at large but not by the organization. It anticipated a conflict

between the profession and the organization over criteria of success. This was not found to be the case. The finding reflects the almost total lack of "professionalization" among the counselors. It also reflects the hiring standards of the agency and the agency's control over the definitions of the work.

Our investigation showed that while there was a professional group to recruit from, the professionally-trained counselor enjoyed no advantages accruing from his training when applying for a counseling position at YEA. More "personal" qualities were desired by the agency. These were labelled "concern" (for clients) and "realism" regarding the constraints imposed upon the agency especially the need for placements. In addition, intelligence and the absence of "hangups," rigidities or strong convictions were emphasized at YEA. The educational backgrounds of the counselors were seen to confirm the low priority of technical and educational standards: Of the thirteen counselors for whom the information was available, only four had advanced degrees, and only one of these had an advanced degree in Vocational Guidance. Nor did the counselors belong to professional associations, utilize the available professional literature in the agency's library, or refer to professional codes of ethics. The counselors were hired without much regard for technical and educational criteria principally because the work as it was defined by the agency did not require professional training. The counselors themselves adopted this view, in part because they

were not selected for their professional qualifications, and because the unofficial agency procedure of "weeding out" clients who were not "job ready" relieved counselors of the responsibility of having to deal with more difficult cases where professional training might be of some value.

Placement and Success

The importance of placements to the agency, its funding sources, its clients, and its counselors has been repeatedly documented. The evidence presented earlier will be briefly reviewed.

The agency's contracts require placement of clients primarily (and retention secondarily). Satisfaction of the contract requirements entails placement of a specified quota of a program's enrollees if contract penalties are to be avoided. The contract of the Crime-Prevention Program compensated YEA only if placements were made. The monitoring of the Addict Program focused on the verification of placements.

The placement requirements built into the contracts are the result of contract proposals and negotiations. The proposals are based upon what YEA has to sell: placement services. This product derives from the agency's "mission," which is formulated and protected by the Board and its Chairman. Not only does the agency propose and contract to sell placement services, but its statistics and reports fasten

the attention of counselors upon placement as the main target. Placements are important in the evaluation of counselors, though no records are kept of each counselor's "placement activity," and placements are important in sustaining the agency and the counselors' jobs.

Clients expected and desired placement in a job. This was consistently what they most hoped the agency would do for them. Complaints about the agency's services, if reported, centered on the slowness in effecting placement, and the lack of variety of jobs.

Observations of the counselors at work showed the effects of these pressures. The counselors' work seemed business-like and highly purposeful, with the effort directed towards quick placement. One counselor was seen to work with two clients simultaneously in a near-frenzied effort to place them. The counselors attempted to induce or persuade clients to accept jobs that were available at the moment. As a general rule, they repeatedly directed the clients' attention from jobs desired by the client to a consideration of the advantages of a job that was open at the time or one that could easily be procured.

However, the counselors talk about placement in a way which suggests that success in placement means more than a good evaluation or the maintenance of one's job. Helping their clients appears to have genuine, intrinsic meaning to them. For instance, Counselor F remarked that "there's an

incredible feeling of accomplishment for me when something works." She cited one case where she had been initially unsuccessful in placing a particular client. After several failures, the client was hired by an employer. The counselor reported her reaction to this as follows:

> "I was walking home that night, and I discovered I was feeling very elated. For a second, I couldn't think why. I thought it was something special that happened on my lunch hour. Or had my boyfriend called me? Then all of a sudden I zeroed in on it--and I realized that I was ecstatic for Ted [the client]. And when that happens, it's really powerful. It's just as if you'd done it yourself."

When Counselor G was asked what gave him satisfaction on the job, the first thing he said was, "Any time I can place a kid on a job, I'm satisfied." Counselor J, while complaining that "it's difficult to spend as much time as you'd like... in dealing with his personal problems," did observe that after placement, "where there's money coming in...a person is more rational...and then you get into the other areas slowly." He added:

> "... it's difficult dealing with the frustration. And I think that's where the actual love of the work comes in. And I think the satisfaction of one kid calling back--ecstatic that he's got a job--I think that holds you in terms of what may be failures in other areas, not being able to place all of them."

The client's response to getting a job, and the presumed effect on the counselor's valuation of placement can also be

seen in the following statement by Counselor D. Asked how he would let his supervisor know about a client calling to thank him for his help in getting a job, the counselor replied:

> "I get that a lot. But I never say much about it unless it comes in a letter which can be used for raising money. But I don't go out of the way even when the client writes a letter. I just don't feel it is necessary to mention it otherwise. When a client expresses his appreciation for a job I got him, that's elevation enough. I feel that it's just a personal thing."

Placement, it would appear, is the one area where success is rewarded by strong approval from all parties, and is associated both with practical interests of the counselors in maintenance of the agency, and with achieving "emotional" gratification.

Alternative Sources of Success

There are other tasks and services which counselors can perform which provide a feeling of success. These, however, are linked to placement--i.e., they are instrumental to placement. And contrary to the hypothesis, they are sanctioned by the agency. These alternative and additional means of success include:

(a) Establishing rapport with the client, especially during the first session.

(b) Providing factual information to the client--information about the work world, or about the agency itself.

(c) Sticking with a "problem client," provided that the client demonstrates motivation.

(d) Conning employers regarding the client's qualifications for a particular job.

(e) Recognizing the client's con game.

(f) "Stroking" or comforting clients who have failed on a job.

This is nowhere near an exhaustive list of alternative or supplementary routes to success in the work. The ones identified here often seem to be closely connected with the individual "philosophies" and techniques of the counselors. Those which the counselors generally seem to derive a feeling of success from include establishing rapport, conning employers, and recognizing the client's con game. Individual counselors derive satisfaction from providing factual information, sticking with a client, and "stroking" the client when he is discouraged by failure to get a job. It may be that these are subordinate techniques for establishing rapport. We shall consider the generally accepted ones first.

Establishing Rapport

Rapport with the client is extremely important in the counselor's work. It provides the sense of "contact" with the client which counselors appear to value in itself. But it is also instrumental for effecting placements. Moreover, lack of rapport is interpreted as the client's skepticism or criticism of the counselor's integrity, motivation, and effort.

Counselor F was asked if she thought counselors should be evaluated on their ability to establish rapport with clients.

She replied: "It should be used to evaluate counselors because it's the most important thing." "But it's such a subjective matter;" she continued, "and there are a lot of ways to establish rapport. I might establish rapport with a client, and another counselor might establish rapport with the same client. But it would be in a very different way, because that client has different sides. But I think rapport is very important."

Rapport, for this counselor, brings its own gratifications based apparently upon the feeling of "intimacy" with clients, and the opportunity to encourage them. Asked if she got the same feeling which she reported following placement from anything else on the job, she replied:

> "Yes, when a client shares something private with me, in terms of their interests. Showing some of their art work, or a story they have written. Also, when I meet a new client who is particularly gifted in some way, or motivated. I had a fellow this week who has had three years' experience as a survey draftsman. He brought in all these plans he had drawn on the job, his last job. And it was really exciting to see--all this beautiful work he had done. And he was so proud of it! I was bubbling all day! Incredible!"

However, the instrumental aspect of rapport is not ignored. The counselor stressed the importance of "finding out if a person is job-ready or not. It's really making a character judgment. You have to read into their personality." To do this requires rapport with the client; otherwise no information is obtained.

For Counselor J, rapport has an almost narcissistic ele-

ment to it:

> "It /counseling/ is like looking into a mirror and seeing yourself. You see kids and you remember when you were young. You can see a large portion of yourself in them. And in some sense, it brings you closer to yourself."

This counselor is, however, acutely aware of the utility of rapport: It is necessary to obtain information.

> "I think the training /of counselors/ comes when you are sitting in that office with the first client, and you're obviously not getting a thing from him--and you start talking to get things from him..."

Rapport is also useful for the purpose of weeding out clients, a topic to be discussed in the next chapter.

A gauge of rapport used by counselors is whether or not the client "calls back" or "keeps in touch." Counselor J described the role of "calling back" in this way:

> "You can tell whether you are being successful or failing. You do have a measuring rod--a gauge, in terms of success--and you know it. And you know when you're not a good counselor...in terms of getting the kids to call back. If the kid calls back only one or two times, obviously, what you're trying to tell him wasn't believable. They can tell whether you're really

interested in helping them... Obviously, if they called you, they felt that they could talk to you."

Opposed to this point of view is the opinion of Counselor H that the ability to establish rapport would be useful in evaluating counselors only "if this was a different kind of agency. The bottom line here is placements." This counselor's work was observed to be characterized by the absence of any "reaching out" to clients to establish rapport. His interviews were typically much shorter than average, lasting from 12--15 minutes. For this counselor, rapport was apparently neither gratifying nor useful.(1)

Conning Employers

Conning the employer--i.e., misleading him as to the clients' qualifications for the job in question--is not specifically reported as "success" by the counselors. Yet it is a source of pride, as we infer from the counselors' readiness to talk about it and the satisfaction they appear to take in it. It is also a possible indicator of success that is independent of placement. While conning the employer is done for the purpose of placements, success images are derived from it whether or not the client is hired.(2) If a client is at least interviewed by an employer, it is a success of sorts, since advance disclosure of the client's qualifications would probably have resulted in a rejection over the phone.

The counselors reported varying techniques in this area. Two of them are summarized below.

Counselor G reported that he lets the employer lead the way in indicating which falsifications are required:

> "You start out with, 'Have you ever dealt with our agency before? Or with any public or private agency?' These guys, the employers, come out with so much stuff--and you take it from there. Whatever their biases are, you try to explain that you're not like that. You know, he says, for example, 'I'm getting rid of one person, and that person is deficient in a certain way.' And I say, 'Well, the person I have before me, the client, is not like that.'"

Counselor J reported that he too tells employers what they "want to hear." The difference is that all employers want to hear the same thing, in his judgment; namely that the clients will be punctual and dependable. To this end, he exaggerates or falsifies the agency's evaluative and preparatory procedures.

> "I always explain what the client goes through in our program. It's usually impressive to the employer. I tell him how we prepare clients--tell them about our Job Prep Program.(3) I tell them how we measure punctuality: We have the kids come to us seven times before we send them on interviews. That we don't send them out on interviews just to see if they are punctual. And this, to an employer--that's what he wants to hear....A lot of times, it's a snow job, because you're seeing the client for the first time. In this particular business, a lot of white-lieing goes on because--like that salesman--you have to get that foot in the door first, to give the kid a chance to prove himself."

Recognizing the Client's Con Game

Despite the counselors generally strong identification with clients and their own conning of employers, clients are

seen as potential con artists at the outset. To avoid "crushing disillusionments," counselors consider it desirable to find out what the client's game is, if he has one.(4) When the game is discovered, the counselors may either devalue the client, attempt to change the client, or they may go along with the game.

Counselor F (a white female) appears to try to determine which of her clients can be changed and to focus her work on those few.

> "The thing that amazed me most about the clients when I first came here, and which still surprises me, is that these young people...have the whole vocabulary, the whole middle-class...the whole upward mobile thing, the whole American Dream--they have it down pat! And they can come in and tell me, 'Yes, I want to make something of myself, and support my family, and develop my skills, and I'm sorry I dropped out of school.' I've heard it all. And sometimes it's true, and they really mean it. And other times, they think they mean it but they don't really know what they're saying... Sometimes you know in advance when they mean it. But sometimes you get crushing disillusionments, reversals of your previous expectations."

The client's game may be intentionally crafted or not. Intentionality makes a difference to the counselor, because usually his or her goal is to change the client. For Counselor G, however, it makes no difference whether or not the client is intentionally manipulative. He will go along with the game, if the client wishes, for the client, he believes, must ultimately change himself. This counselor, a black male, reported that on occasion he had told clients that "If you don't want to work, and you just want to come here and

fool your Parole Officer--fine! Come in, fool him."

The counselor cited as an example of his approach a client who wanted to go to Las Vegas. "He had to get out of this city. He couldn't take it." The counselor called a bus company, and found out about the half-fare rates which the client could take advantage of. Then he arranged "Day jobs" for the client so he could save money for the bus fare. "He came in every day for two months, saving his money." The client went to Las Vegas when he had enough money and stayed for a short time. When he returned, he called Counselor G. "He said he had a fine time," Counselor G reported; "but the client said 'You have to be 21 to get a job there.'" Since returning to Center City, "the kid has been working on one job since February."(5)

Providing Factual Information

Not all counselors reported that providing factual information was a source of success. Nevertheless, for some it is important. Providing information on the basis of which the client can orient himself and make decisions is, for these counselors, a means to success in their work. There is some reason to believe that this definition of success is correlated with the counselor's expectation of or hope for "independence" in the client and a concern for "client's rights." However, no specific findings are available to support this.

Counselor F was observed to spend considerable time in describing and explaining the functions of the agency. She also discussed this in the interview. This appeared to be designed to help the client orient to and "activate" himself in the agency so that he would not be merely a passive recipient of services, and to acquaint the client with his rights as a client of the agency and as an employee--if and when he should be placed. She said:

> "I usually start out...explaining about the OJT program. The federal reimbursement to employers. What the clients' rights are. I explain to them how the OJT program and its referral procedures works."

Counselor G was asked what gave him satisfaction on the job. He mentioned placement first, as was reported earlier in this chapter. Then he added:

> "There are satisfactions in other ways...in offering a kid--a lot of kids--information that they will never have before. Factual information. Insights I don't aim for.... I don't see where I'm going to get all this wisdom suddenly which I couldn't apply to my own life."

The factual information was later described as information relating to job requirements, working conditions, wages, and (by inference) the exactions of "careers" in terms of preparation, perseverance, etc.

Sticking with a Client

Not all clients are adjudged as worthy of the devotion implicit in the concept of "sticking with a client," despite his problems on the job, or on a series of jobs. It appeared that certain clients show the requisite degree of motivation and somehow "reach" the counselor in a personal way. Being able to stick with these clients symbolizes a form of success in that it represents to the counselor what he or she should do for all clients, but cannot do for practical reasons.

Counselor D talked about one of his clients of several years. The client showed "motivation," according to the counselor, though he had failed on numerous jobs. Typically, the client would start out on a job in a very impressive fashion, but would lose interest and revert to drinking. The counselor reported that he had "reached" the client through sports, and that he had had the client to his house several times, had taken him fishing, etc. The counselor clearly regarded this as successful work. It may be that the experience of success in this is based upon successive placements, with each one appearing to represent success until the client quits or is fired. There is no reason to believe that the effort would be regarded as "success" if the client were never placed. However, there is some implication, in the counselor's remarks, that the effort itself is regarded to some ex-

tent as indicative of his success as a counselor.(6) Counselor F reports "stealing jobs" for such clients, and conveys the impression that this is what one does if one is to be "successful," i.e. good at counseling.

> "I have a couple of three- and four-time losers that are now finding out what working requires. All the counselors have a handful of such clients. All you have to do is mention a name and everybody goes on: 'Not again!' And I have fought this thing very hard. I've had to literally steal jobs. People will say, 'I'm not going to give you this job if you're going to send so-and-so.' But there are times you have no choice--if the client is desparate, and they are still calling you for work."

Stroking

There is not sufficient evidence to say how important stroking is to the counselors. One counselor talked about it at some length. To him, "stroking" appeared to be an important activity of the counselor, one from which success could be derived. Again, the ultimate criterion of success may be placement, but it also appears to be based on supporting the client, and re-building his self esteem. Thus, whatever success is attained is not dependent exclusively on placement of the client.

Counselor J (a Puerto Rican male) was asked: What do you do when you have somebody who is seemingly motivated, and you send him out on an interview--then he does not get the job? He replied:

> "You have to give some reinforcement. This is when a kid needs you the most--right after the... interview, when he hasn't gotten the job. 'Reinforcement' in terms of himself. Because...usually a kid will go to several interviews before he gets

> hired. You have to prepare him, to tell him to use the job interviews as an experience.... Otherwise the kid will have such a rejection complex that when he goes to the next employer, he will reject the employer before the employer rejects him.... So that is the time to take the kid and--as we say in the street--you have to stroke him... you have to reinforce him... and explain to him that this is an experience.... Usually the client sees the employer's rejection as prejudice. Or he will say, 'I wasn't ready for the math test.' And you have to deal with this rationalization."

Other Avenues to Success

Success for the counselor can be attained through referral of the client to the agency's remedial education program, especially if the client obtains his high-school equivalency certificate, even though no immediate placement results. At least some of the counselors regard the long-range benefits of the educational certificate as greater than an immediate job placement. However, we have seen that this type of success is limited by the resources of the agency. Clients come to the agency with the hope of obtaining money through a job. Limited stipend funds, which are restricted to certain programs, means that most clients must attend the evening remediation program or not at all. Most clients do not regard these alternatives as desirable.

The same constraints affect the possibility of success derived from placing the client in a skills-training program. This, too, is regarded as success. But here too, there are few openings. And the schools which provide the training have relatively high admissions standards which preclude referral of most YEA clients, even when they are eligible by

virtue of being an enrollee of the program which has funds for such enrollment.

Professional Standards of Success

Two of the distinctive tasks performed by professional vocational counselors, career guidance and planning, and intervention into "personal problems" affecting employment, appeared to be unimportant to the counselors at YEA.

Counselor G, as we noted, derided the whole notion of career preparation. We saw earlier that this view was also consistent with the unplanned character of his own career. As for the clients' personal problems, he claimed that he tells the client to "take those back to your social worker."

Counselors who were interviewed in 1973 were asked to describe a hypothetically adequate program for the agency's clients, and to identify the various professional services which would be needed. Most of the counselors specified a considerable range of services--including psychiatrists and social and community workers, indicating that there are serious problems to be dealt with to facilitate placement of the clients. But only one indicated that the counselors themselves should be professionally trained. Counselor A complained that the agency got the "worst of the litter" for its staff. "They do not seem to feel it is a profession," he said.

Counselor J may also represent a deviant opinion on this point. He complained that at YEA there was not enough time to deal with the clients' personal problems. While we note

that it is lack of time rather than lack of professional training and knowledge he complains of, he nevertheless seems to believe that counselors should intervene in this area.

These findings appear to be contradicted by our report, in Chapter 7, that the counselors resisted the limited focus on placement in their work and desired more opportunities for "qualitative work." In our judgment, this does not represent a contradiction in the counselors' responses. They do desire more time for qualitative work, i.e. more leisurely and thoughtful work with clients. At the same time, they believe that this kind of work can be accomplished without professional training. The heart of the work is impulsive (a genuine desire to help clients), moral (a high degree of honesty with clients), and experiential (learning by doing). Professional training and techniques would be superfluous. The counselors' notion of qualitative work is limited to the short run: they desire more time to get to know the client better, and additional resources such as vocational training and remediation facilities. Helping the client may, in fact, be rewarding only if one gets the chance to know him.

This absence of techniques is also related to the hiring standards of the agency: Professionally trained counselors are not usually recuited. Thus, the counselors have limited knowledge of the "professional skills," and they have little reason to value them since their own employment is not based on the possession of such "professional skills."

Since there is almost no connection between the counseling staff at YEA and the profession of vocational guidance, it is not surprising that the principal criteria of professionally-sanctioned success are scarcely recognized by the agency's counselors.

Conclusion

The principal part of the hypothesis, regarding the existence of means of attaining success other than by placement, was supported by the findings. Those which were identified were: Establishing rapport with the client; conning employers; recognizing the client's con game; providing factual information; "sticking with" certain clients; and "stroking" them.

These criteria of success were described as independent of placement to some degree, but were intended to facilitate placement. The first three were observed for all counselors. The latter three were not observed for all counselors.

Despite these findings, the conclusion was reached that placement is the dominant means of attaining success for the counselors--both directly and indirectly. Indirectly it was important because of its connection with the "alternative means of success." Placement is the one goal which all parties can agree on: the agency, its funding sources, its Board, its clients, and its counselors. The counselors find other means of success, but ultimately success must be attained by placement--even if the placement is short-lived.

No evidence was found to indicate that the alternative means of success were not sanctioned by the agency, contrary to the hypothesis; this is consistent with the earlier finding that the agency exercised almost total control of the operative definitions and incorporated them into its hiring standards. No professional-organizational conflict was observed in the analysis of the means of attaining success.

Chapter 12, Notes

1. We might conjecture that he will find it useful, as he gains more experience on the job. However, there seems to be no reason to think he will value it for its own sake, as most other counselors appear to do. Counselor A might resemble him in this respect, with his emphasis on the necessity of a "business-like" atmosphere and procedures.

2. No attempt was made to determine how effective the practice of conning the employer is in actual practice--whether it actually facilitates placement or not. It probably does facilitate referrals--the employer agreeing to interview the client--and that is where the success lies.

3. The Job Preparation program is in large measure designed to teach clients how to beat the employer's system: filling out applications; dress; handling questions about arrests, drugs, etc.; how to sit; how to appear interested in the job, etc.

4. This also facilitates placement on a suitable job, but in recent times the placement process is more related to the practice of "weeding out" clients based on their behavior ("keeping in touch").

5. The counselor was interviewed on June 16, 1976. It was on that date that this story was recounted.

6. Perhaps it requires at least one placement to activate this belief.

Chapter 13

Counselor Strategies and Success

The hypothesis here is: Counselor strategies for success, and success itself, will vary according to the relationship between the counselor's assessment of the client's "work readiness," and the client's self concept. Within this framework:

Placements will range from highest for clients who rank High on both Work Readiness and Self Concept, to lowest for clients who rank Low on both variables;

Counselors will report more success in working with clients who are rated High on one variable and Low on the other, regardless of which is High and which is Low;

Counselors will devote more time to clients who rank Low on both variables, despite the problems involved; and

Counselors' strategies for clients who are <u>High</u> in Work Readiness but <u>Low</u> in Self Concept will focus on <u>morale-building</u>. Counselors' strategies for clients who are Low in Work Readiness but High in Self Concept will focus on <u>ego-reduction</u> ("realism").

The hypothesis, as it turned out, was excessively complex. Essentially, the hypothesis envisioned a situation in which success, as indicated by placements, and time spent with clients would be in an inverse relationship, while counselor strategies and time spent would be directly related to the problems faced. More placements would be achieved when the clients rated high on "work readiness" and "self concept" as judged by the counselor. More time would be spent with clients who ranked low on both variables, despite the dim prospects for success. The extra effort of the counselors was hypothesized to be a compensation by the counselors for the clients' deficiencies. The underlying assumption was that there would be no other feasible strategy for these clients, and such clients would appeal more to the counselors' sense of purpose. For the clients "in the middle," those who ranked high on one variable but not the other, the counselor's strategy was hypothesized as focusing on the deficiency in an attempt to "bring it up" on the scale. And for those who ranked high on both variables (and who would presumably be placed successfully more often), little "strategy" would be required.

In short, it was hypothesized that the problem of the client's work readiness and self concept would influence the counselor's strategy for intervention and the amount of time he would spend on the case. At the same time, the counselor would achieve more placements with clients with no problems of the kind specified and would report more success when

dealing with those clients with problems. Thus, there would be little correlation between actual success and reported success, between actual success and time spent on cases, and between strategy and actual success.

To relate the findings to the hypothesis, and argue for its support or rejection, it seems necessary to make a distinction between initial strategies (when the client is first seen) and later strategies, and between avowed strategies and "actual" strategies. With these distinctions in mind, it will be argued that with respect to the counselor's avowed strategy in the initial stages, the hypothesis is not supported.

The counselor's strategy for success--and success itself--at this stage is not reported to be based on his assessment of the client's work readiness and self concept. Though the counselors make some attempts at forming "character judgments" of the clients in the first sessions, for the most part they claim that they permit the client to define his own character through certain behavior that is summed up by the phrase "keeping in touch." Later on, the client further defines his "character" through his behavior in keeping job-interview appointments, performance on a job, etc. Those clients who do not from the beginning "keep in touch" with the counselors are "weeded out." Later failures such as those on a job can be balanced by continuing to keep in touch with the counselor. This entails calling intto see if jobs are available and coming in to the office to keep appointments with the counselor.

There is no redemption from the offense of not keeping in touch; this is cited as evidence of a lack of "motivation." At the same time, no placement is possible if the client does not "keep in touch," since the counselors do not "track down" such clients.(1) Thus, the rate of success and placements do not directly vary according to the counselors' assessment of the clients' work readiness and self concept. The more immediate factor is whether or not the client "keeps in touch." This is the operative indicator of work readiness. However, we shall also present some evidence suggesting that the first counseling session may in some way influence the client's effort to "keep in touch."

Counselors do not spend more time with clients who rank low on work readiness and self concept--unless the client "keeps in touch." Or to be more precise, it indicates that the client is "motivated," the most important element in work readiness.

The hypothesis is supported only when we consider the later and "actual" strategies of the counselors. The "later strategies" are focused, of necessity, on clients who have demonstrated "motivation" through "keeping in touch" and showing up for job interviews and, possibly, by working at one or more jobs. Specifically, when considering the "later strategies:"

Counselors do report more "success" with respect to the clients with manageable problems--those who are high on one

variable and low on the other.[2] However, those who are low on work readiness at this stage lack specific characteristics necessary for job-holding, such as punctuality, rather than because they lack "motivation" to work. Also, the counselors' strategies for these clients do focus on the "low variable:" morale-building for those with a low self concept, and ego-reduction for those with low work readiness.

The distinction between strategies practiced as opposed to those avowed is not, in the abstract, a troublesome one. Beliefs and behavior are often in opposition. Nevertheless, the distinction is made rather hesitantly here because, as we shall see, the evidence itself is slender and involves inferences which are tentative. In the chapter, therefore, we shall be mainly concerned with describing the process of "weeding out" clients who demonstrate to the counselors through their behavior that they are not motivated to work. This appears to be the dominant means of assessing the clients. This process of weeding out unmotivated clients is so pervasive that it makes the entire hypothesis largely irrelevant. The client's behavior itself influences success more than the counselor's independent and conscious assessment of the client's character. The counselors do attempt to improve specific behavior such as punctuality for marginal clients, but they do so only after the clients have demonstrated their motivation by "keeping in touch."

Before reviewing the specific findings, it will be helpful

to briefly discuss the work of two prominent investigators in this field. Their work represents two different perspectives on counselors, both of which have emerged in this study, and neither of which appears to be entirely adequate.

Halmos' study of counselors is more an essay on Western society and the leadership role of personal service professions than it is an empirical study.(3) Nevertheless, it contributes valuable insights into aspects of counseling which we have previously discussed, i.e., the caring or "loving" relationship between counselor and client. Though psychoanalytic theory is the "arche-theory" of all counseling, in Halmos' view, and psychoanalytic training is the only really adequate training for counselors, Halmos considers all counselors to be one of a kind with respect to their loving attitude toward clients and in the socially desirable effects of their work. "It was Ferenczi," Halmos says, "who, towards the end of his career, began to teach that the indispensable healing power in the therapeutic gift is love."(4) Halmos continues:

> "The crux of the matter is that love is expressed in all counselling; the counsellors now say, that it must be expressed, if counselling is to make a difference to the patient."(5)

In social work also, Halmos observes, the prescription of "parental love" is no longer restricted to "some few intractable clinical cases...but is now to be embodied in the work

code of counselling as a vital part of the procedure."[6]

This is all to the good, in Halmos' view, for not only is love more effective than science in curing the patient or client, but it represents in modern form the "ancient paradigm of forgiveness."[7] The "concern" of the counselor, coupled with his conviction of the "need to help people" makes the work "worthwhile" regardless of the "chances of 'success' or 'improvement.'" Since counseling is not dependent on results for its justification, "no failure can...discredit it."[8] There are few "objective" goals for counseling partly because there is no original state of "health" to return to, and partly because the process itself is its own justification. The faith of the counselors, alluded to in the title, is an acceptance of the numerous paradoxes in the work. This acceptance is, in turn, based upon a belief, perhaps a need, to care for others and to forgive others. For Halmos, counseling is the modern-day embodiment of essential Christianity.

There is no reason to disagree with Halmos as far as he goes.[9] Material here presented suggests that among YEA's counselors there is often what appears to be a genuine "concern" for clients of the agency. One can even see some patterns with respect to the nature of the concern and its etiology. There is reason to believe that the intensity of concern found would be even greater were it not for certain hiring standards of the agency which tend to eliminate counselors who are adjudged to be too dedicated.

The main problem with Halmos' work, for the present study, is that it does not go far enough in its analysis of the practice of counseling, particularly its practice in an organizational setting, and the strategies that this entails. The findings heretofore presented have again and again emphasized the importance of the agency's rather narrowly-defined "mission," its hiring standards, and its limited resources as factors limiting the implementation of "caring." The concept of "organizational altruism" was suggested to account for this phenomenon, and to distinguish the work at YEA from the "professional altruism" described by Lubove. The whole problem of accountability is ignored by Halmos. It must be clear by now that at YEA, counseling is not self-justifying. It must be justified by placements as related to budgetary and contractual requirements. Despite the "concern" of the counselors, there are objective goals: placement on a job and retention on the job. The organization's survival depends on these, especially on placements. The expression of "concern" by the counselors may be facilitated by the lack of detailed accountability with respect to the number of clients seen, placements effected, etc. The organizational ambiguity also gives the counselor some degree of autonomy in his "strategies," thus some degree of freedom in deciding towards whom and in what degree he will express his "concern." But in the end, all "concern" is focused on placement. So powerful are the organizational definitions, and so

closely is the interest of the counselor tied to agency success, and thus its survival, that the counselors must' "sell out" in their own view. They make placements regardless of whether they believe this to be in the client's long-range interests or not. Counselor J, for example, viewed the placement of clients, rather than education, training, and counseling, as leading to a lifelong succession of unskilled jobs for many clients. The counselor's position is made more ambiguous by the fact that the clients typically expect this. Thus, even for the client, concern is not enough. It is only a means to establish rapport.

The interests of the counselors are both materialistic i.e., survival of the agency and preservation of one's job, and egoistic, the attainment of success in the work, or in lieu of that, avoidance of blame for failure. In the early stage of research for this study, counselors typically attributed failure in the effort to place clients to the clients themselves. The clients were seen as "defective" in one or more ways such as immaturity, lack of education, and age. Since these were frequently the attributes of the clients, this was not surprising. The interest of the study centered at that time on the fact that not one counselor ever attributed failure in placement to inadequate agency resources, or to their own errors or inadequacies of a personal or professional nature. In the later stages of the research, there was little reference to the defects of the clients. Rather, failure to

place clients was typically attributed to external conditions such as the job market and competition for jobs, and to certain organizational conditions such as the failure of the Job Development department to solicit enough jobs of the right type. Again, on the surface, this is not surprising, since the job market was worse and at least partly for that reason, the job developers did fail to provide the desired number of jobs. Our interest here is on this change in the explanation of failure and the implication for counselor strategies. Despite the changes in the job market, clients were still being placed. Except for one year, overall placements seemed to "go up" in comparison with earlier periods, as shown in the Associate Director's reports.(10)

The practice of "weeding out" clients is a harsh but necessary task which helps to insure agency survival and enhances the counselor's personal success; thus it satisfies both the "materialistic" and "egoistic" interests of the counselors. The counselor can still focus his "concern" on the remaining clients. Failure can be explained by such factors as "economic conditions," since by definition only the "motivated" clients are serviced. Before presenting the evidence on this, we must also discuss Blau's study of a public employment agency.

If Halmos stressed too much the "loving" relationship existing between counselor and client, Blau ignores it altogether, concentrating instead, in The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, upon organizational structure and procedures.(11)

Blau centers his attention on the internal workings of the agency he studied. He provides, in the process, that sense of organizational life which is lacking in Halmos' work.

In Chapter 3, Blau describes organizational dysfunctions which result from the introduction of statistical performance records by a new supervisor in the employment agency. There are eight indices of performance which were measured (and reported to the counselors themselves). These were considered in the evaluation of the counselors. The indices were:

1. The number of interviews held
2. The number of clients referred to a job
3. The number of placements made
4. The proportion of interviews resulting in referrals
5. The proportion of referrals resulting in placements
6. The proportion of interviews resulting in placements
7. The number of notifications sent to the unemployment insurance office
8. The number of application forms made out

"The introduction of these records," concluded Blau, "improved placement operations considerably."(12) The statistical reports induced the counselors "to concentrate their efforts on the factors that were measured and thus would affect their rating."(13) While counselors "often protested that the 'statistics' measured only 'quantity' and not 'quality,'" Blau concluded that the "accusation was not justified,"

since the performance records measured whether "certain objectives [such as placements] were accomplished."(14)

The functional consequences of the performance records were that they increased productivity; facilitated hierarchical control; enabled superiors to institute changes in operations quickly and effectively; and improved the relations between supervisors and counselors, since the records reduced the need for supervisors to "criticize subordinates."(15)

The dysfunctional consequences of the performance records were that they reduced the supervisory function to a clerical level and thus posed a threat to their authority; and they led to "displacement of goals," as counselors tried to "maximize their figures" by various means, thus subverting the goals of the agency--which was presumably to serve the best interests of the clients.(16) In addition, they adversely affected the "interpersonal relations among interviewers" (counselors) including an increase in competition.(17)

Blau's study is an extremely conscientious and valuable work. For our purposes here, however, we shall dwell mainly on the ways in which it differs from the work observed at YEA. In this chapter, the most important of these differences are that measurements, such as the performance records described by Blau, do not affect the counselor strategies--at least not in the same direct way. The principal counselors' strategy at YEA is one which has been initiated by the counselors themselves--and one which appears to be unknown to the Director--rather than being influenced by the directives of superiors, as described by Blau. The practice of "weeding

out" clients at YEA is both "unofficial" and "underground"--yet practiced routinely by the counselors.(18)

The phenomenon of "goal displacement" is somewhat more complex. For those clients who are not "weeded out" little displacement of goals can be observed. The goal of agency, client, funding organization, Board--and counselor is placement. In this case, the very "simplicity" of the paramount goal reduces the need for displacement. There is no organizational goal involving the client's overall welfare, or interests--except those inherent in placement. Some counselors may wish they could pay more attention to such things, but the control of the agency over job definitions and its authority over discharges, promotions, and other forms of discipline, as well as the client's expectations thrust these wishes aside. The displacement of the agency's mission occurs in the rejection of the very clients the agency claims to serve--the "hard to place." It is ironic that the counselors probably did make a greater effort to serve such clients when the agency was not held fully accountable for its work. The "performance contracts" may have contributed to the neglect of the primary "target population" for which such contracts were funded in the first place.(19) It is partly for this reason that we find the functionalist elements of Blau's work not useful to us. First, it would appear that what is functional for the organization depends on its situation, and that situation (demands, resources, etc.) often changes. Thus, it is not useful to think of functions without specifying conditions. Second and

more important, that which is functional for the organization may not be functional for groups within the organization. The perspectives and aims of various groups may be and often are divergent. Thus, the concept of function seems meaningless without specifying the unit and its perspective. Third, organizational change does not appear to emerge so much from dysfunctions as it does from the distribution of power, including that obtained from the surveillance of others' performances, and on the degree of follow-up on decisions. Moreover, change may ebb and flow in response to these factors. These qualifications, however, transform functions into contradictions and conflict.

Weeding Out the Primary Target Population

The process of weeding out certain clients who are hard to place because they are "not motivated" is an on-going cumulative process. It begins with the counselor's attempt to form "character judgments" about the client, usually in the first session. The next stage, and the most important one, is regarded as being a critical test of the client's motivation; this is called "keeping in touch" and is measured according to whether or not the client calls in to inquire about the availability of jobs. A related but independent indicator is whether the client keeps appointments with the counselor. Next is whether or not the clients shows up for job interviews: "NSU" in the client's folder, next to a referral entry, means that the client "never showed up." Finally,

there is performance on the job itself when the client is placed. The latter is often used to gauge "motivation" or "work readiness." If the client is fired because of absenteeism, he is not ready for work. Similarly, if the client quits the job because of boredom he is adjudged lacking in either motivation or work readiness.(20)

Clients can atone for failure to keep appointments with the counselor if they call in advance or call in with a credible excuse--provided that they do not do so too often. Similarly, failure to show up for job interviews can be excused if the client subsequently "keeps in touch." Failure to perform adequately on the job appears to be the easiest one to compensate for by continuing to "keep in touch." "Keeping in touch" thus appears to be the most crucial behavior for clients if they wish to be placed on a job. An explanation of this was provided by Counselor J.

Counselor J was asked: How do you deal with the frustration of not being able to do something for everybody who comes into your office? "That's when the love /of the work/ comes in," he replied. He then continued:

> "Also, understanding that there are logistic problems involved, in terms of time and caseload is necessary. You <u>try</u>. Obviously, you go with the intention of helping every single client. But then you have to slowly /eliminate some/--through...just weeding out those who really /do not/ want it."

Are they the ones who don't come back or don't call you? he was asked. He responded:

> "Right.... When they come to us, they should be ready for work, and you go on that assumption until he shows you something else.... It's difficult to read their minds."

Some clients, he said, show by their behavior in the interview that they may not be ready for work:

> "If the kid is just sitting there, looking up at the ceiling and hitting on the table, indirectly, the kid is telling you to go fuck yourself."

Sometimes, he found it necessary to "cut the interview, give him my card and say, 'When you feel you are ready, give me a call.'" He added that "sometimes they never call back, and sometimes they do." At YEA, he said, it was very difficult to deal with such clients because "there's a lot of hidden things behind that negativeness" that would require "a lot of time that you don't have here" to understand. He concluded:

> "This is what I'm saying in terms of you have to weed out. You're forced to weed out. And the thing that's really ironic about it is that that's the one that needs' help the most."

Counselor G, when asked about the client's obligations in the relationship with the counselor, replied that "keeping appointments" was one of them, "if they're really serious about working."

Counselor F was asked if "keeping in touch" was one of the

client's obligations. "That is probably the major one," she said. She also mentioned "coming in on time and letting me know if they are going to be late," as well as truthfulness about certain things such as "why they were fired from a previous job."

It should be noted that counselors who were interviewed early in the study were not asked this series of questions. The line of questioning emerged out of that earlier phase. If they had been asked, they might have responded somewhat differently. At that time the "appointment system" had not been implemented and "discovered" as a way of testing job-readiness. Furthermore, there was more of a tendency for the agency rather than the clients to have "obligations." The "problem client" was seen as something of a challenge rather than someone to be weeded out. This difference may reflect the conditions of the job market, the new contracts, changes in personnel, or the unplanned consequences of the "appointment system"--or all of these factors. An effort was made (in 1976) to see what the relationship might be between "keeping in touch" and placement, using as a sample those clients who were interviewed for the study.

Of the 13 clients in this sample,(21) five were judged to have made no effort to "keep in touch," four made what was regarded as a minimal effort, and four made a sustained effort. The effort was judged according to entries in the folders.(22) If the client did not return (after registration) for the first counseling session, or returned only for the first session but

no further contact was recorded, he or she was considered to have made no effort. If the client returned once or twice after the first session, or called in, this was considered minimal effort. Anything beyond that is considered to be sustained effort. The findings are summarized in Table 13.1 below.

TABLE 13.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KEEPING IN TOUCH AND PLACEMENT

	CLIENT EFFORT TO KEEP IN TOUCH		
PLACEMENT	None (N=5)	Minimal (N=4)	Sustained (N=4)
YES	--	2	3
NO	5	2	1*

* This client was only interested in hospital work. The counselor asserted that the agency did not have access to such jobs.

Except for two clients in the minimal-effort category who were "lucky" in being placed immediately, it seems clear that placement is directly dependent upn "keeping in touch." The counselors do not "track down" clients who fail to keep in touch.

There is some additional evidence testifying to the fact that counselors weed out clients: There appeared to be an increase, in recent years, in the percentage of clients who did

not return after the initial interview. In 1973, the agency began its first large contract program involving detailed performance standards, with job placement and retention quotas, a monthly timetable, and penalties for sub-standard performance. The following table compares the three-year period prior to 1973, and the three-year period after 1973, with respect to the percentages of clients who did not return after one interview. The figures are derived from a sample of the agency's files.

TABLE 13.2 PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS NOT RETURNING AFTER ONE INTERVIEW

Period	One-Interview Only
1970-72	17% (6/36)
1974-76	41% (22/54)

This change coincided with the agency's involvement in the first of its large contracts in which program accountability was spelled out in considerable detail. The percentage of "one-interview clients" is seen as an indicator that some clients are "weeded out"--i.e., not retrieved for service. This is accomplished by leaving it up to the client to "keep in touch" with the counselor, a test of the client's "motivation." In the earlier period, counselors assumed responsibility for maintaining contact with clients and encouraging them with job openings.

Prior to 1973, contracts merely stipulated that the agency would accept a given number of clients referred to it by the funding agency (a government department), and would make its "best effort" to place them on jobs. Contracts of the "best-effort" type were typical of the 1970-72 period, and are associated with the low rate of "one-interview clients" (see TABLE 13.2).

Examination of all the sample cases seen in 1974-76 suggested that at least three variables could be used to characterize the clients who were weeded out in all programs. These are age, education, and work experience. The findings are summarized below.

TABLE 13.3 CLIENT AGE AND "WEEDING OUT"

AGE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS		
	One	One-plus	Total
18 or less	14 (64%)	8 (36%)	22 (100%)
19 or over	8 (25%)	24 (75%)	32 (100%)

That is, 64% of all clients in the sample of cases studied who were 18 years or younger had one interview only, while only 25% of the older clients had only one interview.

TABLE 13.4 CLIENT EDUCATION AND "WEEDING OUT"

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	MEAN YEARS OF EDUCATION
One	9.7
More than one	10.7

In addition, only 10% (2 out of 20) of the "one-interview clients" had 12 years of education, while 23% of the others had at least a high school education. A few of the latter had some college.

TABLE 13.5 CLIENT WORK EXPERIENCE AND "WEEDING OUT"

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	MEAN # JOBS
One	1.3
More than one	1.85

The number of jobs refers to those jobs held prior to coming to the agency. The difference here is not striking, though it must be noted that most clients had relatively little work experience recorded. Within that context, small differences may be more important. It may also be true that other factors such as kind of job held and duration of previous employment were important influences on the counselors' retrieval efforts aimed at individual clients. However, no analysis of these factors was made.

In general, it appeared that the counselors' test for mot-

ivation ("keeping in touch") weeded out the clients who needed help the most: the youngest, the least educated, and the least experienced. These clients were more difficult to place on jobs, and were sacrificed as the agency came under increasing pressure to meet placement and retention quotas. The change appears to be associated with the new type of contract requiring greater accountability. The new contracts did not completely eliminate the counselors' client-retrieval efforts, but apparently the effort was more selective and was focused upon clients sufficiently motivated to keep in touch with the counselor. Frequently, it was the younger, less educated, and less experienced client who did not pass this test of motivation.

Pre-Judgment of Clients

Although the counselors generally allow the clients to define their own "character" by "keeping in touch," and other self-projections, the counselors have definite notions about the placeability of certain kinds of clients--beliefs which are independent of the individual client's behavior. In Chapter 8, we discussed two of these groups: clients who are on probation, and clients under 19 years of age. We shall review those findings briefly.

Probation Clients

We have noted that the Crime Prevention Program clients showed a strong tendency to "disappear" after registration or the first counseling session. These clients were usually on probation. Little if anything was done to regain contact

with them when they failed to return. When the counselors were asked about the problem, they explained that the referring agencies did not properly prepare the clients for coming to YEA, and that such clients usually came to YEA only because a Probation Officer pressured them to do so. The counselors presumably expected "probation clients" to "disappear" soon after registration. When we attempted to see if these clients showed more of a tendency to disappear than other clients, and what the relative placement rate for these clients was, we found that "probation clients" did show a somewhat higher rate of "disappearance" than other groups, and a lower placement rate. These findings are summarized in Table 13.6 below.

TABLE 13.6 COMPARISON OF FOUR GROUPS: PERCENTAGES OF CLIENTS WHO COME FOR ONE INTERVIEW ONLY, AND PLACEMENT RATES

	CLIENT CATEGORY				
OUTCOMES	PROBATION (N=31)	JUVENILE (N=35)	NARCOTIC (N=19)	OTHERS (N=83)	TOTAL 168=100%
One interview only	13 (42%)	11 (31%)	7 (37%)	34 (41%)	65 (39%)
Placement	9 (29%)	12 (34%)	9 (47%)	21 (25%)	51 (30%)

When the clients referred through the Crime Prevention Program were compared with other probation cases, there was an even greater difference. Almost half (7 out of 15) of the Crime Prevention Program clients failed to return after the first interview, whereas a little more than a third (6 out of 16) of other probationers failed to return. The findings lend some support to the counselors' contention that "probation clients" are less "motivated" than others, using the one-interview criterion, if only the Crime Prevention Program clients are considered. "Other probation clients" are less distinguishable from the comparison groups.

Younger Clients

The Board's decision to limit the agency's services to clients 16--19 years of age was the cause of much resentment among the counselors. We have seen that the counselors view older clients as virtually indispensable in the placement of younger clients. The role of the older clients is to "open the (employers') door." Younger clients can be placed later at the same company if the older clients perform satisfactorily. Usually, counselors believe, older clients perform satisfactorily more often than do younger ones.

Even before this issue arose, the counselors were of the belief that younger clients were harder to place. Employers frequently specified that applicants must be 18 years old or older, either because of "insurance problems" in factory

work, or because of a personal preference.

The sample obtained from the files was analyzed to see if younger clients were indeed placed less often, and if so, to estimate the magnitude of the difference. When age alone was considered, 11 percent more older clients were placed than were younger clients. This is shown in Table 13.7 below.

TABLE 13.7 AGE AS A FACTOR IN PLACEMENT

	CLIENT'S AGE					
OUTCOMES	16-18 YEARS (116=100%)		19-21 YEARS (52=100%)		TOTAL (168=100%)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Full-time Placements	31	27%	20	38%	51	30%

We also noted in Chapter 8 that more older males were placed than younger males (44% as opposed to 27%), and that only 11% (one out of nine) of the older females in the sample were placed.

In general, we might conjecture that the counselors' attitudes towards the placeability of younger clients, probation clients, and older females affects the one-interview rate and thus the effort made by clients to keep in touch. We have no evidence to test this directly. However, we do have some findings related to the first counseling session.

Strategy in the First Counseling Session

Although the counselors rely principally upon the clients' behavior to judge his "character" and to "weed out" those who are not "motivated" and "job-ready," they do not wait for this information before beginning to work on the client. The first task appears to be to educate the client about the realities of the job market and his or her chances of getting a job. This process may possibly influence whether or not clients return for further service after the first session. If they don't return, the counselors would probably not view it as a loss, since the client cannot be placed unless he is "realistic," a component of the counselors' notion of "work readiness". However, the findings indicate that the counselor is simultaneously building up the client's hopes for obtaining a job of some kind even if it is not the most desirable job.

The evidence is not clear on the relationship between the client's estimate of his chances of getting a job, and the effort he makes to keep in touch with the counselor. The evidence does suggest, however, that clients come away from the first counseling session with a lower estimate of their chances of getting a job they would "like"--and with a higher estimate of their chances of "getting a job of some kind."

The clients in the sample to be interviewed were asked--before any services were provided by the agency--to estimate their chances of "getting a job you would like," and their chances of "getting any kind of job." There were four choices:

very good, good, fair, and poor. Those clients who returned the following day for counseling were asked the same questions after they had talked with the counselor.

When clients were asked to estimate their chances of getting a job they "would like," their responses showed a pattern of decreasing optimism after the first counseling session. Of the nine clients whose interviews were usable on this item, two rated their chances as improved after the initial counseling session, two indicated no change, while five believed they had less chance of a desirable job.

There was no observable connection between the perceived chances of getting a desirable job and the effort which clients made to "keep in touch." Of the two whose perceived chances increased, one made no effort and one made a sustained effort to "keep in touch." Of the five whose perceived chances decreased, one made no effort to keep in touch, while the others made either minimal or sustained efforts.

If the initial counseling session results in a lowered optimism about getting a desirable job, it seems to increase the clients' estimates of getting a job of some kind.

Here, the evidence showed that 5 out of 7 of the clients on whom the information was available felt an improvement in their chances of getting a job of any kind after the first counseling session. These tended to be the same clients who saw less chance of getting a desirable job. This suggests that the "normal" pattern is for clients to be educated about the realities of the job market and their place in it. Thus,

they were cooled off, becoming less optimistic about getting a job they would like and were simultaneously "motivated" by the counselor to seek a job of some kind. The evidence suggests that "encouragement" induces "effort." Of the five clients whose perceived chances of getting a job of some kind went up after counseling, all made at least a minimal effort to "keep in touch" and two of them made a sustained effort. The one client who reported seeing less chance of getting this kind of job also made a sustained effort, but inasmuch as the client was interested only in hospital work, which the counselor told her was quite unlikely, her perceived chances may have responded to this factor alone.

The implication of this finding is that despite their avowed technique of "weeding out" clients based upon the client's behavior, the counselors influence, more than they know, the effort which the clients make to "keep in touch" by the degree of encouragement they offer to clients as early as the first session. The technique of "weeding out" may thus be as much controlled by the counselor as it is by the client, and more than the counselors acknowledge. If "effort" is correlated with placement (as we observed earlier), and if "encouragement" is correlated with "effort" (as suggested here), then the placement process and the attainment of success is not as much due to the client's motivation and effort as the counselors think.

If the counselors' intended strategy in the early stage

is to weed out clients based on their behavior, their actual "unintentional" strategy is to simultaneously deflate the clients' long-term aspirations and inflate their immediate hopes of working. That is, making the client both more realistic and more optimistic and willing to accept the jobs that are available. And the more "realistic" the client is, the better the chances of placing him. The counselors appear to accomplish these purposes in the first session. Their success here appears to be related to success in placement itself--the principal measure of success in the agency.

Later Strategies in Job Placement

The concept of "initial" and "later" strategies is an unsatisfactory one in some ways, implying some sort of discontinuity, some new level of thinking and a new set of goals. The concept is useful in some respects, however, It describes events after the process of "weeding out" has occured, and thus there are different opportunities for strategies resulting from working longer with the remaining clients' experiences on jobs. The counselors reported strategies employed in the later stages of working with clients which would not be appropriate in the early stages. Only two of these will be presented. "Stroking," as discussed in Chapter 12, is designed to strengthen the client's self-concept or ego. The other strategy is aimed at establishing or enhancing work-readiness behavior. This occurs after the client has demonstrated motivation for work by "keeping in touch."

"Stroking"

An example of stroking was reported by Counselor J. He was asked why clients are not hired usually, when, in the counselor's judgment , they are seemingly "motivated." He replied that it depended on the requirements of the particular job to which the client was referred. "If it's a stock job," he said, "and the employer requires light experience--and the client honestly doesn't have that much experience, then that is the reason."

However, much of the problem was due to the fact that many clients were very young. The youth of the clients not only caused problems with respect to being hired, it also called for "stroking" as an appropriate strategy when the client was rejected by an employer. Counselor J said:

> "This is when a kid needs you the most--right after the initial interview by an employer when he hasn't gotten the job. Otherwise, the kid will have such a rejection complex that when he goes to the next employer, the client will reject the employer before the employer rejects him. So that is the time to take the kid and, as we say in the street, you have to stroke him...meaning you have to reinforce him."

"Enhancing Work-Readiness Behavior"

This strategy is based upon the need to improve the client's performance in certain specific ways that are important for obtaining and holding a job.

Counselor F was asked what she did with clients who were not "realistic." She remarked that "various things happen," that the clients themselves sometimes "drop out of the picture."

But for those who had demonstrated their "motivation" and who could be "coached into being job-ready," she reported a strategy aimed at building up work-readiness behavior:

> "I try maybe a part-time job, a very, very entry-level job that is no major burden. Or we talk about training programs. Or just tutoring. My feeling is that if we can get somebody or some sort of schedule they find appealing, that's a start. If we can get them in two times a week, maybe in a month or two they'll start getting more interested and getting out to work."

There is reason to believe that both of these strategies (stroking and developing job-readiness behavior) are employed by most counselors. However, the evidence to demonstrate this adequately is not available.

Conclusion

The hypothesis regarding counselors' strategies for success, and the achievement of success itself, turned out to be an exceedingly complex one. The hypothesis itself may not have captured the essential aspects of the relevant reality, and the findings which emerged were extremely complex. To interpret the findings, it seemed necessary to introduce distinctions between initial and later placement strategies, and between avowed and actual strategies.

The counselors' avowed strategies in the initial stages of working with the clients did not support the hypothesis. Rather than success varying according to the counselor's assessment of the client's work-readiness and self-concept, the counselors' reports led to the conclusion that clients were

"weeded out" on the basis of their own behavior. The behavior involved "keeping in touch" with the counselor, keeping other appointments, showing up for job interviews, and performance on the job. The most important of these appeared to be "keeping in touch."

Success in the form of placement varied with the client's effort to "keep in touch." Clients who did not were not followed up and thus were not placed.

However, there was some evidence to show that the actual strategy of the counselors in the initial stages of working with clients was to deflate the client's aspirations for jobs they especially wanted and at the same time encourage him to believe that a job of some kind would likely be found. This appeared to be aimed at making the client more "realistic" while "motivated" to look for a job. The evidence for this conclusion was contained in the small sample of client interviews. Clients who reported that their chances of getting "any kind of job" improved after the first counseling session were shown to make a greater effort to "keep in touch" with the counselor. The inference was made that this was the actual strategy of the counselors.(23) By "actual strategy," we do not suggest that the "avowed strategy" of weeding out clients is meaningless. Instead, the actual strategy may have some influence over who is "weeded out." In making this distinction between actual and avowed strategies, we are utilizing Merton's insight into the difference between manifest and

latent functions.[24] The conceptualization of strategies is preferred for our purposes, however, because it does not require an immediate answer to the question of whom the behavior is "functional" for.

The later strategies of the counselors were related to the existence of new opportunities to help clients on the basis of more prolonged contact with them and upon their knowledge derived from successive referrals and placements. The strategies we described focused on shoring up the client's ego and developing their readiness for work.

Chapter 13, Notes

1. When the study was begun in 1973, there was more of an effort made by counselors to "track down" clients. However, as fewer jobs were available in recent years, and as counselors came to accept the keeping of appointments as an indicator of motivation, the practice of "tracking down" clients has declined. Only in unusual cases was it done in 1976.

2. The notion of "reported" success is intended to represent not only "actual success" in the form of placement, but a "subjective success" derived from performing a more challenging task.

3. Paul Halmos, The Faith of the Counsellors (Schocken Books, 1970).

4. Ibid, p. 49. The quotation is taken from Izette de Forest's The Leaven of Love (1956). The reference is to Sandor Ferenczi, a psychoanalyst who died in 1933.

5. Ibid, p. 51. The spelling of "counsellor" which Halmos uses is retained in these quotes.

6. Ibid, p. 53.

7. Ibid, p. 89.

8. Ibid, p. 152.

9. Though on secondary points, such as his defense of psychoanalysis as the only true counseling, there might be many disagreements.

10. We have noted, however, that the earlier period selected for comparison may be selected because it will allow a favorable comparison for the current period. Thus, it is often hard to tell the extent to which placements did "go up," or if they did.

11. Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (University of Chicago Press, 1963 ed.), p. 6. There is the possibility that the public agency studied by Blau may have virtually eliminated the altruistic type from consideration through its hiring standards (presumably based on examinations stressing "intellectual" qualities). This would lead to entirely different observations.

12. Ibid, p. 39.

13. Ibid, p. 40

14. Ibid, p. 41.

15. Ibid, p. 43.

16. Blau does not employ the distinction of "real goals" used by Perrow and others in separating professed goals from others which are operationalized. Blau's finding of "goal displacement" is, in a sense, partly due to his failure to distinguish between the real goals and the professed goals of the agency he studied.

17. It would be interesting to discuss the "functions" and the "dysfunctions" which Blau presents as examples of contradictions. For example the contradiction involved in the supervisors' desire to be free of the necessity of criticizing subordinates, and their resistance to their "clerk" status when they are so freed. But it is extraneous here.

18. The conclusion that the practice of "weeding out" clients is not known to the Director is based on his statements to me as to what the counselors do. This included the assertion that counselors were supposed to motivate the clients to return to the agency.

19. The "performance contracts" have come along at about the same time as the job market has worsened. Thus, both may be involved in the "weeding out" of the target pepulation. This may be the ultimate "dysfunction."

20. "Motivation" tends to be gauged by the client's response to the requirement of keeping in touch, and "work readiness" by such things as absenteeism on the job. But the two are sometimes used interchangeably and are difficult to distinguish from each other in a precise way.

21. One client was over 20 and was referred to another agency, in keeping with the agency's new policy of serving only clients who had not reached their twentieth birthday.

22. This information was gathered and reported by one of the counselors.

23. There is a real possibility that it would have been reported as an avowed strategy if the counselors had been asked about the matter is a more direct way, or in some way which envisioned this possibility. Needless to say, these distinctions were not in mind at the time the research was carried out.

24. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Free Press, 1968), p. 105.

SECTION FOUR

Summary and Conclusions

Chapter 14

Summary and Conclusions

This study has examined the work of vocational and placement counselors at the Youth Employment Agency (YEA), a non-profit agency. Success and failure in the work of the counselors was the focus of attention. The agency provides various services to "hard to place" or "disadvantaged" youth in a large Eastern city, serviees which are aimed at facilitating placement of the clients on jobs. The services include psychometric testing, counseling, job preparation, remedial education, placement and follow-up. "Job preparation" refers to coaching in the techniques of filling out employment applications and managing the presentation of oneself in employment situations--including how to dress, how to sit and what to do in the employer's waiting room, how to convey interest in the job one is applying for, how to handle or deflect potentially damaging questions about one's background, etc. "Follow-up" or post-placement counseling refers to the practice of maintaining contact with the client after he or she has begun working so as to be able to assist the client in adjusting to the demands of the job and to resolve problems which arise.

At the outset, the study examined the agency, its clients, and the counselors in an effort to determine if (a) the agency

experienced "persistent or recurrent funding uncertainties," (b) the clients were in fact difficult to place on jobs, and (c) the work itself had "significant meaning" for the counselors.

These three conditions were regarded as defining the problem of success and failure, making that problem a highly important one for the agency and the counselors. If clients were easy to place, for example, there would be no problem of success or failure. If the agency possessed secure financial resources, there would be less need to put pressure on the counselors to produce results. Or if the work had no special meaning for the counselors, their desire for placements would be less urgent and the pain of failure would be less acute.

The findings which were presented indicated that not one or two but all three of the conditions were pervasive in virtually all situations. The agency derived most of its income from contracts with other organizations. The contracts, which stipulated the services to be provided by the agency (YEA) and the amount which was to be paid for the services, were usually <u>one-year</u> contracts which had to be re-negotiated each year, and which could be lost each year. Competition from other agencies for the funds was also a factor. In general, the agency appeared to be in a constant state of "fiscal crisis;" the various contracts did not expire at the same time and the agency's administrators almost constantly worried about contracts which were running out. They were also continuously

preoccupied with negotiating and re-negotiating new and old contracts. And the larger the agency grew by taking on more and more contracts, the more this atmosphere of crisis prevailed in the agency.

The clients were seen to be quite difficult to place. This was because of the characteristics of the clients, especially their age, low educational level, lack of specific job skills, and their correctional or narcotic backgrounds. The characteristics of the job market in Center City, especially the progressive decrease in the number of low-skill jobs available, also contributed to the problem. The placement rate thus was relatively low.

Assessment of the meaning of the work to the counselors was far more difficult to ascertain. We inferred that the job was valued by the counselors for its own sake because it represented mobility and "professional" status for individuals of a lower-class background, but it appeared that the work had considerable "meaning" for the counselors. "Meaning" signified that the work was seen as important and, as such, was gratifying. The externalities of the job were not disregarded by the counselors, but such things as salaries, working conditions, and promotions were subordinated to the intrinsic meaning of the work itself. Counselors often did not believe they were getting an adequate salary, but thought there was "a job to be done" at the agency and for that reason were reluctant to leave for higher-paying jobs. Counselors were asked whether they would accept jobs in private

industry paying higher salaries. Most counselors expressed reluctance to leave their present jobs, even when asked if they would accept a job in private industry paying up to $4000 more a year.(1) The most persuasive evidence on this point, however, came indirectly in response to other questions when the counselors were interviewed. The counselors when asked how they happened to get into counseling, often recounted childhood or adolescent experiences which indicated that the work had some special meaning to them. Either they had needed some sort of counseling in earlier years and did not get it, or they had been assisted by a social worker or other "counselor" and apparently desired to do the same for others.

The employment histories of the counselors were analyzed. These histories showed two patterns. They had records of consistent employment careers in "helping organizations," or an early career start in "helping organizations," followed by exploration of other careers, and a return to employment in such organizations.(2) Both kinds of career lines seemed to support the notion that the work itself offered some rewards which were valued by the counselors. It may be true, however, that the longer one works in a given field, the less chance one has to change fields.

The study ultimately explores how the counselors and the agency attempt to attain success and avoid failure in the work. What constitutes success is a major initial problem.

Seven hypotheses were tested over a period extending from 1972 to 1976.

The hypotheses were essentially of three kinds. The first stated that the agency and its personnel would be faced with varying definitions of its work promulgated from the outside by different contracting agencies. The second set of hypotheses had to do with forestalling or preventing failure. They stated that agency administrators would attempt to indoctrinate counselors into the new externally-imposed definitions (or "missions") but that counselors would resist the indoctrinations, producing conflict within and stabilization of the agency. The counselors, it was hypothesized, would more fully comply with the external demand for placements only when clients were work-ready and self-confident. This they could do with minimal effort and time and no loss of "purpose." But their greatest gratification would be obtained from placing clients who presented a "manageable problem"--low on either work readiness or self-confidence but not both. The objective results (placements) would be less, but this type of client would present the best opportunity for combining the external demand (for placements) and the "inner demand" for "helping clients" and for achieving some results. It was hypothesized that counselors would prevent failure by their "inner definition" of the work by spending more <u>time</u> on the hardest-to-place clients (those low on readiness and confidence). Finally, under this second heading it was

hypothesized that agency administrators would protect the agency from failure by statistical means; i.e., by systematically gathering and reporting statistical results of the agency's work that appeared to maximize success and ignoring other measures that might call the agency's work into question.

The third set of hypotheses involved controlling the effects of failure. The agency leaders would protect and immunize counselors from failure in order to reduce stress and conflict and to enable the agency to continue to operate smoothly. The counselors would compensate for their failure to place many clients by focusing on success in goals that were more attainable than placement, and that they would emphasize these successes in the interviews. These alternative successes, we thought, would be more approved by the counselors' profession than by the agency.

Some of the hypotheses were at times extremely difficult to test. The complexity of the relationships observed led to the introduction of new concepts while the work was being done in order to make the hypotheses relevant to the data as they emerged. Typically, the hypotheses were neither entirely supported nor entirely rejected, and some hypotheses were deficient in capturing the complexity of the data. This problem has been encountered by others. Becker described "three distinct stages of analysis conducted in the field" in participant-observer research, with each stage involving pro-

visional concepts which guide further data gathering and which are tested by the new data. In the third stage of field analysis, he notes, the investigator "characteristically begins by constructing models of parts of the organization..." and "discovers concepts" which he attempts to make more accurate by "successively refining the model to take account of evidence which does not fit his previous formulation" and by "searching intensively for the interconnections...of the various elements he has conceptualized."(3) In Small Town in Mass Society, Vidich and Bensman used alternative theories and theoretical concepts as "pragmatic devises" whose value was determined by whether or not they brought the investigators closer "to a solution to the original problem." They note that each successive application of theory to the data "derived...from stimulation given by the immediately preceeding investigation," which caused them "to take into account new orders of data which in turn forced us to select different types of theory." One of the values of such "unsystematic theory" is said to be that it leads to the "discovery of the limitations of one's original statement of the problem."(4)

The hypotheses were tested by using data of different kinds. Evidence bearing on the hypotheses was sought through the use of interviews of the counselors, administrators, and clients of the agency; observations of the counselors working with clients, and of various meetings; documents of many kinds, including client records, agency personnel files, minutes of staff meetings and official statistics and reports

of the agency; and finally, through participation in the work of the agency as an employee prior to the time the study was begun and for a short while after it was begun.

Review of the Hypotheses and the Findings

"External Organizations and Definition of the Work"

The first hypothesis had to do with the relationship between the definition of the work and the power of external organizations to influence the definition when there was an economic dependency relationship between YEA and the funding organization. The hypothesis stated that the definition of the work would be "importantly influenced by external forces," i.e. the external organizations, and would vary within the agency according to what external organization was funding the particular program. It would vary with the relationship between program staff and the funding organization, and the funding organization's definition of its work. In other words, the hypothesis suggested that definition of the work within the agency would be determined by its economic relationships to the funding organizations, with those organizations having the upper hand in shaping the definition of work.

There was little support for the hypothesis in the intended sense: that each external funding organization would be able to influence YEA's definition of its work to suit its own purposes, depending on how the external organization monitored

YEA's performance. Work performance was influenced to some extent by the outside contractors. Counselors performed varying tasks depending on the number and kind of personnel funded by the contract. The agency's statistics responded to the somewhat differing requirements of each contract. The difficulty of satisfying the contracts varied, as did the anxiety associated with it. However, despite YEA's dependence on the contracts, the definition of the work and the attendant techniques seemed to remain constant from one program to another. The principal reasons cited for this are that due to the power of the agency's Board of Directors, and especially its Chairman, to create operative definitions of the work (the "mission" of the agency), the contracts which the agency sought were simply the reflection of what the agency had to offer, namely job-placement services. The contracts limited the agency's ability to adapt to changing conditions in the job market. But they also "froze" the definition of the work for the life of the contract. The definition was composed of job placement and other "supportive services" designed to facilitate placement. New definitions could emerge only in the negotiation of a new contract. But the contracts which were sought by the agency were those which were consistent with its mission.

To illustrate this, a case was described where the agency administrators discussed the possibility of a new program with a state agency which had formerly funded YEA's Delinquency

Program. The administrators emphasized the agency's placement capabilities above all else. No new defintionswas made. This being the case, any contract which resulted would be based on that defintión. The counselors frequently complained that this was not an adequate definition for all clients. However, the counselors did not negotiate the contracts. Moreover, their lack of training limited their ability to create and apply any radically different definitions of work within the organization. They were not trained in therapeutic counseling or behavior modification. The hiring standards of the agency played down the value of professional training and the employment of counselors with skills unrelated to the agency's mission. The clients themselves imposed a definition of agency work based on job placement, despite what the counselors might think about the client's long-range welfare.

In general, it appeared that the external organizations did influence the definition of the agency's work by means of contract requirements and monitoring procedures. But they did so only by enforcing and concretizing the agency's mission.

"Organizational Leadership and Its Function
in Minimizing the Impact of Failure"

The hypothesis stated that given an expected high rate of failure in placing clients on jobs, a major function of organ-

izational leadership would be to protect and immunize the organization and staff from the consequence of failure--in order to enable the organization to continue functioning, to control internal competition, and to minimize conflict.

The first part of the hypothesis was considered to be supported by the findings when failure was defined operationally as failure to place at least half the clients on full-time, permanent jobs within the first year of service. In a sample of 168 cases selected from the agency's files, only 30% of the clients were placed on full-time permanent jobs. No account was taken of thetype of job on which the client was placed, nor how long he or she remained on the job (often, for only a few days), since these were not part of the definition and the standard of success.

The evidence also suggested that "failure" was not equally predictable for all clients. The placement rate varied from one program to another, with the Addict Program apparently able to place 47% of its clients, the highest rate observed. The placement rate also varied according to client age and sex, with older male clients showing the highest rate, and older female clients the lowest rate. Younger male clients (16--19 years old) and younger female clients were placed on jobs at equal rates, 27% of them being placed.

Ultimately it must be recognized that the definition of failure is arbitrary and subjective. One factor that governs in judging and experiencing success or failure of the counselors is the employability of clients in a given job market.

Some primitive "ideal types" of clients were discussed briefly, based on examination of the cases in the sample derived from the files. The types were based partly on attributes of the clients and partly on the length and character of their interaction with counselors. It is recognized that the characteristics of clients presented in the files may reflect the counselors' predispositions as well as the clients' attributes.(5) However, the files did appear to indicate some objective differences among the clients. Hence, the "client types" portray real differences. It was suggested that the types varied in terms of such factors as ability to withstand employer rejection, the ability to retain a job, extreme dependency, and low intelligence or academic skills.

In developing the second part of the hypothesis, it was thought that the effects of failure at placement by the counselors would be to increase competition and conflict among the counselors, more or less as described by Blau.(6) If that occurred, it was hypothesized that the leaders of the agency would take steps "to minimize the impact of failure to attain the operational goal of placement in order to enable the organization to continue functioning, and to control competition and conflict."

The hypothesis was not clearly supported or rejected as it stood. It was necessary to specify the kind of failure involved: failure by individual counselors in their day-to-day work (work failure), versus failure by the organization to deliver a required level of performance (organizational

failure).

The findings supported the hypothesis with respect to work failure. Little effort was made by the agency to measure failure, let alone to increase or decrease its impact on the counselors. No records were kept on the performance of individual counselors: clients seen, referrals to jobs, placements, etc. The performance standard actually used by management was "busy-ness." This standard embodied the administrators' belief that the necessary work of the agency would get done if the counselors kept busy seeing clients, doing their paperwork, and so on. Nothing incurred the anger of the Associate Director as much as the sight of an idle counselor, even if the counselor was talking with a colleague about a case.

The intention of the hypothesis, however, was that action by the leadership to minimize the impact of failure would be deliberately designed to control competition and conflict. This did not appear to be the case. Moreover, the "daily operations" of the agency were the responsibility of the Associate Director. It was his belief that there were "too many variables involved" to evaluate the counselors' work on the basis of placements. He desired to run the agency in a "humanitarian" fashion. The counselors themselves had some role in the abandonment of an experimental placement "quota system" which required each counselor to place five clients a week. The brief experiment with it did increase conflict

and competition, and the counselors complained. These complaints were part of the reason why the "quota system" was rejected.

The performance standard of "busy-ness" was easily satisfied. This, coupled with its vagueness, led to the use of more subtle and more personal standards of evaluation of the counselors, and these informal standards were seen as the connecting point between "work failure" and "organizational failure." When contracts were lost and layoffs had to be made, these subtle and unofficial standards became decisive in determining who was laid off or retained. At this level, the leadership did nothing to "minimize the impact of failure." The necessity for lay-offs provided them with a certain measure of satisfaction because they could get rid of the "dead wood," counselors who were "not productive"--who did not "keep busy" or did not have a good "attitude." This "satisfaction" was in part due to accumulated exasperation at trying to "straighten out" counselors who were not meeting the agency's operative standards of performance. The agency's acknowledged reluctance to fire counselors except under the pressure of contract reduction was one factor that contributed to the counselors' uncertainty over what the standards were. At the same time, uncertainty over the standards appeared to be the most effective basis of control which the agency had. When asked which counselors were the most successful in meeting the agency's standards, the counselors often responded or

implied: whoever is still here and has survived the layoffs. But they were unable to say why someone might still be on staff.

"Organizational failure" could be analyzed in three stages: impending, actual (or achieved), and post failure. Impending failure was that stage where it appears that the contract is in trouble, and the supervisors attempt to pin the blame on each other. Actual failure occurs when it is known that the contract is lost, and the supervisors reveal the "score" (based on the "personal standards") against the individual counselors--in the form of layoff decisions. Post-failure is the succeeding stage. In it, the personnel recuperate from the trauma of organizational failure and the loss of colleagues and friends. This stage was observed to be characterized by withdrawal or separtion between the administrators and the staff, a search for new contracts by the administrators, and a sense of demoralization and cautiousness on the part of the counselors. In the aftermath of the layoffs following the Addict Program contract loss, the counselors who remained had no clear idea why they were spared. They sensed that it had something to do with their "attitude."

"Statistics and Success"

The fourth hypothesis stated that the agency and its administrators would collect and report those statistics that would appear to maximize success, and would not collect and report other statistics. It appeared to be advantageous to

be ignorant of certain information. The administrators would not put themselves in a position of having to falsify the agency's success rate in selling the agency's services to funding agencies and demonstrating success to the Board. But to tell the "truth," if the truth were known, would diminish the chances of getting contracts and convincing the Board of YEA's worth. Ignorance of what the agency was actually accomplishing would be maintained through selective statistics, statistics that appeared to meet contract requirements.

The motivation behind such behavior was not specified in the hypothesis. If it had been, the findings, in all likelihood, would have been that the motivation was less clear than the hypothesis presumed. For one thing, there was an element of blind tradition in the way the agency gathered and presented statistics. The traditional nature of these subterfuges seemed to make them less self-conscious. Despite this, the agency's use of statistics and reports corresponded to the way they were described in the hypothesis. As contract requirements have become more stringent and specific, it has been increasingly difficult to maintain "ignorance" as a strategy. The kind, the extent, and the self-consciousness of "falsification" thus was dependent on the contract requirements. If the contract standards were vague and based upon the requirement of "best effort" rather than on specific performance requirements, the agency could deceive itself and

its contract agencies through the statistics it collected. As the contracts encroached on this freedom, the agency resorted to other techniques.

As contracts became more stringent in recent years, requiring more detailed accountability, the agency resorted to other techniques for promoting and/or claiming success. These include the negotiation of favorable definitions and standards in the bargaining for contracts, such as standards for acceptable clients; the exploitation of loopholes in the form of "double-counting," where the same client is claimed as a placement by more than one of the agency's programs; and claiming success in peripheral tasks, such as the acceptance of more clients than the contract called for, or the range of jobs on which clients were placed.

These techniques appeared to be less important at the time, however, than the older technique of "falsification." Evidence was offered to show that the agency falsified its success rate as it was defined here, the placement <u>rate</u> for a given number of individual clients, and as it was defined by the contracts, placement of a given <u>number</u> of individuals. The falsification took the form of presenting the <u>total placements</u> (including multiple placements and double counting of placements) as though they represented the number of individuals placed. Despite the rigorous verification of placements in one program, it was observed that multiple placements were not detected, and the agency was seen to advance

a credible and acceptable claim for success by making its report to the funding agency imply that the total placements achieved were clients placed.

Two reasons appear to explain this practice of defining success in terms of total placements. First, the agency administrators do not want to know the true success rate, defined either as a percentage of individuals placed or as a number of individuals placed, because it would not enhance the chances of getting contracts. Such criteria would not enable the agency to show satisfactory performance on the contracts it had. Secondly, the tradition of the agency entailed the reporting of total placements as evidence of success. Study of the older files in the agency, including Board meeting minutes and statistical reports, revealed that the practice of reporting total placements was older than any contractual relationship the agency had, and that it did not originate with any of the present administrators. This suggests that the total placements measure had not been initially designed to produce a misleading impression. But later contract requirements were increasingly based on performance criteria which were different from those measured by total placements. In not revising its measures to correspond with new contract requirements, the agency may have committed at some distant time an unintentional fraud and made that misrepresentation the basis of its reporting. To change its statistical reporting at a later date, when the "false" statistics would undermine existing contracts, might conceivably

wreck the agency. Thus the agency maintains itself by allowing its contractor clients to gain a false impression of what its statistics measure and how successful the agency is. Yet the agency, because of new performance standards and because of the misleading character of its statistics, walks near quicksand. Its administrators must write technically accurate but misleading reports and hope that the contractors gain the intended but inaccurate impression of its placement success.

In general, the technique of reporting total placements worked to the advantage of the agency. However, one example was presented where the actual placement rate (by the definition employed here) may have been greater than the placement rate implied by the agency's report.

When dealing with its Board of Directors, total placements are also used. Success, in that case, was based upon whether or not placements "went up" compared with an earlier period. There was some evidence that the periods selected for comparison were chosen so as to make a favorable comparison possible. "Bad periods" had a certain value in that they could enable the agency to show "progress," by comparison, in a later period.

"Organizational Leadership, External Exigencies, and Agency Mission"

This hypothesis presumed that the organizational leadership would do something when faced with a problem--just as it was presumed earlier that the leadership would "do something"

about the impact of failure. The hypothesis also stated that the staff would react in a certain way to the administrators' attempts to "do something" about the problem, and that conflict would emerge out of this. The conflict, however, would have certain benefits for the agency.

Specifically, the hypothesis stated that the organization's leadership would attempt to alter the definition of the agency's primary mission in response to the external exigencies, i.e., the demands of external funding organizations, and would attempt to indoctrinate the professional staff with the new definitions. The professional staff, it was hypothesized, would respond in terms of past indoctrination and their own sense of professional mission. This "lag" would produce continuous strife, but would be a means of stabilizing or controlling the external demands.

To investigate the hypothesis we found it necessary to know whether or not the external demands changed, and if so, if these changes required any change in the agency's mission; whether or not the leaders altered or attempted to alter the mission, and if so, if they attempted to indoctrinate the staff with the new mission; whether or not the staff resisted the indoctrination, and if so, for the reasons specified; and finally, whether or not both "strife" and "stabilization" occurred as a result of this process.

To deal with the problem of leadership behavior, we found it necessary to distinguish between the Board of Directors and its Chairman, and the agency administrators. In addition,

the findings pointed to the importance of five factors in the agency bearing on the hypothesis. These were (a) conflict between agency mission and external exigencies; (b) conflict within the agency over its mission; (c) the counselors' perception of agency administrators as ineffective and powerless; (d) organizational "drift" away from the mission; and (e) counselor internalization of the agency's situation.

The hypothesis was not supported in the sense it was intended: involving a simple, direct, and positive relationship between external demands and agency mission. The Board of Directors and its Chairman, as the relevant leaders, did appear to alter the agency mission in response to external demands. However, the Board's action was in the form of a reaction against the external situation. The Board also reaffirmed two important aspects of the agency's mission in response to internal changes in the form of organizational drift. In both cases, however, it appeared that the Board was restating aspects of the mission; namely, a unique service for youth who are in trouble. The external exigencies were thus acted upon in different ways by the Board and the counselors. The Board's response was "reactive" or negative to changes in the external situation, while the counselors' was "accomodative" or positive.

The increasing number of competitors and imitators on the outside and the agency's gradual drift in pursuit of new funded opportunities served to highlight the underlying aspect

of uniqueness in the agency's mission. For these reasons, the Board took up the question of a possible new function for the agency. We concluded that the new function of "advocacy" would, if implemented, represent more fully the original ideal statement of the mission of the agency, serving youth in trouble in a unique way; however, it would entail abolishing the agency as it now exists. It appeared that if we included "uniqueness" in the mission of the agency, the mission would revert to the original mission of YEA. This would be both a response to the drift in the mission accruing from the actions of staff and to the changing world around the agency, i.e., that imitators rendered YEA unique no longer.

External demands affected the agency more directly through the counselors' internalization of the agency's dependent and placement-oriented situation, and their direct and unindoctrinated acceptance of demands for placement and retention of clients. This, we suggested, was more directly related to the hiring standards of the agency and the counselors' dependence on the agency. The organizational drift that resulted led the Board to re-affirm part of the agency mission regarding the age of clients. Once again, the Board responded by rejecting and reacting against the external demands. The counselors responded to the external demands and the Board responded to their response. Furthermore, the counselors disagreed with the exclusive emphasis on placement in the Board's definition of agency mission. Their disagreement was based on their own more personal and altruis-

tic mission rather than a "professional mission" as hypothesized. For this reason, no "lag" of the kind hypothesized was observed. And also for this reason, in part, the "strife" observed in the agency was primarily between the Board and the counselors rather than between counselors and administrators. Although administrators were criticized by counselors for being ineffective and for other personal reasons, they were seen as powerless in dealing with the Board; thus they were not party to the principal conflicts observed.

Whatever "stabilization" there was in the agency seemed to be due more to the Board's insistence on adhering to the agency's mission than it did to counselor resistance to external demands. Counselor resistance was directed primarily against the Board's "demands" regarding the characteristics of the clientele and the services to be provided, and against the "total power" of the Board to make vital decisions without sufficient knowledge of or concern for the clientele and the staff.

Only in the possible addition of "job retention" to the mission of the agency was an implicit part of the hypothesis confirmed. The addition of this secondary factor to the agency's mission seemed to result from external demands. Prior to the recent contracts, it was noted, the client's movement from one job to another was regarded as a necessary part of the process of maturing and defining one's own

goals. Job retention has not yet made its way into official statements of the agency's mission; however, as long as the dependence on contracts continues, it seems to have become a de facto part of the mission.

"Hiring Standards"

The hypothesis in this case stated that recruitment and selection of personnel for counseling positions would be based on their adaptability to the external exigencies of the agency, rather than on their technical and educational qualifications.

The hypothesis was supported with respect to the low priority given to "technical and educational standards." While professionalization of the occupation had occured and there was a professional group to recruit from, the professionally-trained counselor enjoyed no advantages when applying for a counseling position at YEA. More "personal" qualities were sought by the agency. These were concern, realism, intelligence, and the absence of "hangups," i.e., rigidities or strong convictions. The educational backgrounds of the counselors on staff confirmed the low priority of technical and educational qualifications. Of the 13 counselors studied, only four had advanced degrees, and only one of these had a professional degree in the field of vocational guidance.

However, the "external exigencies" acting on the agency

did not seem to be important with regard to these hiring standards. The same recruitment standards were employed regardless of the program for which the counselor was hired, and they were identical to those used in hiring counselors who would not be assigned to any particular program. Moreover, counselors were transferred from one program to another for reasons having nothing to do with the demands of the programs. And finally, given the general lack of professional training of counselors, the in-service training of all counselors was confined to the procedural aspects of their work, a finding which did not seem consistent with the notion of variable external exigencies, as used here.

Thus, the counselors were hired without regard for technical and educational criteria principally because work was defined by the agency in such a way that it did not require professional training. The counselors themselves adopted this view, perhaps because they were not selected for their professional qualifications, and because the unofficial procedure of "weeding out" clients who were not "job ready" relieved them of the responsibility of dealing with the more difficult cases for which professional training might be needed.

"Optional Standards of Success"

This hypothesis stated that there would be alternative means of attaining success other than placement, and that in the absence of placement success, the counselors would ex-

perience and report success in alternative ways that were presumably more attainable and under the control of the counselors. The hypothesis further stated that these alternative definitions of success would be sanctioned more by the profession than by agency administrators.

In general, the hypothesis was supported by the findings if we accept as the main point of the hypothesis that there are alternative definitions of success, and that the counselors report those successes. In short, that the feeling of success does not depend exclusively on placement.

However, the findings suggested that the hypothesis was deficient in a number of ways. While placement was the dominant means of achieving success, despite the existence of numerous alternatives and the difficulty of placement, the alternatives were usually instrumental in placement. Placement was not only the approved and rewarded definition of success by the agency, it was also desired by the clients. Thus, for the counselor, all pressures converged on placement. Placement was also intrinsically gratifying to counselors, producing sensations of elation or vicarious achievement. Moreover, while placement represented success, the lack of placement is not defined as failure. There are so many uncontrollable factors that failure is excused. This may be described as a "no lose" situation.

The alternative means of achieving success that are instrumental for placement are at the same time independent in

that they are often of some importance even when placement is achieved or anticipated. That is, they are not reported only in the absence of placement-based success. These alternative means of achieving success are sanctioned by the agency as a general rule, contrary to the hypothesis. This was consistent with the earlier findings regarding the lack of professionalization of the counselors, the hiring standards of the agency, the agency's arbitrary power with respect to layoffs, and the agency's control over the defintions of the work.

Some alternative techniques of achieving success were identified as: establishing rapport with the client, ability to con employers, ability to recognize the client's con game, providing valuable factual information to the clients, "sticking with" certain clients, and "stroking" clients. The first three of these techniques were observed in the work of all counselors. The latter three appear to be less generally employed.

Those criteria of success which are approved by the counseling profession at large involve techniques of career planning and counseling that focuses on the resolution of personal problems that stand in the way of employment. These approaches were not sought by the agency counselors. This seemed to be consistent with the general absence of professional orientation and training found in the counselors and

agency. The planning of careers and the resolution of problems represent the distinctive specialized professional skills of vocational counselors. But the counselors did not identify themselves as "professionals." Instead, they solved "problems" by weeding out the clients who had the problems.

"Counselor Strategies and Success"

The hypothesis stated that there would be some direct relationship between the counselor's strategies for success and his assessment of the client's "work readiness" and self-concept. Utilizing the variables of client work-readiness and self-concept, it was hypothesized that counselors would place more clients of one kind, while reporting the feeling of success with clients of another kind. Moreover, they would devote more time to clients who ranked lowest in work-readiness and self-concept, and would have a specific strategy for clients who ranked low on only one of the variables.

These specific hypotheses (presented at the beginning of Chapter 13) appear to be totally irrelevant to the entire placement process and were, of course, incorrect. To interpret the findings it was necessary to introduce the more specific concepts of initial versus later strategies, and avowed versus actual strategies. With these added distinctions in mind, it was apparent that the hypothesis was not supported with respect to the counselor's avowed strategy in

the initial stage of the relationship. The counselor's strategy for success (and success itself) was not dependent on his initial assessment of the client's work-readiness and self-concept. The counselors made some attempt to form "character judgments," but for the most part they permitted the client to define his own character and motivation through certain behavior summed up in the phrase "keeping in touch."

The findings supported the hypothesis with respect to the counselors' later strategies. We observed that the counselors appeared to concentrate on improving the client's work-readiness or on offering ego support and encouragement. However, those clients who did not from the beginning "keep in touch" with the counselor were "weeded out." This was adjudged to be evidence of a lack of "motivation." At the same time, there was no success, defined as placement, if the client did not keep in touch. Counselors did not follow-up on such clients. Thus, success in placement varied more directly with the client's effort to "keep in touch." Counselors did not spend much time with clients who ranked low on work-readiness and self-concept, as the hypothesis stated. The defintion of work-readiness as being willing to keep in touch required that the counselors spend hardly any time with such clients; when clients do not "keep in touch" they are "weeded out."

But there was some evidence that the client's effort to "keep in touch" varied according to the degree of encouragement offered by the counselor in the initial counseling ses-

sion. A sample of clients were interviewed before and after the first counseling session. They were asked to estimate their chances of getting a job they would like and any kind of job on both occasions. Typically, after counseling, clients thought they had less chance of getting a desirable job, but more chance of getting a job of some kind. This appears to be the actual but unavowed strategy of making the clients more realistic and at the same time "motivated." When the clients' efforts to "keep in touch" were analyzed, it appeared that those clients who were "encouraged" by the first counseling session, with regard to their chances of obtaining a job of some kind, stayed in contact with the agency more frequently and longer. They "kept in touch," and had a greater chance for placement. It was not possible to determine if the encouragement was offered on the basis of the counselor's assessment of the client's character or not, that is, his or her work-readiness and self-concept. It seemed possible that the clients were encouraged or not, depending on the level of aspiration and expectations they brought with them. The process of "weeding out" appeared to begin early in the relationship, and it was not entirely the autonomous, behaviorally-oriented process described by the counselors.

Halmos' The Faith of the Counsellors and Blau's The Dynamics of Bureaucracy were examined in connection with these findings. Our findings in the chapter and the overall

study seemed to be related to the findings of their work on counseling and placement. Halmos was seen to largely ignore the organizational constraints on counselors of the kind studied. He emphasized the "caring" motivation of counselors as the most important factor. Although such motivation was found in YEA's counselors, that motivation was not adequate to explain the findings. Other factors involving the narrowness and specificity of the agency's mission, its contractual relationships and agency dependency, the lack of professionalization of the counselors and their consequent dependence on the agency's definitions of work and the agency's limited resources to implement caring were all important.(7) The concept of "organizational altruism" was introduced to account for the contradictory elements found in the work of YEA's counselors, and to distinguish that from Lubove's "professional altruism" found in a more professional setting. At YEA all "concern" or "caring" was focused on placement. Clients were "weeded out" if they showed a lack of "motivation" to work, which was defined as the client's persistence in keeping in touch. So powerful were the organizational definitions, and so closely was the interest of the counselors tied to agency survival that the counselors often had to "sell out" in their own view. They made placements regardless of whether or not they believed a particular placement to be in the client's long-range interests. Their position was made more ambiguous by the fact that the clients typically expected placement. Thus, even for the client, concern or caring was not enough, though it

was indispensable in establishing rapport, and thus in facilitating placement.

If Halmos stressed too much the "loving" relationship that exists between counselor and client, Blau seemed to ignore it altogether, concentrating instead on organizational structure and procedures.(8) However, Blau's study of a state employment service was seen to provide that sense of organizational setting lacking in Halmos' work. There are some differences between Blau's findings and those contained in this study, especially with respect to the hypothesis regarding counselor strategies. These included the use of measurements, such as the performance records described by Blau. Here, measurements did not affect the counselors' strategies since there were few such measurements of performance. Also, the principal counselor strategy at YEA ("weeding out") was one initiated by the counselors themselves, rather than being influenced by the directives of superiors, and was unknown to the Director. Finally, for those clients who were not "weeded out," there was no observable "goal displacement." The goal of placement was simple, unitary, part of the agency's mission. There were no official goals having to do with the client's welfare, etc. Placement was defined as the client's welfare. Instead, it appeared that the mission of the agency was "displaced" through the process of "weeding out" the <u>target population</u>--the "hard to place" clients the agency claimed to serve. These clients were younger, and had less education and work

experience. The agency seemed to have better served its target population when it was not held so accountable for doing so by "performance contracts." These may have helped contribute to the neglect of the very clients for which the programs were funded in the first place.

Our interpretation of these findings is that in the counselor's initial strategy we have found the point at which external factors were decisive in the direct and positive way we hypothesized for the agency administration. The counselors altered the mission of the agency by weeding out a substantial part of the target population in response to the pressure for placements. Moreover, their actions had the effect of maximizing the placement of individual clients, as the contractors desired. We have seen that the agency administrators responded to the external demands by such means as statistical subterfuges and mutual recriminations. The Board responded by rejecting or reacting against those demamds not consistent with its definition of the agency's mission; i.e., it sought to protect the integrity of the original mission. The counselors responded by internalizing the placement demands made on the agency and weeding out unplaceable clients.

The "organizational drift" described earlier, involving the agency's acceptance of older clients and those whose involvement with police and courts had been minimal, was in some respects similar to the weeding-out process described here: both altered the agency mission in some way, and both were

responses to the demand for placements. However, in the case of "drift," no clients were excluded; only new ones were added. In addition, the drift was limited to two specific programs. In contrast, the weeding out of clients was more pervasive and entailed more fundamental changes. We might also note that it would not be as easy to detect because it is quite consistent with the mission criteria, as far as anyone could tell. Statistical reports would show that the mission was being carried out: the "hardest to place" clients were being accepted, and "placements were up." The implication that the hardest-to-place clients were the ones being placed would not be substantially correct, of course. The counselors intervene between intake and placement by weeding out certain clients.

The counselors, it seems, respond to different and conflicting demands in accordance with a scheme of priorities. Placement comes first, and we see this in their initial strategy. Moreover, under the pressure to produce placements in a declining job market, they focus their "caring" on those clients who respond, by "keeping in touch," to the counselor's efforts to establish rapport and thus to show their concern. Some clients are more apt to do this than others, if we are correct in our understanding of the client types presented earlier. It is in their later strategies that the counselors can be "counselors" and devote more time to their clients in "stroking" them and formulating strategies for increasing their acceptability to employers. This

work has a lower priority than placement.

Overall Conclusions

We began with a simple question: How was it possible for the counselors at YEA to tolerate their frequent failure to place their clients on jobs? To investigate the problem, we conceived of it in the simplest and most direct way; namely, the striving for success and the avoidance of failure. Whatever the failings of this conceptualization might be, it and the subsidiary concepts required have led to a detailed knowledge of the counselors' work at YEA. We have reported the findings related to the specific hypotheses. Now we must attempt to make some more general comments about the specific findings. We shall discuss these under three related headings: methodology, organizational behavior, and societal implications.

Methodology

The concept of success and failure has the advantage of dealing with fundamental motivation, and may be the broadest possible category for encompassing social behavior. We might describe and analyze entire societies according to what constitutes success and failure. Without further refinement, however, the approach is too general to offer adequate explanations. Therefore, we have attempted to make the success-failure framework useful in the understanding of values, beliefs, and action by the introduction of certain other im-

portant factors. These include the definitions of success brought into a situation by different individuals or groups; the power and authority associated with definitions and resources; strategies for attaining goals; surveillance of action, events, and tendencies; and follow-up subsequent to "decisions" based upon the definitions. In a more general way, these factors refer to values and beliefs as well as emotional "needs" (definitions); control over relevant aspects of the situation (power and authority); "decisions" formulated to attain goals (strategies); knowledge of events and processes (surveillance); and action taken with respect to the goals based upon values, beliefs, and desired emotional gratifications.

Much of the recent work in organizational theory is concerned with the determinants and the consequences of organizational structure, and with organizational goals. Perrow argues that typologies are needed that will "order the diversity of organizations in such a way that we can explain differences in structure and/or goals." Some factors that have been explored as possible bases for such typologies are organizational size, geographic location, age, physical resources, raw materials, and technology. For Perrow, the "characteristics of the work process" (technology) will reveal more about "the structure and function of the organization than the psychological characteristics of the members, their wants, motives, and drives." Technology, he writes,

will "predict to structure."(9)

Elsewhere, Perrow notes that "the concept of organizational goals...has been unusually resistant to precise, unambiguous definition," yet a definition of goals is necessary because organizations are "established to do something" and we must "examine goals if we are to analyze organizational behavior." He continues that "when research concerns the behavior of groups or individuals who happen to function within an organization, attention to the goals of the organization as a whole is not necessary." However, if we are concerned with "formal organizations rather than with group processes," we must pay attention to the goals of the organization as a whole or some major part of it.(10)

We review this material in order to clarify the intent, and possible contributions of this study. First, we must note that we have chosen not to investigate the structure of the Youth Employment Agency. The organization itself is treated for the most part descriptively rather than analytically; it is the necessary background for the study of the dynamic processes that seemed more salient to this study. Clearly, we owe a great debt to various organizational theorists; however, our interest has not been centered on YEA as such. We began with an interest in one of the constituent groups of YEA, the counselors; subsequent research led us to consider other groups such as administrators and the Board of Directors which impinge upon the counselors. Thus, we have viewed YEA in

terms of its components. We have also found it necessary to consider the forces which affect the counselors. These include the external funding organizations and the contractual form of their demands and the dependence they induce. Contrary to Perrow's argument, then, while we have focused upon groups and individuals "who happen to function within an organization," we have also found it necessary to discover and discuss at length the goals of YEA. The problem of success and failure required that we do so. We have done this by treating goals in general as problematic, thus following Perrow's suggestion, and by treating the goals of various groups as equally problematic.

Cyert and March have argued that goals pursued by organizations are "highly ambiguous," and that there are multiple goals that are in conflict with one another.(11) Perrow interprets this to mean that "goals should be viewed as emerging from a bargaining process among groups."(12) In contrast, when we investigated YEA in terms of some of its constituent groups and presented our findings within the framework of a struggle over goals, with the outcome of the struggle highly meaningful rather than routine to the various parties, we have attempted to specify the goals of the various groups involved, and in general have seen that in YEA ambivalence about goals may be more significant than their ambiguity in YEA. This we have done by attempting to specify in the concrete situation what the "multiple goals" are, and

in addition, to identify who is advocating the various goals and with what resources at their disposal, what the outcomes have been, and the consequences of the outcomes. Immediate goals, it appears, sometimes emerge from undesired or unplanned outcomes; that is, from the accidental balancing or collision of the specific goals of the various parties in the action situation. Moreover, we have also had to recognize that the same individual or group may have multiple and conflicting goals, resulting in ambivalence and seemingly inconsistent behavior. They may resolve the dilemma by establishing priorities of some kind. The counselors at YEA, for example, were ambivalent about the goal of job placement. They desired to help their clients, yet saw placement as often inappropriate for the client's long-range development and welfare. The dilemma was heightened by the agency's insistence upon and need for placements, and the client's expectation of placement. The counselors gave placement top priority, weeded out the hardest to place clients, but attempted to be "counselors" in their later strategies with "motivated" clients.

Finally, though this is not the last word we shall say about goals, we have been able to see that the operational goals of an organization are both temporary and enduring, and that this is the result of the various factors such as the definitions of success, control over resources, surveillance, etc. referred to above.

This study has been focused on the phenomena of success and failure in an organizational setting. In a broad sense, success has been seen as related to goal attainment and the avoidance of blame for failure. The view of goals in the study has been that goals are not understandable as being rational or irrational. They are simply meaningful in varying degrees to different parties. It seems, in retrospect, that the important questions to ask about goals are:

What are the goals?
Whose goals are they?
What are the barriers or contradictions involved in attainment?
What degree of control over resources and definitions do the parties have?
What degree of intensity of conviction and effort is associated with the goal?
Is it an operative goal or not?
What means are employed to implement the goal?
How effective is the "goal surveillance" and "follow-up?"
What are the consequences of the attempt to fulfill the goal?

The answers to these questions help us to distinguish between organization and personal or group goals, and between dominant and subordinate ones, and help us to predict whether they are temporary or enduring goals.

These considerations bring us to a summary of the points of methodological interest in this study. We suggest that our conceptualization of the problem as one of success and failure, supplemented by the addition of the subsidiary concepts, has enabled us to explain the findings in terms of what we contend is a fundamental motivation of human behavior. Thus, if this is granted, the basis of the behavior described is clear and

does not require argument. Obviously, there is much to explain in terms of how the behavior is manifested, the clash of strategies, and the ways in which definitions of success are at odds with each other in some ways and at the same time in agreement in other ways. But it is a distinct advantage to have a common and fundamental motivation underlying one's findings. We cannot, of course, claim that we have chosen the most appropriate motivational category for our problem. However, it seems undeniable that it is helpful to have recourse to such a motivational referent. We have chosen the one which seemed most suited to the problem at hand.

Secondly, the perspective and concepts we have adopted permits us to deal with both rationality and non-rationality in strivings to achieve goals. Either or both can be included in definitions of success and can be the bases of strategies. What are usually called "decisions" are merely a more rational form of goal statement. Equally important are impulses not usually expressed as "decisions" and which are the foundations of other definitions of success. The altruism of YEA's counselors is one example of this kind of definitional source. We suggest that by means of this approach we are in a position to consider rational "decisions" and non-rational impulses and strivings as being similar and thus comparable in analysis.

Third, it appears that by viewing an organization from the standpoint of its identifiable constituent groups, and by utilizing the concepts related to success and failure, we can

simultaneously handle organizational, sub-organizational, and social psychological phenomena. The conflict and contradictions inherent in this perspective necessitates that we identify various "actors" and the source of conflict. Yet we would maintain that we can do so without losing sight of organizational variables such as technology, structure, and environment. Here we have discussed YEA's technology primarily in terms of how it is related to the Board's definition of the agency's mission and in terms of the requirements and resources included in the contracts with funding agencies. The same forces are seen to affect organizational structure, as does tradition and the power of the Board. We have dealt extensively with numerous environmental factors, primarily in terms of how they impose definitions of success or goals, for example through contractual relationships; or how they influence the possibility of attaining success, e.g. through job-market conditions. We have also explained some of our findings by citing the absence of expected strong environmental forces such as, for example, the lack of a professional orientation among YEA's counselors. And in that case, as well as others, we have also been able to point to certain social psychological effects; the counselors, for example, were dependent on the agency and manifested this by internalizing certain of the demands made on the agency. In short, we have been able to identify "actors" in all situations; at the same time we have been able to maintain sight of organizations as being not identical with individual actors. We

have done this by viewing organizations as scenes of conflict and struggles over purposes and rewards: The "organization" at official and unofficial levels is the contemporary outcome of these conflicts. It is ongoing in the sense that it has a history of imposed definitions and it has a future to the degree that it offers opportunities for achieving specific definitions of success.

Fourth, we propose that the methods and concepts employed here facilitate our comprehension of how macrosociological forces are translated into microsociological processes. For example, in discussing the agency's contracts as a factor in the definition of work, we have come upon a point of contact between the force of formal rationality and predictability that Weber attributed to contemporary societies, and the minutiae of everday work as it is structured by this force, both directly and negatively, that is, in reaction against it. Similarly, the values and conflicts embodied in employment legislation find their expression in the contracts and in the actual work of the agency's counselors. We might also note in this connection how such programs as the one described act partly in the other direction through their role in stratification; e.g., in weeding out "undeserving" clients who are not adjudged to be motivated to work, YEA's counselors can be seen to meet an ultimate criterion of success for such programs in American society. Though the effect of YEA's program is by itself very small, the combined effect

of many similar programs would probably be to perpetuate existing patterns of stratification.

Organizational Behavior

If our findings have any validity beyond YEA, we can describe what they suggest for organizational behavior; i.e., what organizations do or attempt to do as a result of strategies and counter-strategies formulated and carried out by groups both within and external to them. We view organizations as intermediary structures of sociation, standing between the individual and the larger society. They are like other structures such as families, churches, and schools in that they perform many of the same tasks, only to a different degree and in different ways. Each type of structure may be oriented to an important human need such as legitimate sexual activity (the family) or acceptable images of the world (religion). But each also acts to transmit its own version of the larger world to individuals and to make it meaningful. Occupational organizations deal with much of the same material as do educational ones, but in the form of work rules and more tangible rewards. The lesson is not always the same, but the variables are. The work learning complements the school learning. It is this characteristic of organizations as a dispenser of important rewards including status and identity, that makes them important as breeders of strategies and counter-strategies.

Here we treat certain external forces, those which directly interact with YEA, as groups also and note that they have their own strategies for success. The job market, for example, is conceived as a group of employers who have a strategy of hiring workers based on a cost-productivity ratio. The counselor attempts to counter this strategy by conning the employer with respect to his client's qualifications for the open job.

The strategies are based on varying definitions of success. Definitions vary in their importance to groups or individuals; some, such as that of the agency mission, are "strong" and some (e.g., staff involvement in decisions) are relatively "weak" definitions. In this study, definitions of the work were treated as definitions of success. These definitions involved identification of the client, services to be performed, anticipated rewards, and origins of the definitions. Six basic definitions were distinguished, based on different combinations of the factors above. These were definitions formulated by (a) counselors, (b) agency administrators; (c) agency clients, (d) agency Board, (e) external funding organizations, and (f) employers.

Some examples of how the work was defined (though not necessarily performed) are outlined on the following page.

GROUP	CLIENT	SERVICES	REWARDS	ORIGINS
(1) Counselors	Poor minority-group youth and young adults	"Full-range"	(a) Client gratitude (b) Accomplishment of task (c) External (salary, etc.)	(a) Altruism (b) Careerism
(2) Administrators	Disadvantaged youth 16-21	Placements; "functional" counseling and ancillary services	(a) Contract fulfillment (b) New contracts	(a) Official duties (b) Contracts
(3) Client	Self	Placement	(a) Money (b) Status	Situation
(4) Board	Youth in Trouble	(a) "Unique" (including placement) (b) Low cost and efficient	(a) Contribution (to order and/or justice) (b) Status (c) Business contacts (d) Friendship	(a) Philanthropy (Founder) (b) Business dependence (c) "Friendliness"

GROUP	CLIENT	SERVICES	REWARDS	ORIGINS
(5) Funding Organizations	(a) Youth and young adults "on hand" (b) Self	Placement of individuals	(a) "Reducing inventory" of clients (b) Fulfillment of mandate	(a) Legislation (b) Political accountability (c) Bureaucracy mission
(6) Employers	Self	Free source of marginal employees for low-status work	Production at reasonable "cost"	Profit motive

The definitions were expressed in varying forms. These included, for example, (1) agency mission; (2) contracts and contract negotiations; (3) standards for selection and evaluation of personnel; (4) program monitoring procedures; (5) testing clients both formally and informally; (6) employer job descriptions; and (7) generalized expectations communicated to others, such as the expectation of "creative" work performance.

The counselors' definition of success in their work centered mainly on helping the client, with a view toward the client's long-range growth and welfare. However, because of the agency's precarious financial position, the reputation and survival of the agency were necessarily involved in the definition also. Helping the client would not be possible if the agency were to fold. Moreover, the most important element of the client's definition of success for himself was typically a job. This too was incorporated into the counselors' definition. The client's definition of the counselor's work also required that the counselor demonstrate "concern" for and "honesty" with the client. The counselor's definition thus consisted in part of placement, honesty, and concern, but in addition, agency protection and survival, and "helping the client" in other ways besides job placement.

The Board's definition of success for the agency and for themselves as its policy-makers was expressed in the mission of the agency: providing a unique service for the benefit of

youth in trouble. We saw that job placement was regarded as a unique service until quite recently. Success also involved maintaining control over the agency. Both uniqueness and control have become increasingly difficult to achieve with the expansion of governmental youth programs and YEA's financial dependence on them. For individual Board members, it may be that success involved the fulfillment of personal obligations to the Chairman or the opportunity to secure favors from him.

The Associate Director's definition of success was something of a puzzle. Clearly, it involved the agency's reputation and survival. However, we observed that because of the agency's hiring standards, he assumed that he could take for granted the counselors' "concern" and their "realism" or adoption of the agency's priorities. Thus, in many ways, his definition resembled that of the counselors. But we also observed that his strategies differ from those of the counselors. This we might attribute to the difference in position and duties.

The Director's definition of success entailed counselor "professionalism" and "creativity." With these, as contrasted with the "concern" and "realism" sought by the Associate Director, the work of the agency would get done in the appropriate way. This definition might also resemble the counselors' in that the professionalism and creativity would "help the client." Professionalism and creativity can also be viewed as strategies as well as elements of the definition. We classify them as definitions here because his notion of

professional work is in contrast to the counselors' rejection of what the counseling professional defines as professional work.

Finally, the definition of success promulgated by the funding agencies is one involving the placement of a specified number of individual clients. In particular contracts, success may be composed of other services as well, but these are to be justified by their usefulness in placing clients on jobs.

On the basis of the definitions and one's assessment of his "power" relative to others, strategies for success and counter-strategies are formulated. Power may be high or low. Here, we view power in terms of an autonomy-dependence dichotomy, with parties either possessing autonomy or not in specific sectors or tasks.

Autonomy requires power, which may be legitimate or not. Positions of legitimate power are formally acknowledged to be empowered to create definitions of success, formulate strategies for success involving standards of performance and control over resources, to obtain information relevant to performance, and to follow-up on deviations from desired performance by re-formulating strategy, imposing sanctions or increasing rewards. This formal acknowledgement of authority is never complete and thoroughgoing, however. Persons who occupy the authority positions may undermine their authority by their own performances, or their power over resources or

knowledge may be perceived as vulnerable, with the definitions advanced by other parties being sufficiently strong to call for counter-strategies. Counter-strategies may focus upon any of several of the ingredients of power: definitions, strategies involving standards and resource control, knowledge, or follow-up. The kind of knowledge of most concern to us here is that having to do with performance of tasks. It is the necessity for this kind of knowledge that calls for "surveillance." YEA attempted to maintain surveillance over its staff, and external organizations did the same with respect to YEA.

In this context, various strategies for success were formulated and wholly or partially activated by the various groups we observed. These strategies often led to failure, either actual or potential, when confronted by the strategies of others. This required counter-strategies. These counter-strategies appeared to be the principal means of dealing with actual or potential failure. Counter-strategies appeared to be likely when there was a "strong" definition with a highly desired reward at stake, and when surveillance or follow-up were weak or non-existent. The counter-strategies observed in YEA took the following general forms:

(a) Subversion, such as the use of total-placement figures in accounting to external organizations, or ostracizing productive counselors;

(b) Re-defining success, for example, in terms of

"busy-ness," getting paid on Friday, or "advocacy;"

(c) Re-arranging but not abandoning priorities, as in the case of weeding out clients and "counseling" others later;

(d) Blaming others for the failure;

(e) Confrontation with adversaries, exemplified by the unionization of the staff.

Some examples of strategies that were observed during the course of research may be helpful. We note that, in general, strategists act as though only they are formulating strategies. Only when this assumption is shown to be false by the intervening behavior of other parties do they realize their error. They then proceed to act on the basis of the same assumption in formulating their own counter-strategy. This is repeated again and again. In part, the possession of authority may delude participants into believing that it will be decisive and that they will have the final word in the matter.

We lack the evidence to distinguish simple strategies from compound or master strategies, those oriented to more than one goal. For example, what might seem to be a simple strategy, that of establishing rapport with clients, appears to be based on meeting the client's expectation of "concern" as well as placement. Placements are also part of the agency's definition of success. Rapport is thus connected

to both client- and agency-centered goals. In addition, rapport is one means by which the counselor achieves success in gratifying his or her altruistic impulse. Other strategies perhaps only seem more simple. The Director's open-door policy seemed to be his strategy for promoting increased creativity and professionalism in the counseling staff. The supervisors' counter-strategy negated the open-door policy by discouraging counselors from availing themselves of the opportunity. We saw that the "open door" represented to the supervisors the possible emergence of "favorites," those who would undermine the supervisors' precarious authority by their more personal relationship with the Director.

The complex unfolding of strategies and counter-strategies may be seen better in another example. We saw that for a short time agency administrators required five placements a week from each of the counselors. This surveillance would enable administrators to identify the more productive counselors. The counselors responded by complaining about the quota system and by sabotaging it by ostracizing one counselor who met her quota consistently. The Associate Director's counter-strategy was to measure performance according to how busy the counselors appeared to be, i.e., "busy-ness." In this, he hoped that his strategy in hiring counselors on the basis of their concern for clients and their realistic appreciation of the constraints imposed on the agency was effective, and that their "realism" would temper

their "concern." The counselors responded by keeping busy, for the most part. One effect of this was to reduce the usefulness of the strategy as a basis for making decisions regarding lay-offs later on: the standard of performance incorporated in the strategy was not sufficiently discriminating. More important, the counselors acted on the basis of both concern and realism, rather than one tempering the other. They weeded out clients, as realism would dictate, but used those clients who remained as objects of their concern or altruism: counselors reported doing "extensive counseling" with such clients; or allowing them to "fantasize" rather than work if they desired and the counselor thought that was the best course; or "getting into the client's personal problems" once he had been successfully placed on a job and had "money coming in." In short, the counselors did not appear to temper their concern; rather, they re-directed it and sought new opportunities for focusing it on clients. This seemed to be the rule: that if the definition of success is "strong" and important, and if power is sufficient, the goal involved in the definition will be attained in some way. Rather than one goal tempering the other, the counselors carried both to extremes. The crucial element of power in this case was knowledge of performance, including past performance in the hiring of counselors. When surveillance of performance is weak, subordinates gain power, as we have defined it.

Surveillance includes such things as the use of the time

clock, the information-gathering related to the annual evaluations, and the monitoring of performance by external organizations. All strategies would appear to require surveillance. For superiors, this takes the form of conventional performance evaluations. For the counselors, surveillance took the form of feedback from clients such as keeping in touch with the counselor, letters and other expressions of gratitude; it also took the form of knowledge of the vulnerable areas of the power of others. In general, the Board of Directors at YEA was most deficient in day-to-day surveillance and this deficiency constituted the greatest source of power for counselors and as administrators in their dealings with the Board.

When strategies and counter-strategies are not successful, we may find "strategies in lieu of success." At YEA, these were manifested in such phenomena as blaming clients, colleagues, authority figures, or conditions such as the job market for failure; unionization of the staff despite widespread recognition that a union could not deal with the complaints expressed; the "moods" and withdrawal of the Director, as his hopes for staff creativity and professionalism were not realized; excessive delegation of responsibility by the Director, and transfer of some of the difficult problems of the agency to others in this way; and the use of threats of all kinds, ranging from threats to close the agency rather than accept a union, to threats to fire non-productive counselors. These strategies may be seen as counter-strategies

also, but they seem to reflect more often an emotional response to failure than a strategy for goal attainment. They are usually "terminal strategies" that, for the moment at least, locate the occurrence of failure.

Some strategies appear to be unintended, latent strategies. The administrators' "strategy" of control based on uncertainty is an example. Let us trace how it emerged from intended strategies. The two intended strategies involved in this were the Board's strategy of "total power," that is, authority without any specifications or limits, and the administrators' reliance upon busy-ness as the means of surveillance of the counselors' performance. "Busy-ness" itself appeared to have been a response to several factors, including the Associate Director's desire to run the agency in a "humanitarian" fashion and in his belief that there were "too many factors" involved in the counselors' work to permit a precise evaluation. Also involved was the counselors' own resistance to or counter-strategy against the placement-quota system. Out of all this, "busy-ness" emerged as the object of surveillance. However, the most important decisions such as who to lay off and who to retain when contracts were lost could not be made using the busy-ness standard; it did not distinguish the productive counselors from others. The unofficial, and personal, standards that were used in combination with the "total power" of the Board produced a climate of uncertainty and generalized insecurity. The counselors did not know what the operative standards of perfor-

mance were. They only knew that the agency's personnel practices gave administrators authority to fire or lay off anyone and without further reason. The uncertainty resulting from this seemed to be the most effective means of control at the disposal of the agency, and probably promoted the counselors' internalization of the agency's need for placements. Autonomy and insecurity went hand in hand.

Our observations lead us to conclude that what are usually called unintended consequences of action may be either counter-strategies, strategies in lieu of success, or unintended strategies. Merton criticized the tendency of some writers to focus only on the "positive contributions" or functions of phenomena to the social or cultural system, and to "confuse the subjective category of motive with the objective category of function." The first problem required a concept of "multiple consequences" and a technique of discovering the "net balance of an aggregate of consequences." The second problem led Merton to make the distinction between "manifest" or intended consequences, and "latent" or unintended consequences.(13)

In our view, the full consequences of any strategies are usually not anticipated because no account is taken of the fact that counter-strategies will emerge, provided that there is more than one group advancing "strong" definitions of success and provided there is some vulnerability in the use of power such as weak or nonexistent surveillance. The organizational drift initiated by the counselors to meet placement

quotas could be said to be manifestly functional for counselors in that it helped preserve their jobs, and latently functional for both agency and contractors because it helped achieve the placements they desired. For the Board it was latently dysfunctional because it led to erosion of the agency's mission. For counselors, it was also latently dysfunctional because it provoked the Board's counter-strategy of limiting agency services to younger clients and making placements more difficult to achieve. We might go on almost endlessly tracing out consequences in this fashion. However, it seems evident already that the concept of function presents us with difficulties in understanding. It is difficult to utilize a concept that fails to distinguish among the consequences and their functions. It would seem clearer and more correct to say that consequences and thus "functions" are not static; rather they develop over time. The final consequences are never known: through strategies and counter-strategies they are constantly emerging. At each stage or moment in time, they might be described and analyzed from the standpoint of functions, but they will not be understood if we cling to an overly rigid notion of systems and functions. The organization we observed did not respond to change as a unified system. Some parts responded in one way, and other parts responded in other ways. Moreover, the components might respond to other internal components, or they might respond to external components in a direct fashion. And some of the factors we have discussed, especially surveil-

lance and follow-up, influenced whether the organization "as a system" responded at all or only in a very haphazard way. The implication of our argument is that the interdependence of parts and the system-wide response to change postulated for "systems" is inaccurate. Instead, specific components or sub-systems respond to the strategies of other entities, whether internal or external, with counter-strategies. There is interdependence of an objective kind in organizations: the overall organizational performance varies according to the aggregation of component performances; all are dependent upon the others in different ways. But we would argue that the components respond selectively to the strategies of others to the degree that their own strategies are affected.

If we view organizations as seenes of struggle, then to the extent that strong and opposing definitions of success are found, counter-strategies will be always present as one group seeks to impose its definitions and pursue its strategies based on those definitions. Whether they can do so depends on the balance of legitimate and non-legitimate power, including the knowledge obtained from surveillance of one's own and others' performances. Strategies in lieu of success are primarily important as indicators of momentary failure and resentful conflict. These strategies reflect the failure of primary strategies and the lack of workable priorities. It seems hardly possible to avoid them, but participants in organizational conflict may respond to better "human rela-

tions" as clients respond to "stroking." Unintended strategies may be the most difficult for organizations to deal with in the sense that they are largely unconscious and can be seen only through assiduous study. They appear to be "functional" for the organization in some ways, and might be desired for this reason. But the consequences may not be functional for all parties and they may provoke counter-strategies. Thus, all strategies would seem to require surveillance and follow-up by the strategist. Both of these may vary with the strength of the parties' definition of success, and the lack of either is equivalent to a lack of power as we have defined it.

Societal Implications

Max Weber was the first sociologist to conceptualize and analyze the phenomenon of bureaucracy and to explain the spread of bureaucracy in modern societies on the basis of its "technical superiority" to all other forms of organization, given the conditions and demands created by democracy, capitalism, modern technology, and the spirit of rationality characteristic of modern societies. "The modern state is absolutely dependent upon a bureaucratic basis," he observed, especially when it is large and "becomes a great power state." However, bureaucracies are also essential for the "organized, collective, inter-local and thus bureaucratic provision for the most varied of wants" for the populace, and for carrying out the "manifold tasks" of social welfare pro-

grams that are in part "saddled upon the state by interest groups" and in part usurped by the state. Not only is the modern state bureaucratized, but "the very large modern capitalist enterprises are themselves unequalled models of strict bureaucratic organization." The "special virtue" of bureaucracy is its success in "eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation."(14)

Perrow criticizes the "institutional school" of organizational theory for the excessive attention it has devoted to "trivial organizations" such as social welfare institutions whose impact upon a "tiny minority" of individuals is admittedly "frightening" but also "trivial compared to the dominant economic institutions of our society." The economic institutions "create and manipulate our values," whereas the trivial ones merely display the values in a distorted, symptomatic form. Perrow's criticism is based on his view that society is possibly more influenced by organizations than organizations are influenced by society. "The WCTU may drift," he observes, "but General Motors does not." The gravest defect of the institutional school is that "it fails to connect the two" paths of influence. It is Perrow's thesis that organizations are primarily "tools" in the hands of powerful "masters." The significance of bureaucracy is that by virtue of its indispensability, size, and structure, it centralizes more and more power in the hands of individual "masters."(15)

We would argue that given the dominance of bureaucracy described by Weber and Perrow, the existence of "trivial" organizations might be questioned. We have in mind not only the impact of organizations on their clienteles, which Perrow seems to have had in mind, but also their impact on those who work within such small and "trivial" organizations. In this sense, we argue that there may be far fewer trivial organizations than Perrow suggests and, further, that the distinction between trivial and important organizations may not always be a useful one. For example, the existence of social welfare organizations leads us to redefine our relations and obligations to others and our surroundings because we can take for granted their work and their assumption of responsibility for the problems they specialize in. Secondly, it seems reasonable to view such organizations <u>in toto</u> rather than separately in their impact on clienteles. All agencies such as YEA, taken together, can be said to have considerable impact upon their unemployed clienteles, and the impact is probably of a rather uniform character because the clienteles are increasingly subject to bureaucratic methods through contractual relationships of the kind described here. Third, the employees of contracting agencies such as YEA are increasingly exposed to bureaucratic orientations and practices through contractual relationships which impose bureaucratic standards upon them.

Vidich and Bensman wrote that in studying Springdale, their "central concern was with the processes by which the

small town (and indirectly all segments of American society) are continuously and increasingly drawn into the central machinery, processes and dynamics of the total society." Springdale was controlled far more by "centralization, bureaucratization and dominance by large-scale organizations" than its residents knew.(16) We see our own findings as fitting into this framework, with contractual relationships and financial dependence providing the connection between small philanthropic organizations and large government bureaucracies. We might even wonder if the same relationship does not hold in the business world as well, between large organizations and small seemingly-independent suppliers.

The Board of Directors of YEA is aware of this intrusion of bureaucracy. We observed the resistance they offered in seeking to carry out the agency's mission in a universe of standardization and accountability. But they were causght in a dilemma: how to keep the agency going when private funds were increasingly difficult to raise. But they were not aware of the extent of bureaucratic intrusion. Only accidentally did they discover how agency personnel deviated from the agency's mission in their attempt to meet contract quotas and standards. And Board members have as yet no inkling of the fragmentation of the agency into separate programs based on different contracts. The intimacy and unity between administrators and counselors, and between counselors and clients appeared to have been weakened as a result of the changed funding pattern that we described in

Chapter 7. Counselors increasingly had to be evaluated and controlled in order to meet contract quotas. Although the administrators were not notably successful in this, their failure resulted in increased hostility and resentment as they pressed counselors to keep busy and to refrain from talking to one another. The meaning of the work was also affected by the necessity of eliminating clients in order to achieve objective measures of success according to contract specifications, and the clients became more a means to an end than they formerly had been. The counselors initiated new procedures to satisfy contract demands for placements by concentrating their work on certain clients and "weeding out" the others. The mission of the agency was altered de facto in the attempt to implement de jure definitions under new conditions. Perhaps the most interesting and useful finding of the study is contained in this development. The "target population" of the contract programs, and the traditional clientele of the agency (the "hardest to place" clients) were served less effectively or hardly at all when the requirements for serving them became more specific and coupled with penalties. This occurred even when the penalties were seldom used. Accountability to external organizations may, in some cases, be counterproductive. It results in the displacement or loss of organizational purpose as a result of the standards required by formal accountability. Furthermore, formal standards of

accountability, or performance generally, may be productive of "mediocrity" since they must of necessity be located somewhere near the middle of possible levels of performance. If too high, they are unworkable. If too low, they are meaningless and have little motivating effect. Once they are set, however, workers are likely to identify such standards with maximum performance. In our study, such standards led to "organizational altruism," where the impulse to help clients was both constrained by organizational requirements and re-oriented to a middle level of performance.

Ultimately, the success of the agency would probably be judged by most outsiders according to how effectively it sorts out those who want to work from those who do not. This carries us beyond bureaucratic standards. Even the standards to which YEA is held accountable require placement only of a certain calculated percentage of enrollees. There were not enough suitable jobs for all those physically available for work, and none for those not adjudged to be "motivated" to work.

The counselors appear to reflect this view, whether they blame the clients or weed them out. Earlier in the agency's history, when jobs were available, the tendency was to think of the work as "job-matching," or putting the right client on the right job. This assumed and depended upon the availability of unskilled jobs of different kinds. More recently, the work has come to be seen as involving sorting out the clients into those who are ready for work, the

"deserving," and those who are not, the "undeserving" poor. The unemployed are forced to compete more intensively with each other for the available jobs, and the losers can only blame themselves, or withdraw from the competition.

The counselors' work is also affected by another more distant force. The disparity among the advanced productivity of the industrial sector in the United States, the educational requirements of the non-productive sector, and "retarded" segments of the population seem to guarantee for the present a pool of potential "losers." The more productive and efficient the industrial system becomes, the fewer low-skilled workers it needs. And the fewer workers the productive sector needs, the more non-productive workers it must support. The non-productive sector, for its part, has raised its entrance requirements (especially the educational requirement) as the productive sector has eliminated a substantial portion of its low-skilled jobs. In the world market, the productive sector increases costs and prices to the point where prices are not competitive, necessitating a search for greater productivity and efficiency. Success in this endeavor requires automation and technical experts, and advances the problem to the next higher stage--leaving a "retarded" segment of the population behind as the demands of the economic sphere change.

This admittedly overly simple economic sketch is advanced solely to suggest that it is within some such framework that the success of the agency and its counselors can

be viewed. Complete success is probably not possible nor is it expected.

As for the counselors themselves, one could not help but be convinced of the presence of a special motivational ingredient in their work.(17) Here, this has been discussed under the general heading of altruism. Altruism did not always result in "good work," depending on the standards by which the quality of work might be judged. And not all counselors appeared to be equal in this respect. Some counselors may "hustle" altruism and exploit clients.(18) Some counselors may exploit the financial opportunities inherent in a situation where money is "available for the taking." But for most counselors, the altruistic ingredient produced "concerned" work, where the outcome mattered.

Titmuss observes that the incidence of altruism is dependent upon the existence of social institutions to permit the expression of altruism.(19) Giving blood (the specific phenomenon studied by Titmuss) is facilitated by the existence of blood banks, and "blood drives." Similarly, the rate of assistance to victims of disasters, such as floods and earthquakes, is undoubtedly increased by the existence of social organizations such as the Red Cross. But there is a distinction to be made between sporadic and sustained altruism, or avocational and vocational altruism. There is the additional problem of the emergence of altruistic organizations; their emergence from non-organizational sources and motivations. To state it differently: altruistic or-

ganizations may facilitate the incidence of sporadic altruism (blood donations, canned goods and clothing to disaster areas), but the emergence and operations of such organizations themselves must be explained. These considerations point to a somewhat different view of the subject than the one taken by Titmuss. The creation and funding of such organizations, as philantrhropy, is an interesting problem in itself and one which deserves more attention. There may be more to philanthropy than self-aggrandizement, sonscience money, and tax deductions. It would not seem in error to place it within the framework of altruism. With regard to the staffing of organizations of this type, the evidence of this study (inadequate as it may be) suggests that the positions created by the existence and funding of the organizations permit the expression of stronger than average altruistic impulses at least in a relatively small part of the population. The organizations, even in this case, do increase the incidence of altruism, as Titmuss observes. But the impulse, the "calling," seems to exist independent of the organizations. Some evidence for this may be seen in the counselors' own statements about how they happened to be engaged in the work. The fact that the work does not "call" most others, and the fact that some try it and give it up may be considered as additional evidence. Despite this, the situation is not at all clear and warrants further study of this topic alone.

Perhaps the broadest implication of the problem of altruism is that it may depend upon, or be called into being

by misfortune and inequality. The more societies eliminate or ameliorate misfortune, the less need there is for altruism and presumably the less altruistic behavior there will be (this is quite contrary to Titmuss' position). Good fortune (or better fortune) becomes more a matter of rights. Whether societies can be constituted on the basis of altruism broadly institutionalized in the form of rights seems open to question at the present time.(20) Even if so, in all likelihood, bureaucracies would be created to carry out the new missions. The trap in this is that, as Weber observed, the "special virtue" of the instrument selected is that it "dehumanizes" that which comes within its reach by "eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements." Whether this contradiction can be resolved by altruism is a major question and one that we cannot answer here. Gerth and Mills observe that Weber regarded charismatic figures as "revolutionary forces" both in the past and in the present because charisma as a basis of legitimation of authority is "opposed to all institutional routines," either traditional ones or those based upon "rational management" such as bureaucracy entails.(21) Altruism may be similar to charisma as a revolutionary and anti-bureaucratic force. While it may be less revolutionary than charisma, it may at the same time be more attainable.

The only contribution this study might make to the discussion is evidence to the effect that under present circum-

stances (until altruism takes the form of rights), organizations appear to distort, deflect, and constrain altruism. What emerges from the interaction between organizations and altruistic impulse is what might be called a "lesser altruism." There is some irony in this fact, inasmuch as the organizations may themselves represent an altruistic endeavor. Whether societies constituted on the basis of altruism-as-rights (if there should ever be such) can control this organizational effect, and to what degree, seems also to be problematic.

Chapter 14, Notes

1. At the time, $4000 represented an increase of 40--50% for most of the counselors.

2. This pattern is somewhat predetermined by the fact that the counselors were then working for such an organization--thus creating a pattern which may or may not hold up over time.

3. Howard S. Becker, "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation," originally published in American Sociological Review, 23: 652-60, and reprinted in William J. Filstead, ed., Qualitative Methodology (Markham, 1970), pp. 189-201. The material cited is found on pp. 190-1 and p. 197.

4. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton University Press, 1968); pp. 388-92.

5. Later, evidence of a tentative nature was presented to suggest that there is some relationship between the counselor's "encouraging" behavior and the effort which clients make to "keep in touch," thus prolonging the interaction.

6. Peter Blau, Dynamics of Bureaucracy, (University of Chicago Press, 1953).

7. Paul Halmos, The Faith of the Counsellors, (Schocken, 1970).

8. Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, op.cit.

9. Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay (Scott, Foresman and Co., 1972), pp. 164-5 and p. 176.

10. Charles Perrow, Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View (Wadsworth, 1970), p. 133.

11. James G. March and Richard M. Cyert, A Behavioral Theory of the Firm (Prentice-Hall, 1963), chapters 1, 2, 3, 6.

12. See Perrow's Complex Organizations, op cit., p. 161.

13. Robert M. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Free Press, 1968), p. 105.

14. Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," pp. 211-16 in Hans Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (Oxford University Press, 1946).

15. Charles Perrow, Complex Organizations (Scott, Foresman & Co., 1972), pp. 197-203.

16. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton University Press, 1968).

17. It is impossible to say whether someone who had not worked in the agency or a similar one would see the same thing.

18. The counselor was not employed very long at the agency.

19. Richard M. Titmuss, The Gift Relationship (Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 1972).

20. Post-revolutionary China seems to represent the most consistent effort to do so, despite the periodic reversals of economic policy.

21. Hans Gerth and C.W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, see p. 52 in their Introduction.

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appendix A: The Methods

Material for this study was gathered over a four-year period (1972--76), with most of the work concentrated at the beginning and at the end of that time span. The initial focus was on organizational discipline. Discipline in the agency was described as those forces in the agency which help to account for the level of performance of the counselor. The following factors were identified:

1. Formal orders, procedures and sanctions;
2. Ownership and control of the agency;
3. The economic situation of the agency;
4. The daily contacts with clients and employers;
5. Professional status of counselors;
6. The agency's definition of its work;
7. Meaning of the work to counselors, deriving primarily from identification with the client's adolescent quest for identity;
8. Size of the organization;
9. Patterns of blame focused on the client for the failure to get a job;
10. "Organizational competence," a term used to indicate certain basic organizational requirements. These included the knowledge by organizational heads as to how effectively the agency and its counselors are perform-

ing, and the use and non-use of their authority and responsibility.

These are among the factors seen to be related to the definition and management of failure, though different or additional aspects of each are sometimes relevant in the conceptualization of failure. Apparently isolated factors--the locus of control in the agency, the agency's economic situation, the professional status of the counselors, and the agency's definition of its work--become more integrated when the focus is shifted to definitions of success and the power attached to the definitions.

The necessity of returning several times for fresh data, and the re-conceptualization of the problem therefrom, has turned what was a cross-sectional study into something of a longitudinal study. Some insight into the numerous ways an organization can change in a relatively short time has been gained which was not possible otherwise. In the four-year interval the agency increased substantially in size and it took on different kinds of personnel. The structure of the agency changed with new technologies and specialists. Counselors came and went. New techniques to attain success under new conditions were developed by the counselors. The Board of Directors re-affirmed the mission of the agency, after some departures, in decreeing that the agency should return to its original purpose of helping youths who had been "in trouble" with the law. However, the Board modified that mission by limiting agency services to clients

who were 16--19 years of age (rather than 16--21 as before). This lower age ceiling had a number of repercussions in the agency. And finally, though this does not complete the list, the agency and its personnel went through several traumatic experiences which appeared to intensify latent discontents, and alter the relationship between the Board of Directors and the Executive Director, and between the Executive Director and staff. These included the discovery of a kickback scheme operated by one of the counselors and bringing in the FBI; the loss of two contracts, including the largest contract the agency had; and the attempt by the staff to unionize the agency.

The methods used in conducting the study were fairly consistent throughout, at least in the sense that the kinds of data obtained in the early phase were also obtained in the later phase. The main differences between the two stages of work are:

(1) A tape recorder was used in most interviews in the later stage, producing a somewhat different quality of interaction, response, and recorded details.

(2) Some questions for the interviews were changed. These can be examined in Appendix F. However, the most important questions remained substantially the same.

(3) The author sat in on counselor-client sessions in the later stage, whereas he did not do so earlier.

(4) He interviewed a sample of clients in the later stage, but did not interview clients earlier. Instead, he had asked counselors what clients seemed to think of the agency and them.

(5) The position as observer changed in the two phases of the study. During the earlier study, the author was employed by the agency as Director of Program Design and Development. The later work was done as an outsider who was no longer employed by the agency.

A summary of the methods used in gathering data, with comments as necessary on each, is shown below.

(1) Client Records

The agency's files were not integrated into one system. To begin, there were active files and inactive files. The active files were separated into sub-groups: each contract program had its own client files. There were also General Files containing the records on clients who were not referred to any specific program; i.e., the agency was not paid directly for providing services to these clients. As for the inactive files, they were separated according to the year they were retired. Such files are retired each year in July; when the client has not been seen at the agency for two years, his or her file is retired to the inactive file.

The separate files from which the sample of records was selected include the following:

1. Active Files
   (a) Crime-Prevention Program files
   (b) Addict Program files
   (c) On-the-Job Training Program files
   (d) General files
2. Inactive Files
   (a) Those files retired most recently, i.e., in July 1975

A sample of 205 client record folders was selected randomly from both the recently inactivated files and the current (active) file. Since the research problem has to do with "success," neither kind of file alone would be adequate, and the decision was made to obtain about 100 of each. The sample of inactive cases was obtained by pulling every 18th folder, with the first selection determined by chance.

The active files were larger than the inactive ones. Thus, the interval between folders selected was larger. The general files contained over half of the estimated total of active files. However, the decision was made to select half of the active cases from the general files, and half from the total of the contract-program files (Addict Program, Crime-Prevention, and OJT files), so as to allow a few more cases for these major programs than their true ratio to the universe of files would allow. Thus, in the general files, every 84th case was selected. In the Addict Program

and Crime-Prevention Program files, every 50th case was selected. The OJT sample was drawn by selecting every 25th case, since there were fewer cases in the files than was estimated by the staff and a sample based on every 50th case would have been very small. The OJT cases thus may be slightly overrepresented. However, this may not be a handicap, since we make no comparison of this program with others, and since the OJT program gets its clients largely from the other programs within the agency.

The entire sample of folders and the records contained therein was carefully reviewed, and certain information was obtained from each file (when it was noted or entered). The worksheet used for this purpose is reproduced in Appendix B. Here we may note that the information obtained included among other things age, sex, ethnicity, correctional histories, narcotics usage, referring agency, educational level, recorded counselor comments about the client, when the client was first and last seen, number of interviews, the previous work experience of the client, and the record of placements at YEA.

(2) Client Interviews

One week was allotted for interviewing all new clients (by the author) registered by the agency during that time. Based on the number of registration appointments shown on the book, and the usual rate of no-shows (estimated by the Associate Director), we anticipated interviewing anywhere

from 30 to 50 clients. The results fell short of this: 14 clients were interviewed. It was not possible to secure the desired number of interviews.

Each client was interviewed twice: the first time before any agency services (including counseling) were rendered, and later after the first counseling session. The interviews were aimed at understanding the initial interaction between counselor and client; e.g., the extent and the means by which the counselor began to understand the client's perception of himself and his problem. It was hoped that the interviews would throw light on the problem of success and failure by showing how the counselors begin to work the material given to them.

New clients were given a brief questionnaire and asked to answer the nine questions shown in Appendix C while they were in an Orientation group. In Orientation, clients were informed about what the agency does, and what they as clients could anticipate from the agency. Information about the purposes of the questions (including a statement that they were not obliged to answer the questions to receive the agency's services), and completion of the questionnaires were accomplished before the new clients had received any information about the agency itself--at least, before receiving information from the agency's staff. This part of the client interviews was intended to ascertain information about what the clients are like before they see counselors. Inquiry was limited to a few items, most of which could also be measured

after the first session with the counselor--which usually occurred the next day.

The questionnaire asked clients to describe what they hoped the agency would do for them by checking alternatives provided on the questionnaire. The alternatives included help in solving personal problems, finding a job for the client, providing career information, and providing information on how to dress and behave in job interviews. Respondents were then asked to indicate the most and the least important of the items checked.

The main intent of this question was to get an idea of how clients defined the agency at this stage, as well as their sense of "dependency." "Find me a job," for example, seems to express a different kind of relationship between client and counselor than does "Tell me where I can find a job." The client definition of the agency, and his or her "dependency" were to be compared with subsequent counselor strategies for dealing with the client, and with the outcomes of agency intervention.

Other questions asked the clients to identify a "good job," one they could handle at the present time, and to estimate the chances of getting a "desirable job," and the chances of getting a job of any kind. They were then asked to write down anything about themselves which might "handicap you in getting a job you would like," and to identify the "biggest handicap." Finally, on this pre-counseling interview, the clients were asked about their assets as workers,

"qualities which employers would value," and to identify their "biggest asset." Though it may not be perfectly clear what this (or any other question) actually measures, the question was intended to measure the client's self-evaluation as a worker or would-be worker, thus a limited measure of self-esteem.

The following day, clients were interviewed again, after they had seen a counselor. This post-counseling session was an interview, as opposed to the previous day's questionnaire, and included some new questions as well as some follow-ups on the earlier questions. The interview guide in Appendix D should be referred to for details on this. In general, it attempted to ascertain if any changes in self-evaluation and type of job sought were manifested after the initial counseling, and the role of the counselor in this. Also, some effort was made to control for the effects of counseling in other agencies by asking the client if he or she had ever talked to a vocational counselor before. A question about the client's previous success at finding a job on his own was asked, partly to further measure dependence, and partly to gauge the client's ability to find a job without the help of the agency.

Finally, questions about tolerance of authority ("the best boss you ever had"), preference with respect to size of work organization, and evaluations of the agency's services were also asked.

Two clients did not return the second day for counsel-

ing, and in two cases, the counselor forgot to hold the client for my interview. However, information was obtained later as to what happened to those four clients.

(3) Counselor Interviews

All counselors who were employed at the time the research was done were interviewed; there were nine in all.

The interview guides were changed to some extent as the study progressed. Some questions did not seem to yield very useful information and were either reworded or dropped. Some questions were added to incorporate new areas of interest or new events as these developed, such as the unionization of staff and the extensive lay-offs follwing loss of the ex-addict contract. These changes can be noted by looking at the two guides in Appendix E (1973) and Appendix F (1976). In addition to these changes, the later interviews, using a tape recorder, were usually longer and somewhat less structured. It will be seen however that there is considerable continuity in the questions used over the whole period. Of the 28 questions in the 1976 guide, 14 were used in 1973 (although some wording is revised). These, on the whole, were the more productive questions. They cover rather broad topics, dealing with such matters as "altruism" (e.g., career choices, necessary qualities for the work, and the importance of salary in selecting a job); perceptions of clients; attitudes of professionalization; definitions and evaluations of success; and explanations of failure in the attempt to

place clients on jobs. For the most part, new questions in the 1976 guide were either more specific explorations of earlier topics, or reflected entirely new situations, such as the increased size of the agency (and inferentially, possible increases in the level of bureaucratization); new specialists hired for new programs (opening up the possibility that a new division of labor would change the pattern of responsibilities and thus the meaning of success); and the extensive lay-offs and the short-lived unionization of the staff.

These questions were all intended to focus upon some aspect of the original problem: the origins of success definitions; measurement of success; reward of success; techniques for avoiding failure; the management of failure including the "blaming" of others (the identification of blameable objects, whether clients or administrators or fellow counselors); and penalties for failure exercised by the agency. The emergence of a union was included simply because it existed and seemed quite clearly to require some understanding.

(4) Administrator Interviews

There are only two "administrators" in the agency, if the position is defined according to agency-wide authority and responsibility. There were five supervisors as well, but these were assigned to specific programs. The two administrators are the Executive Director and the Associate Director. Both were interviewed. In addition, there were numerous

informal conversations with both. The supervisors were informally interviewed, with the conversations bring recorded later. One supervisor was a counselor when the study began; thus, more detailed information is available on him than on other supervisors. One supervisor refused to be interviewed, claiming she had a friend who was interviewed at her job and the information "was used to hurt her."

The interview with the Executive Director of the agency was the principal source of information about the nature of the relationships existing between the Chairman and other members of the Board of Directors. The general plan for this interview was to use it to obtain the kind of information not easily obtainable otherwise, as well as to get an administrative perspective on some of the agency functions and problems which were being discussed with the counselors. It was not a highly structured interview. He was asked to talk about how he and the Associate Director divided the administrative responsibilities between them, and identify some of the recurring problems in the agency, and what he had contributed to the agency as Director. In general, these rather broad questions seemed to work well--better, I think than more specific questions would have--and gave him room to deal with questions in his own way. The questions served to locate him in relation to the work as a career, and in relation to the Board. They also led him to express his grievance over the staff's lack of "creativity," for example--something which

would not have come out in response to more narrow questions, and which served, later, as a useful reference point in understanding some of the relationships existing between him and the staff, between him and the Associate Director, and between him and the supervisors.

The interview with the Associate Director was conducted with the tape recorder. It ran better than two hours in length. Unlike the interview with the Director, the interest here was on more specific matters. As we have noted, the Associate Director is in charge of "daily operations" in the agency. He is thus more in touch with implementation of procedures, the everyday problems, and who is doing what. The principal matters discussed with him--as the most knowledgeable administrator--were related to the hiring standards of the agency, the evaluation of the counselors' work, and the training of the counselors. He was also asked about the lay-offs subsequent to the loss of the Addict Program contract. By the time the interview was conducted, the Director and a number of the counselors had already been interviewed. Some of the questions addressed to the Associate Director were based on what others had already said. Some of the emotional tone of his remarks (which have been reproduced elsewhere) can be attributed to this. But there is little doubt that the sentiments themselves existed independent of the mode of questioning.

(5) Observations

The observations conducted were of two kinds. The first was observation of staff meetings. For the most part, these observations were made while the author was employed at the agency, although several meetings were observed towards the end of the research. One of these meetings is described in Chapter 4, showing the agency administrators attempting to negotiate a new contract.

The second set of observations was of the counselors at work. Arrangements were made with each counselor to observe his interviews with clients for a full day. The notes made during these observations constitute, in most cases, a running record of the dialog and the events which took place during the interview. There is, of course, a problem with observations such as these. The clients were informed of the purpose of my presence in the counselor's office, and the client's permission to observe the proceedings was obtained. But the very act of satisfying this ethical requirement puts the counselor and client on notice that they are being observed, and may affect the course of the interview. There is no reason to believe that, in general, the clients were more on guard or less talkative than they would be normally. The counselors made no comments about the interviews being at all unusual. Even so, it is best to be at least wary of the observations. In at least one respect, however, the observations probably faithfully reflect the

work of the counselor at the agency: the counselors consistently exhibited a highly purposeful and didactic style of work. The observations are summarized in Chapter 6 primarily to demonstrate this style, a style which was quite at odds with the concern for clients which was expressed by counselors when they were being interviewedaabout their work.

(6) Documents

The documents of an organization are virtually indispensable if one is to understand it. They represent many important aspects of organizational life: the evaluations of work; the official decisions which produce conformity or stimulate reactions; the legal documents which specify goals and performance standards; the backgrounds of the staff contained in personnel folders; and the statistics and reports which an organization generates to define its success, and to deal with criticism. Some documents are more candid than others. Meetings of the Executive Staff, comprised of the administrators and supervisors, were used extensively. The minutes of these meetings show a great deal of candor in reporting. With little editorializing, they reported in vivid terms the interchanges which took place at these meetings. The Associate Director remarked that the minutes did not quite fully capture the "flavor" of the meetings, but despite this, they reveal more anger and conflicts than such records usually do. On the other hand, the agency's statistical reports are quite deceptive. They are so important to the suc-

cess of the agency that they cannot be taken at face value. It was necessary, in this study, to create a definition of success (hopefully, a reasonable one) so as to have something to hold alongside the agency's claims, as a yardstick for comparison.

Other documents used required varying degrees of interpretation and caution. The personnel files on the individual counselors--used at one time to illustrate the hiring standards of the agency, and at another to trace "altruistic" careers--seemed reasonably trustworthy if one was looking at the kinds of jobs which counselors had held, since the agency usually asks for references before hiring someone. Other items in the files--for example, the length of time worked at previous jobs might be less reliable.

The contracts between YEA and various funding organizations were also examined. These are fairly straightforward, and provide us with information on the amount of money involved, the length of the contract, the goals to be attained, and the various standards which are imposed. However, even these documents had to be checked against the reality of their implementation. What is specified in the contract is not always what is done. And what the contract does not say may be as influential in the agency's work and its ability to claim success as what is in the contract.

Frequent reference is also made to the agency's work log (the Daily Sheets) and the numerous reports which are based on it. The Daily Sheets are the principal means by

which the agency keeps up with what it is doing and thus serves as a convenient indication of success definitions as well as a way of estimating the differential output of counselors.

And finally, we have made extensive use of a miscellany of other documents which are not easily classified. These include internal memoranda, job descriptions, Labor Department reports, counselor evaluations, the agency's Personnel Practices Manual, and client records. From these were selected particular documents which had something to add to the analysis of a problem, or which, on occasion, suggested a new problem which required consideration.

Appendix B: Worksheet for Collecting Data from Client Files

Active Inactive

Name_____ Birth Date_____ Birthplace_____

Years in Center City.._____ Living with_____

Father POB_____ Mother POB_____ Father occup._____

Mother occup._____ Welfare?_____

Correctional Status:

( ) PINS* ( ) Offender/Offenses_____ Narc?_____

Inst. confinements (dates) _____

Educ. level _____ IQ_____ Reading_____ Math_____

Aptitudes_____

COUNSELOR COMMENTS (attached): 1st, 3rd, and last sessions. Show INITIALS

First seen_____ Last seen_____ # Interviews_____

Day Job referrals_____

REFERRALS AND PLACEMENTS

Date	Job	Reason Not Hired	Started	Ended	Reason Employment Terminated

*Person In Need of Supervision

Appendix C: Client Interview Schedule (Pre-Counseling)

NAME_____ REFERRING AGENCY_____

1. What do you hope this agency will do for you?

   ( ) Help me solve personal problems
   ( ) Tell me what kind of job I'm suited for
   ( ) Find me a job
   ( ) Give me information about different careers
   ( ) Show me how to act and dress in interviews with employers
   ( ) None of the above. Just tell me where I can find a job
   ( ) Other (What?)

2. Which of the above is MOST IMPORTANT to you? Please write the letter "M" after it.

   Which of the above is LEAST IMPORTANT to you? Please write the letter "L" after it.

3. What's your idea of a GOOD JOB--one you could handle right now?

4. Right now, what do you feel your chances are--of getting a job you would like? Please circle one answer below.

   VERY GOOD GOOD FAIR POOR

5. What about your chances of getting any kind of Job? (Circle one)

   VERY GOOD GOOD FAIR POOR

6. What are some things about you that might handicap you in getting a job you would like?

7. Which of the above will be the BIGGEST HANDICAP?

8. What do you think your assets are as a worker--qualities which employers would value?

9. Which of the above is your BIGGEST ASSET?

Appendix D: Client Interview Schedule (Post-Counseling)

NAME_____ POB_____ YEARS CENTER CITY_____

FATHER POB_____ FATHER OCCUP_____

MOTHER POB_____ MOTHER OCCUP_____

1. Before coming here, had you ever talked to a vocational counselor (or someone similar) before--about job prospects, your abilities, etc.?

   Where?

2. Have you ever had any luck getting a job on your own--or through relatives or friends?

   SELF SEARCH: Applied for____jobs; Got_____jobs
   RELATIVES: Applied for____jobs; Got_____jobs
   FRIENDS: Applied for____jobs; Got_____jobs

3. How would you describe the BEST BOSS you ever had?

   How about the WORST?

4. Would you rather work for a small company--or a large one?
   Why is that?

5. Now--what kind of job or jobs did the counselor discuss with you?
   How do you feel about it (them)? LIKE VERY MUCH
   ACCEPTABLE
   NOT LIKE

6. If someone asked you to describe what a Vocational Counselor does, how would you describe it?

7. Right now--what do you feel your chances are of getting a job you would like?
   VG G F P

8. Of getting a job of any kind?
   VG G F P

9. What would you now say will be your biggest handicap as far as getting a job you would like?

10. What will be your biggest asset?

11. Suppose you were paying for this agency's services. Would you expect the service to be different in any way? How so?

12. What part of the service have you found most helpful to you?

What part least helpful?

Appendix E: Schedule for Counselor Interviews (1973)

Counselor_____

1. What led you to enter this field? Have you been disappointed in any way?

2. What kind of future do you see for Employment Counselors?

3. Do you consider a Counselor's job relatively easy or difficult?

   IF DIFFICULT: What makes it difficult?

   How do other Counselors cope with these difficulties?

4. Is the agency administration aware of job problems which counselors have?

   Do you feel administration is sympathetic to counselors' problems?

   Is the administration doing all it can to solve the problems?

5. What are the most important qualities for a counselor to have?

   What kind of training should a counselor have?

   How should a counselor's competence be measured?

6. Do you think you are getting a fair salary for your work?

   What keeps you from asking for more?

7. What do you think <u>clients</u> think of the agency?

8. When a client is not hired after an interview by a prospective employer, what is the usual reason? reasons?

9. What kind of economic system would you like to see in the U.S.?

   ( ) Present one is OK

   ( ) More of a socialistic one

   ( ) More of a pure free enterprise system

   ANY PARTICULAR REASONS YOU FEEL THAT WAY?

10. If you were offered a job in private industry with a $500 increase over your present salary, would you accept it?

IF NO: What about a $1000 increase?
a $2000 increase?
a $4000 increase?

Since you have been at the agency, have you been offered a job in private industry which you turned down? Did it offer salary increase?

11. In your opinion, are other counselors fair in sharing jobs, and in handling their share of the workload?

JOBS:

WORKLOAD:

Appendix F: Schedule for Counselor Interviews (1976)

1. How did you happen to get into this field? (MOTIVATION as well as concrete steps)

2. What kind of future do you see for Employment Counselors?

	EXPANDING	STABLE	DECLINING
For yourself?	STAY IN FIELD		OTHER (What?)

3. What are some important qualities for a Counselor to have?

4. (a) What kind of training or background should a Counselor have?

   (b) What about training here: Who trained you? What did it consist of?

5. How should a Counselor's work be evaluated?

   ( ) EST. RAPPORT with client ( ) REFERRAL to suitable job

   ( ) PROVIDING INFO (jobs & training) ( ) PLACEMENT

   ( ) ASSESSMENT OF APTITUDES, etc. ( ) RETENTION

6. How is <u>your</u> work evaluated?

7. How would you describe a client who is "ready for work?"

8. What do you do when a client is <u>not work-ready</u>?

9. What are a client's obligations when he/she comes here?

10. What would you miss most about this job--if you found yourself in another type of work?

11. What are <u>your</u> obligations to a client?

12. When a client is not hired after interview by an employer, what is the usual reason(s)?

13. What techniques do you use, when describing a client to an employer, to increase the client's chances of getting the job?

14. With all the pressure for placements, there must be some competition among Counselors for the available job openings. How do you get your share of the jobs for your clients?

15. What happens after a client starts working? Does the Asst. Counselor (or PPC) take over from there? What are your responsibilities?

16. How would you rate staff meetings at the agency?

HELPFUL or NOT HELPFUL

FREE/OPEN or TOO CONTROLLED

RECEPTIVE TO SUGGESTIONS or NOT RECEPTIVE

SUGGESTIONS IMPLEMENTED or NOT IMPLEMENTED

17. How would you rate overall the supervisors and administrators on "accessibility?"

ACCESSIBLE or NOT ACCESSIBLE

18. Who would you put in the <u>accessible</u> and who in the <u>not accessible</u> categories?

<u>ACCESSIBLE</u> <u>NOT ACCESSIBLE</u>

19. What changes would you make in the agency if you were the Director?

20. If you were putting together a new program for servicing <u>your clients</u>, what services would it offer?

21. What were the issues or gripes behind the unionizing effort?

22. Which ones had some merit to them, in your opinion?

23. What's it like--going through an experience like the recent lay-offs?

24. How did the agency decide who to lay off?

25. What kind of economic system would you like to see in the U.S.?

PRESENT ONE OK MORE SOC./COMM. MORE LAISSEZ FAIRE

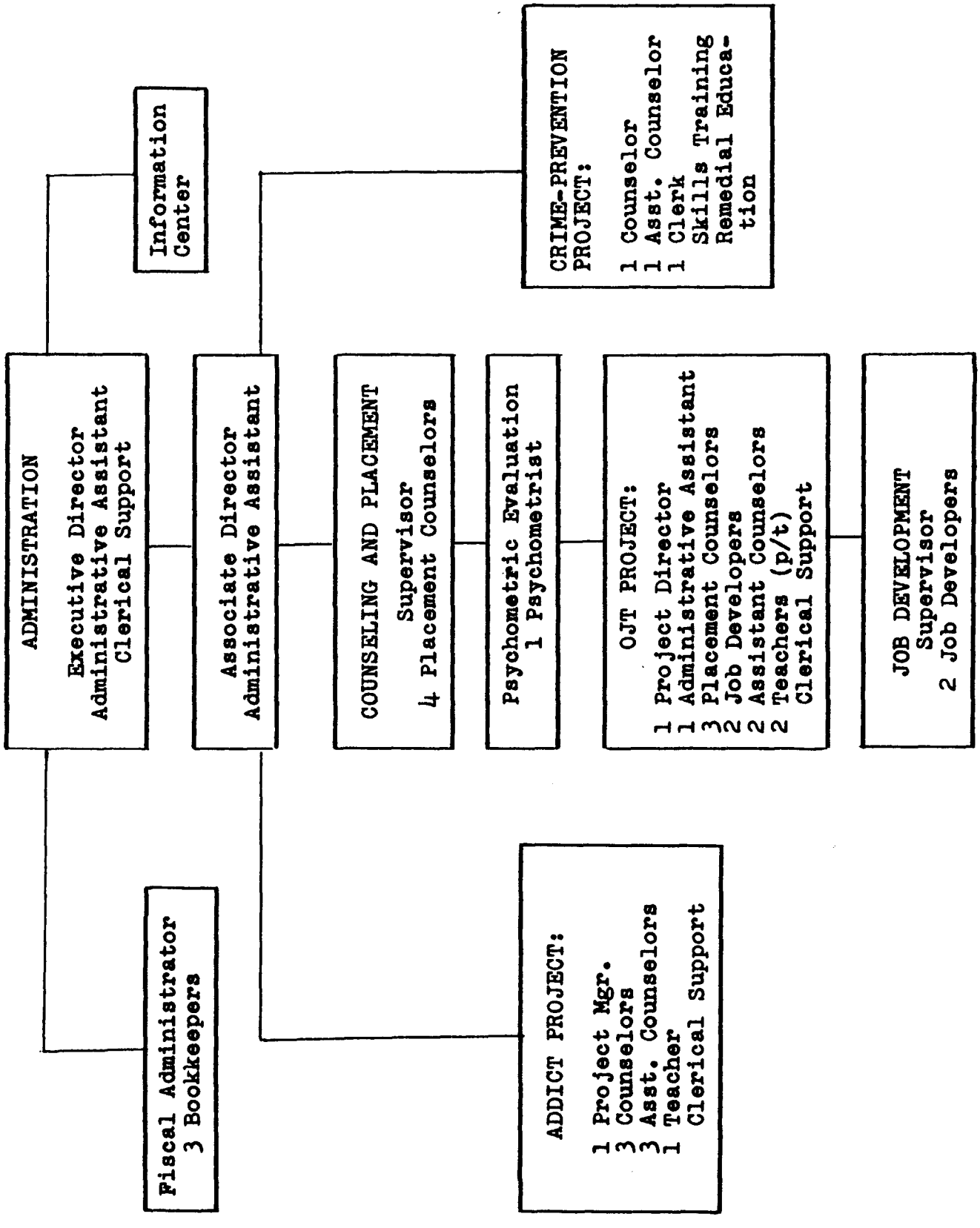
26. Father's occupation

27. Belong to any prof. orgs.? Which?

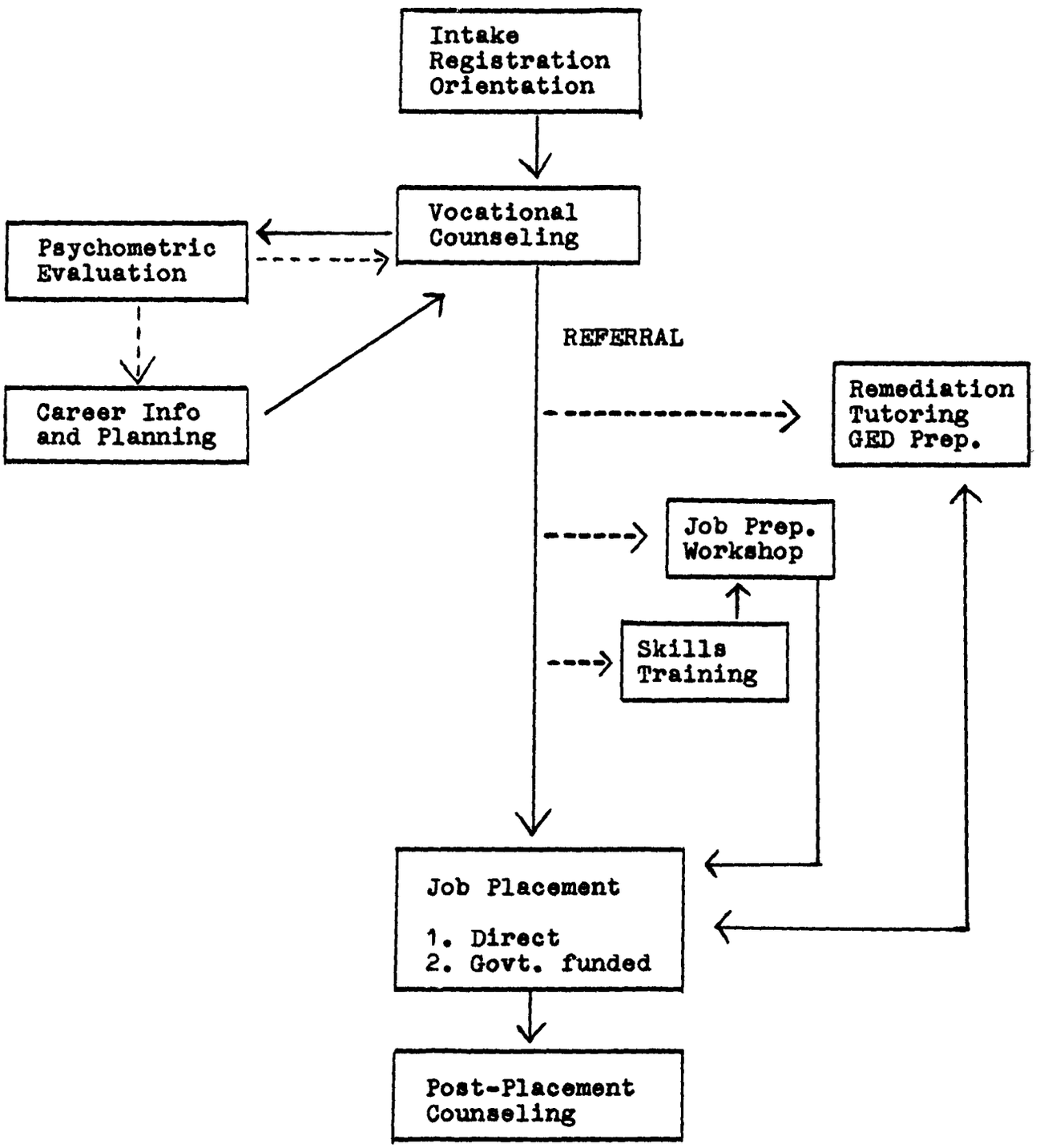
28. Journals in counseling read (if any)

FREQ. OCC. NONE

Appendix G: Youth Employment Agency's Organizational Chart (1976)



Appendix H: Client Flow Chart



NOTE: Solid lines represent standard programming; broken lines represent optional programming.

Appendix I: Summary of YEA Statistical Reports Prepared in June 1976 by Associate Director's Administrative Assistant

1. Internal Monthly Report

   A. Broken down by male, female
   B. Broken down by Racial Code
   C. Gives the following information
      New Registrations
      Re-entry
      Client Population Age Groups
         16 - 19
         20 and over
   D. Number of Interviews
      Number of Referrals
      Total Number of Placements
      F/T
      P/T
      Temporary
      OJT
      Skills Training
      Other Training
      Number of Clients Tested
      Drug Background
      Correctional Background
      Past Work Experience
      Public Assistance
      High School Graduate

2. Internal Monthly Report Cover Sheets

   A. Broken down by contract vs. non-contract
   B. Gives monthly figures; cummulative to date figures; monthly figures for last year at the same time, and cummulative to date figures for last year
   C. Gives the following information
      Client Population
         New Registrations
         Re-Entry
      Fiscal Year to Date Information
         16 - 19 Year Olds
         Drug Background
         Correctional Background
         Past Work Experience
         Public Assistance
         High School Graduate
         Total Number of Interviews
         Job Referrals

Total Placements
F/T, P/T, T, OJT
Skills Training
Other Training
Number of Clients tested

3. Monthly Remedial Education Report

Gives the following information
Broken down by age group and racial code
Total Number of clients in orientation
Total Number of New Students
Broken down by Age group and type of remedial education given to client
Total number of individuals seen during the month
Number of clients completed course
Number of clients left course
Number of clients still attending
Number of GED received during month
Total number of sessions held during month
All figures are cummulative to date

4. Monthly "Youth Program" and "Ex-Addict Program Reports

Intake forms - number of individuals accepted by YEA
Enrollment forms - number of individuals YEA will try to place
Termination forms - number of jobs actually gotten for those clients that were enrolled
30 consecutive work day follow-up forms
90 day follow-up forms
Monthly report cover sheet is cummulative to date

5. Monthly "Crime-Prevention Project" Report

Voucher forms indicate number of individuals placed during month.
Also indicates number of days clients already placed on jobs have worked
Monies vouchered for per month and on a cummulative basis
Number of clients placed from different referral units of contractor

6. Weekly counselor placement and referral sheets

Date of referral
Name of client referred
Referral Agency
Date of Referral
Date of Hire
Reason for not hiring client
Cover sheet summarized all counselors' activities for the week.

7. Internal Operations

Special statistical historical reports
Reports to the Board of Directors on all agency activities
Analyzing data from monthly reports
Submitting projections for the completion of contracts
Submitting proposals for possible new contracts based on past performance

Appendix J: Selected Job Descriptions

Job Description for DIRECTOR

Purpose: Coordinator for the development of all agency functions in accordance with the broad policies established by the Board of Directors.

Function: Promotes understanding and appreciation of the agency's activities through role as agency administrator.

Responsible for budget and fiscal management; program planning and implementation; contract negotiations; broad public and community relations; Board relations and staffing.

Requirements: M.A. and appropriate administrative and supervisory skills.

Job Description for ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Purpose: To oversee daily operations of the Agency.

Function: Responsible for the day-to-day performance and supervision of professional staff in the areas of placement, counseling, and testing. Oversees daily contract compliance. Program liaison with contract agencies. Chief agency statistician and program reporter.

Requirements: M.A. and appropriate administrative and supervisory skills.

Job Description for OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR

Purpose: To keep office functioning clerically and administratively.

Function: Provides administrative support to executive and professional staff. Supervises all clerical workers. Maintains personnel files.

Oversees fiscal administration and liaison with

contract agencies, including voucher preparation. Does payroll, accounts payable and bookkeeping with the assistance of the accounting firm.

Participates in Executive meetings.

Responsible to: Director for fiscal affairs. Responsible to Associate Director for Administration.

Requirements: Typing, bookkeeping and basic office procedures. Administrative abilities. Basic college education and appropriate business experience.

Job Description for PROJECT DIRECTOR, OJT*

Purpose: Operation of OJT Project in accordance with the provisions of the contract.

Function: Working administrator sharing responsibility for job development, placement counseling, follow-up and coordination of general program.

Supervises staff. Responsible for fiscal management and reporting to Department of Labor.

Participates in Executive Meetings.

Responsible to: Director for management. Responsible to Associate Director for daily operations and coordination with general program.

Requirements: M.A. and/or appropriate counseling, administrative and supervisory experience.

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*A Project Director is defined as a person who, under general direction of the executive and in coordination with other directors and managers is responsible for developing and planning a specific program of the agency and for coordinating the activities of that program with other departments.

Job Description for DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Purpose: To develop and design job and training programs. Assist Director in program planning.

Function: Chief liaison with business organizations, i.e., JUMP, Coalition JOBS, etc.

Generally directs job development for the agency. Studies placements.

Chiefly responsible for designing and developing programs with industry and securing government manpower funding.

Offers technical assistance to employers and industry on employment and training. Researches and writes proposals.

Participates in Executive Meetings.

Responsible to: The Director

Requirements: Knowledge of occupations, job development, and job requirements, proposal writing and negotiations. Good communications skills.

Job Description for PSYCHOMETRIST

Purpose: Responsible for administration, selection and evaluation of vocational and personality test instruments.

Function: Consultant to staff and program director. May conduct group therapy sessions.

Is primary psychology resource person in the agency. Will assist in in-service training, particularly in the use of test data.

Responsible to: Associate Director

Requirements: M.A. and appropriate experience in testing. Also good group work and communication skills.

Job Description for VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

Purpose: To provide vocational counseling and guidance to clients.

Function: Interviews, counsels, and develops with client an individual placement program, or plan for client's vocational development in accordance with client's abilities and goals.

Recommends use of vocational and/or other psychological tests as needed. Interprets results for benefit of client.

Consults with other specialists as to feasibility of vocational goals and soundness of vocational plans.

Achieves selective and suitable job or training placement for client. Maintains proper records and reports. Establishes and maintains rapport with business community for future placements.

Responsible to: Associate Director or his designee.

Requirements: M.A. in Guidance or related field.

Job Description for PLACEMENT COUNSELOR

Purpose: To make job placements.

Function: Under general supervision, sees client through placement process. Advises clients of job openings and entry requirements. Gives basic orientation on grooming, job interview, employer and employee rights, responsibility and general occupational information. Consults with senior staff members and maintains proper records and reports. Establishes functional client and employer rapport. Performs some follow-up functions.

Responsible to: Supervisor, program director, or Associate Director.

Requirements: B.A. or 3 years of college and appropriate experience.

Job Description for JOB DEVELOPER

Purpose: To develop jobs.

Function: To solicit jobs and training opportunities by mail, phone and field visits.

May be assigned to meet needs of particular client population whereby development must be appropriate to specific population, and positions commensurate with clients' abilities and work experience.

Responsible to: Program Director and Associate Director.

Requirements: Good communicative skills and appearance. Knowledge of employment requirements and ability to produce jobs.

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