Supported Employment or Segregated Rehabilitation?

Vocational Rehabilitation and the Idea of "Rapid Job Placement"

– A literature review

by

Kjetil Frøyland

The Work Research Institute's
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Oslo, February 2006

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Summary:
The aim of this paper is to provide an overview and elaboration of arguments given in favour of the idea of "rapid-job-placement" and integrated approaches as important principles in vocational rehabilitation of persons with vocational disabilities. Although many rehabilitation approaches exist today, this paper argues that these approaches could be divided into two main rehabilitation models: the traditional approach which is rehabilitation in segregated arenas, and the rapid job placement model. The choice of model can have a consequential effect on the rehabilitation process. Although there are limitations to rapid job placement models regarding long-term employment, wage and assessment procedures among others, this paper shows that research and practical experience, as well as writings of anthropologists, philosophers and others provide support for the idea of rapid job placement, and thus could be held as arguments in favour of rapid job placement in integrated settings. Arguments against rapid job placement and in favour of segregated employment exist, but are more difficult to find. When they are found they in many cases seem to exist as established habits or tradition or as unarticulated knowledge. Given the fact that the traditional rehabilitation model today is the largest – and still expanding on an international level – rapid job placement should be extended and practised to a far larger extent than what is the situation today.

Keywords:
- Supported employment
- Arbeid med bistand
- Vocational rehabilitation
- Rapid job placement

PREFACE

Four years ago I was introduced to vocational rehabilitation, the idea of rapid job placement, and the question whether vocational rehabilitation should follow segregated or integrated models. What kind of arguments exist in favour of supported employment and the idea of rapid job placement? What arguments can be held in favour of segregated rehabilitation? I found these issues interesting, and have since then collected articles, research reports and other publications on these issues. This paper is an attempt to outline some of the main conclusions and findings that my reading has provided.

I would like to thank my colleges at WRI for introducing me to this topic, for giving me the opportunity to study it, and for critical comments during the reading and writing. I would also like to thank Christopher Pollitt (Professor of Public Management at Erasmus University, Rotterdam) for critical comments and reflections on this paper. Christopher Gambert has spent much time correcting my English writing. Thank you!

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NORSK SAMANDRAG

Dette notatet har vorte til som følgje av fleire års lesing av litteratur om yrkesretta attføring og då spesielt spørsmålet om ein skal gjera bruk av integrerte eller segregerte arenaer i attføringsarbeidet. Føremålet med notatet er å gi ei oversikt over og ei vurdering av ulike argument i favør eller disfavør av integrert attføring og jobb først prinsippet på den eine sida, og skjerma attføring på den andre.

Sjølv om det i dag finst mange ulike tilnærmingar til yrkesretta attføring, vert det i dette notatet argumentert for at dei ulike tilnærmingane kan delast inn i to attføringsfaglege hovudleirar. På den eine sida det tradisjonelle alternativet med trening og opplæring på skjerma arenaar og gradvis tilnærming til arbeidslivet, og på den andre sida den integrerte tilnærminga med trening, avklaring og rask utplassering i ordinært arbeidsliv.

Ein del av litteraturen kan knytast opp mot spørsmålet om bruk av segregerte arenaar i attføringa kan verka mot sitt føremål og slik vera kontraproduktiv. Det norske attføringssystemet og bruken av arbeidsmarknads- og attføringsbedrifter som opptreningsarenaar hadde til dømes som føremål å føra dei yrkeshemma deltakarane tilbake til yrkeslivet, men gjennomstrøyminga vart svært låg. Mange av deltakarane kom aldri i ordinær jobb, men vart i staden verande i arbeidsmarknadsbedriftene som dermed for desse vart eit langvarig eller permanent tiltak. Attføringssystemet verka slik på kollektivt nivå delvis mot føremålet om å medverka til integrering av personar med yrkeshemming i det ordinære arbeidslivet.

Dette notatet diskuterar om ein også kan sjå slike kontraproduktive trekk på individnivå. Kan ein lang førebuingsprosess medverka til å skapa eit bilete av arbeidslivet som så krevjande at berre dei få og mest kompetente passar inn? Kan fokus på moglege problem som det kanskje aldri vert noko av, bidra til å skremma den enkelte frå å sjå seg sjølv som aktør i det ordinære arbeidslivet? Deler av litteraturen som føreligg kan haldast fram som argument for nettopp dette.

Ein del litteratur peikar i retning av at ei integrert tilnærming i større grad enn ei segregert tilnærming kan bidra til normalisering og i mindre grad til stigmatisering. Det vert hevda at dersom ein ønskar å skapa likeverd og integrering så må ein gi folk sosiale roller som har verdi i og for fellesskapet. Forsking og praksiserfaringar tydar på at både deltakarar sjølv og folk i nærmiljøet ofte ikkje vurderer segregerte arenaar som likeverdige med ordinære verksemder. Ved attføring i ordinære verksemder ser den yrkeshemma og omgjevnadene i mange tilfelle raskare nytte og konsekvens av arbeidet vedkommande har utført. Ordinære samanhengar vert i mykje av litteraturen skildra som å ha eit meir realistisk preg over seg. Arbeidskulturen kan på ein skjerma arena få noko ”kunstig” over seg. Fleire prosjekt peikar i retning av at det å handsame ungdom eller yrkeshemma som ordinært tilsette ved å setje same krav til desse som andre, og ved å gi dei høve til å innverke på eigen situasjon, også gir best resultat i retning av jobb eller utdanning.

Dette kan henge saman med kva den yrkeshemma lærer i ordinært arbeidsliv versus i ein segregert setting når det gjeld å samhandla med eit arbeidsmiljø og kollegaar. I mange tilfelle er det ikkje sjølve arbeidsoppgåvene som representerar den viktigaste læringa, men nettopp det å samspela med andre arbeidstakarar og arbeidsfellesskapet, med alle dei krav, forventingar og interaksjonsformer det kan medføra. Også dette, peikar litteraturen på, lærer ein best i mest mogleg realistiske samanhengar.

Deltaking på ein segregert arena er likevel ei god løysing for mange yrkeshemma arbeidssøkarar. Miljøet er godt, ein tilhøyrer eit fellesskap, ein får oppfølging og tilrettelegging, og arbeider samtidig. Tryggleiken for den enkelte som slik kan ligga i deltakinga på ein segregert arena, har slik mykje bra i seg, men kan samtidig ha noko dobbelt over seg gjennom eit mogleg tap av fridom gjennom svekka høve for deltaking på den opne arbeidsmarknaden.

Bruk av segregerte arenaar kan sjåast som ein måte å knytta årsakene til manglande integrering til kjenneteikn ved det enkelte individ. Tanken ein byggjer på er at dei som ikkje har den naudsynte kompetansen skal takast bort frå fellesskapet for å lærast opp, for så og returnera når dei har retta på manglane. Dette notatet argumenterar for at rask jobbutplassering på integrerte arenaar slik Supported Employment fremjar, ansvarleggjer arbeidslivet med krav om tilpassing og tilrettelegging i staden for å individualisera problemet. Når store grupper menneske i dag ikkje får innpass i fellesskapet, så seier dette noko om manglar i fellesskapet, og ikkje berre hjå den enkelte.

Det finst svake sider i den integrerte tilnærminga gjennom blant anna manglande resultat med tanke på langtidseffekt og lønnsnivå. Fleire studiar peikar på at ei integrert tilnærming ikkje passar for alle yrkeshemma arbeidssøkarar, og nokre hevdar at ein framleis manglar gode strategiar for vurdering av kven som kan dra nytte av rask jobbutplassering.

Eg har funne få argument i favør av det skjerma alternativet, og når dei er å finna, så er det ofte i form av etablert praksis eller tradisjon, eller som uartikulert kunnskap. Likevel har det tradisjonelle attføringsalternativet i dag klart størst utbreiing både i Noreg og Europa.

Denne litteraturgjennomgangen viser at både føreliggande forsking, erfaringar frå praksis og arbeida til filosofar, antropologar og andre kan sjåast som ei støtte til ideen om rask jobbsøking og bruk av integrerte arenaar i attføringa. Føreliggande forsking har også i nokre tilfelle påvist betre attføringsmessige resultat ved bruk av integrert attføring enn resultat oppnådd hjå arbeidssøkarar som har delteke i segregerte attføringstiltak og arbeidstrening før attføringsarbeidet vart retta mot integrering i det ordinære arbeidslivet. Litteraturstudien peikar klart mot aukt tilslutning til det integrerte alternativet og rask jobbutplassering som ei ønska og naudsynt utvikling.

1 INTRODUCTION – TWO MODELS OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The discussion concerning whether rehabilitation should follow segregated or integrated models is not new, and has already been addressed elsewhere. A number of researchers have raised their voices in favour of a paradigmatic shift away from segregated approaches towards integrated approaches within vocational rehabilitation services (Wehman, Kregel et al. 1987; Wehman and Moon 1988; Rusch 1990; Schuster 1990; Becker and Drake 1994; Bond, Drake et al. 1997; Mueser, Drake et al. 1997; Drake 1998; Drake, Becker et al. 1999; Storey 2000; Bond, Becker et al. 2001; Corrigan 2001; Wehman and Targett 2002; Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003, Blankertz and Magura et al. 2004, Becker and Drake et al. 2005, Frøyland and Spjelkavik 2006). This paper is relating the ongoing discussion to a broader anthropological and philosophical perspective, and providing new arguments. What philosophical or anthropological reasons can be held in favour of rapid job placement? Can we find support for the idea of rapid job placement in research and practitioners´ experience, as well as in other writings?

1.1 Methods and data

Viewpoints and theories of researchers and philosophers, both within and outside the field of vocational rehabilitation, are involved in the discussion. The paper thus undertakes a literature review, seeking the idea of supported employment and rapid job placement in empirical research as well as in more theoretically based literature. Literature has mainly been searched systematically through Web of Science (ISI) and BIBSYS, but other sources have also been used (electronic journals). Sources published after 1990 have been given high priority.[1] The arguments brought forward should be of interest for academics, researchers, policy makers, those working in support and coaching roles, as well as for disabled job seekers themselves.

1.2 Integration – a choice between two models

The challenge of integrating persons with vocational disabilities into ordinary working life (regular employment) has been met with different solutions through the years. Some of the main questions rehabilitation strategies have had to deal with are:

- when in a rehabilitation process the disabled person should enter ordinary work life, and
- whether or not one should use segregated institutions as a part of the rehabilitation process.

[1] Many keywords have been used. Some of these are: sheltered workshops, segregated rehabilitation, supported employment, train-then-place, place-and-train, sheltered employment, vocational rehabilitation etc.

Along these lines, different approaches to vocational rehabilitation in Europe, Australia and the U.S.A. can be divided into two main groups of models of vocational rehabilitation. On the one side are traditional approaches based on the view that the disabled person benefits from a prevocational training program before entering ordinary working life. The idea is to improve the person's working ability, skills and competence through work-task training prior to placement and integration in the open labour market. The traditional approach to vocational rehabilitation in Norway, as in most other countries, was based on what Storey has named the flow-through model (Storey 2000). This model was based upon the 'readiness' paradigm in which it was believed that a person had to get 'ready' to work and that there were prerequisite skills that were necessary for successful employment. According to this model training takes place in segregated institutions or workshops specially designed for this particular task. This approach has been named the "train-then-place" model.

On the other side, we find the Supported Employment (SE) approaches that first were developed in the United States and Canada during the 1970s. This model represented a new approach for integrating people with vocational disabilities in ordinary working life (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). Supported Employment was built on a "place-and-train" approach, targeting persons with the most severe disabilities, who were mostly ignored by traditional employment programs, and minimizing prevocational assessment and training. Finding a job in the open labour market became the first step in the process, followed by a rapid job-placement (Lissens and van Audehove 2000). A job-coach working in a SE-unit provides close, flexible and individualized follow-up on the workplace. Such follow-up can be directed towards the job seeker, as well as his or her colleagues and/or the employer. Follow-up can consist of activities such as on-the-job training, visits to the work place, small-talk, participation in meetings, conflict solving, giving advice, etc. This approach has been given different names (e.g. "place-train", "place-and-train"-approach, the "SE-perspective"). I will also call it the "rapid job-placement - model".

Vocational rehabilitation can thus be divided into two different models. It is my intention to argue that the choice of model may have a consequential impact on the rehabilitation process for the disabled job-seeker. Today, both models – as well as combinations of each of them – exist side by side both in Norway and in other countries. Rapid job placement was, and still is, a contrast and a challenge to the traditional "train-and-place" approach. There have been controversies and disagreements among adherents of each of these approaches. In Norway, for example, Fossestøl has documented the existence of key persons with considerable influence within the Norwegian labour market system who hold the market-oriented view that some disabled persons are too weak, sick, or unmotivated to participate in vocational rehabilitation activities, and who therefore favour a stepwise, ordered approach (flow-through) to integration for disabled job-seekers (Fossestøl 1999). At the same time, however, Fossestøl shows and documents an understanding among practitioners within the same governmental organization that integration into the ordinary labour market also is achievable for persons with severe disabilities. The Norwegian labour market initiative Arbeid med bistand (AB – a Norwegian version of supported employment) is one example of this. AB has

provided much proof that integration of heavily disabled persons with physical, psychiatric, learning, or other disabilities is possible in many cases, although not in all.

2 SOME RESEARCH FINDINGS

The outcome of the two models has in many cases been reported differently with regard to the integration rate of persons with disabilities into ordinary working life. A number of researchers have raised their voices in favour of rapid job placement (Bond, Dietzen et al. 1995; Drake, Becker et al. 1996; Bond, Drake et al. 1997; Schafft, Seierstad et al. 1999; Corrigan 2001; Wehman 2001). Here we will explore some of these viewpoints more thoroughly.

2.1 Mental illness and vocational rehabilitation

Bond, along with several of his research colleges, has provided much documentation arguing in favour of rapid job placement for *persons with severe mental illness*. In 1997 the effectiveness of supported employment for people with severe mental illness was examined through a comprehensive literature search (Bond, Drake et al. 1997). Seven descriptive studies, three surveys, one quasi-experimental study and six experimental studies were found. In the experimental studies a mean of 58% of clients in supported employment programs achieved employment in a competitive labour market, compared with 21% for control subjects, who typically received traditional vocational services.

In one of these studies, eighty-six clients with serious mental illness were randomly assigned to an accelerated approach to supported employment or a gradual approach, which consisted of a minimum of 4 months in pre-vocational preparation followed by supported employment services (Bond, Dietzen et al. 1995). Clients assigned to the accelerated approach had modestly better employment outcomes than clients assigned to the gradual approach, with significant differences in the percentage of obtaining employment, the percentage of holding a full-time job, of the weeks during which clients worked, and with regard to earnings:

> One might have expected that subjects in the gradual condition would have outcomes equivalent to those in the accelerated condition but would achieve the outcomes somewhat later. However, even three years later, experimental differences were still evident (Bond, Dietzen et al. 1995, p.340).

The conclusion was that for persons with severe mental illness, early entry into competitive employment, with intensive support, is more effective than approaches incorporating prevocational training. Limitations of Bond et al.'s study, however, included problems in implementing the brokered supported employment program, brevity of follow-up, small sample size, and high attrition. Furthermore, the study design, which made both experimental and control subjects eligible for the same supported employment services, may have compromised the integrity of the experimental manipulation(Bond, Drake et al. 1997). On the positive side, this study directly tested a basic tenet of supported employment – the

advantages of bypassing prevocational preparation – and replicated a previous study (Bond and Dincin 1986).

Drake, one of Bond's colleges, found similar results in a newer overview of recent research on supported employment. Employment outcomes for supported employment were much better than for those in controlled studies (Drake 2003). The mean across studies performed by researchers such as Gervey, Bond, Drake, Chand, McFar, Mueser, Lehman and Meisler, regarding consumers working competitively at some time was 56% for supported employment and 19% in controlled studies (Drake 2003).

In one study in which adults with severe mental illness were examined, Becker and Drake et al found that rapid job search had an effect on job preferences. Data were collected on job preference, attainment of competitive employment, job satisfaction, and job tenure of 135 adults who participated in two supported employment programs in New Hampshire. When clients entered the supported employment programs, 81 percent expressed job preferences, and their preferences tended to be realistic and stable. People who obtained employment in preferred areas were more satisfied with their jobs and remained in their jobs twice as long as those who worked in non-preferred areas. Clients were more likely to develop a new job preference or to change their preferences if they participated in a program that emphasized rapid job search. Becker and Drake et al concluded that job preferences were more likely to develop or change through searching for a job or working at a job than through prevocational training(Becker, Drake et al. 1996).

Another study showed differences in work effort depending on whether the work site was located in an ordinary environment or in a sheltered arena. Schultheis and Bond evaluated staff ratings of work behaviour for 52 clients with serious mental illness participating in a community mental health centre vocational program. There were two sites for job training: in-house work crews and a "handyman work crew," providing temporary, paid employment in the community. The findings were interesting:

> (…) when observed in the community work crews, clients were rated significantly higher than when observed in in-house crews. We interpreted the findings as reflecting a "demoralization effect" among clients working in the in-house setting after previously working in a paid community placement (Schultheis and Bond 1993).

Although the sample size in this study was rather small, the study indicates that work environment can have an effect on the work effort for persons with severe mental illness. These results thus indicate that the job seekers' chances of obtaining a job in the open labour market, as well as their work effort, somehow are effected in a negative way through participating in sheltered workshops. Through his research, Bond shows that the evidence among persons with mental illness is strong that pre-vocational activities do not improve employment chances for persons with severe mental illness, but rather do the opposite, decreasing the probability of later employment (Liberman 1992). A number of other studies have also suggested that stepwise approaches do not lead to better employment outcomes among persons with severe mental disabilities (Dincin and Witheridge 1982; Liberman 1992;

Drake and Becker 1996; Drake, Becker et al. 1996; Bond 1998; Schafft, Seierstad et al. 1999; Corrigan 2001; Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). I will comment on some of them during my further elaboration.

2.2 Other vocational disabilities than mental illness

Much research on supported employment has also been carried out for persons with other than mental disabilities, indicating that the same tendencies as showed above could be valid also for these persons. García-Villamisar et al. have for example compared changes in the quality of life among autistic people working in supported and sheltered employment over a five year period (García-Villamisar, Wehman et al. 2002). Fifty-five individuals divided into two groups (sheltered workshop or supported work) were interviewed. Data was also collected from caretakers, therapists, and families of people with autism. A Quality of Life Survey developed by Sinnot Oswald (Sinnot-Oswald, Gliner et al. 1991) was used, measuring quality of life by categories of environmental control, community involvement, and perception of personal change. The researchers found that those participating in the supported employment program improved their quality of life score level during the analysis period. In contrast, the group who participated in the modality of sheltered employment did not experience a meaningful improvement in their quality of life level.

Li, through interviewing 23 participants and four professionals from sheltered workshops in Hong Kong, found that 13 of the workers were motivated for work in the open labour market (Li 1998). Several reasons were given: a wish to learn more, earn more money, escape the boredom at sheltered workshops, and have more exposure to the community (among others). The professionals pointed out that workers with intellectual disabilities in sheltered workshops needed professionals` assistance and parents` consent in moving on to open employment. Parents were the key in this decision-making process. This finding, although the sample size was rather small, nevertheless shows that participants in sheltered workshops have several reasons for wanting to work in the open labour market.

Griffin and Rosenberg et al assessed a sample of 200 adults with mild mental retardation on overall job satisfaction and self-esteem using the Vocational Program Evaluation Profile and the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory. The subjects worked either in a sheltered workshop or in a supported employment setting. Results indicated that there was a significant relationship between self-esteem and job satisfaction for both groups of subjects, but adults with mild mental retardation working in supported employment settings reported significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than those working in sheltered workshops (Griffin, Rosenberg et al. 1996). Griffin and Rosenberg concluded as follows:

> "..those in supported employment programs tend to have a more normalized job with options to engage in a greater variety of activities. This is quite different from the sheltered workshop programs in which the workers often sit side by side and are required to do the same routine activity on a daily basis. Those in supported employment also have more contact with non-handicapped individuals as compared to those in the sheltered

workshops who work by the same peers and interact with the same staff members on a daily basis." (Griffin, Rosenberg et al. 1996, p.148)

There is more research that shows that supported employment, or rapid job placement has been found effective and helpful for persons with many different kinds of disability (Wehman, Hill et al. 1987; Wehman 1992; Blystad and Spjelkavik 1997; Wehman, Targett et al. 2000; Wehman, Wilson et al. 2000; Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003; Wehman, Kregel et al. 2003). In this literature we do not, however, find the same amount and level of documentation comparing degree of employment among participants in sheltered versus open employment as has previously been documented regarding mental illness. More research seems to be needed.

2.3 Limitations to the rapid job placement model

Some limitations related to the rapid job placement model, have been found. Corrigan (Corrigan 2001), considering the broader research on place-train approaches to employment for persons with psychiatric disabilities (Bond, Drake et al. 1997), found what might be interpreted as partial support for train-then-place concepts:

> "Place-train approaches to supported employment are marked by 40-70% of persons who do not successfully obtain work. Only about one third of persons getting jobs still had them a year later. The length of time that people in supported employment kept their jobs ranged from 9 to 30 weeks" (Corrigan 2001).

Corrigan also found that the income of those employed through place-train programs was on average below the poverty level, and concluded that the benefit of place-train programs – in spite of all the positive sides – seemed to be limited. Similar problems regarding level of salary and job retention among those employed through place-train programs have also been found also in Norway (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003).

Place-and-train programs are not the solution for every job-seeker with a psychiatric disability. Lissens and van Audehove, reporting on two years of European cooperation between four organizations in Germany, Spain, Belgium and the Netherlands, argue that "the process of vocational re-integration of people with mental illness cannot solely be defined in paradigms such as 'place then train' or 'train then place'"(Lissens and van Audehove 2000). It is their view that the place-and-train approach should only be used in some cases. For most of the users "a clear assessment of their work-readiness is considered as a first and necessary step on their way to vocational integration" (Lissens and van Audehove 2000). They agree that rapid job-placement is preferable, but that it is not always possible. If rapid job-placement is to be a realistic alternative, then the job-seekers need "the right vocational readiness: the wish to strive for life goals, the motivation to change and to learn, self awareness and introspection, the willingness and abilities to engage in relationships, having significant others for support (Lissens and van Audehove 2000)."

An assessment that could distinguish those who are ready for placement from those who would benefit from prior training and support is therefore needed. Corrigan points to a lack of such assessment strategies in relation to rapid job-placement for persons with severe mental illness. He claims that clinicians still lack a specific strategy for deciding when to place those who want real-world work. Corrigan suggests that a closer look on stages-of-change theory might provide a technology for assessing readiness.[2] According to Corrigan, researchers have described six stages that outline the journey a person takes from wanting no change to actively engaging in processes:

> "A review of the stages suggests that individuals are not ready to participate in active services (and hence, to be placed in real-world settings) until they have determined that the benefits of this kind of effort far outweigh the costs. Place-train strategies will only be successful at this stage(Corrigan 2001)."

Corrigan nevertheless ends his review by concluding that "many of the caveats of the train-place paradigm, based on a continuum of care, are not borne out by the data(Corrigan 2001)." Corrigan, for example, finds no evidence that the direct placement of people in residential and employment settings without cautious delays, leads to symptom relapse and re-hospitalisation, the major worries among clinicians. On the contrary, people participating in place-train programs frequently report the interventions to be satisfying and that the results have led to a better quality of life. Corrigan concludes by saying that "the benefits touted by advocates of place-train programs seem to be supported."

2.4 Arguments in favour of segregated rehabilitation

In spite of the promising findings regarding the idea of rapid job placement, the fact remains that the sheltered employment sector is still far larger than the supported employment sector. In all the Norwegian labour market initiatives only 2460 persons out of 72000 registered persons with disabilities participated in supported employment initiatives in 2002 (3,4%). The rest participated in sheltered employment, prevocational training on segregated arenas, education, and various sorts of courses (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). Similar findings have been reported in other countries (Wehman and Bricout 2002). OECD reported in 2003 for Germany that there were 620 sheltered workshops with room for 175 000 persons with a disability, and 180 integrated programs with places for only 4000 disabled persons (OECD 2003). In fact, the sheltered employment sector has been growing significantly, although obviously the pace of growth varies between countries (Visier 1998). This, of course, implicates that the traditional model of vocational rehabilitation is still being practiced to a large extent. Why is this so, and – given the research findings mentioned above – what arguments are given for the use of segregated arenas in rehabilitation?

We have already seen Corrigan and Lissens/van Audehove arguing that rapid job placement may not be appropriate for every job seeker with a psychiatric disability. We have also seen

[2] He points to researchers as Prochaska, J. O., C. C. Diclemente, et al. (1992). "In Search of How People Change

that key persons in Norwegian labour market initiatives in some cases hold the view that some disabled people are too weak or unmotivated to participate in vocational rehabilitation activities. The main impression, however, is that whereas supporters of the rapid-job-placement model are easily found through a literature search, the supporters of the traditional rehabilitation model are more difficult to locate. Bond also notes this:

> "There is nothing in the literature to suggest that prevocational training helps consumers find better jobs or hold them longer, or that it offers any other advantage supposed by advocates of stepwise philosophies" (Bond 1998).

One reason might be that research regarding the effectiveness of sheltered workshops more or less dropped off after 1970 (Liberman 1992). Bond states that the reason why this line of research was abandoned is quite simple: "Sheltered workshops have been ineffective in helping clients with psychiatric disabilities achieve competitive employment" (Liberman 1992). We have given brief documentation of this above.

Another reason why adherents of segregated rehabilitation are difficult to locate might have to do with the arenas in which arguments and attitudes in favour of segregated rehabilitation are prevalent. In Norway, Fossestøl – building on studies of the research done on vocational rehabilitation at the Work Research Institute[3] – has pointed out that the understanding of vocational rehabilitation inside labour market initiatives seems to be built on established habits or tradition, and could be characterised as a kind of tacit or unarticulated knowledge (Fossestøl 1999). Such knowledge, although not existing in written form, can nevertheless be powerful, as the following findings from the Norwegian labour market initiative, *Arbeid med bistand* (AB) might indicate.

AB provides support aimed at the integration of disabled workers in the ordinary job market. The initiative was established as an ordinary vocational rehabilitation service in Norway in 1996 in the wake of a three-year pilot project that started in 1992. Strategies for integrating people with vocational disabilities in Norway had traditionally been concentrated around the use of financial subsidies to employers. Results were promising, but some disadvantages (e.g. passivity) were also seen (Ministry of Labour and Government Administration 1992). The Norwegian Government therefore suggested developing new and supplementary models of support and facilitation. AB was established as one of the means of increasing the integration of people with disabilities in the ordinary job market. The initiative was inspired by the Supported Employment approach, following a "place-and-train" model where finding a job in the ordinary labour market was the first step (Blystad and Spjelkavik 1997).

However, in an evaluation of the AB-initiative ten years after start-up (1992) of the pilot project, Spjelkavik & Frøyland et al. found that 70% of the job-coaches working in the initiative were of the opinion that job seekers would benefit from training on work tasks in

- Applications to Addictive Behaviors." American Psychologist **47**(9): 1102-1114.

[3] Oslo, Norway. http://www.arbeidsforskning.no/

sheltered environments *before* getting a job in the ordinary labour market. This was interpreted as being an indication of a train-then-place approach, and contrary to the idea the initiative was originally based upon (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). Twenty-three percent of the job coaches agreed slightly that such prevocational training was beneficial, and only 7 % of the job coaches disagreed (slightly or completely). The findings seemed to undermine the premise behind rapid job placement. Several possible explanations to this finding have been suggested. Firstly, knowledge of Supported Employment methods and philosophy were found to be lacking among job coaches in Norway (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). Without a thorough knowledge of the rapid job placement model, leaning on traditional models of rehabilitation might become a likely tendency. Secondly, the Norwegian way of organizing the AB-initiative, locating the AB units together with sheltered workshops and training institutions, might make accessibility to sheltered programs too easy. This might also facilitate the ideological influence from workers in already long-established sheltered workshops to job coaches in smaller and newer AB-units.

Ambivalence among job coaches towards the rapid job placement model might rest upon the assumption that this approach does not appear appropriate for all kinds of vocationally disabled persons. What these findings also suggest, however, is that arguments in favour of segregated rehabilitation exist as unarticulated or tacit knowledge among workers within already established labour market institutions and sheltered workshops. This already established practice seems to influence the implementation of the rapid job placement approach. Could the relatively large size of the sheltered workshop industry generate economic incentives favourable to the use of sheltered rehabilitation? Although sheltered employment might not be in the best interest of the disabled person, could the use of segregated arenas nevertheless represent an economic benefit or a response to economic necessity on the behalf of the persons or organisations running the sheltered workshops? These questions have not yet been thoroughly examined, and more research seems to be needed.

3 DISCUSSION

Most research provides support for the rapid job placement model, particular regarding persons with mental illnesses. There are, however, limitations, and a lack of research on several issues. We have also seen difficulties when it comes to the implementation of the rapid job placement approach. The further discussion of the idea of rapid job placement elaborates on these issues, and will touch upon questions relating to the topics of integration, normalization, socialization, stigmatisation, and learning.

3.1 A problem of counter-productivity?

Some of the findings presented above indicate that participation in a sheltered workshop somehow effects employment outcomes in a negative way. Could there be counter-productive effects of participation in prevocational and segregated training? In order to bring forward some possible arguments to this topic, we will shift focus from empirical research to philosophical theory.

The Austrian philosopher and theologian Ivan Illich has shown the existence and danger of development of counter-productive effects as part of various institutions in contemporary society. Illich claims, for instance, that "the medical establishment has become a major threat to health," and continues:

> The threat which current medicine represents to the health of populations is analogous to the threat which the volume and intensity of traffic represent to mobility, the threat which education and the media represent to learning, and the threat which urbanization represents to competence in homemaking. In each case a major institutional endeavour has turned counterproductive. Time-consuming acceleration in traffic, noisy and confusing communications, education that trains ever more people for ever higher levels of technical competence and specialized forms of generalized incompetence: these are all phenomena parallel to the production by medicine of iatrogenic disease. **In each case a major institutional sector has removed society from the specific purpose for which that sector was created and technically instrumented** (Illich 1995).[4]

In Norway the primary and official goal was that the governmental initiatives should be an intermediary step for the disabled person on his or her way to integration in ordinary working life. The flow-through, however, never reached a satisfactory level. The average placement rate in Norway during the period 1983-1993 was reported to be only 7,9% (Isaksen 1995). [5] Many disabled workers ended up working permanently in segregated settings. As a

[4] Bold faces added by me.

[5] I have not been able to find information of the size and method of this study. The numbers were provided by the Norwegian Government (Ministry of Local Government and Labour).

consequence of this, segregated labour market institutions in Norway are seen as permanent work sites and not as a station on the way towards integration into ordinary working life.

Other countries saw similar developments early on. As early as 1975 Gold noted that transition to competitive employment among persons with severe disabilities was unusual in the USA (Gold 1975). He maintained that the typical sheltered workshop staff lacked knowledge as to what skills should be taught, how best to teach these skills, and how best to structure programs to facilitate movement toward non-sheltered, competitive employment. Bellamy et al. reported a flow through rate at 12% for the USA based on statistics from the U.S. Department of Labor (1977, 1979) (Bellamy 1986; Rusch 1986). It became apparent that "train-and-place" approaches on their own would most likely not lead to full integration (Melvyn 1993).

Through becoming permanent work sites for disabled persons, and thereby "removing society from the specific purpose" for which the institutions were created (namely integration of disabled persons into ordinary working life), one might say that segregated rehabilitation institutions have failed, and thereby have had a generally counter-productive effect. Bonds` 1995 example, however, indicates that counter-productive elements may also be found on the individual level. There are other elements that also seem to contribute to such an understanding.

Sheltered employment can be perceived as a "shelter," protecting against something dangerous or threatening, namely the realities of ordinary working life. Ordinary as well as supported employees from time to time face very real difficulties, risks, and "dangers," such as loss of employment, conflicts with co-workers, difficulties pertaining to job performance , etc. Some persons with mental problems have also experienced nervous breakdowns or and committed crimes as they have lost control, and people of limited mental abilities, or stability, have been taken advantage of by employers or by their workmates. Such incidents, however, are rare. Overt focus on such potential problems might have non-constructive and frightening effects on job seekers. A Danish research project documented as follows:

> One should watch out, not to start preparing for problems that never will occur. That what has already happened, or that what has been going on inside an institution, will probably be very different from what really takes place inside an ordinary workplace. I, as an example, did follow-up on a young boy with a rather troubled pre-history, having among other things hit other persons. If we had judged him because of his prior violent behaviour and because of that not offered him a job, then we would have cut him out of an extremely successful work relationship (Sørensen 2003, my translation).

The project mentioned by Sørensen focused on 87 youngsters aged 15-18, utilising questionnaires filled out by their social workers. Interviews with 14 youngsters, 30 employers, 11 social workers and some of their leaders were also part of the study. As Sørensen shows, focusing on problems or difficulties that may occur during the course of ordinary working life may be unrealistic and counter-productive for both the job-seeker and the job-coach. It may influence the job-seeker's motivation to participate in ordinary working

life and the job-coach's belief and confidence in the job-seeker's ability to master a job in the open labour market.

Self-fulfilling prophecies?

The attitude of the job-coach can influence the job-seeker's self-esteem. The American social-behaviourist George Herbert Mead (among others) long ago showed how each person's mind or self "is a social emergent, and that language, in the form of the vocal gesture, provides the mechanism for the emergence of the self (Mead 1962)." The self is realized through its relationship to others. The views of the job-coach thus have an effect on the jobseeker's self-confidence and belief in him/herself. Focus on potential problems may weaken the job-seeker's belief in, and thus chances of obtaining, a successful work-relationship. Focus on possible problems and difficulties among job-coaches may have a negative influence on jobseekers, thereby contributing to counterproductive effects on an individual level. It is my view that such a problem-oriented focus is more likely to take place in a segregated environment because one of the main tasks in such an environment is preparation for what might happen on an ordinary worksite.

Many disabled persons suffer from multiple diagnoses and complex problems (Schafft, Seierstad et al. 1999; Røttereng and Hillestad 2002; Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). This might also contribute to a problem oriented focus. The problem-oriented focus brings with it the belief that much has to be sorted out and solved before job-placement is a realistic option.[6] This is sometimes used as an argument against rapid job placement for persons with multiple problems. It should not be difficult to find self-fulfilling prophecies in relation to this topic. A clear focus on problems and difficulties can lead to more problems, in some cases problems which can keep the job-coach busy for years. It is my claim that a problem-oriented focus will contribute to reinforcing the job seeker's experience of having problems, being a problem themselves, and not being able to work in an ordinary setting. There is a need to shift of focus away from the problems and towards the possibilities inside ordinary job market. Job-coaches need to be focused on resources and work instead of on problems. A rapid job placement approach can contribute to this.

Integrated employment and rapid job placement is not always a good alternative. One model cannot suit all disabled job seekers; the rehabilitation process needs to be tailor-made and individualized. This is one of the main tenets of the rapid job placement approach. Different models are therefore needed. The fact remains, however, that despite the promising results associated with the rapid-job-placement approach, the sheltered employment sector is dominating and has – as we have seen – been growing significantly on an international level (Visier 1998). At the same time, we find much documentation showing supported employment to be desired, effective, and possible. Many more persons with vocational

[6] In Norway a large proportion of the job-coaches are social workers, and as such they are trained to deal with and focus on various kinds of difficulties. Spjelkavik, Ø., K. Frøyland, et al. (2003). Yrkeshemmede i det ordinære arbeidslivet : inkludering gjennom Arbeid med bistand. Oslo, Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet.

disabilities could profit from rapid job placement. The potential of the rapid-job-placement approach seems yet to be fulfilled.

3.2 Normalization or stigmatisation?

Sørensen (Sørensen 2003) claims that participation in ordinary working life lower the individuals` feeling of being different and thus has a more normalizing effect than is achieved in a sheltered workshop:

> The businesses know how to be just a little more rigid or inflexible and concrete, it's not so much pedagogy or feelings. It's not so much 'How are you?' But rather; "now we're going to work and this is what we'll do". There is no reason to ask why or how, it just has to be done. (…) And then it is a good thing, for the young person, to become part of a community – or a working community – and be a part of it, not being so different as they normally are. The businesses are "reality". They're not institutions or a workshop or a project – they are, in fact realistic. As real as it can get (…). Such work relationships has a much more normalizing effect than what is achieved in cases where the job seeker has a personal contact giving him follow up. I've seen many youngsters being helped or followed up by really good contact persons, but they still have lived that kind of life of a client. A job in a real workplace has a normalizing effect and rhythm that I think the young persons need and want (Sørensen 2003, p. 53, my translation).

The importance of normalisation has been thoroughly discussed by the Canadian psychologist and philosopher Wolf Wolfensberger, through his concept of social role valorization (SRV) (Wolfensberger 1998). Wolfensberger's approach is strongly inspired by social-role theory, as developed by Talcott Parsons and Erving Goffman (among others) (Goffman 1963). The basic point is that the welfare of people is dependent on what kind of social roles they are given in society (Askheim 2003). People are defined and valued by others through the roles they are given, and the way in which they succeed in performing these roles. The roles also affect each individual's understanding of themselves. Persons or groups of persons that behave differently from others or are unable to conform to standards defined by society as "normal," are given roles of low value. This devaluation takes place on an individual level as well as towards groups of persons. Segregation, lock-out, discrimination, or bad treatment of persons can thus be seen as expressions or symptoms of low valuation of that particular group or category of persons. Wolfensberger says that if "we want certain people to be, or to become, valued in the eyes of others, then we must do things which strongly prompt others to perceive them in positively valued ways – and this largely means that they must be perceived by others as holding valued social roles" (Wolfensberger 1998, p. 38).

Participation in the open labour market is a way of offering vocationally disabled persons a role that is also valued by others. This has been experienced by job-seekers, as well as job-coaches and social workers. This is evident in the voice of a social worker who works with the vocational rehabilitation of young people:

> I think that the businesses are good at communicating that the young persons are important. That it is important that they get there. And the businesses are good at including them in the branch of work. They're good at saying: "OK, that's the way it is, and if you want to stay here, then you are going to that particular school", and they put very much into trying to figure out how to help the young person further on. They are very good at saying: "If you don't show up, then no one will perform that task. Or then we'll wait for you. Or then someone will not get their car at the right time". They are very good at making the young ones feel important or of value, I think…. (Sørensen 2003, p. 101, my translation)

Whereas work in an ordinary job setting allows the job seeker to see himself as a part of ordinary society, fulfilling a meaningful and useful role, participating in a sheltered workshop seems more likely to reinforce the job seeker's experience of being different and not –quite – skilled enough to perform a role in an ordinary job setting. Reports have documented that persons working in sheltered workshops are met with prejudice from their surroundings:

> "(…)I believe that it's more difficult to get at job in the open labour market when you work in a sheltered workshop. If there are 2 appliers for a job, and one of them comes from a sheltered workshop, then the other person are often given the job. We are easily seen as inferior. I know several persons who has problems like this (…)." (Skrøvset and Rønningsbakk 1983)

Seierstad et al. (Seierstad, Eide et al. 1998) offers another telling quote:

> "Imagine being downtown chatting up a woman, and she asks you what kind of job you have. If you tell her that you work in a sheltered workshop, then you can just forget the rest of the evening (…). " (p. 147)

The experiences of participants in sheltered workshops are of course different. Some have good experiences. The effect of gathering persons with vocational disabilities in segregated workshops, however, can result in the perception of a social role with low value. This can affect the possibility of getting regular jobs in, as well as the ability to enjoy socializing as others do.

3.3 Different cultures?

Not only the outer surroundings have an influence on the possibility of social integration. Schuster (1990), basing his study on a literature review, documented that within sheltered workshops, work is often viewed from an educational or therapeutic perspective rather than as the production of goods or services.(Schuster 1990) Seierstad et al. identified several cultural aspects in an evaluation sheltered workshops in Norway (Seierstad, Eide et al. 1998). The study consisted of qualitative field studies in five regions of Norway, a national survey among the sheltered workshops and the municipal day-care centres in Norway, as well as telephone interviews of key-persons in 50 Norwegian municipalities. One of the researchers described her experiences from participant observation at a sheltered workshop:

> I experienced that people we encountered while delivering waste, were terribly polite and friendly. I felt it like they were coming my way, cuddling my head… Encountering all this friendliness I felt like a socially and gender neutralised person, having become "such a person one should behave nicely towards". Along with the friendliness, I felt growing smaller and smaller, with an inferior smile on my lips, shrinking in my red jacket, beginning to feel marked as an "outcast". I felt a need to tell these persons that, "actually, I'm a researcher"(Seierstad, Eide et al. 1998, p. 137, my translation).

The working culture in a sheltered work setting can differ from the working culture that is normally found in ordinary settings. It differs by focusing to a larger extent on emotional aspects and friendliness. Although the work tasks in segregated workshops may in some cases be similar to those in the open labour market, the relation to and expectations of the staff and the co-workers seems to be different. Bond et al. therefore point to an "influence by the expectations of staff and clients" when trying to interpret the diverging outcomes between subjects in gradual programs versus those in accelerated programs (Bond, Drake et al. 1997).

Visier investigated whether sheltered employment provides workers with a long-term occupation, or whether it merely constitutes transitional employment on the way to entry or re-entry to unsheltered employment (Visier 1998).[7] He in particular focuses on the question of whether the production of goods and services should take priority over therapeutic or medical and social concerns.

> "The survey repeatedly revealed a striking diversity of situations. Under the approach adopted, there was every conceivable variation between two extremes: on the one hand, the concept of the disabled worker as primarily a "sick" person in need of support who, in the context of this support, takes part in some occupational activity, and on the other, the definition of sheltered environment as being no different from the "ordinary" work environment as regards workers' rights and obligations" (Visier 1998, p.363).

Visier concludes that even today, the therapeutic function is still extensively perceived as hindering the development of labour relations built on rights and obligations.

> "The sheltered environment therefore seems better able to assume its function of integration into the "ordinary work environment" when the working conditions it offers (on status, contract, collective bargaining, worker representation etc.), are close to or identical with those prevailing in that "ordinary" work environment" (Visier 1998, p.365).

A working culture focusing on feelings, pedagogy, or therapy, instead of on work tasks and worker responsibility, thus seems to be a working culture more likely to fail in increasing the workers' chances of obtaining jobs in regular employment settings. The Danish project "Springbræt" ("Springboard") showed results that support such a hypothesis. Having

[7] Visiers study was built on literature studies and a questionnaire among the social partners and voluntary associations of and for persons with disabilities in 20 countries (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica,

involved more than 1500 young job seekers in their vocational rehabilitation program, their main conclusion was that a client who:

- was met with considerable demands on the work site,
- was given the ability to influence his work situation,
- was treated in the same way as other employees,

felt a part of the working community, and had a better chance of finding ordinary work or education than those shown consideration for or being treated in an indifferent way (Olsen, Hansen et al. 2003, p.20, my translation).

Wage labour is today often associated with increasing demands on each worker, re-organisation processes, downsizing, high unemployment rates, and focus on efficiency and high work rates (Beck, Lash et al. 1994; Bauman 1998; Rose 1999; Bauman 2000; Bauman 2001; Sørensen and Grimsmo 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). The idealized picture of a model employee seems to entail increasingly higher levels of individual independence, skill, and precision. This picture may of course be disproportionate to the true-life qualifications of real employee, people "like me and you". Such pictures nevertheless exist among job coaches and other persons working with vocational rehabilitation, and can influence the rehabilitation process (Spjelkavik, Frøyland et al. 2003). A rehabilitation process resembling the Danish "Springbræt" model seems better suited to deal with the challenging picture of the labour market, offering models of rehabilitation that have much in common with the open labour market.

3.4 Contexts and levels of learning

One area of particular interest is the question of what kind of knowledge (skills, competence) the disabled person gains through participation in segregated rehabilitation initiatives versus initiatives based on rapid-job-placement. We have already seen that there can be cultural differences. Is there also a difference when it comes to contents of learning? To what degree are these learned skills transferable to ordinary employment settings?

In many segregated rehabilitation settings the focus is primarily on teaching the disabled persons to perform certain practical work tasks (Schuster 1990; Visier 1998). Developing work skills by solving practical work tasks is a kind of knowledge that, according to the terminology of the English/American anthropologist Gregory Bateson, belongs to the first level of learning (Bateson 1972; Bateson 1979; Lipset 1982; Frøyland 1999). It is my belief that knowledge gained at this primary level can easily be transferred to ordinary working conditions.

Bateson did not focus on rehabilitation of vocationally disabled persons, but his writings are nevertheless of interest. Bateson described learning as an activity that can be broken down

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Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom.)

into several different levels. The interesting point for our focus is related to Bateson's second level of learning, learning 2 or deutero-learning. The disabled person working in a segregated workshop does not only develop skills at solving certain practical tasks, he also develops skills in other areas, such as communication and collaboration. The person will thus always learn more than the basic practical tasks he is taught ("learning 1"). He will also learn something about how humans relate to, and interact with each other. Bateson related the development of character and personality to this level of learning. When we describe a person as being dependent, aggressive, anxious, fatalistic, passive, humoristic, and so on, it is Bateson's claim that these qualities are effects of second order learning. Through phenomena like attitude, gesture, utterances, tone of voice, pauses, etc., the context in which learning 1 takes place influences, among other things, the person's sense of humour, way of signaling need of help (dependency), or the individual's social skills (Ølgaard 1991, p.102). It is these elements that shape our personality or character, and according to Bateson adjustment of pre-established personality is difficult (Bateson 1972, p.301).

The question then, is if the person's character or personality, influenced through participation in a segregated workshop, is affected in a way that lowers the person's ability to adapt to and to feel at home in the ordinary working life. Indeed, some of the research we have seen seems to indicate this. Bateson's theory does not answer this question. What Bateson's theory does tell us is that the learning context influences the character and personality of the worker. Bateson also linked the psychological concept of "transference" to second order learning, meaning that a person will try – consciously or unconsciously – to shape the interaction with his surroundings according to his prior second order learning (Ibid., p.300). When the learning context differs from actual working conditions, character aspects that have been influenced by the learning context will most likely differ from those evolved under ordinary working conditions. This fact will become a problem when the difference is too considerable, or if the worker has difficulties adjusting to, or feeling at home in, the new context presented by the new work setting. The second order learning achieved by job seekers in sheltered workshops can thus make the transfer to regular employment more challenging and difficult then it could have been in the case of rapid-job-placement. These issues have not been investigated scientifically, and therefore serve as hypothesis concerning learning in rehabilitation initiatives.

3.5 Security or freedom?

The questions dealt with here also touch upon other central themes in the history of ideas. I'm referring to the concept of community and the desire for security on the one hand, and the concept of individual freedom on the other. Zygmunt Bauman describes our late-modern society as caught in an unsolvable tangle between these two concepts: the increase of individual freedom automatically reduces the sense of community and the experience of security (Bauman 2001).

It is possible to relate our two rehabilitation models to Bauman's concepts. Vocational rehabilitation, based on the traditional model, can be seen as a way of prioritising the need for community above the need for individual freedom. Vocationally disabled persons are excluded from ordinary working life and are offered a place in an artificial, but secure community. This can be seen as a way of protecting the community as well as the disabled individuals. But to a certain extent, the disabled persons, through this placement, are "caught" in a segregated environment, hidden and protected from the open community in an environment that more or less "controls" those persons unable to conform to the standards that society calls "normal".

The creation of segregated rehabilitation systems was never explicitly meant to have controlling effects. The intentions were the best. As individuals, the vocationally disabled persons, through the sheltered workshops, are part of a community that offers a safe and pleasant fellowship, where they can lead happy working lives together with other persons in similar situations.

It is one of Bauman's observations that alongside good and well-meaning intentions, certain actions taken in the name of social responsibility can also lead to opposing consequences. Instead of contributing to integration and normalization, certain actions seem to place those who are "different" in an even more marginalized position (Bauman 1989). Alongside the wish to do what's good and to be of help for those in need, follows evil and the opposite of what was aimed at. Attempts to give the vocationally disabled a better and more secure life inside an inclusive community, seem at the same time to exclude and hide them from society in general. Although safe, they have lost the freedom.

The Norwegian philosopher Jon Hellesnes addresses these issues through the concept of socialization (Hellesnes 1975). Hellesnes describes two kinds of socialization, namely adjustment and refinement.[8] Through adjustment, people are socialized into the social system in such a way that they learn "the rules of the game", but are unable to see that this "game" could be questioned and subject to possible change (Ibid., p.17). A person that is well adjusted, according to Hellesnes´ terminology, is a person that more or less is:

> "(…) functioned" into certain institutions and occupational contexts, and thus "programmed" in accordance with those. Such a person will experience difficulties seeing more than these institutions can offer, seeing more than the "necessary" working roles that are present, and being able to imagine qualitative change (Hellesnes 1975, p. 31).

Through refinement, on the other hand, people are socialized into the problems and questions related to the situation in which they are, and what is going on around them. Through refinement, persons are emancipated, becoming political subjects, empowered, and thus able to question and to contribute to the change of the situation they find themselves in. Segregated rehabilitation seems to resemble what Hellesnes here has named "adjustment",

[8] My translation. Original Norwegian terms are: "tilpassing" and "daning".

whereas the rapid job placement model, through its focus on cooperation and individual responsibility, could resemble Hellesnes' concept of "refinement".

Rehabilitation programmes based on rapid job placement focus to a large extent on each individuals´ right and ability to make their own choices concerning the nature and volume of their labour. Individual freedom and responsibility is prioritised, but at the same time the need for security and community is dealt with through the existence of job-coaches offering the support and help that is needed. It is the challenge of the job coach to provide sufficient support, making the job relationship as secure as possible and at the same time contributing to the establishment of a working community where the job seeker can socialize with co-workers that are not vocationally disabled. According to this model, the job seekers as a group are part of the open labour market, and support is designed with the aim of inclusion on an individual level. The rapid job placement model can thus be understood as an attempt to loosen up Bauman's unsolvable tangle between individual freedom, and the social responsibilities of community. Through focusing on user participation, it also represents a contribution to the kind of socialisation that Hellesnes refers to as "refinement".

3.6 Focus on the individual or on the system?

The traditional rehabilitation model builds on the idea that integration into regular employment is achieved through training and preparation of the disabled individual for participation in the regular job market. Within this kind of thinking, deviance or deficiency is attributed to the individual, the person with a disability. This way of thinking follows a linear path: the disabled person should be removed from ordinary employment settings and placed in a segregated training institution where he/she is taught certain skills before entering (returning to) the ordinary job market. The deficiency is attributed to one out of many links in the "machinery of society". It is not the system that needs to be mended, but rather the individual.

Hellesnes states that individualizing a problem makes it less understandable because "individualizing a problem is isolating it from the very context within which it is a problem" (Hellesnes 1975, p.31). The idea of training a person outside the ordinary labour market until he/she is fit for it, and gathering persons that have certain vocational difficulties in specially designed institutions is a way of individualizing a problem. It is my argument that this kind of individualizing to a larger extent takes place inside segregated workshops than within the integrated version of vocational rehabilitation.

This traditional way of conceptualizing rehabilitation is closely related to the structural functionalist school developed in the early twentieth century.[9] The structural functionalists saw the whole social system as an integrated totality, an organism, wherein every phenomenon was seen as a necessary part of the whole (Solheim 1971). Focus was placed on

[9] See writings of A. F. Radcliffe Brown and Evans-Pritchard. The sociologist Talcott Parsons also has been related to structural functionalism. Parsons was influenced by functionalist anthropology through Bronislaw Malinowski.

the needs of the system rather than the needs of each individual. Values, norms and behaviour were believed to complement each other, and the totality of the system was envisioned as a self-regulating mechanism. Non-functioning parts in such a system needed to be mended or replaced.

Rapid job placement represents a challenge to traditional rehabilitation and to the structural functionalist model. In supported employment, the fundamental idea is that one needs to reduce the gap between individual qualifications and the demands of working life. According to this view, the deficiency is not only an attribute of the individual, but also expresses the relationship between the individual and the work situation. Support is directed towards the whole system of workers and leaders associated with the disabled person. The supported employment perspective targets the entire system, locating the problem in the real context. This is in contrast to the traditional approach's focus on and "blaming" of the individual while at the same time removing the individual from the broader context.

The rapid job placement model addresses potential deviance or deficiency in the system, in this case understood as employment settings, rather than simply focussing on the shortcomings of the disabled individual. This approach suggests that change to improve employability of disabled persons is primarily needed on the part of businesses and corporations, and not only on the part of the disabled persons. Change must also take place in the way labour is organised.

4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Although there are limitations to rapid job placement models with regard to long-term employment and wage and assessment procedures, this paper has used research findings and practical experience, as well as anthropological, philosophical, and other scholarly writings to provide support for the idea of rapid job placement in integrated settings. Arguments against rapid job placement and in favour of segregated employment seem to exist mainly as established habits, tradition, or as unarticulated knowledge. Nevertheless, given the fact that the traditional rehabilitation model enjoys the widest popularity today – still expanding on an international level (Visier 1998) – there is little doubt that rapid job placement could be practised to a far larger extent than it is today. This paper has documented several reasons why this should be an aim for rehabilitation programs in the years to come:

- The learning context and working culture in segregated environments "teaches" skills within settings that are not necessarily relevant, and which might actually be counter-productive.
- The train-then-place model has stigmatising effects, whereas normalizing effects are seen to result from the practice of the rapid job-placement model.
- Rapid job placement prioritises individual freedom by giving job seekers influence and responsibility to make own choices, while the traditional perspective offers security through placement inside a segregated environment, maintaining a situation with limited individual influence.
- Rapid job placement is based on a philosophy that "targets" the system rather than the disabled individual when it comes to strategies for inclusion in ordinary working life, thereby addressing responsibility to the employers too.

The rapid job placement model differs significantly from traditional approaches and is still new and relatively unknown. Lack of knowledge regarding rehabilitation strategies, particularly with regard to the radical alternative posed by the rapid job placement model, can lead to an unfortunate fragmentation of practice. Based on the argumentation above, it is my main conclusion that a stronger focus on the rapid job placement model is needed. As Rusch pointed out almost 15 years ago (Rusch 1990), the main challenge still seems to be "… to actually implement the characteristics of" the rapid job placement model.

LITERATURE

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