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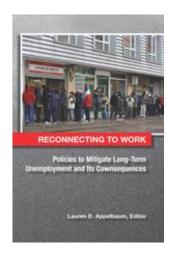
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Work Together to Let Everyone Work: A Study of the Cooperative Job-Placement Effort in the Netherlands

Hilbrand Oldenhuis Hanze University of Applied Sciences

Louis Polstra Hanze University of Applied Sciences

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Lauren D. Appelbaum *Editor*

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Work Together to Let Everyone Work

A Study of the Cooperative Job-Placement Effort in the Netherlands

Hilbrand Oldenhuis

Louis Polstra Centre of Applied Labour Market Research and Innovation, Hanze University of Applied Sciences

"We work together to let everyone work." That was the message in November 2010 when a number of employers and governmental organizations in the Netherlands publicly announced that they would cooperate with each other in order to let as many people participate in paid jobs as possible. From both an economic and a social perspective, it is clearly highly important to maximize the number of people that have paid jobs. At the end of 2008, the unemployment rate in the Netherlands was a historically low 2.7 percent. Dutch employers were having difficulties finding workers. As a result, companies were forced to cooperate with the Dutch government to fill their vacancies. However, for most employers in times of economic recession (the Dutch unemployment rate almost doubled between 2009 and 2010), decreasing the number of unemployed people will not be their highest priority.

Although on a national scale employers intend to cooperate with the government to reduce unemployment, it is not always the case for local governments. The local social services, which are responsible for local labor market policy, need information that would allow them to work more collaboratively with employers. More specifically, they wish to answer the question: Why would employers cooperate with social services by providing jobs to unemployed people via a social service agency? Two main reasons make this question a really important one to answer. First, social service agencies can use the answer in the short run to convince as many employers as possible to cooperate with them, resulting in an immediate decline in the unemployment rate. Additionally, in the long run, social services agencies that have a clear insight into employers' needs and wishes will be better able to fill the gap between supply and demand in the Dutch labor market. That is, although the unemployment rate in the Netherlands is relatively high right now and the number of vacancies is relatively low, it is expected that, due to the aging of the Dutch population (the percentage of people over 65 years of age is predicted to be 25 percent in 2030 compared with 14 percent right now), there will be an increased need for highqualified personnel in the near future. In general, being unemployed does not make people highly qualified, but having a job does. Hence, it is important for the Dutch labor market to have as many people as possible participate in paid employment in order to avoid a large number of underqualified, long-term unemployed people while there is simultaneously a high number of unfilled vacancies. Such a situation would have devastating consequences for the whole Dutch economy. Hence, social service agencies and employers need to work together in order to let everyone work.

In this chapter, we will argue that, based on a survey we conducted with employers, the willingness of Dutch employers to cooperate with social services is highly dependent on company size. Whereas all employers underline the importance of financial considerations when it comes to their intention to cooperate with social services, employers at small companies (less than 11 employees) are especially sensitive to a more idealistic approach ("making a difference") compared to employers at middle-sized (11–100 employees) and large companies (over 100 employees).

THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOR

When it comes to determining which factors influence behavior such as cooperating with a social service, an important social psychological theory that comes to mind is the theory of planned behavior (TPB) (Ajzen 1985, 1991). In short, the theory states that the most important predictor of human (planned) behavior is the intention to behave in such

a way. Applied to our subject, the TPB means that cooperating with a social service agency is primarily predicted by the intention to do so. Furthermore, this intention is predicted by three determinants. The first is the individual's attitude, that is, the global evaluation of the behavior. The second determinant, subjective norms, refers to perceived social pressure to engage in the behavior. The third determinant is perceived behavioral control: the degree to which an individual expects that he or she is capable of performing the given behavior. Especially in health psychology, the TPB has been applied to the prediction of various health-related behaviors (see Conner and Sparks [2005] for a review). But also when it comes to, for example, the prediction of traffic behavior, such as speeding (Forward 1997), dangerous passing (Parker et al. 1992), and pedestrian violations of regulations (Moyano Díaz 2002), the TPB proved to be a relatively successful framework for predicting behavior. In a meta-analytical review, Armitage and Conner (2001) report that the TPB explained an average of 39 percent of the variance in intention and 27 percent of the variance in behavior. Therefore, the TPB should be a useful theoretical framework for answering the question of which factors determine employers' willingness to cooperate with social services

Behavioral Beliefs

Concerning attitudes, Ajzen (1991) states that so-called behavioral beliefs determine how positive or how negative an attitude about the given behavior will be: "Each belief links the behavior to a certain outcome, or to some other attribute such as the cost incurred by performing the behavior. Since the attributes that come to be linked to the behavior are already valued positively or negatively, we automatically and simultaneously acquire an attitude toward the behavior" (p. 191). Several beliefs concerning the outcomes of cooperating with a social service agency multiplied by their respective subjective values therefore determine how positively or how negatively an employer in general thinks about cooperating with a social service agency. Thus, we set out to determine which are the salient behavioral beliefs for employers that predict their willingness to do so.

In the preparation phase of this study, we conducted several interviews with employers, most of whom underlined the importance of financial factors. In the end, a company must stay in business, so cooperation should not cost a lot of money and time. Related to that, some employers reported that cooperation could be a convenient way to reduce a shortage of staff without having to expend too many resources. In addition, some employers mentioned the word *proud* as part of their belief system. That is, they showed a desire to make a difference. As a result, they expected to feel proud when cooperating with a social service agency to help an unemployed person to find a (new) job. Indeed, in a case study, Humphreys and Brown (2008) find that an important motive for altruistic behavior of employees of a bank is the desire to make a difference and as a result to feel proud. This is illustrated by the following quote: "You need to be proud of what you're doing, you need to be able to put your head on the pillow at night you know, thinking 'I've made a difference today,' and you need to be able to tell your Mum what you've done" (p. 408). Related to feeling proud, some employers reported that cooperation with a social service would be in line with their personal values, in terms of giving each individual a chance to climb up the societal ladder. Therefore, in our study we investigate the relative importance of each of these behavioral beliefs (money, time, reducing shortage of staff in a convenient way, pride, and the degree to which cooperation is congruent with personal values) in relation to cooperation with a social service agency.

Subjective Norms

Usually, subjective norms are posited as perceptions of social pressure to behave in a particular way that derive from judgments of this behavior from salient others, weighted by the motivation to comply with this pressure. For example, if an employer's friends find it really important to be socially responsible, yet the employer is not motivated to comply with the view of their friends, subjective norms will not strongly increase the intention to cooperate with social services. A few employers who were interviewed did mention important others who expressed norms compatible with cooperating with social services and indicated an associated increase in their likelihood to act similarly. Therefore, we decided to include a measure of subjective norms in our study.

Perceived Behavioral Control

In many studies, perceived behavioral control proved to be an important predictor of intentions and resulting behavior (e.g., Norman 2011; Askelson et al. 2010; White, Terry, and Hogg 1994). However, based on our interviews, we omitted this factor from our study. Among the employers we interviewed, we did not find any concerns that related to whether or not they believed that they would be able to perform the given behavior. That is, no employer perceived any external or internal barriers that would stand in the way of cooperating with a social service. Most of the research on perceived behavioral control deals with behavior that seems harder to perform than cooperating with a social service agency, such as exercise behavior (White, Terry, and Hogg 1994), attempts to reduce binge drinking behavior (Norman 2011), or vaccinating girls against human papillomavirus (Askelson et al. 2010). Cooperating with a social service agency is, in the eves of the interviewed employers, under complete volitional control, whereas, in general, the aforementioned behaviors are under less volitional control.

When a given behavior is perceived to be under complete volitional control, the actor believes that he or she is able to engage in the given behavior (high perceived behavioral control). For behaviors that are under less volitional control, the extent to which individuals believe they can perform the behavior will be especially important as a predictor of the intention to act. Still, it is necessary for employers to expect that they will be able to cooperate with social services before actually intending to cooperate. However, based on our interviews, we expected that feelings of perceived behavioral control would be relatively high for all employers. Thus, unlike behavioral beliefs and subjective norms, we did not expect that perceived behavioral control would significantly contribute to the prediction of (differences in) intention to cooperate with social services. We did not want to ask our respondents relatively superfluous questions, and therefore we did not consider perceived behavioral control. However, based on the TPB, we did consider behavioral beliefs and the subjective norms concerning cooperating with a social service.

Belief in a Just World

Another theoretical notion that could be useful in predicting employers' willingness to cooperate with social services is the "justworld hypothesis" (Lerner and Miller 1978). People with a strong belief in a just world hold a belief system that people deserve what they get and get what they deserve. It could be argued that people who strongly believe in a just world are not highly motivated to help unfortunate people (such as unemployed people) because they are likely to believe that those people themselves are to be blamed for their unfortunate position (see, for example, Hafer [2000]). On the other hand, employers with a weak belief in a just world could be more willing to help the unemployed. Thus, in our interviews, one employer mentioned his conviction that he himself could end up being unemployed just as easily as the "real" unemployed people (for example, by getting in an accident), and that this conviction was a strong motivation for him to cooperate with a social service agency. Therefore, we decided to investigate the role of this factor as it relates to predicting the intention to cooperate with social services.

Company's Goals

The last factor we considered important deals with the concept of corporate social responsibility, which is a major issue in the world of industry and business. Many companies state their commitment to social responsibility in their official communications and have the explicit goal of being socially responsible. Hence, we investigated whether the degree to which an employer states that his or her company expresses an explicit goal related to corporate social responsibility would affect the intention to provide an unemployed person with a job via a social service agency. Specifically, we examined the role of several behavioral beliefs (those that deal with money, time, reducing shortage of staff, pride, and the expectation that it would be in line with personal values); subjective norms; the degree to which an employer believes that being unemployed only happens to people who deserve it (belief in a just world); and the company's goals in relation to corporate social responsibility. Furthermore, on an exploratory basis we investigated whether there would be differences between companies as a function of their size. It seems

plausible that employers or HR-managers of large companies will have a solely "bureaucratic" viewpoint when it comes to cooperating with a social service agency. As a result, it could be that among managers or employers at large companies, there is less room to act on idealistically motivated reasons to cooperate with a social service compared to employers at smaller companies.

METHOD

Respondents

We sent a digital questionnaire to a total of 7,870 companies in the city of Groningen (the Netherlands) and asked that the respondents be those who were responsible for recruiting and hiring. We received 697 responses from employers (response rate = 8.8 percent). Among those, 283 were self-employed earners, and analyses showed that these employers on average do not have a high intention to cooperate with social services (1.93 on a 5-point scale) and thus we excluded them from our study. We based our results on the remaining 414 respondents. Among them there were 197 employers at small companies (2–10 employees), 156 employers at middle-sized companies (11–100 employees), and 61 employers at large companies (over 100 employees).

Measures

The questionnaire consisted of several parts constructed to measure intention to cooperate, behavioral beliefs regarding cooperation with a social service agency, subjective norms, belief in a just world, and the company's important goals, respectively.

Intention

The main dependent variable, intention to cooperate, was measured by a single item: "To what extent do you intend to cooperate with a social service agency within the next two years?" Respondents could answer on a 5-point scale (1 = definitely not, 5 = definitely; M = 2.89, SD = 1.26).

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Behavioral beliefs

Respondents evaluated the importance and likelihood of the following aspects of cooperating with social services: pride, congruent with personal values, financially desirable outcomes, saving time, and useful for reducing shortage of staff. First, respondents rated the importance of these aspects when it comes to deciding whether or not to cooperate with a social service agency, on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (extremely unimportant) to 5 (extremely important). Next, respondents indicated the likelihood that cooperation with a social service agency would result in these outcomes. Scores were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 5 (extremely likely). Scores for each behavioral belief were computed by constructing the product of the importance and likelihood of each aspect (see Table 5.1 for an overview of the means and standard deviations for each behavioral belief).

Subjective norms

Subjective norms were measured by computing the product of two items. On the first item the respondents were asked to rate their estimation of the opinion of important others in their social environment about cooperation with a social service agency in order to help unemployed people to reintegrate to work. Their answer could vary from 1 (extremely negative) to 5 (extremely positive). On the second item the respondents were asked to rate their motivation to comply with these others' opinions on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, 5 = very much; *M* of the product of these two items = 6.06, SD = 4.97).

Belief in a just world

To measure to what extent the respondents think that people get what they deserve when it comes to being unemployed, we constructed two items: 1) "It is not possible for someone who really wants to work to be unemployed for a long period," and 2) "Unemployed people should primarily blame themselves for their unemployment." The respondents could answer these two items by stating their level of agreement, ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). They were combined into a single score by computing the average response on both items (r = 0.65, M = 2.81, SD = 0.85).

Table 5.1 Means and Standard Deviations of Denavioral Deners									
	Mean	Standard deviation							
Pride	9.10	4.87							
Consistent with personal values	11.72	6.00							
Saving money	10.35	6.07							
Saving time	7.42	5.24							
Reducing shortage of staff	9.40	6.34							

Table 5.1 Means and Standard Deviations of Behavioral Beliefs

SOURCE: Author's calculations.

Company's goals

Two items were constructed to measure the extent to which the company had an explicit goal of engaging in corporate social responsibility: 1) "Making money is an important goal of my company" (M = 3.13, SD = 1.23), and 2) "Expressing a social image is an important goal of my company" (M = 2.96, SD = 1.09). Respondents could answer by stating their level of agreement, ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). These two items were unrelated, r = -0.07, df = 412, p = 0.14. Therefore, these two items were treated as separate variables.

The questionnaire ended with several questions regarding company size and respondents' gender and age. The latter two did not yield any significant effects concerning the intention to cooperate with a social service agency; therefore, we omit these variables from our description of the results.

RESULTS

We divided the total number of 414 respondents into three groups based on company size. In general, the large (N = 61) and middle-sized companies (N = 156) showed the highest intention to cooperate with social services (M = 3.28, SD = 1.31 and M = 3.06, SD = 1.23 respectively). The difference between large and middle-sized companies did not reach significance. Compared to the large and middle-sized companies a post hoc test showed that small companies (N = 197) expressed a significantly lower intention to cooperate with social services than large and middle-sized companies: M = 2.64, SD = 1.22; highest p < 0.01. We conducted three separate regression analyses (for small companies, middle-sized companies, and large companies) to detect which factors contribute to the prediction of the intention to cooperate with social services. This criterion variable was regressed on each behavioral belief separately, subjective norms, the measure concerning belief in a just world, and the company's goal (each predictor was standardized). It is possible to summarize all these behavioral beliefs into one single "global attitude" measure (see, for example, De Groot and Steg [2007]). However, in our opinion it is more interesting to explore the role of each behavioral belief separately. In so doing, we can make more clearcut practical recommendations than if we combined these behavioral beliefs into one, more abstract global attitude measure.

Table 5.2 summarizes the regression coefficients for the small companies, middle-sized companies, and large companies. For small companies the following factors reached significance: pride, financially desirable outcomes, saving time, and subjective norms. For middle-sized companies, the only factors that reached significance were financially desirable outcomes and saving time, and for large companies it was only saving time.

To conclude, for small companies, economically driven motives such as time and money, along with more idealistically and personally driven motives such as expecting to feel proud and to be respected, contribute significantly to the prediction of the intention to cooperate with social services. For middle-sized and large companies no such factors are important. For these companies, primarily economic considerations (time and money) determine whether they are willing to cooperate with social services. Finally, no other factors, such as the belief in a just world or the degree to which it is important for a company to express a social image, reached significance for small, middle-sized, or large companies.

DISCUSSION

Why would employers cooperate with social services by providing unemployed people with a job? The (beginning of the) answer is, "Well, that depends." It depends on the size of the company. While employ-

	Small companies						Middle-sized companies					Large companies				
	β	t	R^2	F	df	β	t	R^2	F	df	β	t	R^2	F	df	
			0.25***	6.77	9,187			0.25***	5.43	9,146			0.38**	3.36	9,500	
Pride	0.26	2.72**				0.10	0.90				0.09	0.44				
Consistent with personal values	0.14	1.74				0.13	1.14				0.19	1.11				
Saving money	0.22	2.58				0.32	3.10**				-0.16	-1.20				
Saving time	0.25	2.91**				0.23	2.51*				0.49	3.28**				
Reducing shortage of staff	-0.11	-1.32				0.07	0.82				0.10	0.77				
Subjective norms	0.22	2.87**				0.12	1.38				-0.05	-0.27				
Belief in a just world	-0.02	-0.24				-0.12	-1.36				-0.14	-1.12				
Goal: social responsibility	0.06	0.80				0.12	1.36				-0.15	-1.14				
Goal: making money	-0.13	-1.53				0.03	0.39				0.03	0.25				

 Table 5.2 Regression of Intention to Cooperate with Social Services on Behavioral Beliefs, Subjective Norms, Belief in a Just World, and Company's Goals

NOTE: **p* < 0.05, ***p* < 0.01, and ****p* < 0.001.

SOURCE: Authors' calculations.

ers of middle-sized and large companies primarily base their intentions on economic considerations, employers of small companies base their intentions on more idealistically and personally driven motivations. Why did we find these results? Although our study was not set up to answer this question, and more research is needed to fully explore it, we do have a suggestion: It is very conceivable that for employers of small companies there is a strong connection between their personal self and their company. If this is the case, it is not surprising that in addition to more economic considerations concerning time and money, subjective norms and expecting to feel proud are also important factors for determining the intent to cooperate with social services.

In our study, for small companies, the questionnaire was probably filled out by the owner of the company (since the owner is responsible for recruiting and hiring new staff), while for the larger companies, the questionnaire was probably filled out by a human resources manager. In the latter case, the connection between the respondent and the company is in general less strong, resulting in a less important role for idealism and personality. In addition, this line of reasoning may also account for the less important role of the behavioral belief concerning money among large companies. Since the respondents in this group are, in general, not the owners themselves, it is not their money that they spend or save by cooperating with a social service agency—more likely, it is primarily their own time that they will win or save. Hence, time for them is a more important consideration than money.

Based on the results of our study, we would advise social services in the Netherlands to take company size into account when they try to find cooperation partners. Smaller companies seem to be more sensitive to idealism and an approach based on subjective norms ("Think of how others will appreciate you!") than middle-sized and large companies. However, based on our above reasoning, it might be especially important for social services, over and above company size, to determine how strong the connection is between the person with whom they are dealing and the given company. An approach that is based more on idealism ("making a difference") is probably more effective in the case of a strong connection than when this connection is less strong. Importantly, whether the connection between the person and the company is stronger or weaker, the economic picture, especially in terms of time, should always be appealing, since for all companies economic considerations are important factors to act on when it comes to cooperating with a social service agency.

Another remarkable finding is the lack of an effect of the company's goals in our study. Whether the company has an explicit goal concerning making money and/or an explicit goal concerning being socially responsible, it does not affect the employers' intention to cooperate with a social service agency. On the one hand, it is reassuring for the social services that apparently employers perceive no discrepancy between making money and cooperating with a social service (otherwise there should have been a negative correlation between the degree to which the respondents stated that making money is an important goal of their company and the intention to cooperate). On the other hand, it is somewhat disappointing for social services that stating that your company has an explicit goal to be socially responsible does not result in a higher intention to cooperate with social services. It is possible that employers in general just do not know whether cooperating with a social service agency makes sense when they have explicit corporate social responsibility goals. However, it is also conceivable that expressing such goals primarily serves a marketing function-it gives companies the opportunity to express a positive image. More research is needed to explore whether employers in general express their company's goals in terms of corporate social responsibility primarily for marketing reasons, and to explore under what circumstances employers will and will not act on their corporate social responsibility goals by cooperating with social services

Theoretical Implications

During the formulation of our study, we were guided by several theoretical perspectives, the first of which was the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1985, 1991). Besides an attitudinal influence (based on the separate behavioral beliefs) on intention, we only found evidence for a significant influence of subjective norms among employers at small companies. We used a rather general measure of subjective norms (only based on the perceived norm of "important others") instead of measuring the norms of several reference groups. According to Armitage and Conner (2001), measuring subjective norms by means of a single item measure (which closely resembles our measure) can account for a low

correlation between subjective norms and intention. However, in their meta-analysis the subjective norm-intention correlation is significantly weaker than, for example, the attitude-intention correlation. In line with Armitage and Conner, we could conclude that while "this does not present sufficient evidence to warrant discarding the construct, it does perhaps indicate that it is the part of the theory of planned behavior that most requires further study" (p. 482). To fully identify the normative component of human behavior and to increase the predictive power of the theory of planned behavior, one should probably take into account that there are many types of norms, besides subjective norms (see, for example, Cialdini, Kallgren, and Reno [1991]), which could all have profound influences on intention and behavior. In addition to that, our results show that a subjective norm is only an important factor, when the consequences of the given behavior solely shine on the actor, as was the case for the employers of the small companies in our study.

The second theoretical viewpoint we used was the notion of the "just-world hypothesis" (Lerner and Miller 1978). Believing that being unemployed is something that people deserve should lower the intention to cooperate with a social service agency. However, we did not find any evidence for this line of reasoning. Contrary to other studies, such as Fox et al. (2010) and Van den Bos and Maas (2009), we used a situation-specific measure of belief in a just world. That is, we asked respondents whether they viewed unemployment as something that unemployed people simply deserve. We did so because there is no theoretical reason to expect that a strong general belief in a just world (i.e., the belief that the world is just for people generally) should be closely related to a more situation-specific measure of belief in a just world. That is, if individuals believe that people in general get what they deserve, then it is plausible that they also believe that unemployed people get what they deserve, namely, unemployment. Yet, such a blunt measure might have led to more socially desirable answers and, as such, a less expressed belief in a just world concerning unemployed people among respondents with a strong belief in a just world.

In line with our reasoning concerning the strength of the connectedness between the respondent and the company, however, it is not inconceivable that at least for the middle-sized and the large companies, the connection between the respondent and the company was too weak to let such a personal factor affect the intention to cooperate. That does not account, however, for the absence of significant results among employers of small companies. The role of the "belief in a just world" concept therefore remains unclear when it comes to employers' intention to cooperate with social services.

CONCLUSION

Why would employers cooperate with social service agencies by providing unemployed people with a job? The answer to this question should have far-reaching implications for the policies that social service agencies undertake to find employers that are willing to cooperate with them. When employers have difficulties finding sufficient numbers of new employees, as is the case during periods of economic boom, social service agencies do not really need to put themselves into the employer's psychological frame of reference. However, when unemployment rates are high, as is the case now, it becomes clear that these agencies need to know what is considered important by employers, who have to decide whether or not they will cooperate with them. Social service agencies that are apt to take an employer's perspective will be better able to decrease immediately the number of unemployed people. Moreover, getting to know employers' needs and wishes is especially important for Dutch social service agencies in order to be better able to reduce the expected mismatch of the Dutch labor market in the long run. Due to the aging of the population, Dutch society simply cannot afford to exclude people for a long period from the labor market.

Our results suggest that social service agencies should take company size into account. We found that employers of small companies (2–10 employees) are much more willing to cooperate with social service agencies due to idealistic motives than are employers of middle-sized (11–100 employees) and large companies (more than 100 employees). In contrast, for middle-sized and large companies, more rational factors such as (the lack of) time and money determine whether or not they are willing to cooperate with social service agencies. Hence, although most companies do officially state their social responsibility, our results show that only for small companies is cooperating with social service agencies not solely a matter of economics (although they do emphasize the importance of economic factors). In trying to persuade employers to cooperate with them, social service agencies should differentiate the rationale for their policies as a function of company size. That is, when contacting small companies, they should base their approach on economic motives such as time and money, as well as on an idealistic desire to "do the right thing" and on subjective norms, whereas with middle-sized and large companies, they should primarily adopt an approach that is based on motives such as time and money.

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