Employers and Job Development: The Business Perspective

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Employers are the creators of and gatekeepers for jobs. The importance of this simple truth to job developers, placement specialists, career counselors, and rehabilitation professionals is made clear when one considers the socioeconomic and psychosocial impact that employment has on U.S. society and its members. The economic health of the nation depends upon the production and the consumption of goods and services by employed individuals. The economic health of employed individuals and their families depends on their ability to purchase goods and services, made possible by employment. The role of employment in psychological health and social adjustment has been widely documented (e.g., Keita & Sauter, 1992; Neff, 1968). In vocational counseling theory, the Archway model described by Super (1991; see also Szymanski, Hershenson, Enright, & Ettinger, Chapter 4, this volume) symbolizes the irreducible relationship between psychological and societal characteristics in the development of careers and self-concept. Thus, employers play a key role in all career development outcomes.

Effective job placement of people with disabilities requires rehabilitation professionals to maintain and utilize knowledge of the world of work (Vandergoot, 1987). However, despite rehabilitation professionals' efforts at placement and employers' apparent willingness to embrace the principle of nondiscrimination (Christman & Slaten, 1991; Gilbride & Stensrud, 1993; Satcher & Hendren, 1991), people with disabilities remain the largest (Fine & Asch, 1988) and most underrepresented minority group in the labor force (Bowe, 1988). In a summation of the state of placement practices, Gilbride, Stensrud, and Johnson (1994) suggested that placement professionals are much less effective at their craft than they could be, due in part to an unarticulated and undifferentiated application of services across employment contexts. Placement professionals typically know the world of work, but often do not know the world of the employer (Gilbride et al., 1994).

The purpose of this chapter is to present the placement process from a business perspective, emphasizing the key role of the employer. In doing so, the chapter builds on discussions of organizational culture (see, e.g., Ackoff, 1981; Gutteridge, Liebowitz, & Shore, 1993). The model described herein suggests that (a) the employer is one of many interdependent and synergistic elements within a business organization; (b) the relationship between the business organization and the marketplace is interactive and interdependent (Boerlijst & Meijboom, 1989); and (c) the employer role is defined wholly within this system.

The chapter is organized into three main sections: (a) the marketplace, (b) the organizational context, and (c) the business of placement. In the first section, we provide an overview of the contextual forces at work in the current marketplace. Key concepts pertaining to capitalism, profit, and sociocultural factors are discussed. In the second section, we examine the organizational forces and personal characteristics that affect the employer role. Key concepts pertaining to organizational culture, management functions, and employer-as-person are discussed. In the third section, which addresses the business of placement, we invite the placement professional to negotiate with the employer, within the employer's framework, using the employer's own language of marketing, product, placement, price, and promotion.

THE MARKETPLACE

The marketplace is the world of commerce in all its complexity. It consists of innumerable dynamic markets, and exists for the purpose of trade, populated by players intent on making a profit, and bounded by a social sense of fair play. Understanding the context of the marketplace is essential to understanding who the employer is and what the employer does. Thus, the following section discusses the economic forces and sociocultural structure of the employer's world.

Capitalism in a Nutshell

A capitalistic economy is based on the ability of a business to obtain and add value to capital. Capital is the total amount of resources owned by, or available to, a business that can be used for the production of wealth (McConnell, 1981). Capital has been traditionally counted in three forms: property, money, and human. A fourth form of capital, information, may also be added to this list (Drucker, 1993). The accumulated wealth of a business may be considered an aggregate of these elements.

A business exists to serve the needs of a society (Drucker, 1982) while adding to its own capital value. It reacts to consumer demands for product or service; it creates economic health for the nation; and it supports the physical (Osipow, 1968) and psychological health (Dawis, 1987; Erikson, 1990; Super, 1991) of the employed. In return for goods and services, society allows, within the boundaries of its laws and cultural norms, for as much profit as the business can extract.

Profit Is Taken in the Marketplace

The business engages a variety of markets to purchase commodities such as raw materials, machines, and labor (Braverman, 1982; Weber, 1978) at the lowest cost. The business then adds value to the commodity through such actions as redistribution, packaging, or storage, and engages a second set of markets in which it intends to sell its product (or service) at the highest competitive price. Market value of the product is determined largely by supply and demand. Supply is the amount of a resource available; demand is the need for the resource. Businesses compete in the acquisition of resources and the supplying of goods and services to consumers. Supply, demand, and competition continually adjust and reconfigure in each market, the sum of which defines the health of the larger economy (McConnell, 1981; Weber, 1978).

Economic health for each business is measured in terms of capital. As noted above, there are three traditional forms: money, property, and human capital. Money as capital is the most well understood, and further discussion is unnecessary. Capital in the form of property, which may include land, buildings, and machinery, is relatively easy to quantify; that is, a business can estimate the relative worth of property at any point in time. The primary value of property as capital is its potential for facilitating the acquisition of profit. For instance, both a bakery and a bike shop could purchase a bread oven for the same price, but the bakery would place more value in a bread oven because this property (the bread oven) is designed to increase the value of the bakery's raw material. The bike shop can only assess as capital the cash generated in the oven's sale, whereas the bakery can assess the value of the oven in terms of how many loaves of bread it will produce.

Human capital is less easily quantified than money or property, and the ultimate value in terms of profit is indeterminate. Businesses do not own human capital per se, but contract from it the means of production (Weber, 1978). The value of human capital is moderated by the cost of acquisition, by profit realized from the sale of goods and services, and by employee productivity (Hotchkiss & Borow, 1991; Vandergoot, Jacobsen, & Worrall, 1984). Value fluctuates as a result of economic forces and the strictly personal force of worker motivation. As Drucker (1982) wrote,

> If we turn to the demands of enterprise and worker on each other, the first question is: What must the enterprise demand in order to get the work done?
>
> The standard answer to this is the catch phrase "a fair day's labor for a fair day's pay." Unfortunately no one has ever been able to figure out what is fair either in respect to labor or to pay. The real trouble with the phrase is, however, that it demands too little, and demands the wrong thing.
>
> What the enterprise must demand of the worker is that he willingly direct his efforts toward the goals of the enterprise. If one could "hire a hand," one could indeed demand delivery of fair value for fair price. If one could buy labor, one could buy it by whatever unit applies to it; but "labor is not an article of commerce," as the law knows. Precisely because labor is human beings, a fair day's labor is unobtainable. For it is passive acquiescence—the one thing this peculiar being is not capable of giving. (p. 267)

Nevertheless, businesses regard human capital much the same as they do other forms of capital: More (or better) product for less cost yields greater profit. Human capital is simply that part of the business' resources that provides needed service, either directly employed or contracted from without. For instance, a manufacturer may contract service representatives to aid in the purchase and maintenance of a computer system, and in training other employees to use and program the system. The value the business places on the contracted service depends upon the "fit" with the industry and the workforce. Interestingly, a placement service could also be considered a human capital resource for a business. In any case, business must make a profit from the added value its machinery and its human capital can produce.

Knowledge as Capital

In his book, *Post-Capitalist Society*, Drucker (1993) presented an insightful thesis of change for society, politics, and knowledge. Specifically, he traced the relationship between work and knowledge through a capitalist's history of social transformations. The first transformation in modern society expanded the valuing of knowledge. Whereas the pursuit of knowledge had been an aristocratic diversion, it gained respect in its pragmatic application, in technology. Schools of the humanities were joined by technical schools. This advance led to the industrial revolution and radically transformed the definition of capital (Drucker, 1993). Applying knowledge to the scientific study of work led to the second transformation, the productivity revolution. Increasing productivity led to a new and higher standard of living for the worker and led, according to Drucker, to the eventual demise of Marxism. Applying knowledge to knowledge is what Drucker described as the present and perhaps final revolution of the Capitalist Age, the management revolution: "Supplying knowledge to find out how existing knowledge can best be applied to produce results is, in effect, what we mean by management. But knowledge is now also being applied systematically and purposefully to define what *new* knowledge is needed, whether it is feasible, and what has to be done to make knowledge effective. It is being applied, in other words, to systematic innovation" (p. 42).

Economics and the Bottom Line

The "bottom line" in business vernacular originally referred to the last row of entries on the accountant's ledger but has grown to encompass much more. To Zeitlin (1982), the bottom line means "profit maximization" (p. 207), the only purely objective, unambiguous criterion for success. The drive to maximize profit is not a subjective, psychological motive, which suggests the possibility of alternative drives, but a prerequisite demand of the economic environment, a social imperative (Williams, 1959).

While allowing for the universality of profit maximization, Drucker (1982) identified the avoidance of loss as another fundamental guiding principle of business. To make a profit, a business invests current resources into the production of a product or service, with no absolute guarantee of return. Thus managing change in the business–marketplace relationship includes the management of risk. The maximum profit in a particular market is never fully known. There is also a "required minimum profit" (Drucker, 1982, p. 47), which is the money a business needs to cover its bets and remain solvent. All other goals of the business are subordinate to the twin functions of the bottom line: managing risk and maximizing profit. Purchasing new equipment always includes risk and hopefully maximizes profits; hiring new employees is no different.

An Economic Paradox

Supply and demand, competition, and the bottom line are dynamic features of the employer's world that are always in flux, but not without an internal logic. Of particular interest to the placement professional is the paradoxical nature of full employment. Coudroglou's (1990) optimistic statement, "the best rehabilitator would be a full-employment economy" (p. 207), assumes that the ultimate demand-side labor market would motivate employers to seek nontraditional sources of labor, ensuring the employment of people with disabilities. In this happy case, there would be no need for placement professionals as they are currently defined. However, the dynamics of a traditional capitalist system may present boundaries that preclude the reaching of that goal.

Decreasing unemployment is both a symptom of a healthy economy and a causal element in the rise of inflation. Under full-employment conditions, there are few people looking for work, which is the definition of a "seller's market." With limited supply of labor, the business must pay more to attract the best employees (Kanter, 1990). Increase in pay causes a temporary reduction in profit margin, which is corrected by an increase in the price of the product or service. This raises the cost of living, which motivates employees to request more money, which is the definition of an inflationary spiral. From this paradox, some economists have speculated on a "natural rate of unemployment" (Kinsley, 1994, p. 80) and have called it the "noninflationary full-employment rate" (Bellin & Miller, 1990, p. 181), in which underemployed and unemployed people serve as a buffer against business loss on investments by raising the supply of labor in the market. The tension here appears to be between the valuing of financial and human forms of capital.

This devaluing of human capital to support the traditional bottom line can, in turn, be linked to social castification. Historically, it has been the marginalized (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Wright, 1960) minority groups, including people with disabilities, who have been devalued (Gove, 1976; Ryan, 1971) in the marketplace. The differential valuing of human capital justifies the exploitation (see Trueba, Rodriguez, Zou, & Cintron, 1993) of the disempowered. They are relegated to the pool of the unwilling unemployed, for the sake of the economic well-being of the dominant group.

Although some reject the concept and ideology of the noninflationary full-employment rate (Bellin & Miller, 1990; Kinsley, 1994), the debate is indicative of the complex, and often negative, way in which economic factors interplay in the lives of people, the tenure of business, and the machinations of politics.

Sociocultural Factors

Acceptable boundaries for profit taking and the exploitation of human capital are a reflection of the culture of the marketplace. Culture may be defined as the aggregate of ideas, values, and beliefs directing the behavior of people and organizations (Peckham, 1979). Normative cultural beliefs such as individualism and equality (Fowler & Wadsworth, 1991) are operationalized in legislation and enforced in the courts. Fair hiring became the legal concern of the workplace with the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and was expanded by passage of the Age Discrimination Act of 1967, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Act of 1974, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Adams, 1991). These legal constraints represent society's expectation of employer behavior in the marketplace.

Cultural factors also affect the character of business in informal ways. For instance, Dr. Deming introduced a new approach, Statistical Quality Control, to management in both the United States and Japan (Walton, 1988) following the end of World War II. After the initial enthusiasm wore off, employers in the United States abandoned the technique, unable to make it work. In Japan, the technique was incorporated into the philosophy of the people and the goals of reconstruction. Later, Japan became the most powerful economic entity in the 20th century, despite limited natural resources. The United States began to take note of the success and the management techniques they used (Ouchi, 1981). Again, business in the United States found it difficult to adopt a proven strategy. Business writers have cited cultural differences as the cause. Differing values, belief systems, and employer–employee relationships made it easier for the Japanese to adopt Deming's methods in the beginning, and made it difficult for Americans later.

Epstein (1990, p. 93) noted that changes in values and beliefs since World War II have spawned a generalized lack of fit between employee expectations and the realities of the workplace. New expectations represent cultural change along the dimensions of motivation, worker role, and the structure of work (Ferguson, 1993). Deming has been revisited by employers seeking more productive management methods, and in the current context his ideas are much more attractive. Current business trade literature chronicles the growing number of management successes employing strategies such as Total Quality Management (George & Weimerskirch, 1994), a descendant of Deming's original work.

Reich (1991) noted that employers needed to incorporate and manage the diversity of the labor market into the structure of the workplace. Managing diversity (Thomas, 1991) is a relatively new concept, very different from affirmative action, which focuses on specific characteristics of protected classes of people. Instead, businesses can come to view managing diversity within the context of all kinds of human variation; differences in education, skills, abilities, attitudes, and temperament that are positively job related affect the quality of the business' human capital investment. The importance is not on individual characteristics, such as gender or race, but on how the work team can function to contribute to an effective enterprise—to, in effect, serve the bottom line (Thomas, 1991).

The fundamental change in the utilization and valuing of knowledge discussed by Drucker (1993) affects the marketplace and the culture in fundamental ways. Fewer jobs per capita are involved in making or moving things. The United States is becoming a knowledge society in the Information Age (Zuboff, 1988). This fundamental change has changed change itself. Now knowledge is applied constantly to the improvement of tools, productivity, product, and service. Management's role is no longer only to adapt to change, but to create change as well (Drucker, 1993). From a sociocultural perspective, an information economy creates new value in human capital.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

In the employer-in-context model, the organization or business place represents a second sphere of forces coming to bear on the employer both as an individual and as an integral component of the larger organization. The employer as a manager; business management as the specialized activity of marshaling physical, financial, and human capital of the business to meet its objectives in the context of changing (and changeable) marketplaces; the overall organizational culture; and the unique style, expectations, and ambitions of the employer all play a role. Managing human resources is the function of the employer and, as such, pervades all levels of management. The employer role is embedded in the culture of the organization, and may be described in terms of the functions and processes used to adapt to a changing marketplace.

Organizational Culture

The workplace has a culture of its own that may be referred to as "a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Schein, 1992, p. 12). To differentiate organizational culture from the greater external culture, it is helpful to think of the organizational culture as being nested within the macroculture, and that the organizational culture itself may be a network of smaller group-identified cultures (Harquail & Cox, 1993). The function of the work culture is to (a) provide a means of accomplishing work goals, (b) provide a predictable pattern of reliable behavior, (c) provide protection from outsiders, (d) create an identity and solidarity with the group, and (e) provide a sense of place and self-image in the larger society (Rothman, 1989).

Culture establishes identity by being discriminative (Hampden-Turner, 1992), delineating the boundary between the group and the "other." Cultural lines may be drawn between the company and the world, between management and worker, and between types of jobs within the company.

Corporate culture, as Hampden-Turner (1992) described it, is based on dilemma. With limited resources and conflicting values, corporate culture provides the means to mediate internal dilemmas (e.g., production vs. quality, formal vs. informal structure, centralized vs. decentralized authority) and dilemmas arising out of the need of the group to adjust to external forces (e.g., affirmative action compliance vs. group solidarity). Culture provides a sense of stability and order in a world of constant change.

The organizational culture can support the socialization process by providing pressure to conform to company policies, rules, and regulations; by inspiring coworkers to expend extra effort when needed; and by creating inter- and intradepartmental cohesion and communication through a climate of camaraderie (Channon, 1992). Conversely, the organizational culture may work at odds with management by undermining company policy and supervisory authority, and by generating a climate of rumor, mistrust, and alienation (Sartain & Baker, 1978). The placement professional, aware of the unique complexity of each employer's organizational culture, may be able to use that knowledge to begin the process of entering into the employer's sphere of reference.

The organizational culture is the pervading, overreaching internal context into which is dictated the formal and informal functions of the organization's managers and other employees. The functions are optimally designed to meet the twin functions of the bottom line: managing risk and maximizing profit.

Four Generic Management Functions

All managers (financial, property, or labor) influence their resources within the organization using a system of integral, interdependent functions (see, e.g., Bittle, 1988; Drucker, 1982; Jucius, 1971) that include planning, organizing, directing, and controlling.

Planning

The management of change and risk (Sartain & Baker, 1978), formalized in the strategic development of policies, procedures, methods, and rules, is the essence of planning. The employer plans for change in both the nature of jobs and the nature of the labor force.

Change in the nature of the job is determined by available technology (Turner & Lawrence, 1965). Technological advances may create a new set of essential job demands, requiring a change in the criteria of both employee selection (Jansen, 1989) and training. For example, computer technology has increased the speed and complexity of the flow of information in the workplace. Robotics has increased the role of machines in the performance of manual tasks in the workplace (Jansen, 1989). Previously mundane and low skill jobs are being supplanted by service-oriented jobs (Goldstein, 1990), which require higher entry-level skills and specialized training. Employers have recognized a growing disparity between the knowledge and skill requirements of new jobs and the academic preparedness of new workers (Haas, 1993). Planning is required to ameliorate the effects of this "knowledge gap" on production.

Change in the demographics of available labor markets presents unique challenges to the employer today. In the past, the traditional labor market referred almost exclusively to Caucasian males for almost every industry. Forecasts show the decline of the White male workforce in favor of an ethnically diverse and female contingent (Bogue, 1985; Haas, 1993; Kiernan, Schalock, & Knutson, 1989). With the new demographics come new personnel considerations for management. Managing in this context involves identifying and resolving potential conflicts of a heterogeneous workforce, and planning strategies to capitalize on its strengths (see Cox, 1993; Jackson & Alvarez, 1992; Thomas, 1991).

Organizing

Grouping workers in meaningful patterns, specifying worker responsibilities and authorities, and defining the means of interacting between groups and individuals are the core functions of organizing (Sartain & Baker, 1978). There are two functional roles of people within a business: those who provide labor and those who manage labor. How these two functional roles are organized for production is known as the structure of the organization.

Management structure may be hierarchically divided into three levels: top, middle, and line. These three levels differ from each other on a variety of characteristics (Sartain & Baker, 1978). Supervisors are the lowest level of management on the hierarchy. They are unique among managers because they must communicate in both worlds, sharing the language of both workers and management. Ascending the hierarchy, management tends to become less specialized. Middle management entails more planning of broad business objectives than filling daily quotas of production. Upper management tends to have a smaller span of control, having direct supervisory duties over a handful of supervisors or middle managers. Authority descends the management hierarchy, and is called the chain of command. Authority and responsibility are delegated by top management down the chain of command, establishing the parameters of the relationship between levels on the hierarchy (Sartain & Baker, 1978).

The shape of management structure is a reflection of what works in context. For example, marketing businesses tend to be flat structures with few levels of management, in part because the nature of the market rewards immediate contact with the public and quick response to change in public demands. On the other hand, bureaucracies tend to be more formally hierarchical (Hampden-Turner, 1992) because formal sociocultural factors controlling their function reward process over outcomes and adherence to rules over efficiency of service.

Employers must relate structure to the objectives of the business. For example, innovation is a performance objective (Drucker, 1982) that requires an environment that encourages risk taking and tolerates uncertainty (Kanter, 1988). If management values innovation, organization will exhibit less traditional structural characteristics (Quinn, 1985). Structure is loose, departmental boundaries are vague, and redundancy between departments may be by design. Responsibility and authority are thrust downward to the worker, and vertical access is improved by removing layers of management (Kanter, 1988).

Directing

The management of employee motivation through leadership, rewards and sanctions, or other measures (Sartain & Baker, 1978) is the essence of directing. Quite simply, directing, or leading as it is known, is the art of maximizing human capital through the use of (a) force, by applying sanctions; (b) enticement, by promise of rewards; (c) manipulation, by clever ruse; and (d) intrinsic motivation, by making the nature and goals of work self-rewarding (Sartain & Baker, 1978). Force and enticement are the traditional motivators; manipulation is probably as old, but not as well accepted. Enriching the employee role is a rather new phenomenon, in response to employee demands for more meaningful participation in the organization (i.e., sociocultural change).

Altering the job is the fundamental way to change the role of the employee (Fitzgerald, 1979). The job may be altered in terms of when or where it has to be done, as in flex time, part time, telecommuting, and job sharing. Job enrichment may involve changing the nature of the tasks, as in job rotation, project-based work, or team approaches (Dyer, 1987).

The nature of goal setting has also been linked to increased motivation (Umstot, Bell, & Mitchell, 1973), as reported by Ross (1985). Specificity (Bryan & Locke, 1967) and difficulty level (Campbell & Ilgen, 1976) in goal setting have been linked with higher motivation in employees (i.e., higher expectations, clearly described, tend to motivate workers).

Motivating workers to do the right thing (or do the thing right) is sometimes found in the conceptualization of the problem and its goal. Consider the role of goal setting in the following quote from a manager who was considering firing a receptionist for smoking on the job (Belasco & Stayer, 1993):

> How you define the problem will largely determine how you go about solving it. Define the situation as a smoking problem, and you've got an addiction problem on your hands. That definition leads to offering smoking-cessation classes and arranging break times and smoking areas. Is that a useful way to spend your time? Define the problem as a rule-infraction matter, and you are in the CIA business, sneaking around catching people doing something wrong. Is that what you want to do? Isn't this a performance problem? She isn't doing a great job. Isn't this a vision problem? She isn't living the vision. (p. 250)

Goal setting and motivation can be affected by how one frames the problem

Controlling

The management of process and product standards through control sys tems characterized by objective criteria, measurement strategies, an means to correct either the standards or the behaviors measured (Sartai & Baker, 1978) is the essence of controlling. The control function tha concerns the system of work may be called program evaluation; the con trol function that concerns the employee directly is called a performanc evaluation. Both involve a comparison of expected productivity agains achieved productivity.

These control processes serve the other management functions. Progran evaluation provides management feedback for planning and organizin through an analysis of the production system. Performance evaluations ar generally provided by the direct supervisor of the employee in questio (Drucker, 1982) and provide information for (a) planning, by identifyin employee strengths, weaknesses (Bittle, 1968), and counterproductiv behaviors that could be affected by policy changes; (b) directing, by moti vating employees through performance feedback and linking productivit to rewards (Hubbell, 1974); and (c) staffing, by identifying employee trair ing needs (Donaldson & Scannell, 1987) and potential for development.

The Employer Function of Management: Staffing

The management of worker movement within the company, facilitate through selection, training and development, and support processes (Smit 1983), is the essence of staffing. The other management functions may claimed by any management interest, but staffing, by definition, is employer function. The employer will approach staffing as the acquisitio servicing, and retention of human capital. Therefore, the processes that fulfill the staffing function will receive particular attention.

Employee Selection

Employee selection is the process of choosing and integrating a new employee. Millington, Szymanski, and Johnston-Rodriguez (in press) called employee selection a complex, contextually dependent, stage process that progresses through a series of decision-making stages.

Employee selection encompasses three stages: recruitment, screening, and hiring or promotion. The recruitment stage provides the employer with an adequate pool of applicants from which to cull an economically viable workforce. Employers recruit by formal and informal advertising means, brochures, and professional recruiters. Employers choose the content of advertisements and the means of dissemination based on (a) organizational characteristics, such as type of policy, leadership style, organizational structure, and nature of the product; (b) job characteristics, such as tenure of position, educational requirements, status, position, and pay (DeWolff, 1989); and (c) their expectations of the applicants. Informal, or word-of-mouth, recruitment is perhaps the most popular and effective method of recruitment.

Employers are prone to economical expedience in selection (Barron & Bishop, 1985; Granovetter, 1984), and screening provides a way to reduce large applicant pools by rejecting applicants based on negatively weighted indicators. Indicators found in an application review may include such factors as job hopping, absenteeism, tardiness, gaps in employment history, reasons for leaving past employment, and past wage rates (Bills, 1990). Criteria for rejecting applicants are based on employer-perceived violations of rational norms for the position.

The hiring stage is a decision-making strategy that attempts to rank applicants according to best fit, or positively weighted criteria. The employer operationalizes best fit in terms of work-related qualities inherent in the successful applicant that, in the mind of the employer, raise expectations of success on the job. Employers need economically efficient producers of labor who fit into the strategic plans of the company, and who can be organized and motivated to work. They will look for people whose work histories reflect the company's work ethic. Strategies of selection often assume a one-to-one correspondence between personal characteristics and predictability of success on the job (DeWolff, 1989).

Employee Training and Development

Training is a continuation of the socialization process begun in selection. In training, the criteria become more objective. The processes are more pragmatic. The intended result is a well-socialized and competent worker. Training may be described by the content, such as basic skills training, which teaches remedial language, math, and problem-solving skills as a foundation to more advanced job-specific skills (Szabo, 1990), or by the approach to training job-related skills, such as coaching (Knippen & Green, 1990), mentoring (Zey, 1988), and apprenticeships (Hanley-Maxwell & Millington, 1992).

Development is a more generic term, but of equal importance in what it tells of the motives for training. Organizational development is the proactive redistribution of work roles, responsibility, and authorities that an organization undertakes in planning for future production. Career development is the finding, grooming, and ultimately exploitation of talents in the workforce (Sartain & Baker, 1978). Gutteridge (1986, pp. 60–61) described the following six career development practices: (a) employee self-assessment tools, such as career planning workshops, workbooks, or computer software; (b) organizational potential assessment processes, such as promotability forecasts and assessment centers; (c) internal labor market information exchanges, including career information handbooks, resource centers, and so on; (d) individual counseling and career discussions between employees and supervisors, human resources staff, or specialized career counselors; (e) job matching systems such as job posting, skills audits or inventories, and replacement or succession planning; and (f) development programs, including internal and external programs and seminars, tuition reimbursement, job rotation, enrichment, mentoring systems, and so on. Thus career development is the means by which organizational development implements change in role and structure.

Employee Support

Employer care for the worker sometimes goes beyond the framework of the job. Pressures, demands, and conflicts within the workplace (Davis, 1991), as well as problems in other environments, can affect the productivity of the worker. For many employers, the costs of employee selection, training, and development are high enough to make employee attrition (literally through leaving the company, or figuratively through poor job performance) a serious economic concern. Support services prevent or correct employee barriers to optimal production (i.e., the company's ability to produce and profit).

Support may include wellness and employee-assistance programs (Hanley-Maxwell & Millington, 1992).

Wellness programs were created to curb skyrocketing health costs and succeed where less integrated health promotion programs failed. Wellness programs create awareness of pertinent health issues through health-risk assessment of personnel and family members. Counseling, in-service, and educational materials are used to inform employees of health risks and how to avoid them. Wellness programs are often motivational strategies for improving employee health, including forms of reimbursement and worksite access to wellness programming. Programs focusing on physical fitness, nutritional counseling, stress management, smoking cessation, weight loss, cardiovascular fitness, blood pressure screening, prenatal care, and injury prevention are designed to meet assessed employee needs (Caudron, 1990).

Employee assistance programs (EAPs) were created to deal with alcohol problems in the workplace, and have grown to encompass other personal problems of the employee, including marital, financial, emotional, legal, and work-related concerns (Roman, 1988). Therapeutic counseling and referral services through EAPs are provided by employers to help personnel cope with psychological problems. These services provide a positive, problem-solving solution to the troubled employee that may be both therapeutic and preventative.

The Employer as Person

What kind of person is the employer? How does the employer relate to others within the organization? These are important questions, because the employer role is the gatekeeper for all employee placement and career development.

The concept of matching personal traits to the work environment (Brown, 1990) is as applicable to the employer as it is to other workers, and would suggest that people are attracted to jobs that complement their attributes. The concept of fit may also be interpreted in a developmental sense. Over time, people begin to identify with their jobs (Czander, 1993); the role actively acts upon the person to create a better fit and a new identity in the person (Waelder, 1936).

Management Style

Management style is a function of the expectations placed upon the employer by the organization and the personality of the employer (Zaleznik,

1979). More than the need for achievement, and definitely more important than the need to be liked, need for power motivation has been shown to be a characteristic of good managers, as measured by morale of their subordinates (McClelland & Burnham, 1979). This is a thirst not for personal power, but for socialized power—the desire to influence others for the good of the organization. Power may be seen as amoral, its valence determined by the goals sought. Power used for self-aggrandizement and personal agenda is counterproductive. Power used for social improvement (McClelland & Burnham, 1979) is the mark of the good manager. The effectiveness of power may be determined through management style. Authoritarian approaches, the traditional view of power, are actually associated with lower morale (McClelland & Burnham, 1979).

An exploitive-authoritative style is characterized by highly centralized authority, autocratic decision making, and an emphasis on punitive motivation strategies (Likert, 1967). This is similar to McGregor's (1960) Theory X, which held the expectations that people abhor and avoid work, must be coerced to do it, prefer being "bossed," and value security above ambition.

Benevolent-authoritative style is also very paternalistic, but allows some decentralization of authority under strict parameters. Problem solving remains autocratic. Motivation involves both rewards and punishment.

Consultative style is moderately centralized in authority, with cautious delegation of specific decisions to lower levels. Decision making involves the worker in a recommendation capacity only. Motivation involves punishment and rewards, as well as opportunities for greater involvement.

Democratic-participative style is highly decentralized. Workers have much authority and responsibility for their jobs. Employees have an active role in decision making, and their opinions carry real weight in planning. Motivation involves internal characteristics as well as formal structure (i.e., commitment to the job, coworkers, and loyalty to the business). This is similar to McGregor's (1960) Theory Y, which held the expectations that employees wanted to work, and were self-directed, controlled, and motivated, and that creativity and the ability to solve problems are characteristics widely distributed in the population.

Zaleznik (1979) described management style from a change perspective using two dimensions. The first dimension is a continuum from a partial to a total approach to the selection of goals. The partial approach is pragmatic; goals are conservatively selected piecemeal within the system. The total approach is ideological; goals are universal in breadth and revolutionary in implementation. The second dimension is a continuum from a substance to a form orientation toward action. Substance orientation focuses on defining the problem, identifying the players, forming the strategy, and identifying the expected outcome. Form orientation focuses on protocol: Who reports to whom, and how will they do it? A cognitive management style is defined by preferences along these axes (Zaleznik, 1979). The partial/form quadrant is indicative of the bureaucratic style, where protocol and minutiae are valued above results. The total/form quadrant is descriptive of the participative management style, where a conversion of values, ideals, and even personality is sought through the implementation of processes (e.g., management by objective, entrepreneurship, quality circles). The total/substance quadrant is indicative of a dictatorial approach. The partial/substance quadrant, and Zaleznik's particular favorite, is a problem-solving style in which managers "define problems worthy of thought and action" and "use their organization to evolve solutions" (1979, p. 394).

Attitudes and Expectations

Attitudes are ideas, charged with emotion, that predispose a person to act in stereotypical or predictable ways (Triandis, 1971) toward an attitude referent (Thurston, 1927). Expectations are anticipations of events or behavior (Baron & Greenberg, 1990). Although attitudes and expectations are formed early, both are subject to growth and change (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964), and may thus be taught, and perhaps altered. That is the justification of studying employer attitudes and expectations of workers with disabilities.

Greenwood and Johnson (1987) compiled and synthesized more than 90 studies spanning 40 years of research into employer attitudes toward and concerns about workers with disabilities. The authors concluded that stereotypical attitudes toward people with disability persisted despite the efforts of rehabilitation organizations and advocates (Greenwood & Johnson, 1987). Employers operate upon the same constellation (Colbert, Kalish, & Chang, 1973; Florian, 1978; Fuqua, Rathbun, & Gade, 1984; Geist & Calzaretta, 1982; Krefting & Brief, 1977; Mithaug, 1979; Siegfried & Toner, 1981) of disability-induced negative stereotypes found in society at large.

Although verifying the causal link between attitude and selection has proven elusive, the use of the construct of expectations has provided more meaningful information. As intimated in the American Psychological Association (1994) definition, an expectation is a prediction of behavior rather than a value statement, which attitudes tend to be. Gordon, Minnes, and Holden (1990) suggested that employers would act upon negatively valued expectations that are shaped by negative attitudes toward the disability, not attitudes concerning the individual. In a study by Schloss and Soda (1989), the presence of the label "mental retardation" lowered employer expectation for job success and raised expectations of more involved training, even when the job being considered is one in which people with mental retardation have traditionally been successful. Other studies found that employer expectations were replete with examples of interview bias toward people introduced with a history of psychiatric disability (Farina & Felner, 1973) and reluctance to hire people injured in work-related accidents (Brown & McDaniel, 1987; Fuqua et al., 1984).

In a recent study, Millington, Szymanski, and Hanley-Maxwell (1994) examined the effect of the label of mental retardation on employer expectations in hiring. Findings provided support for the enduring employer selection concerns of competence, productivity, social integration, and reliability (Greenwood & Johnson, 1987). Factor analysis of the 57 items in this study generated seven factor fundamental skills; advanced skills; job knowledge, skills, and abilities; interpersonal skills; dependability; and personal liability. The personal liability factor consisted predominantly of items that suggest stigmatized groups and was considered a screening criterion in selection. That a rejecting factor based on stigma would surface as a screening criterion is in keeping with selection theory and expectations of employers based on disability stereotypes (Krupnitz & Krieger, 1976).

The stereotypes that surround disability types generally include expectations of weakness and diminished competency as a worker (Bowman, 1987). Given that strength and competence are virtues of the workplace, the logic follows that employer-owned negative attitudes (Harasymiw, Horne, & Lewis, 1976), and their concomitant expectations, result in discriminatory employment selection (Perry & Apostal, 1986; Satcher & Dooley-Dickey, 1992) and, perhaps, other employer processes.

THE BUSINESS OF PLACEMENT

The employer-in-context systems model should make intuitive sense to the placement professional in that placement is a service provided by a business with a dual consumer market of prospective workers and employers. Indeed, the best way for placement service providers to approach a business is *as* a business. Drucker (1982) stated that, "because it is its purpose to create a customer, any business enterprise has two—and only these two—basic functions: marketing and innovation" (p. 37). Placement as a business should consider these activities as the framework for engaging the employer.

Marketing Placement to the Employer

Marketing is not unknown to placement (Fabian, Luecking, & Tilson, 1994) or even particularly new (Corthell & Boone, 1982), even though it is currently viewed as one of several new models for placement (Gilbride et al., 1994). An employer, like any other consumer, must be convinced that a particular change (using placement services) is in its best interest (Rochlin, 1987). Encouraging this particular kind of organizational change is known in business as marketing. Marketing placement services to employers is structurally no different (from the employer's point of view) than marketing any other resource that they might use. Essentially, the placement professional is in the business of "selling" human capital. There are four components or variables to what is known as the marketing mix, namely product, place, price, and promotion (Sandhusen, 1987). These are the dimensions that can be adjusted to improve the exchange between placement professional and employer.

Product

Product is the marketing component that refers to the character of the purchased service (Sandhusen, 1987). For many placement services, the product is characterized by its ability to lead to the satisfactory employment (outcome measure) of people with disabilities (consumers). In marketing terms, the descriptor "with disabilities" is the market niche of placement (Sandhusen, 1987), a segmentation of the market of job seekers for the purpose of product development. Unfortunately, when the employer is the consumer, the "with disabilities" niche becomes functionally irrelevant, and the products developed do not address the employer market. The employer function engaged by placement services is staffing. Staffing is concerned with the acquisition and maximization of human capital within the organization, regardless of disability status. Placement professionals must have a separate sense of product when they market to employers.

Employer-targeted product development will depend on how the placement agency views its relationship with the employer. The "beg–place–pray" approach to the employer market, derided in current placement literature (Fabian et al., 1994), bespeaks of a dysfunctional relationship doomed to failure; however, this is exactly the approach that some would say drives much of placement activity today. If the placement agency were to analyze its own resources and compare them with the human capital concerns of the employer, an entirely different line of placement services could be marketed.

Consider the skills and knowledge required of the placement professional: (a) awareness of employment trends in the local market; (b) knowledge of local business, job seekers, and the law; (c) management of a caseload of job seekers and a portfolio of employers; (d) assessment of jobs, employers, organizational cultures, and job seekers; (d) training abilities in job getting and keeping behaviors; (e) motivational skills with both employers and job seekers; and (f) ability to act as a referral source for employers and job seekers. Given these inherent qualities in the position, the product of placement could be conceptualized from a broader human resource perspective, linked to enhancing employer functions. For instance, employers view the lack of general education and job-related skills as negatively affecting employability (Bills, 1988; Bluestone, 1989), worker performance, productivity, safety, attendance, and morale (Sartain & Baker, 1978). The placement agency may be able to offer or contract evaluation services, remedial and basic skills training, mentoring, or job coaching. The placement agency could contract the entire selection process from downsizing and smaller organizations, and provide consultation for career development and outplacement (layoffs) services, simultaneously providing service and expanding new markets. Placement agencies could contract to provide disability legislation, disability awareness, diversity, and accommodations training for larger corporations. The importance of education in the successful implementation of taking the focus off of the less relevant characteristics and on the more relevant job-related characteristics cannot be underestimated (Thomas, 1991).

Marketing placement in the employer context may require that placement providers begin to adopt a wider, more creative niche for themselves. The placement service can market more effectively by altering or customizing individual services, create new services within their expertise, or combine a variety of services (Sandhusen, 1987) to appeal to the employer.

Place

The component of place refers to the physical and temporal presence of the service, and the conditions under which it would be delivered (Sandhusen, 1987). Traditional restaurants serve food on site, have dress codes, and have a lengthy delay between order and delivery. This niche is different from the one served by fast-food restaurants with drive-up windows, where the place is one's car window, dress is optional, and delay between order and delivery is minimal. A well-known pizza chain once guaranteed hot pizza delivered to the consumer's door within half an hour, or the pizza was free. Several lawsuits later, due to accidents by delivery personnel, they stopped the half-hour guarantee, but not before carving out a large segment of the national market. Place in placement is traditionally the workplace, and not often a concern for the placement agency. However, if agencies diversify their services to fill employers' needs, place may become more of an issue. If a placement agency were to offer a temporary employment service to employers, the issue of place would refer to the geographical area where workers could be placed, and how fast the worker could get there.

Price

The price component refers to the exchange rate for services (Sandhusen, 1987). In most cases, the employer does not directly reimburse the placement agency for services. Establishing the "price" of placement service is problematic. In a profit-centered world, what is the value of a "free" service?

In a discussion of psychological consultation with business, Czander (1993) suggested that surfacing agendas, addressing expectations, and defining value in the business relationship are variables affecting the character of the exchange. Employers are approached by a variety of suppliers as matter of course. They know the agenda of each supplier and negotiate price in terms of what is valued (Drucker, 1982), usually money. Placement agencies and their representatives need to communicate their agendas and establish the currency of trade at the onset of negotiation. The agency values efficient placement. The placement professional values an accommodating network of placement sites.

How the placement professional operationally defines the optimum employer relationship (expectations) is the coin of negotiation. The employer is negotiating an improvement in the workforce. The price the employer is asked to pay may be defined in terms of future behavior, such as providing the placement professional with advanced access to corporate hiring initiatives, consideration of purchasing other agency services (training, consultation, etc.), or participating in partnership arrangements (Fabian et al., 1994).

Promotion

The promotion component refers to the means used to reach the market. Promotion for the placement professional is the purposeful dissemination of information designed to influence employer attitudes and purchasing behavior (Sandhusen, 1987). Promotion is characterized as either indirect or direct.

Indirect promotion is aimed at the target market in general, rather than a specific individual or organization. Indirect promotion serves primarily to "soften up" the intended target. Indirect promotion can be purchased, as in advertising, sales promotion, and "packaging" of service, or free, as in publicity, word-of-mouth, or public relations (Sandhusen, 1987). Examples of paid promotional activities exist with or without an organized marketing plan. Placement agencies have offered a "speaker's brunch" with a guest speaking on a topic of interest to employers, such as reasonable accommodations, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and accessibility issues. Packets of information prepared with brochures, as well as video presentations profiling past success stories of the placement agency, have been used to increase employer interest in placement and to develop more positive and realistic expectations of applicants with disabilities. Placement agencies have used employer mailing lists to circulate newsletters that include items of interest in the employment community, updates of placement successes, and a reminder of service availability.

Direct promotion is aimed at the specific consumer and involves a strategic development of leads, negotiation, closing, and quality control (Sandhusen, 1987). Strategy is based on the character of the objectives of the agency, reflected in the service(s) it is trying to sell. Developing leads is the first step. The efficiency of lead development will depend upon how well connected the placement professional (or job developer) is to the local labor market. Once a quality lead is found, there are often employer concerns that must be addressed. Many employer concerns are related to the bottom line (Matkin, 1983), including the cost of accommodations, health insurance, training, litigation, and concerns of productivity. Other concerns are "unconscious expectations . . . , matters that are not discussed or agreed upon" (Czander, 1993, pp. 319–320), and negative biases based on disability stereotypes. Closure occurs when all parties agree on the price and conditions of sale. Quality control is the monitoring of the product and the satisfaction it delivers. If the placement is successful, the professional needs to know why. If it runs into difficulty, the professional needs to intervene. If the placement fails, the professional needs to do damage control and adjust further services to avoid the problem in the future.

In short, direct promotion is sales. In that sales is the only business activity directly responsible for turning service into profit, it is surprising how little respect it appears to get in placement agencies. Vocational rehabilitation counselors, whose job it is to help people with disabilities overcome the barriers to employment, appear to avoid it when possible. Some agencies relegate direct promotion to an entry-level, low status position called "job developer." Such an act is unthinkable in the context of business.

Innovation in Placement

The employer-in-context systems model defines the impetus for organizational change. Pressure to change is brought directly (e.g., corporate rules, structure, culture) or indirectly (changes in societal demographics, economics) to bear on the employer when old behaviors no longer serve the bottom line. Through the functions of management, marketing provides the organization with (a) a process for dissemination of information within the hierarchy of the organization about current product status and future trends in the market; (b) a strategic plan for defining and exploiting opportunities within the target market; and (c) a system of controls to measure and report the effect of marketing efforts on the established organizational goals (Sandhusen, 1987). Marketing involves both proactive (Clancy & Shulman, 1993) and reactive adaptation to changing demands in the target market.

Innovation is the planned change in what the organization markets, or the process of production. Traditionally the route to innovation in placement has been through needs assessment and program evaluation. A needs assessment is composed of five basic stages: (a) identification, which is the development of questions concerning current or future service; (b) planning and organizing, which is the creation of a structure and strategy for examining the questions; (c) documentation, which is the collection of data; (d) analysis, which is the integration of findings into a cogent whole; and (e) conclusions, which are the recommendations for change based on analysis (Auvenshine & Mason, 1985).

Whereas traditional business thought asserts that innovation is driven by the financial bottom line, popular business philosophy contends that organizational change should be consumer driven in a scientific and continuous pursuit of quality in process, product, service, workers, tools, and equipment.

One can credit much of this philosophy of quality to the work of W. E. Deming (Deming, 1982; Walton, 1988). Deming's ideas built on the idea of scientific management by introducing small sample statistics to quality control. This sampling approach made training more effective and improved quality in process, resulting in increased quality and production. From this, Deming developed an entire method of management, outlined in 14 major points with quality as the keystone. This new thinking in business management has spawned other models, such as Total Quality Management (George & Weimerskirch, 1994) and the concept of a developmental organization (Senge, 1990), which are all based on a systems model of management similar to the one presented in this chapter. A thorough analysis of the literature addressing change in business management practices is beyond the purposes of this chapter. The essence of this new thinking in management is to consider systemic change as (a) a natural organizational function, (b) driven by consumer satisfaction, (c) directed through the continuous scientific collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, and (d) controlled through the mutual commitment of workers and management.

Placement professionals have looked at business process such as marketing as "models for placement" that may or may not be a vital part of service delivery (Gilbride et al., 1994). Employers view marketing as an integral part of the organizational system. Therein lies the difference between the entities. Change has always been seen as a management function, and the best change reflects consumer satisfaction. Change in placement is not so formally rooted in the consumer. Statistics continue to show that placement for people with disabilities in the workforce is neither overwhelmingly successful nor particularly enduring (Gilbride et al., 1994).

This chapter has attempted to make the case that the best way for placement professionals to advance their cause in the world of the employer is not only to know the employer's business, but to see themselves as representing a business, competing in the employer market. All of the literature that has guided the success of present-day management applies, nearly whole cloth, to the problems and the solutions of the rehabilitation placement service industry.

Rehabilitation policy makers and administrators need to respond to the challenge to human service programs and placement personnel within state agencies and community rehabilitation programs to adopt the business perspective. Educators need to respond by selecting and preparing rehabilitation personnel to serve both the employer and the person with disabilities. More rehabilitation research is needed to understand the long-term effectiveness of the business paradigm on the employment of people with disabilities.

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