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Exhibit 20-7   Reasons Given by Managers at Different Levels for the Retention of Ineffective Subordinates

Reasons from Which Managers Were Asked to Choose	Percent Giving Reason		
	Lower-Level Managers	Middle Managers	Upper-Level Managers
Maintaining adequate representation of women and minorities	87	39	6
Seniority or past work contributions of the individual	7	35	56
Nepotism or friendship for the individual	3	19	19
Perception of personal failure if the individual is dismissed	3	7	19

SOURCE: Adapted from Philipp A. Stoeberl & Marc J. Schniederjans (1981). The ineffective subordinate: A management survey. *Personnel Administrator, 26* (2), 72.

tifying where performance control may go wrong. To the extent that biases can be anticipated in advance, it is more likely that they can be eliminated.

Second, the diagnostic process is facilitated in several respects, and biases may well be reduced, by resorting to psychological appraisal. Appraisals of this kind typically utilize interview data, personal history forms, and ability and personality tests (Ryan & Sackett, 1987). The case at the beginning of Chapter 6 provides an example of this type of assessment involving an apparently alcoholic airline pilot. Box 14-1 provides another example of psychological appraisal, although in this instance not involving poor performance. Industrial clinical psychologists carry out these kinds of evaluations for many purposes, but one of the major ones is to identify factors contributing to ineffective performance. The process is analogous to what clinical psychologists do in diagnosing the causes of emotional and some physical disorders.

5 Firing as a Solution. As indicated in Chapter 16, selection and screening are unlikely to prevent organizations from experiencing performance problems, although they may reduce them. Another possibility does

remain, however. Could not all those who become ineffective be immediately fired, thus eliminating any need for time-consuming and costly procedures such as performance analyses and corrective actions? The answer is that although firing is always a possibility, it has become hedged with so many constraints, both internal and external to the organization, that it is often not really feasible. In addition, it can well be as costly as taking corrective action. Thus it must be considered a last resort in most cases. Furthermore, the legal doctrine of termination-at-will is sufficiently threatened by changing social values that firing can be expected to become even more difficult in the future.

Pressures against firing emanate from the costs of unemployment compensation, legal actions, severance payments, and hiring replacements. Unions and employees may create obstacles. Exhibit 20-7 lists additional reasons why firing may be prescribed, in spite of poor performance.

Taken as a whole, a rather imposing array of factors exerts strong pressure for performance control rather than discharge. Certainly firing is not an impossibility, but it is often a last resort. As an all-purpose solution to ineffective performance, it is clearly

inappropriate. As a solution when corrective action is known to be either impossible or inexpedient, it seems preferable to letting an employee stay on indefinitely while remaining entirely unsatisfactory.

Individual Causes of Failure

Intensive study of cases where performance failures have occurred has resulted in the development of several schemata that cover many of the factors that may prove strategic (Miner, 1985; Miner & Brewer, 1976). The elements of such a schema are treated as hypotheses that should be considered either implicitly or explicitly in the process of diagnosis.

The number of confirmed hypotheses or strategic factors that will emerge from this process varies considerably from case to case. Job failure is rarely a result of a single cause. Usually, the number of contributory factors runs to something like four, but in an occasional instance it can be as high as seven or eight. People fail because with their own particular pattern of abilities and personality characteristics, they become enmeshed in a specific constellation of circumstances. The need is to spell out exactly which among these individual and environmental factors have in fact played a causal role.

We will consider the various potential causes in the order of individual, group, and organizational/contextual. A more extended treatment of many of these factors is given in Part Two of this book, although there the specific focus on contributions to performance failure is less pronounced. Where appropriate, the corresponding chapters from Part Two are noted.

Intelligence and Job Knowledge (Chapter 2)

1) _Insufficient verbal ability._ The higher up in the job hierarchy a position is located, the greater are its demands in terms of verbal ... or general intelligence. Given this circumstance ... not surprising that on occa-

sion people attain a level where the role requirements are intellectually beyond them. At such times, failure is likely to be reflected in a high incidence of errors and incorrect decisions.

2) _Insufficient special ability._ Various jobs, regardless of their level in the hierarchy, require widely differing types of intellectual abilities. Numerical, spatial, mechanical, clerical, and other abilities are relevant for some types of work and not for others. To the extent that individuals lack whatever such abilities may be required, they are likely to fail through an inability to think effectively and learn rapidly.

3) _Insufficient job knowledge._ Insufficient job knowledge cannot be attributed to lack of ability. Individuals may have the intellectual capacity to learn the job, but either because of inadequate training or for some other reason, they have not done so. In some instances, the difficulty relates to a lack of desire to take advantage of learning opportunities or emotional blocks to learning.

4) _Defect of judgment or memory._ In most cases, defects of judgment or memory reflect the interference of emotional factors with intellectual processes. The individual may do well on standard intelligence tests, but when it comes to applying intelligence on the job, the results are not as good. Defects of this kind are particularly frequent among those suffering from some type of emotional disorder, but they can also result from a disturbance in brain functioning, such as might occur as a result of a head injury.

Individual Motivation (Chapters 3 and 4)

Strong motives frustrated at work. Probably the most common type of motivationally caused performance failure is the case where an individual wants something very much from a job and is unable to attain it. Among the things desired that seem to be important in this sense are success, the avoidance of failure, domination of others, popularity, social

interaction, attention, and emotional support. When such motives are frustrated, the individual may leave the job, may stay on but make little effort, may become sullen and angry, or may attempt to achieve what is wanted through behavior that is antithetical to effective job performance.

Unintegrated means to satisfy motives. Workers who resort to behavior that is not job-integrated may not actually experience any frustration of a strong motive at work. Many people develop an approach to a job that permits motive satisfaction but at the expense of fulfilling role requirements. A secretary who desires social interaction may make friends rapidly and spend most of the time talking to others, to the detriment of the performance of everyone involved. Similarly, theft and other forms of dishonesty may represent a rapid route to the goal of success.

Excessively low personal work standards. Another possibility involves individuals who set very low work standards for themselves, standards well below those considered minimally acceptable. Individuals who have such low standards tend to be poor workers. They achieve a sense of personal success and accomplishment with a degree of effort far below that actually required.

Generalized low work motivation. These are individuals whose motivational systems are so structured that their important desires tend to be satisfied outside the work situation, or at least through behavior that is not intended within the role prescriptions for any job. In such cases there is practically no mesh between the individual and the world of work, and as a consequence the quantity, and probably quality also, of output will be low, quite irrespective of the position held.

Emotions and Emotional Illness (Chapter 6)

Frequent disruptive emotion. Emotions can, if intense enough and frequent enough, have a detrimental impact on many aspects of job behavior (Warr, 1987). This is particularly true of negative emotional states, such as anxiety and fear, depression, shame and guilt. But failure can also occur as a result of persistent anger, jealousy, and excitement. The individual need not be emotionally ill for a severe impact on the level of work performance to manifest itself. The result may be a number of errors; an inability to concentrate so that output is slowed; a tendency to be constantly immersed in controversy; or, and this is perhaps most frequent, a continuing avoidance of many required job behaviors. Stress is often at the heart of the problem.

Psychosis. Psychoses manifest themselves in a variety of symptoms that take on an inflexible character and serve to disrupt many of the ongoing processes of life. In a psychosis, the preoccupation with symptoms, emotions, and the warding off of unpleasant feelings becomes so intense that a break with reality occurs, at least at certain times and under certain circumstances. Symptoms vary from incessant emotional states to disorders of physical functioning, to pathological behavior and speech, and even to extreme distortions of perception and belief. Although the various psychotic conditions represent relatively rare phenomena insofar as the work environment is concerned, their impact on performance is generally marked. Often the individual cannot continue work at all while in the psychotic state.

Personality disorders. The personality disorders, although milder in their impact, may on occasion have just as detrimental an effect on work performance as psychoses. This appears to depend to a considerable extent on the job level. In lower-level positions of a repetitive nature, symptoms of emotional disorder are much more common, and in these particular jobs, the detrimental effects appear to be less. At higher levels, on the other hand, personality disorders are typically quite disruptive. Examples of managerial styles and symptoms, and how they may disrupt performance, are given in Exhibit 6-8.

Alcohol and drug problems. Alcoholism has been recognized as a major problem by many employers for a number of years. Because of drinking on the job, hangovers, and anxiety, alcoholics often turn out poor work. However, the major impact is in terms of absenteeism, where rates two to three times those of other employees are typical. In part, but only in part, these high absence rates are a function of accidents and physical disorders resulting from the alcoholic state. In some cases performance tends to deteriorate gradually to the point where employment is no longer possible.

Heavy use of any of the drugs currently in vogue, such as marijuana, amphetamines, the hallucinogens, and opiates, appears to have negative consequences insofar as employment is concerned. People under the influence of the drugs while at work can be expected to suffer performance decrements and to have more accidents. Drug users also have higher absenteeism rates (Heisler, Jones, & Benham, 1988). In addition, certain physical disorders have been found to result from drug use, and where the drugs are expensive and addictive, as with heroin, there is a considerable risk of theft (see Chapter 18). Quantity of drug use is a better predictor of drug problems than frequency. What really hurts is using drugs too much (Stein, Newcomb, & Bentler, 1988).

Physical Characteristics and Disorders

Physical illness or handicap. The major avenue through which physical disorders contribute to ineffective performance is absence from the job, although quantity and quality of output may also be affected. Handicapped employees have generally proved as competent as other workers if their handicaps do not bar working at all, but in some instances certain disabilities may contribute to failure in specific jobs. There are things the blind, those with heart conditions, and other handicapped people just cannot do effectively.

Physical disorders of emotional origin. A number of physical symptoms, such as headaches, fainting, ulcers, high blood pressure, hay fever, backache, and skin disorders, may be caused by emotional factors. When this is the case, the symptoms and the work disruption are identical to those that would exist if no emotional element were present; only the cause is different.

Inappropriate physical characteristics. Inappropriate physical characteristics are the features of bodily proportion and esthetics that, although not widely significant, may become strategic in certain jobs. A large person may have difficulty working in a cramped space, as may a small person in a truck cab with the seat far removed from the controls, or an unattractive person in a modeling position. Many physical characteristics are less important today, what with the advent of human engineering and the consequent emphasis on designing equipment to fit the human operator, but these factors can become crucial at times.

Insufficient muscular or sensory ability or skill. A variety of muscular dexterities and abilities, as well as purely intellectual abilities, may influence job performance. Where there is a deficiency in some ability of this kind that is required by the job, ineffectiveness can result. Strength does appear to have decreasing relevance now, but it still can be a factor in failure on some jobs. Deficiencies of vision and hearing also remain a significant source of problems in many cases. Competence in driving a truck, for instance, is strongly influenced by such sensory abilities.

⬚ Group Causes of Failure

Groups at Work (Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10)

Negative consequences associated with group cohesion. Restriction of output within a cohesive group can yield a low level of production that is, nevertheless, socially sanctioned. Although it is common to observe a generally

centralizing tendency among group members when restriction occurs, it is also true that some individuals may be forced below the minimum acceptable level of output by the restricted standard. Also, groups with a marked sense of cohesiveness may reject members whom they believe to be deviant. Although such ostracism may have no effect on some people, it is extremely threatening to others. The result can be intense anxiety or anger that constantly disrupts work.

Ineffective management. Varying managerial styles can influence performance in different ways. Managers who are extremely inconsiderate of subordinates and those who fail to establish and enforce standards may well have low-producing groups. Laissez-faire managing, where very little if any supervising occurs, is particularly detrimental. It is also apparent that these styles can contribute to the ineffective performance of specific subordinates. It is not at all uncommon for supervisory action to conflict with subordinate personality patterns—and as a result actually produce failure, even where just the opposite result is desired.

Inappropriate managerial standards and criteria. The criteria on which subordinates are judged are usually set by their superiors, as are the performance standards used to determine effectiveness. In certain cases these may be established without any reference to organizational goals. Thus failure may be embedded in the evaluative process rather than in the individual. Because of supervisory biases, standards may be set at an unrealistically high level. Or the criteria employed may be totally irrelevant to actual role prescriptions and the company's goals. In such instances the failure may be by definition only.

Family Ties

Family crises. There are a number of significant events occurring in the home environment that can have an impact on the personality of certain individuals that is sufficient to disturb work performance. Among these are desertion, divorce, threatened divorce, illness of a family member, death, or criminal prosecution. Normally, these effects are transitory, but on occasion the performance decrement is maintained for a considerable period.

Separation from the family. The fact of extended separation from either the parental family or a spouse and children can produce a very intense homesickness in some individuals. Business trips, temporary assignments out of town, management development programs at universities, and the like induce considerable anxiety in some people, especially those who have rarely been away from home before. The result can be a severe disruption of performance during the period of absence, with frequent errors, poor decisions, and difficult interpersonal relationships.

Predominance of family considerations over work demands. These factors do not represent a threat to the family's unity or survival, yet they can have a considerable impact on performance. A demanding spouse can require so much of the marital partner's time that little time is left for work. Or a spouse may become disturbed at leaving the home town or going to a foreign country and may impose a severe burden. Certain family situations are little short of chaotic, and some carryover into the work situation is inevitable. Competition between father and son or wife and husband may well produce emotional reactions that permeate the job.

☑ Organizational/Contextual Causes of Failure

The Organization (Chapter 11)

Insufficient organizational action. Job failure may occur or be perpetuated because the company does not take the kind of corrective action required. Treatment, training, and the like simply may not be provided, either intentionally or through some oversight. In either

case, the lack of action on the part of the company can become strategic. The decision not to invest in corrective action may be based on various considerations such as cost, chances of success, and the availability of potentially effective replacements.

Placement error. Placement error probably appears in more cases than any other. It is particularly prevalent where random assignment policies, seniority, or union pressures govern the placement process and where there is accordingly little effort to put individuals with known characteristics in appropriate jobs. If intellectual, emotional, motivational, or physical factors are strategic, there is nearly always a placement error as well.

Inappropriate organizational style. On occasion, a company will operate under such lax and permissive personnel policies and procedures that employees are actually encouraged not to work. When circumstances of this kind exist, individuals with certain types of motivational patterns may become ineffective as a result. A company may, for instance, encourage insubordination through a lack of discipline. Excessive training, far beyond that required for complete learning, can foster a feeling that actual on-the-job production is unimportant. Too liberal sick-leave policies can result in excessive absenteeism.

Excessive span of control. In some cases, managers may fail to deal effectively with a particular subordinate and thus contribute to a performance failure, not because of any inadequacy in themselves as managers, but because there simply is not sufficient time. The number of individuals supervised, the span of control, may be so great that the manager cannot deal with subordinates as individuals, carrying out performance analyses and the like. The organizational structure has been established in such a way as to preclude effective action by a superior aimed at preventing performance failure.

Inappropriate organizational standards and criteria. Inappropriate organizational standards and criteria are the counterparts of the inappropriate managerial standards and criteria category discussed under the work group heading. In this instance, however, the focus is on standards set as a result of organizational policy or high-level decisions rather than on those established by individual superiors.

The Societal Context (Chapter 5)

Application of legal sanctions. These are cases in which individuals are unable to perform their job duties because they have committed a crime and have been sent to jail.

Enforcement of societal values. Although society obtains compliance with its values in large part through the agency of the legal process and police action, it is also true that pressure may be exerted outside the law. Thus, sales personnel may fail because no one will buy from them after they commit some act that potential customers consider unethical or immoral.

Conflict between job demands and values. The most frequent type of strategic factor involving societal values is the situation in which an individual holds strong convictions that are in conflict with the role requirements for a job. Intense commitments to equity and fair play, to individual freedom, and to morality can contribute to job failure. It is not uncommon for industrial scientists, for instance, with a strong belief in freedom of inquiry to become incensed at the restrictions of a bureaucratic organization.

The Work Context

Negative consequences of economic forces. Competing firms or economic conditions operate to produce a situation in which employees cannot achieve at a level consistent with their standards. As a result, they become emotionally distressed, and eventually performance does not even come up to what could realistically be expected under the existing circumstances. Problems of this kind are particularly common among salespeople.

EXHIBIT 20-9   Extent of Use of Various Types of Counseling by Major U.S. Corporations

	Type of Counseling		
	Personal Problems	Retirement	Alcoholism and Drugs
Firms with various counseling programs currently in effect	71%	63%	63%
Sources of counseling used by firms			
Professional staff in-house	56%	69%	49%
Supervisors	26%	8%	11%
External counseling services	27%	13%	30%

SOURCE: Adapted from Helen LeVan, Nicholas Mathys, & David Drehmer (1983). A look at the counseling practices of major U.S. corporations. *Personnel Administrator, 28* (6), 80.

whether calculated for company service as a whole or in the previous job only, has no relationship to performance in a new job, which represents either a promotion or a desired lateral transfer. Consequently, any job changes based on a strict policy of promotion according to seniority are going to produce a number of failures in the new job. In contrast, merit—performance level on the previous job—is significantly associated with a successful change, and accordingly, performance failures on the new job will be fewer if a merit-based policy is followed. In this case, policy change to emphasize merit is the ideal solution if the union can be convinced; if not, numerous after-the-fact policy exceptions and transfers back may be needed.

All of these approaches may be utilized with major involvement on the part of psychologists, but this is not necessarily the case. However, counseling procedures and employee assistance programs fall more directly within the industrial clinical psychology domain. Accordingly, they are given special attention here.

□ Counseling

The history of counseling in industry began with a department established in the Ford Motor Company in 1914 to advise employees

on personal affairs and to assist them with health, legal, and family problems. The approach was strongly directive and permeated with Henry Ford's own personal philosophies. The result was considerable employee resistance and an eventual abandoning of the program. Similar large-scale efforts have been initiated in a number of firms, most notably the Western Electric Company, where counseling was introduced as an aspect of the Hawthorne studies (see Chapter 1). In almost every instance, these comprehensive programs have failed to survive over an extended period.

In recent years, industrial counseling has tended to focus more on specific types of employee problems and in the process has achieved renewed emphasis. Exhibit 20-9 provides figures on existing practice. Personal problems are most likely to be handled in-house, by specialists; retirement counseling is done primarily by the personnel staff; and alcoholism and drug problems are treated both internally and externally but usually by specialists. In spite of the renewed vigor of counseling programs, however, very little is known about their actual operational effectiveness in dealing with performance problems (Cairo, 1983). The general tendency is to extend research results obtained in the clinical context and in vocational work to the

employment setting. To some degree this appears justified. In any event, increasing interest in business applications of counseling approaches is a reality, and it may very well yield an expansion of research in the area in years to come (Foley & Redfering, 1987; Oberer & Lee, 1986).

In recent years, industrial counseling has tended to focus more on specific types of employee problems, has involved the industrial clinical psychologist to a much greater extent, and has been more widely viewed as a corrective procedure for ineffective performance than as a means of increasing employee satisfaction or dealing with nonjob problems. Under these conditions, limited-scale programs have prospered and appear to have made sizable contributions. It is now recognized that the needs of an individual and the goals of an organization may well be in conflict, and for this reason certain kinds of counseling activities should usually be performed outside the employment context.

Counseling Technique. Although a psychologist must be somewhat directive in dealing with some types of problems, in that questions must be answered and information conveyed, the usual approach in industry where emotional or motivational factors are strategic has been to stress nondirective counseling. Under the nondirective approach, employees are encouraged to express their feelings to gain an understanding of themselves, and eventually to solve their own problems. The counselor listens and occasionally reformulates what the employee has said to permit greater understanding of the true emotional meaning of certain words. The counselor may also repeat certain phrases or sentences to stimulate the employee to continue and to lead him or her to concentrate on certain topics.

In the business context, counseling of this kind tends to focus on matters of performance and on social relationships at work,

although family and other considerations may be treated also. Recently, an emphasis on career planning and guidance designed to correct inappropriate occupational choices has been added. Often, the counselor serves as an upward communication channel between the employee and the organization, correcting distorted communications and misunderstandings. The emphasis is on working out relatively mild problems that may be blocking performance effectiveness. More severe emotional disorders are normally referred to a psychotherapist working outside the company. If the problem appears to require more than perhaps ten or fifteen one-hour sessions, the employee is usually advised to seek help on a private basis. Some firms, in fact, reject all internal adjustment counseling of this type, on the grounds that such matters are the sole responsibility of the individual.

Executive Counseling. At higher management levels, counseling is often carried out by an outside psychological consultant rather than by a professional on the regular company staff (Speller, 1989). Although in some instances this counseling represents an attempt to cope with a performance failure, it is also true that many top-level managers are emotionally alone and thus in real need of someone with whom they can discuss problems. Under these circumstances, an industrial clinical psychologist may continue to work with an executive at intervals over an extended period of time. The approach, in contrast to that of a regular management consultant, tends to be nondirective, with the executives increasingly learning to understand themselves and the motives behind their actions.

Retirement Counseling. Most retirement counseling is intended to prepare employees for retirement, although on occasion it may be directed toward the rehabilitation of older

BOX 20-3 I/O PSYCHOLOGY IN PRACTICE

The Employee Assistance Policy of Georgia State University

The following policy statement was distributed to all Georgia State University employees.

It is the policy of the University to offer assistance to employees who have any personal problem that impairs their work attendance or performance.

Personal problems such as stress, depression, family concerns, drug dependency, or the disease of alcoholism often prevent employees from seeking or obtaining assistance. Timely intervention and assistance often can help to prevent further deterioration of performance and return an employee to productive employment. It is the goal of this policy to provide Georgia State University employees assistance with personal problems through initial assessment and, where necessary, referral to appropriate professional resources. Initial assessment and referral are also available to an employee's immediate family, since a troubled family member may also affect an employee's performance and well-being.

Responsibilities of Supervisory Personnel

It is the responsibility of all supervisory personnel to:

(1) Intervene where there is a documented pattern of deteriorating job performance.

(2) Ensure that an employee's job security or promotional opportunities will not be jeopardized by a request and/or referral for assistance.

(3) Refrain from making any diagnosis or judgment about the employee's problem. Referral for assistance shall be made only at the employee's request and/or on the basis of unsatisfactory job performance.

(4) Maintain rigorous confidentiality. No written records regarding a request or referral for assistance shall ever be a part of an employee's personnel file.

Responsibilities of Employee

The employee is expected to cooperate with a supervisory referral for assistance.

Implementation of this policy shall not require any special regulations, privileges, or exemptions from the standard administrative practices or disciplinary procedures applicable to job performance requirements.

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workers whose performance has fallen off with the approach of retirement. The counseling tends to be rather directive, emphasizing information on pension plans and other benefits. Counseling of this kind may be initiated as much as five years before the anticipated date of separation, and it appears that such early initiation is a desirable procedure.

Alcoholism and Drug Problems. For a number of years, companies have been involved in programs for the treatment of alcoholic employees, involving various combinations of counseling by human resource staff and supervisors, Alcoholics Anonymous, and outside treatment facilities. In some cases the treatment facilities are under contract with the company; some are sponsored jointly by a group of companies; and some involve union participation. Supervisors are trained to deal with alcoholism problems. The major focus is on retaining the employees in the work context while at the same time making it clear that further alcohol-induced problems will lead to separation—thus fostering treatment. The results of programs of this kind have been widely touted. However, as with the area of counseling generally, there is only limited solid evidence at present that clearly substantiates the many glowing testimonials (Weiss, 1987). The evidence appears to indicate that these programs can be effective, but

EXHIBIT 20-10   Services Rendered through Employee Assistance Programs and Their Rated Effectiveness

Type of Service	Percent of Firms with EAPs Offering Service	Percent of Firms Providing Service Where That Service Is First or Second in Frequency of Use	Percent of Respondent Human Resource Managers Feeling Certain the Service is Effective
Alcohol program	100	70	85
Drug program	99	55	68
Emotional counseling	94	37	67
Family and marital counseling	91	33	65
Financial counseling	87	12 .	58
Legal assistance	79	2	47

SOURCE: Adapted from Robert C. Ford & Frank S. McLaughlin (1981). Employee assistance programs: A descriptive survey of ASPA members. *Personnel Administrator*, 26(9), 32–33.

nics nationwide. Exhibit 20-10 provides a more detailed view of the services usually provided and how frequently they are used. Any given organization may have a different distribution of use, but alcohol and drug problems tend to remain a basic focus.

The list of services in Exhibit 20-10 is in fact somewhat restricted. Other services are often provided, including dealing with physical health problems, work problems and relationships, needs for employee benefit clarification, problems of sexual identification, career-related difficulties, requests for company policy explanations, and many more.

In some cases the services are provided entirely in-house by a regular professional staff. In other cases an outside consulting organization (community-based or privately run) operates the whole program, typically at a location removed from company premises. Most often, some services are provided internally and some externally, depending on demand and the expertise required. Many programs rely heavily on telephone counseling. Usually, both self-referrals and supervisory referrals are accepted, but some com-

panies hold to a performance-relatedness concept that limits referrals to instances where the supervisor deems the employee ineffective. In such cases, family members are not included. In any event, there is almost invariably a strong emphasis on confidentiality.

Program Effectiveness. As noted in Exhibit 20-10, human resource managers tend to view employee assistance programs as generally successful, although there are differences among services in this regard. Since most programs are headquartered in human resource departments, this source of evaluation is appropriate. However, users also tend to respond favorably (Sonnenstuhl, 1986).

One review of the literature notes few conditions considered necessary for a successful program (Dickman & Emener, 1982):

1. Top-management backing
2. Labor union support
3. Confidentiality
4. Easy access