

Beyond yellow ribbons: Are employers prepared to hire, accommodate and retain returning veterans with disabilities?

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Abstract. Are employers ready to hire, retain and accommodate veterans with disabilities (VWDs) returning from engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan? A survey of 1,083 human resource professionals examined employer readiness in three areas: knowledge, beliefs/willingness and actions/practices, with an emphasis on the signature disabilities of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI). Overall, employers surveyed did have willingness to employ VWDs and saw some benefits in doing so. Yet, they had key knowledge gaps around accommodating workers with PTSD and TBI and around disclosure issues. In the area of respondent willingness to employ VWDs, findings indicated most employers believed VWDs would benefit their organizations and would perform as well as other workers. Yet, they believed employing VWDs would involve more costs and more of a manager's time and were largely unsure if workers with PTSD were more likely than others to be violent in the workplace. Respondents' actions/practices indicated that the majority were not using recruitment or other resources specific to VWDs and had scant experience in accommodating workers with PTSD and TBI. Implications of these findings are discussed in terms of research and application to impact employer knowledge, willingness and practices around employing VWDs.

Keywords: Veterans, post traumatic stress disorder, PTSD, traumatic brain injury, TBI, disability, employers, signature disabilities, recruiting, hiring, accommodating and retaining veterans

1. Introduction

Are Employers Prepared to Hire, Accommodate and Retain Returning Veterans with Disabilities?

Recently, there has been a surge of goodwill among employers to “do the right thing” in employing veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. While this goodwill is laudable, we must pose a question. Will this goodwill be enough?

To a large degree, veterans' issues are disability issues. Extended to the world of work, veterans' employment issues are largely disability inclusive workplace issues. If employers do not have robust

disability inclusive workplace cultures and practices in place, the ability of veterans to get and sustain jobs will be diminished. As a result, employers will not be able to access a valuable source of talent. An imperative for all employers wanting to hire veterans with disabilities involves translating goodwill into sound disability inclusive workplace practices that will lead to the successful and sustained employment of veterans with disabilities (VWDs).

Why are disability issues veterans' issues? A look at some statistics on veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan paints part of the picture. According to the 2009 American Community Survey, there were 21.9 million veterans in the U.S. in 2009. 9.8 million of these veterans (of working age 18–64 years) were in the workforce in 2009. 5.5 million of these working age veterans had a diagnosed disability [1]. Yet, the

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real rate of disability among veterans is likely substantially higher when the many veterans with under- or undiagnosed disabilities are considered.

Two types of disabilities have been widely called “signature disabilities” for service members returning from Iraq and Afghanistan: traumatic brain injury (TBI) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) [2]. As indicated by the statistics cited below, depression is also common among veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. According to a 2008 RAND study, almost 20% of these recently returned veterans screened positive for depression or PTSD [3, 4]. Another study found the rate of PTSD among these returning service members to be 6% diagnosed, with an additional 27% estimated to be undiagnosed [5]. The findings are similar for TBI. The 2008 RAND study found about 19% of soldiers received a probable TBI during their deployment, with more subtle (and more difficult to diagnose) blast-related injuries being the most common [3]. Finally, many veterans have more than one disability, further complicating the picture of veterans’ disabilities. Unique circumstances resulting from combat related injuries often result in combat veterans experiencing both TBI and PTSD [2]. Overall, the 2008 RAND study found that 30% of returning veterans screened positive for PTSD, TBI and/or major depression [3].

The signature disabilities of TBI and PTSD have a special dynamic in the workplace, with clear implications on what disability inclusiveness looks like for VWDs [6].

- **The unfolding nature of these disabilities.** Many returning service members will be entering or re-entering jobs with un- or under-diagnosed disabilities. Hence, the veteran employee may still be on a journey to understand the meaning of the disability after he/she has returned to civilian employment.
- **The changing nature of these disabilities.** Because PTSD and TBI are conditions that can change significantly over time, employers must have in place responsive, flexible and effective accommodation practices. VR professionals can play a key role in providing expert consultation on the types of accommodations that can be effective for these disabilities.
- **The subtle and varying nature of symptoms.** PTSD and TBI often have a wide range of symptoms and subtle manifestations. Because of this, a diagnosis alone will not be enough to identify and

manage the accommodation process. Employers and VR professionals must fully consider both the job functions and the unique needs of the individual jobseeker or employee.

- **The highly-stigmatized nature of these disabilities.** PTSD and TBI are both highly stigmatized disabilities, often viewed through the lens of automatic assumptions and misperceptions. This is particularly the case for PTSD, which can invoke unfounded assumptions of character flaws or a risk for workplace violence. These misperceptions can both pose a significant barrier to the hiring of veterans and prevent the veteran employee from coming forward with an accommodation need. A disability inclusive workplace for the many veterans with these disabilities begins with employers questioning automatic assumptions that might be driving their hiring decisions. Also, employers who can cultivate an organizational climate characterized by trust and openness will enable veterans with these disabilities to come forward to get the accommodations they need to be effective performers on the job.

The above issues mean that disability inclusiveness for veterans will have some features in common with overall disability inclusiveness and some features that are unique to workers who are veterans.

A recent study conducted by the DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center at Cornell University, in collaboration with the National Society of Human Resource Management (SHRM) and the National Network of ADA Centers explored employer readiness to recruit, hire, accommodate and retain VWDs. A prior study conducted by SHRM indicated that employers generally had a great deal of good will around employing veterans, but this goodwill diminished when considering VWDs [7]. Building upon this prior study, the DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center wished to explore these issues more deeply as they pertained to veterans with disabilities.

2. Methods

We applied the DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center Barrier Intervention Model to provide the architecture for the survey [8]. Shown below in Fig. 1, this Model provides an ecological framework for understanding employers’ barriers to creating disability inclusive workplaces by posing three possible answers to the question: What stands in the way of creating



Fig. 1. The DBTAC Northeast Barrier Intervention Model.

disability inclusive workplaces for VWDs? The Model considers employer readiness in three areas: 1. “Don’t know” barriers – Do employers have the *knowledge* they need to be effective in employing VWDs? 2. “Won’t” barriers – Do employers have *beliefs and expectations* that would make them willing and committed to employing VWDs? and 3. “Can’t” barriers – Do employers have *practices and actions* in place that would pave the way toward a disability inclusive workplace culture for VWDs? The survey contained items across all three barrier types.

We structured the research tool in this way so that the findings of the survey could more easily translate into practice. A key challenge for survey research in the field of disability and employment programming is to ensure that survey findings can be translated into interventions. The three areas discussed above (knowledge, beliefs and practices/actions) call for fundamentally different types of interventions. Yet, the majority of our interventions in disability and employment programming have been designed only for knowledge/information interventions. By structuring our survey around these three types of barriers, we believe we can provide a more powerful consideration of what interventions might be needed. The question areas for each of the three barriers addressed in the survey are as follows:

1. Do employers have the knowledge needed to be effective in employing VWDs (e.g., Knowledge of recruiting sources, laws, accommodation possibilities and resources related to employing veterans with disabilities)?
2. Do employers have beliefs and expectations that would make them willing to employ VWDs (e.g., Belief that VWDs can perform as well as others, will be safe workers, will benefit the organization and will/will not be costly to accommodate)?

Respondents' Organization Size		Respondents' Sector	
44%	<500 employees	69%	Private or public for-profit
45%	501 – 24,999 employees	22%	Non-profit
11%	>25,000 employees	8%	Government
		2%	Other

Fig. 2. Respondents' organizational size and sector.

3. Do employers have in place behaviors and practices needed to be effective in employing VWDs (e.g., Practices around using recruitment sources for VWDs, hiring VWDs, accommodating the signature disabilities or other disabilities, providing EAP services appropriate for VWDs and implementing affinity/resource groups for VWDs)?

Conducted in the fall of 2010, the survey consisted of thirty-three questions and took about ten minutes to complete. Response categories in the survey varied, given the nature of each question category. Some response categories used Likert-type scales (disagree-agree), with a “Don’t know” option; other items had Yes/No response categories to indicate whether respondents had done/not done an action/practice in the last twelve months.

The survey was sent electronically by SHRM National to 10,000 human resource professionals who were members of SHRM1,083 respondents completed the survey. This return rate is typical when compared to other online surveys sent out by the National SHRM organization. Figure 2 describes the major characteristics of these respondents:

3. Findings

Overall findings from this study suggest that many employers believe employing VWDs would benefit their organizations. Yet, they largely are not aware of and do not use resources that would enable them to find, recruit, hire and accommodate VWDs. Also, employers report having significant knowledge gaps related to creating effective employment practices for employees with PTSD and TBI.

Considering the three areas of the DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center Barrier Intervention Model that provided the architecture for the survey, other highlights from this study are described below in terms of knowledge, beliefs/expectations and practices/processes. Figures 3–5 provide an overall description of this data.

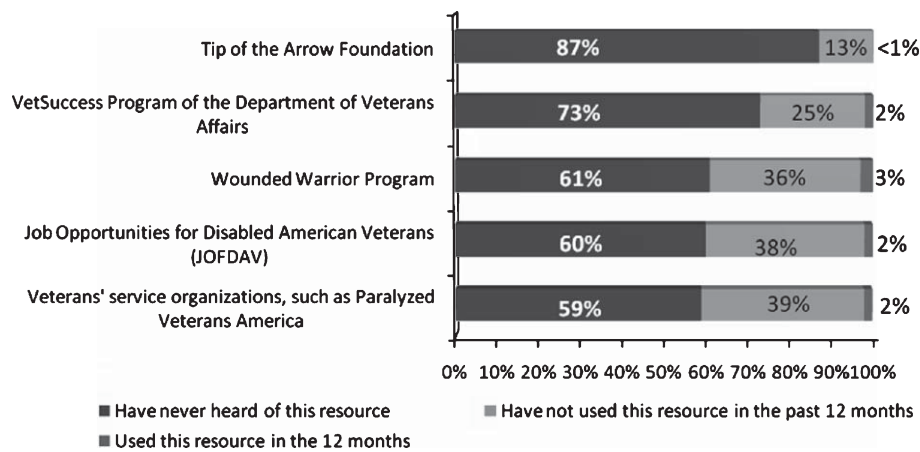


Fig. 3. Employer awareness of recruitment/employment resources specific to veterans with disabilities.

3.1. Did employers surveyed have the knowledge they need to be effective in employing VWDs?

3.1.1. Recruiting

As illustrated in Fig. 3, most employers had not heard of resources related to finding and recruiting VWDs. For example, 73% of respondents had not heard of the VetSuccess Program; 61% had not heard of the Wounded Warrior Program. These findings differed by sector. For example, 73% of government-sector respondents **had heard of** the Wounded Warrior Program, as compared with only 37% of privately owned for-profit-sector respondents.

3.1.2. Signature disabilities

Employers reported significant knowledge gaps regarding PTSD and TBI. For example, 70% of respondents reported they could not identify any possible accommodations needed by workers with TBI. In some ways, this confusion is understandable; TBI can have many different functional impacts on the job. Yet, this finding, coupled with the finding that employers are largely unaware of accommodation resources, might indicate that employers could shy away from employing people with TBI due simply to fear of the unknown.

3.1.3. Accommodations

Forty-one percent (41%) of respondents reported they did not know where to find resources to help them accommodate VWDs. This finding was in keeping with the finding around respondents' lack of knowledge of recruiting resources.

3.1.4. The law

Fifty-eight percent (58%) of respondents incorrectly believed that job applicants must tell employers about disabilities during the hiring process, a key finding given that, to a large degree, PTSD and TBI are often not obvious to others. Likewise, 42% of respondents incorrectly believed that the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act (USERRA) and not the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is the main law covering VWDs in the workplace; 31% of respondents did not know.

3.2. Did employers surveyed have beliefs/expectations that would pave the way toward employing veterans with disabilities?

3.2.1. Beliefs about the benefits of employing VWDs

Overall, respondents believed hiring VWDs could benefit their organization in several ways. Seventy-three percent (73%) of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that hiring VWDs would generally benefit their business/organization; 24% were unsure. Regarding job performance potential, 72% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that VWDs perform as well as other employees; 26% indicated they were not sure. Finally, regarding customer relations, 71% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that hiring VWDs would improve their customer image; 24% were unsure.

3.2.2. Beliefs about the drawbacks of employing VWDs

Respondents also believed, however, that employing VWDs carries some burden. Despite the positive

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
Accommodating employees with disabilities is a worthwhile return on investment for my business/organization.	1%	3%	54%	29%	14%
In general, veterans with disabilities perform on the job as well as any other employee.	1%	2%	49%	23%	26%
Having veterans with disabilities in our workforce will improve our customer image.	1%	5%	48%	23%	24%
Hiring veterans with disabilities will benefit my business/organization.	1%	2%	54%	19%	24%
Accommodating workers with disabilities such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or traumatic brain injury (TBI) requires more effort for the employer.	1%	9%	43%	18%	29%
Workers with disabilities take the same amount of a manager's time as any other employee.	2%	17%	51%	17%	14%
Job applicants must tell potential employers about specific disabilities that affect the essential functions of the job they are applying for.	7%	28%	46%	12%	7%
Workers with PTSD often have a right to an accommodation in the workplace.	1%	6%	55%	12%	26%
It is easy for employers to find resources to help recruit veterans with disabilities.	3%	15%	42%	8%	32%
USERRA is the main law covering veterans with disabilities in the workplace.	4%	23%	35%	7%	31%
It is easy for employers to find resources to help them accommodate veterans with disabilities.	3%	17%	33%	6%	41%
It is costly to accommodate workers with disabilities such as PTSD or TBI.	4%	31%	12%	2%	52%
Most workers with TBI will need assistance with work tasks that involve reading.	1%	13%	14%	1%	70%
Workers with PTSD are more likely than others to commit acts of violence in the workplace.	6%	33%	7%	1%	53%
<i>Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.</i>					
<i>Table sorted by "strongly agree" column</i>					

Fig. 4. Employer knowledge and beliefs.

expectations described above, 61% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that accommodating workers with PTSD or TBI would require more effort on the part of the employer. Ten percent (10%) believed accommodating workers with these signature disabilities would not take more of an employer's effort and 29% were unsure. When queried about workers with disabilities in general and manager's time, though, only 19% disagreed/disagreed strongly that workers with disabilities in general took the same amount of manager's time as other workers, 68% of respondents agreed/agreed strongly that workers with disabilities in general took the same amount of a manager's time as other workers, and only 14% were unsure. Hence, respondents appeared more concerned and unsure about the time

and effort required to accommodate workers with PTSD and TBI than they were about accommodating workers with disabilities in general.

3.3. Did employers surveyed have practices/processes in place to be effective in employing veterans with disabilities?

3.3.1. Recruiting

Thirty-eight percent (38%) of respondents reported that their organization generally used recruitment sources targeting veterans and 27% reported using recruitment sources that targeted people with disabilities. Yet, surprisingly, these numbers drop precipitously when respondents were asked more specific questions

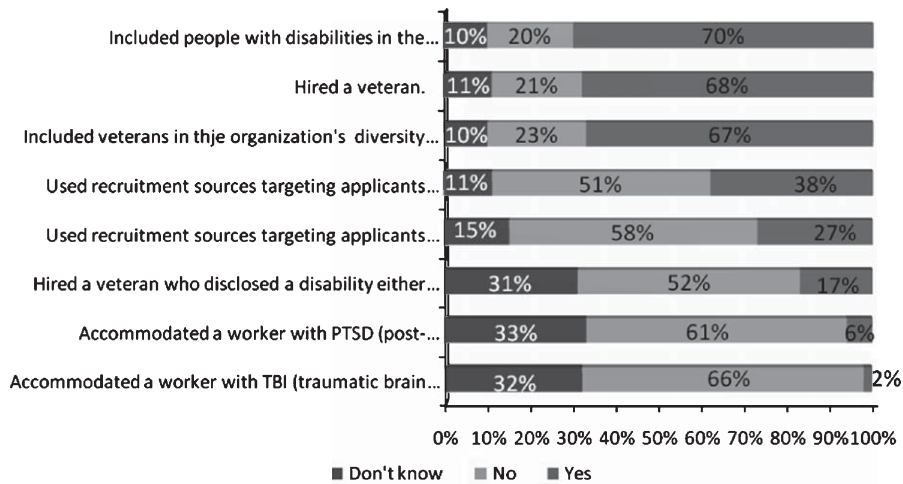


Fig. 5. Employers' actions in the past year.

about common recruiting sources they had actually used. Only 2–3% of the employers surveyed reported using any of the specific resources among a list of possible sources for finding and recruiting VWDs (Tip of the Arrow Foundation, VetSuccess Program, Wounded Warrior Program, Job Opportunities for Disabled American Veterans or veteran service organizations, such as Paralyzed Veterans Association). Further, the use of recruiting sources related to VWDs varied by organization size. Twenty-five percent (25%) of organizations with fewer than 500 employees reported using recruitment sources targeting veterans, as compared with 77% of organizations with more than 25,000 employees.

3.3.2. Including disability and veterans in the diversity plan

Seventy percent (70%) of respondents reported that they included disability in their diversity plans; 67% included veterans. As was the case with recruiting, this varied by organization size, with 59% of organizations having fewer than 100 employees including veterans in their diversity plan, as compared with 89% of organizations with more than 25,000 employees.

3.3.3. Hiring

Seventeen percent (17%) of respondents indicated they had hired a veteran who had disclosed a disability either before or after time of hire. Fifty-two percent (52%) had not hired a veteran who had disclosed a disability, 31% were unsure.

3.3.4. Accommodation

Six percent (6%) of respondents reported that their organization had accommodated a worker with PTSD in the last 12 months. Sixty-one percent (61%) reported that their organization had not made any accommodations for PTSD; 33% were unsure. Likewise, only 2% of respondents reported that their organization had accommodated a worker with TBI in the last 12 months. Sixty-six percent (66%) had not made accommodations for TBI; 32% were unsure. Finally, 40% of respondents indicated they had a centralized office to handle disability-related accommodation requests.

3.3.5. Workplace supports for VWDs

Seventy-four percent (74%) of respondents reported having an EAP. However, only 38% of respondents reported that their EAP had expertise in veterans' issues. Nine percent (9%) of respondents indicated their organization had an affinity/resource group focused on disability. Seven percent (7%) reported an affinity/resource group focused on veterans.

4. Conclusions: Implications for practice and research

The limitations of our study revolve around two issues. First, we used a “Don't know” response option for some items on our survey. We did this largely in order to call out knowledge needs yet still retain an acceptable completion time for the survey. Yet, respondents might have used this “Don't know” category to mask the social undesirability of their true response.

Second, we used a sample that consisted solely of SHRM members. Because of the nature of SHRM membership, our respondents came from organizations that do not fully reflect American organizations in general. HR professionals from larger, private-sector organizations were over-represented in our sample. This could mean that some of the practices covered in our survey, such as EAP and affinity groups, are over-represented in our sample.

Overall, our findings indicate that, though employers do have good will in this area, goodwill alone may not be enough to ensure that workplaces are geared up to enable VWDs to fully contribute their talents on the job. Many of the policies and practices needed to provide support to veterans with disabilities are not yet present in the majority of workplaces.

The DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center Barrier Intervention Model can be used to interpret our findings and to consider what sorts of interventions will be effective. Not surprisingly, each of the three areas of the Model call for fundamentally different types of interventions. Knowledge-based (“Don’t know”) barriers simply call for disseminating information related to the knowledge gap. Willingness barriers (“Won’t”) call for interventions that will change beliefs, commitments, expectations and attitudes. Practice-policy barriers (“Can’t”) call for interventions around planning for practice or policy systems change.

The Model also highlights a misalignment of barriers and interventions. Our study revealed significant barriers to employing veterans with disabilities across all three areas posed by the model. Yet, the bulk of prior interventions provided by the rehabilitation community have largely been directed toward knowledge barriers only – toward disseminating more information. Hence, our interventions have not been fully aligned with employer barriers, which results in limited changes in the commitments or practices of the employer community. Our interventions, that is, have not been directed toward actual employer barriers.

Further, the three barriers types do not exist in a vacuum, but are in a dynamic inter-relationship. Our survey findings, for example, indicated that employers largely do not have knowledge of resources for recruiting VWDs. At first glance, it seems these findings call for the proliferation of information resources around recruiting VWDs. Yet, we must pose the question: Why does this knowledge gap exist? It may be that employers have not prioritized this issue enough to seek out these resources or to devote the attention needed to wade through existing resources. In other

words, they may have this knowledge gap not because of a lack of resources, but because they do not believe these resources will benefit them or can be integrated effectively into their current practices – barriers in the “Won’t” and “Can’t” areas. In both cases, an intervention based simply on disseminating more information may not be effective.

What follows is a closer look at findings from each of the three areas of the model, emphasizing implications for both practice and research.

4.1. Knowledge-based barriers

Findings show employer knowledge gaps across several key workplace issues, including recruiting, accommodations and the laws covering VWDs in the workplace. This knowledge gap was particularly apparent for PTSD and TBI.

As mentioned earlier, this knowledge gap persists in the face of a proliferation of existing resources. A key implication of these findings on research and practices is that our challenge is less related to information than it is to attention. In other words, the problem is less related to the information resource itself than it is to the real world context that gives meaning to this information. Hence, our efforts need to focus less on creating more information resources and more on understanding how employers make choices about seeking and using information related to VWDs in the workforce.

Similar to the research implications, the implications for practice suggested by our findings center on involving employers in creating the knowledge resources designed for their use. Responses to open-ended items contained in the survey bolster a call for this effort, with the most frequently given response theme centering on educating employers about existing resources and the benefits of employing veterans with disabilities.

4.2. Belief/commitment barriers

Our findings show an inconsistent commitment on the part of employers to employ veterans with disabilities. Employers largely believed there were benefits in employing VWDs, but were less certain of specific benefits, such as solid job performance or improved customer relations. Also, employers largely agreed with or were unsure about the costs of employing VWDs in terms of money, time and effort. This was particularly the case for the signature disabilities of PTSD and TBI, with 66% of respondents agreeing or unsure whether it is costly to employers to accommodate these

disabilities. Further, well over half (61%) showed concern about the possibility of violence in the workplace posed by workers with PTSD. Ultimately, employers' resource-seeking, decisions and actions in these areas will be fueled by their calculations of the relative benefits and costs of employing VWDs.

Though the literature on organizational change and beliefs/attitudes is immense, a common thread informing interventions is the recognition of the limitation of traditional training interventions in impacting these barriers [9]. Yet, traditional training is likely to be the most frequently requested intervention by employers to change the beliefs/attitudes in their workplace. Though this issue deserves far more attention than what can be given here, we can skim the surface by simply pointing to the broader range of interventions, such as:

- Surfacing self awareness of unquestioned, automatic assumptions about VWDs, even when these are socially unacceptable.
- Creating direct experiences with veterans with disabilities in the workplace, such as mentoring and internship.
- Utilizing trusted, credible sources to engage in active "myth-busting".

W. I. Thomas stated, "What is believed to be true will be true in its effect". The beliefs and attitudes described in our survey do not exist in a vacuum but have real impacts on the work lives of VWDs, whether or not these beliefs are factual. Further research suggested by our data could focus on using mixed methods to describe more deeply how employers' beliefs and attitudes about VWDs impact their choices and actions. This research could take the form of open-ended, probing interviews with recruitment professionals rendering descriptions of how they make decisions about accessing a particular recruitment source.

Also, our data suggests a discrepancy between employers' publicly held beliefs and their real on-the-ground decision-making. This discrepancy is likely fuelled by a tacit contradiction between public vs. private belief structures. This discrepancy is not surprising; it is well documented in the research literature [see, for example, 10]. But its impact on VWDs in the workplace may be more pronounced, with a heightened desire on the part of many employers to "do the right thing" publicly while privately holding on-the-ground priorities which are at odds with socially desirable actions. Surfacing this tacit contradiction will serve to inform more powerful policies and practices. Further research on this discrepancy might lead to more

powerful interventions by allowing the rehabilitation community to create interventions that go beyond publicly expressed needs.

4.3. *Workplace practice barriers*

Our findings about employers' organizational practices suggest that employers have put into place some practices and systems which would lead to a more disability inclusive organizational culture for VWDs. Yet, many questions linger about how these practices and systems are actually applied in everyday life in the workplace.

About one-third of respondents reported using a recruiting resource targeting either veterans or people with disabilities, but only 2–3% had used any specific recruiting resource named in the survey. Likewise, though a clear majority reported including either veterans or disability in their diversity plans, there is a wide variation in how diversity plans actually impact organizational culture and practice. Finally, though respondents for the most part indicated they believed accommodating employees with disabilities was a worthwhile return on investment, they clearly had scant experience accommodating workers with the signature disabilities of PTSD and TBI.

These and other findings around workplace practices call for interventions that go beyond information dissemination and traditional training. Whereas spreading knowledge is relatively straightforward, changing organizational cultures and practices is difficult. Interventions aiming to bring about changes in workplace practices will need to shift from a training approach to a consulting approach [11]. Though the differences between these two approaches are beyond the scope of this paper, it is clear that employers lack experience in recruiting, hiring, accommodating and retaining VWDs, particularly those with the signature disabilities of PTSD and TBI. Our findings suggest the interventions called for by our data will revolve less around one-time training and more around engaging employers in on-going conversations, collaborations and partnerships to help them create a powerful, compelling picture for themselves of what is possible.

Implications for further research include using mixed methods to gain a deeper view of how organizational practices (such as diversity plans and accommodation practices) actually play out in everyday work life. This deeper view is especially needed given the nature of the signature disabilities of PTSD and TBI. In addition to being "mysterious" to many employers, these

disabilities are highly stigmatized and are likely to be unfolding after the veteran has returned to civilian work life. Hence, it will be the tacit features of workplace life that will be most powerful in determining whether a worker with these disabilities is willing to come forward to get the supports they need, such as accommodations or EAP. Research methods that can capture the tacit features of workplace life will provide key insights into what disability inclusive workplace practices and cultures need to look like for VWDs.

In summary, looking across all three areas of our model, the interventions and research called for by our findings suggest that, in order to bring about more disability inclusive workplaces for VWDs, we must re-think some aspects of how we approach research and practice. For research, this re-thinking could include using mixed methods, involving knowledge-users (in this case employers) in the knowledge production and dissemination process, creating a deeper insight into employer ambivalence and discrepant views on this issue, exploring the role of organization size and sector, and unpacking the tacit aspects of workplace cultures as they are experienced by VWDs. For practice, this re-thinking could include creating interventions based on impacting all three areas of the DBTAC – Northeast ADA Center Barrier Intervention Model, not just “Don’t know” barriers. These interventions would involve a shift away from traditional information dissemination or training and toward longer term collaborative, consulting models.

Overall, our findings remind us that veterans’ workplace issues are largely disability workplace issues. Though employers have goodwill in this area, they will need more than just a proliferation of information resources to translate this goodwill into solid workplace practices and cultures that will ensure that veterans who have disabilities can fully contribute their talents in the workplace. In this way, disability inclusiveness is not just about pity, goodwill or even legal compliance. It is about an imperative to avoid repeating the mistakes of the Vietnam era.

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