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ABSTRACT

This publication presents employer and employee perceptions regarding life and job adjustment patterns of dislocated workers. Its intended audience includes the various groups who work with dislocated workers, including service providers and outplacing and hiring employers, and the displaced workers themselves. Chapter I provides an overview of the problem of occupational adjustment. Chapter II analyzes job and life adjustment experiences of 120 blue-collar, dislocated workers. Seven categories of adjustments that workers reported making on new jobs are addressed. Eight worker profiles are included. Chapter III provides information from 17 employers who had hired dislocated workers. Information is presented regarding characteristics of reemployed workers and employer practices related to hiring, orienting, training, and supporting dislocated workers. Employers' observations concerning dislocated workers' job adjustment are also presented. Chapter IV reviews major problems dislocated workers experienced during unemployment and the assistance and services they sought and received. Workers' perceptions and recommendations are examined for three categories of services: informal assistance, government transfer payments, and special programs. Chapter V reviews worker and employer recommendations for service improvement. Guidelines for easing the unemployment-to-reemployment transition are offered for dislocated workers, hiring employers, and service providers. (YLB)

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For further information contact

Program Information Office
National Center for Research
in Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, Ohio 43210-1090

Telephone: (614) 486-3655 or (800) 848-4815
Cable: CTVOCEDOSU/Columbus, Ohio
Telex: 8104821894

**HELPING THE DISLOCATED WORKER:
EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE PERCEPTIONS**

**Gale Zahniser
William L. Ashley
Lawrence W. Inks**

**The National Center for Research in Vocational Education
The Ohio State University
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, Ohio 43210-1090**

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FOREWORD

The recent economic climate in American business has caused millions of American workers to experience the loss of jobs they held for years and expected to hold for many more. These workers, who were typically dislocated by plant closures, workplace automation, or company layoffs caused by local economic decline, have suffered economic, psychological, social, and physiological problems from the trauma of sudden release from work.

The purpose of this publication is to present perceptions of employers and employees regarding both the life and job adjustment patterns of dislocated workers. In doing so, this work reveals the types of adjustments that reemployed workers must make on new jobs, along with which of these are easiest and hardest to undertake. The aspects of the new jobs that were most challenging and most frustrating are examined, along with the impact the new job had on the family unit and its life-style.

This publication is for use by the various groups who work with dislocated workers, including service providers and outplacing and hiring employers, as well as by the dislocated workers themselves. Service providers and employers will gain insight into how to create a more human and comfortable transition process from job loss to reemployment. Clearly presented are the types of assistance these workers found most helpful and the contributions that can be made to adjustment in the new workplace.

The National Center wishes to thank many individuals who helped to plan and produce this publication.

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Mr. Edward Bocik, Manager of Labor Relations, Allied Corporation, Toledo, Ohio

Mr. Melvin Bye, President, Bye and Associates, Syracuse, Indiana

Mr. Rod DuChemin, Assistant Director, AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute, Washington, D.C.

Dr. George Eppley, Director of Research and Program Development for the Urban Metropolitan Institute, Cuyahoga Community College, Warren Heights, Ohio

Ms. Ruth Fedrau, Director—Business Consulting Services, National Alliance of Business, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Louis Ferman, Director, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Mr James Kirk, Program Associate for the UAW-Ford National Training Center, Dearborn Michigan

Ms Gerri Weiss, Coordinator, Dislocated Worker Educational Training Program, Community College of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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Mr Edward Bocik (not in attendance but offered extensive written comments)

Mr Melvin Bye

Mr Rod DuChemin

Ms Ruth Fedrau

Ms Gerri Weiss

Special gratitude is also expressed to the staff at those dislocated worker programs that served as field sites. These individuals assisted National Center staff by recruiting reemployed dislocated workers, coordinating and scheduling meeting arrangements for the focus groups, and facilitating meetings with local employers. In the order of site visits, these individuals were as follows

Mr William Lowers, Manager, Industrial Relations, Rockwell International, Columbus, Ohio

Ms Kathleen Faust, Executive Director, Pyramid Career Development Services, Canton, Ohio

Ms Donna Drouillard, Management Information Specialist, Downriver Community Conference, Southgate, Michigan

Mr Stan Ledzinski, Executive Director, and Ms Mary Ann Dymek, Trainer, Midland Career Development Center, Midland, Pennsylvania

Mr Norm Koehler, Assistant Director, Robotics, Inc., Community College of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Ms Barbara Pares, Coordinator—South Campus, Dislocated Worker Educational Training Program, Community College of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Ms Lori McNulty, Deputy Director, United Labor Agency, West Hartford, Connecticut

Ms Christine Stradelman, Executive Director, and John McBroom, Program Manager, Community Action Agency, Logan, Ohio

Mr Cletus Edmonds, Executive Director, International Harvester Outplacement Center, Fort Wayne, Indiana

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Robert E. Taylor
Executive Director
The National Center for Research
in Vocational Education

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

When workers suddenly lose their jobs, there are long-term economic, social, and physiological ramifications. A substantial literature base exists that identifies and describes problems workers who are forced out of long-held jobs suffer during unemployment. In contrast, there is but a limited literature base examining the longer term impact of forced occupational change.

Popular thinking often leads to the assumption that with the acceptance of new jobs, problems that occurred during unemployment due to a plant closure or a mass layoff simply disappear. The scant literature available about the long-term impact of dislocation, when combined with perceptions of workers who lost their jobs and service providers who tried to help them, indicates that the reverse is true. Difficulties arising from and during the unemployment period continue to follow and affect a dislocated worker for a considerable length of time, even well into the new job.

With the acceptance of a new job, a dislocated worker may find an easing of some of the financial strains that accompanied unemployment. Similarly, the worker's daily life, at least on the surface, may assume a semblance of life before the fateful layoff. For others though, a new job means a continuation or perhaps a worsening of unemployment's financial strain and an ongoing struggle with family and interpersonal relationships. Regardless of the surface conditions that characterize a worker's life after reemployment, underlying carryover effects from the dislocation experience manifest themselves in terms of attitudes toward the future, outlook on life, and responses to change and uncertainty.

In this publication, the authors examine the changes and adjustments that were required of dislocated workers as they passed from unemployment to reemployment. Also, they closely looked at the responses that workers made to the environmental changes. At the broadest level, the results suggest that as workers undergo the transition from unemployment to reemployment, they typically have a new set of situations and difficulties with which they must struggle. Although these situations are not always negative (indeed, they are often challenging or exciting) the workers, as well as family and friends who associate with them closely, must nevertheless undergo adjustments, change, and growth.

In terms of their work lives, for example, many workers have been required to accept jobs that are far different from their previous experiences. The differences may have been uni- or multi-dimensional and may have included changes in—

- wages
- working conditions,
- industrial or occupational sector
- co-workers,
- supervisory style

- status
- hours of
- specific tasks

In terms of their personal lives, once they are into new jobs, workers are often adjusting to a new burst of self-confidence and self-esteem and accustoming themselves to new family roles and behavior that evolved during the unemployment period. Similarly, they are readjusting their lifestyles to reflect the renewal of some, albeit often a greatly reduced, financial income. Also, they are typically dealing with the reevaluations and revisions they have had to make in their long-term goals and plans. In fact, once in their new jobs, the workers are involved in trying to rebuild lives that were often drastically altered during the unemployment period.

This publication presents a detailed description and analysis of job and life adjustment experiences of blue-collar, dislocated workers. The perspectives of 120 dislocated workers throughout the U.S. Northeast and Midwest are analyzed, as are the reflections of 17 employers, in the same regions, who hired former dislocated workers. The objective was to distill from the information provided by both groups, advice that would be valuable to workers who are currently or who will be dislocated, along with recommendations for employers and service providers who are concerned with helping workers make a positive passage from unemployment to reemployment.

Workers and employers alike were asked to talk about job adjustment experiences and overall job satisfaction. The employers were asked about the factors they looked for when hiring workers and the ways in which the workers had contributed to the new workplace. The workers were asked to discuss the most and least pleasing aspects of their new jobs, the problems they had experienced while unemployed, and the coping mechanisms they used to handle the problems. Both groups were asked to comment on services provided to dislocated workers and to offer recommendations for those who work closely with this group.

Analysis of worker comments indicated several major changes across the groups. Overall, there was a general change from manufacturing and processing operations jobs to jobs in sales and service fields. In terms of skill levels, half of the workers found new jobs that required the same or similar skill levels. A few more workers increased rather than decreased their skill levels in the new job. Older workers usually moved into jobs requiring similar skills, whereas younger workers (under 40) either remained at similar levels or increased their skill levels in new jobs.

There were seven categories of adjustments that the workers reported making on their new jobs. These included getting used to differences in wages and benefits, job tasks and routines, supervisory and management styles, co-workers, physical environment of the field, job satisfaction, and tangential effects on general adjustment. All of the reemployed workers seemed to adjust to their new jobs. Most of the older workers were now earning less income than in their former jobs, and over half of the younger workers were now earning lower wages. Women had a significantly lessened chance of making the transition to a new job after unemployment without a loss of earning power than did men.

Overall, only 12 percent of the 120 workers expressed dissatisfaction with their new jobs, and there were no significant differences by race or sex. Most of the workers agreed that a supportive supervisor, friendly co-workers, and agreeable working conditions aided and influenced their job satisfaction.

In examining the types of difficulties that the reemployed dislocated workers experienced during unemployment and the types of assistance they sought or received, it was found that during the unemployment period, almost all the workers and their families experienced financial-related stress. Other stress stemmed from loss of the former job, drastically changed family roles, loss of self-esteem and confidence, an unsympathetic government bureaucracy, and the pressure of the job search process.

The dislocated workers reported utilizing three types of assistance to help them ease their unemployment problems. Informal contacts with family, friends, church, and community groups typified one principal source of help. Included were psychological support and comfort, outright financial help, food, gifts of household items, social invitations, and at times, a part-time job. Communitywide help included food banks, a communitywide job fair, and an outreach and awareness campaign to educate local townspeople about the plight of the dislocated worker. This type of assistance usually dealt with the workers' immediate emotional and financial needs and was frequently offered by members of the workers' preexisting support groups.

The second type of assistance consisted of government transfer payments and, occasionally, health care and insurance that was extended either by a local hospital or a former employer or union. This aid included unemployment insurance compensation, welfare, and food stamps. Except for health care and insurance, these services are organized, legislated programs for the general public.

Almost all workers received unemployment compensation, whereas about one-fourth of them drew welfare and received food stamps. Few of them received special health care or hospitalization.

The third type of assistance was organized, formal programs and services established particularly for dislocated workers. Several of these were supported by funds from the Job Training Partnership Act. Others were sponsored by the outplacing employer, local-level county government, and jointly funded labor-management groups. Several of the programs were for all dislocated workers from a given locale, whereas others were targeted for workers from a specific plant. Most of the programs offered job search assistance, career and skill assessment, and placement assistance. A limited number focused exclusively on skill retraining.

The workers were generally positive about the services they received. There was general disgruntlement expressed about the treatment they received from staff at State agencies dispensing government transfer payments. Also, the workers indicated that they would have liked more assistance with health care and house payments while on layoff.

The examination of the employers revealed that as a group, they were aware of the problems confronting dislocated workers, the underlying economic and social causes of worker dislocation, and the difficulties that reemployed workers face when adjusting to a new job or company. They were also knowledgeable of the workers' need for service and assistance during both unemployment and reemployment. Most of them, too, had given thought to how they would help alleviate some of the difficulties their reemployed workers faced.

The most common adjustment these employers saw the workers making was to receiving lower wages and benefits than they received on former jobs. Concerning other changes, the employers indicated that the workers expressed an overall preference for their new jobs because of cleaner, more comfortable working conditions, management attitudes that challenged them to be resourceful and creative, better promotional changes, increased job security, and a chance to develop transferable skills for other jobs.

Because reemployed workers already had good work habits, the employer group felt that these individuals needed minimal assistance in learning new work routines, job tasks, and disciplines. Many of the employers said the reemployed workers were now in positions with promotion potential and could look forward to continued employment. However, unless the workers had entered a union environment, they bore most of the responsibility for broadening their own job responsibilities and skills.

Recommendations from both the employers and the workers are offered to other dislocated workers, employers, and service providers. The following represents a sampling of the guidelines derived from their many recommendations.

- **Guidelines for Dislocated Workers**

- Accept personal responsibility for your career and life goals and directions. No one else is going to "take care of" you in these areas. There are no guarantees that you will get a new job and stay in it for the rest of your working life, so you need to think further into the future and develop as many alternatives for your career and life as you can. Many agencies have counselors who can help you get started on long-term career planning.
- Include family and other people important in your life when you consider long-term plans that may affect your income, your life-style, and your emotional needs and commitments. These people can be an invaluable support group for you. Also, they need to be involved in the decisions you make that will affect them.
- Seek out and take advantage of community and employer-provided opportunities and resources to help you through the difficulties of this time, whether you are still unemployed or are adjusting to a new job. There are many opportunities for you to improve your work skills and knowledge. You need to be expanding and upgrading these skills from now on.

- **Guidelines for Employers of Dislocated Workers**

- Recognize the tremendous assets that dislocated workers represent to your company. These workers generally need much less orientation or training than regular workers, and they become fully productive much more quickly. They also bring good work habits and attitudes to a new job.
- Find creative ways to use the experience and skills of reemployed workers. These workers can act as trainers and mentors for younger, regular workers. Often they have skills that will allow them to contribute to the company in unexpected but valuable ways, if given the opportunity and encouragement. Many reemployed workers must give up higher wages and job status when taking a new job. By allowing them to design part of their work, you can help them find new job satisfaction while developing your company's labor assets.

- **Guidelines for Dislocated Worker Program Service Providers**

- Emphasize the delivery of local job market information and assist in placement as much as possible in all programs. Dislocated workers do not have the resources and contacts to stay current with many job opportunities. Involve employers and community organizations in gathering and disseminating up-to-date information on jobs as they become available.

- Involve the dislocated worker's family in program activities whenever possible. Job dislocation affects the entire family. Many divorces, incidents of child and spouse abuse, development of substance abuse problems, and the like might be averted if all family members' needs are addressed. A dislocated worker's family should be his or her most important support group.
- Provide financial planning or other financial assistance to dislocated workers. Many of these people do not know how to reorganize their finances, contact creditors, or seek other aid. Not enough agencies provide this kind of service, and, as a result, many families unnecessarily lose their homes and other irreplaceable assets.

The publication ends with overall conclusions made regarding dislocated worker experience. The following is a sample of the major conclusions:

- The effects of dislocation appear to continue well beyond a longer period of unemployment and, for many workers, require a major restructuring of personal and family plans, values, and life-style.
- A return to work after a longer period of unemployment can trigger a second round of adjustments, as the spouse and children must adapt to the required changes necessary to accommodate the absence of the previously home-based adult.
- Not all dislocated workers adapt to the dislocation experience without longer term scarring effects. Some workers, particularly those unable to locate a satisfying job or who have suffered severe economic losses, continue to manifest a variety of effects including, mistrust of employers, low self-esteem, pronounced insecurity toward the future, and continued physical and psychological difficulties stemming from economic and material losses.
- Short-term services such as skill analysis, interview training, and resume preparation are important and helpful in the job search and rehiring process. However, success and future growth in a new job depend greatly on the ability of workers to make necessary job and life adjustments. Such needs are not adequately addressed through short-term services but require longer and more in-depth support and assistance, often from the new employer and co-workers.
- Dislocated workers often are flexible and adaptable in terms of adjusting to a new job environment. Employers indicated that many of the workers were required to make major job task and workplace adjustments. The ability of the workers to make these changes suggests a resiliency and high level of motivation.
- Dislocated workers often do not need or want special privileges but ask only that they be given an opportunity to prove their worth and value to a new employer in return for a fair wage and reasonable benefits. If they are given that opportunity, most will adjust successfully and prove their worth as productive, dependable, and loyal employees.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Introduction

Millions of American workers have been displaced from the jobs that they held for years and that they expected to hold for many more years. Recent statistics released by the U.S. Department of Labor ("BLS Reports" 1984) show that approximately 5.1 million workers were displaced from their jobs between January 1979 and January 1984. Although 3.1 million were reemployed when surveyed in January 1984, 900,000 of these individuals reported earnings that were lower than those of their previous jobs. Another 360,000 who had been in full-time employment were in part-time jobs when surveyed.

Dislocated workers often suffer severe adjustment problems as a result of unemployment. The evidence indicates that dislocated workers are likely to suffer from social and psychological problems as well as economic difficulties. Although many unemployed workers do find new jobs, those who have been displaced from manufacturing industries often find employment in different jobs and industries only after longer periods of unemployment and at substantially reduced wages.

Throughout the country, many dislocated workers are being helped to find new jobs through retraining and reemployment programs. Most programs concentrate their efforts on job finding and placement activities, with some providing retraining for workers who lack marketable skills. Because of the large numbers of unemployed and dislocated workers who need assistance, program services are generally limited in scope and duration. Little is known about the success of such placements and the adjustments required on the part of the reemployed workers, especially for those who enter new jobs and new industries.

The Problem

The difficulties experienced by dislocated workers do not necessarily end upon their reentry into new jobs. In their study of the steelworkers who lost their jobs due to the plant shutdown at Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company (Youngstown, Ohio), Buss and Redburn (1983) suggested that there "may be a high probability of losing a job after being reemployed." They concluded that "experienced workers either cannot or will not adjust quickly and easily to new occupations" (p. 143).

A dislocated worker is often an individual who has experienced both a prolonged period of unemployment and an involuntary occupational change. Studies of plant shutdown victims indicate that workers often held two or more jobs before finding one that they consider to be permanent. Workers who do find new jobs that they consider permanent often work for lower wages, fewer benefits, less status, and at times in surroundings far different from those of their former jobs. The impact of involuntary occupational change is neither well documented nor understood.

In his comments before the U S Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources Louis Ferman (1980) stated that "our information on the psychological and health impact of shutdown victims does not extend to long-term scarring effects" (p 207) Ferman and Gardner (1979) have talked of a long-term scarring effect of unemployment However there is not yet enough data to know whether such scarring effects apply to plant shutdown victims Dislocated workers can expect to face some adjustment problems in a new job, however, the long-term carryover effects of unemployment and subsequent life adjustment problems cannot be clearly specified at this present time Information is needed that helps determine (1) what, if any, the long-term scarring effects of dislocation are and (2) what the particular reemployment adjustment tasks are that are required of dislocated workers when they enter new occupations

Exploring the Employer's and Employee's Perspective

The primary strategy in putting together this publication was to explore job adjustment problems by conducting open-ended discussions with dislocated workers who had been reemployed in new jobs and occupations These open-ended discussions were meant to be exploratory and were not intended to conform to a rigorous research design Several activities were conducted to accomplish this

As an initial step in this exploration, a comprehensive review was made of the literature dealing with issues relevant to the dislocation experiences Areas covered include the psychological and economic impact of unemployment on the worker and his or her family, the relative usefulness of different programs and services available to displaced workers, and the psychological processes underlying the displaced workers' adjustment to a new job

As a secondary means of clarifying relevant issues, a technical panel consisting of recognized authorities in the area of worker dislocation was convened This technical panel provided additional perspectives on and helped validate the issues initially chosen for examination in this area Various members of the technical panel also served as contacts during the process of selecting field sites

The selection of field sites was made with several considerations in mind Both rural and urban sites were selected in areas of the country with high rates of unemployment and plant closings Workers represented many different occupations, and most groups contained minorities (women blacks, and so forth) as well as white males Focus group discussions were held with 120 dislocated workers (92 males, 28 females) at 10 dislocated worker program sites located in the Northeast and Midwest The discussions served to focus attention on the job and life adjustment experiences of the workers, hence the term focus groups The workers came from a variety of industries—auto and steel manufacturing, aerospace, metalworking, and agribusiness—and had been assisted by a variety of program strategies including employer-assisted outplacement job search assistance, labor market orientation and placement skills, self-assessment and counseling, and skill training and industrial cross training Groups of 9-12 reemployed dislocated workers were encouraged to talk freely about their new job adjustment experiences as they were affected by dislocation, the manner in which they coped with the unemployment period, and the services and assistance received during the dislocation period

In addition to focus group meetings with dislocated workers, open-ended discussions were conducted at each site with employers who had hired dislocated workers into their companies The purpose of these discussions was to understand the perspective from which employers approach dislocated workers and to gain insight into their perceptions and beliefs regarding these workers The results of the discussions with employers were examined to identify similarities and differences in employer practices and experiences in hiring dislocated workers

A Theoretical Perspective

As new employees enter organizations, much interaction takes place between the individual and the organization. During these initial interactions, several processes occur that directly influence how effectively the new employee adapts to the organization. Bakke (1953) described this as a fusion process in which matching takes place between the person and the organization. This fusion process is composed of (1) the organization's socialization of the newcomer and (2) the newcomer's personalizing of the organization. Of these two components, most research in this area has dealt with socialization issues because the personalizing effect of a newcomer on an organization is in most cases unnoticeable. Organizational socialization can therefore be thought of as those changes caused by the organization that take place in newcomers. The organization's socialization efforts are aimed at the three major components of effective job performance: (1) job relevant skills, (2) work motivation and commitment to the organization, and (3) the role expectations the organization has for the newcomer. Effective socialization usually means that the newcomer has changed some attitudes and developed an internal commitment to the organization.

There are five basic socialization strategies that are used to bring about changes in the newcomer:

- **Training** refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills specifically related to the newcomer's performance on the job.
- **Education** refers to informing the newcomer of the various organizational policies, procedures, and norms. Although this is often teamed with training, it may exist as a pure type of education not concerned with actual job skills.
- **Apprenticeship** is basically a combination of training and education. It involves a one-to-one relationship between the newcomer and an insider who has the responsibility of both educating and training the newcomer.
- **Debasement experiences** are designed to "unfreeze" or "unhinge" the newcomer's previously held values and beliefs in order to facilitate the development of an organizationally appropriate self-image.
- **Organizational socialization** is a subtle strategy that attempts to socialize the newcomer through seduction by presenting the newcomer with a number of tempting choices. Although the *illusion* of a choice is maintained, one alternative is actually more attractive than the others. By influencing decisions in this way, organizations create the illusion that newcomers control their own destinies.

In addition to the five strategies just listed, there are various psychological mechanisms that cause *internal* changes in attitudes and commitment to the organization. One method is to have the newcomers expend a lot of time, energy, and effort on the job. Because individuals need to rationalize or justify the decisions they make, they will tend to become more internally committed to the object of all their effort. In return for this expenditure, however, the newcomer will usually come to expect something. Most organizations therefore couple the expenditure of effort and energy with different types of "payoffs," which usually take the form of what are called hygiene factors, meaning status, salary, working conditions, and so forth. In both of these cases, the "payoffs" tend to cause feelings of obligation in the newcomer, which in turn lead to further commitment to the new organization.

There are several models of organizational socialization that further clarify and detail the socialization process itself. These models treat the socialization process as a series of stages and are therefore called stage models. Perhaps the most comprehensive of these is given by Wanous (1980). His four-stage model describes the transition process of the employee from newcomer to insider within the organization. The first stage of the Wanous model deals with the newcomer's confrontation and acceptance of organizational reality. Here the newcomer becomes aware of organizational realities and either confirms or disconfirms the different expectations that were held about the organization. Conflicts between personal values and needs and the organizational climates are made salient, and the newcomer learns which aspects of oneself are reinforced, not reinforced, and punished by the organization.

This "initial entry" phase is a crucial part of the socialization process, for the relative "goodness of fit" between the newcomer and the organization itself mediates the successful job adjustment of the new employee. Knowledge of the experiences that a newly hired employee initially faces on the job, as well as an understanding of these experiences, is essential for understanding the adjustment process these workers go through. In relation to this proposition, Louis (1980) lists some key features of the newcomer's coping experience with the new job. Two of these features having particular relevance to the issues at hand are change and contrast.

Change

Change is defined as the difference in major features between the new and old job settings. The more that new job features differ from those of the old job, the more potential coping the newcomer has to do. This is true for both positive and negative changes. Examples of some features that often change are wages, status, job title, and job tasks. Defined more specifically, change is publicly known and knowable, changes *can*, in fact, be known in advance. *Contrast* will be discussed shortly.

In addition to change factors, unmet expectations also tend to be factors leading to poor adjustment by newcomers (Wanous 1977), as are individual and organizational conflicts. Take, for example, a blue-collar worker who was a supervisor in a steel mill and was laid off. Even though he was eventually rehired by another firm, due to the poor economy, he had to accept a lower paying, lower status position. The effects of change factors upon this worker's initial adjustment to the new job would be quite detrimental. Because of the change (drop) in wages, status, working conditions, and so forth, he potentially had a great deal of adjusting to do.

The first stage of the job socialization process is an important one. In addition to the detrimental effects of unmet expectations and conflicts between personal needs and values and the organizational climate, change factors can also play a part in inhibiting successful job adjustment of the new employee.

The second stage of the socialization process deals with the achievement of role clarity by the newcomer. More specifically, the newcomer becomes initiated to the tasks in the new job and learns to define his or her own roles in relation to both peers and supervision. In addition, the newcomer learns both how to cope with resistance to change and how to work within the structure and ambiguity given by the organization. In general, this second stage of the socialization process deals with the newcomer getting his or her "street smarts" regarding the organization. Because roles are the primary focus of this phase, the effects of contrast upon job adjustment will be discussed here also.

Contrast

Contrast is an important feature of the entry process. This effect is one that is personally (as opposed to publicly) noticed and is not usually knowable in advance. Contrast involves the perception of certain features against a background. In an organizational context, it refers to those particular features that emerge when individuals experience new job settings.

A special type of contrast is associated with role changes in moving from the old to new job. It is often difficult for employees in new jobs to let go of the roles of their old jobs. This "letting go" of roles often continues well into the socialization process. Most newcomers in an organization typically have at least some traces of their old roles that are not erased before the new roles are assumed. The newcomer's simultaneous possession of both new and old roles can result in a variety of effects. For example, the newcomer may evaluate various aspects of the new job using old job dimensions as anchors on internal comparison scales. The newcomer might incorporate aspects of the old job into the new job, or might resist the new job roles in favor of those from the old job.

Regarding the ex-supervisor example mentioned earlier, because it was difficult for this particular worker to let go of his old role, he evaluated various aspects of the new role using aspects of the old role as anchors on internal rating scales. In doing this, it is very unlikely that he would be satisfied with the new (lower level) job. He might also refuse to perform tasks as ordered, saying, "That's not how we did it where I used to work!" Although this might bring about some helpful suggestions regarding work procedures, the effects due to contrast between the new and old job (roles) can usually be regarded as detrimental.

The successful completion of the first two stages of the socialization process described here (confronting and accepting organizational reality and achieving role clarity) is essential to good adjustment by the organizational newcomer. They form important first impressions about the organization, and in doing so, they determine the quality of the remaining two phases of the socialization process.

The third stage of the socialization process deals with the newcomer finding his or her place within the organizational context. Conflicts between the individual and the organization are resolved, and a new self-image is established by the newcomer, along with new interpersonal relationships and the adoption of new values. Stimulated by first-year job challenge, the newcomer becomes committed to work and to the organization.

In the fourth and final stage of this organizational socialization model, "signposts" of successful socialization are detected. The not-so-new newcomer feels personally involved in the job and is internally motivated to work. "Signals" are sent between newcomer and the organization to indicate mutual acceptance. In addition, high satisfaction is felt toward the job by the newcomer, and increased dependability and organizational commitment are demonstrated. The completion of this last stage signals the end of the organizational socialization process and the transition of the employee from newcomer to insider within the organization.

As noted, the first two stages of this process deal primarily with hygiene factors such as salary, working conditions, security, status, and company policy, whereas the last two phases concern themselves primarily with motivating factors such as potential achievement, responsibility, advancement and growth opportunities, and potential recognition on the job. Successful socialization, therefore, seems to be due primarily to a presence of hygiene factors in the first two stages of the process, and the presence of motivating factors (motivators) in the last two (third and fourth)

stages. Thus, we might expect socialization to be inhibited due to a lack of hygiene factors in the initial stages of the process, as well as due to a lack of motivators in the latter phases.

In support of this proposition, Herzberg (1968) stresses the importance of these two kinds of factors to overall job satisfaction. In his two-factor theory, Herzberg distinguishes between two different sets of human needs. One set deals with the animalistic desire of humans to avoid pain and is composed of physiological, safety, social, and esteem needs. These "maintenance" needs can never really be permanently satisfied, although they can be temporarily satiated. Examples of these hygiene factors include company policy and administration, supervision, working conditions, salary, relationship with peers, status, and security.

The other set of needs, motivation needs, reflects the human tendency toward self-actualization. This set of motivators includes advancement and growth opportunities, recognition on the job, achievement, and job responsibility. According to Herzberg (ibid.), job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are two entirely different dimensions, not just opposite ends of the same continuum. Job *dissatisfaction* is caused by a *lack* of satisfactory hygiene factors, whereas job *satisfaction* is primarily a result of the *presence* of satisfactory motivators. Applied to the socialization process examined earlier, a lack of hygiene factors in the first two stages will lead to job dissatisfaction, which will in turn inhibit the successful continuation of the socialization process. Similarly, even if sufficient hygiene factors are present (enabling the first two phases to be completed successfully), unless a sufficient number of motivators are also present, the last two phases of the socialization process will *not* be completed positively. We thus see how important the presence of both hygiene factors and motivators are to the socialization process.

Organizational socialization deals with the transition of the employee from newcomer to insider within the organization. If successful socialization and subsequent internal commitment to the organization are to occur, a sufficient number of hygiene factors and motivators must be present. If any phase of the job socialization process is inhibited due to a lack of hygiene or motivating factors, the employee will not become committed to the organization and will most likely wish to leave the job in search of a more favorable work environment.

CHAPTER II

EMPLOYEE PERCEPTIONS OF ADJUSTMENT TO NEW JOBS

Open-ended group discussions with 120 reemployed workers who had experienced a significant job dislocation revealed a number of insights into how different the workers' new jobs tended to be from their former jobs in terms of occupational categories and skill levels. In addition, the discussions revealed the types and degrees of adjustments that the workers made in their new jobs. These adjustments included the areas of wages and benefits, job tasks, supervisors' management style, co-workers, company environment, job satisfaction, and related life adjustment.

Reemployment Patterns

The reemployment patterns of the workers show that they generally lost jobs in manufacturing processing and operations and found new jobs in sales and services. Figure 1 shows a number of interesting job shifts that were revealed.

Manufacturing	to	Sales and Services
Steelworker		Security guard
Assembler		Marketing representative
Crane operator		Insurance agent
Saw operator		Clerk
Conveyor operator		Manager, hair styling salon
Machine set-up		Employment specialist
Maintenance chief		Photographer

Figure 1. Job shifts reported by workers

This is consistent with National trends indicating that the United States is still moving away from being a manufacturing society to becoming a service and information (i.e., white-collar) society.

Half of the reemployed workers found jobs that used the same or nearly the same skill levels. Younger workers (age 39 and under) more often increased the skill level in their new jobs than did older workers. Less than one-fifth of the workers in the focus groups got jobs that required a lower level of skills. Figure 2 represents the type of skill shifts that were reported by the workers.

Shift to Higher Skill Level

Lower

Machine Operator
Assembler
Inspector
Furnace Operator
Spot Welder
Motor Inspector

Higher

Paramedic
Marketing Representative
R&D Technician
Construction Technician
Truck Mechanic
Robot Technician

Shift to Lower Skill Level

Higher

Machinist
Printing Press Operator
Data Processing Manager
Production Supervisor
Machinist
Tune-up Mechanic
Pipefitter

Lower

Janitor
Auto Salesperson
Estimator
Mechanic
Laborer
Laborer
Packer

Shift to Equal Skill Level

Former

Shipping Clerk
Employee Insurance Clerk
Materials Handler
Group Leader/Material Dept
Senior Buyer
Electrician

New

Office Clerk
Benefits Administrator
Home Health Aide
Production Coordinator
Purchasing Agent
Plant Maintenance

Figure 2. Skill shifts reported by workers

Job Adjustment from the Employees' Perspective

Wages and Benefits

All of the reemployed workers seemed to adjust adequately to their new jobs. Most older workers earned a lower income than in their former jobs, and over half of the younger workers received lower wages. Adjusting to lost earning power was a problem for the majority of the focus group participants, regardless of age. Women had less of a chance of retaining their former earning power in the new jobs than did men.

The financial desperation experienced by families often resulted in workers' accepting employment in jobs that were substantially different from their former work and that often provided significantly lower wages and benefits. This happened most often when the workers

accepted jobs in different occupations from their former jobs. The majority of the workers in the focus groups were earning lower wages on their new jobs in comparison to their former ones.

Job Tasks

Most of the workers reported that their adjustment to new job tasks was fairly easy. The smoothest adjustments were to jobs that required transferable skills, were generally enjoyable, offered training, or were in a positive work environment. Those who had serious problems adjusting to work tasks cited the following factors:

- Unfamiliar job skills
- Inadequate job orientation and training
- Unpleasant work tasks or company environment
- Diminished skill levels
- Unfriendly co-workers
- Increased productivity quotas

Supervisors' Management Style

Most of the workers felt that supportive supervisors enhanced their ability to adjust successfully to new supervisory or managerial situations. Among supportive behaviors were the supervisor serving initially as trainer, the supervisor providing instructions and information that helped the workers learn unfamiliar job tasks and responsibilities, and the supervisor providing positive feedback and encouragement. Those who had difficulty with new supervisors cited as factors racial or sexual bigotry, behavioral inconsistency, unreasonable work expectations, and nonsupportive attitudes toward workers.

Several of the men reported that they were working for women supervisors for the first time in their careers. These men said they found the situation a rewarding experience because the women supervisors tended to be understanding about the job adjustment process, and they tended to have good management skills.

Many of the reemployed workers felt apprehensive about their ability to perform in a new job. Often their lack of self-confidence was related to a long period of unemployment. As a result, such workers said they looked to their new supervisors for support and assistance in adjusting to their new job tasks and responsibilities. When supervisors provided such support and assistance, the workers found other job adjustments easier and developed a sense of security in their new surroundings.

Co-workers

Overall, most of the workers felt that the easiest part of the job adjustment process was "getting along with co-workers." Co-workers, who were usually friendly and supportive, helped new

workers adjust more easily, even when the new jobs were not as desirable as the workers' former jobs or when the new jobs seemed threatening in some respect. Additionally, co-workers were helpful in training new workers either formally or informally for new job tasks, expectations, and company policies. Employees who had serious problems adjusting to co-workers cited as major factors differences in age, attitudes, values, or company or union affiliations. Those having such difficulties were in the minority.

Company Environment

Half of the workers had few problems adjusting to new routines and job schedules. The half who had significant problems cited long work hours, split schedules, repetitive tasks, and low autonomy as factors.

Job Satisfaction

The majority of the workers expressed satisfaction with their new jobs. There were no significant differences by race, sex, or age. Only 12 percent said they were dissatisfied. Overall, job satisfaction for reemployed workers depended in part on length of time in the new job and how well personal expectations were fulfilled in the new work situation.

Related Life Adjustments

Overall, reemployment resulted in both positive and negative changes in the workers' related life adjustments and attitudes. Positive adjustments occurred in terms of feelings of adequacy as a wage earner, of learning about career planning and taking personal responsibility for one's future, and in a few cases, of learning to substitute free or inexpensive recreational activities for former, more expensive ones. Negative changes occurred in terms of effects on family routines and relationships, financial security, social and recreational expectations and activities, and general attitudes toward employers.

It is unclear how these changes affect the job adjustment process in turn. It is likely that persons who experience more positive overall life adjustments from their reemployment will subsequently be more positive about their new jobs and responsibilities. Those with more negative overall life adjustment experiences related to their reemployment may in turn have less successful job adjustment experiences. The reduction of former income levels appears to be the most crucial factor in most of the life adjustment changes for the focus group participants.

Worker Profiles

As with any special population group, it is easy to think of all dislocated workers as one homogeneous group of individuals who have handled their dislocation experiences in similar ways. However, among the group, there are significant differences in the way that the workers have responded to and coped with their situations. In the following section, a brief description of individual workers' experiences is highlighted to illustrate the rich diversity within the population group itself. Those represented include the following:*

*These profiles are based on the experiences of individuals who participated in the focus groups. All facts are true. Only the individual's names have been changed.

- A Caucasian female in her mid-30s with an unemployed husband and 3 children, 2 of whom are still at home—Lorraine
- A Caucasian female in her early 30s, divorced, and with one 12 year-old child—Phyllis
- A Caucasian female in her late 40's, divorced, and with a high-school-aged child still at home—Gladys
- A minority female in her mid-40s, married, with an unemployed husband, and 2 children, both of whom are away from home—Adele
- A Caucasian male in his late 30s, married, and with 1 child at home—Frank
- A Caucasian male in his late 20s, married, and with no children—Ken
- A Caucasian male in his early 50s, married, and with 8 children—Ralph
- A minority male in his early 40s, married, and with 3 children—Peter

Lorraine

Lorraine is 36, married, and has 3 children, 2 of whom are still at home. Her husband is unemployed. Lorraine has been dislocated 3 times over a 3-year period. She was first laid off from a job working in the toolroom of a major aircraft manufacturer. Subsequent to this position, she became a union organizer and was again laid off, this time because of funding problems. Her third job, one from which she was also laid off due to funding cuts, was with her State's employment commission. Currently, she is working as an employment specialist in a statewide dislocated worker program.

Lorraine says that even though her current position is subject to funding cuts and layoffs, she is not discouraged or fearful. Her three dislocation experiences have all helped her to arrive at her present position, and she feels confident that if her current job ended, the skills that she now possesses will enable her to find new employment.

She feels that even though the last 3 years have been painful, the overall change has been highly positive, and she is able to view the future optimistically. Lorraine suggests that her former employer handled the layoff insensitively. During the time she was there, she felt herself to be serving only the employer's needs. There was no upward mobility, no training or skill enhancement, and even though wages were high, the plant's conditions were grueling. In Lorraine's words, "The employees had to fight for everything."

When she left that job, Lorraine knew she never wanted to return. After leaving, she used her union experience as a stepping-stone to help her land her current job. She currently is responsible for outreach and recruitment for dislocated workers and for developing jobs with local employees. She works individually with workers, helps them assess their strengths, define their needs, and seek help for themselves. She now defines much of her own work and functions as a team member with other agency staff.

When she was hired, Lorraine received a good orientation from her employer and learned many of her responsibilities through on-the-job training. She indicates that she receives good

ongoing performance feedback and feels that she is working in a family-oriented environment. She claims that the hardest part of her job has been learning to do six or seven tasks simultaneously and to work with her clients rather than do things for them. The easiest and most enjoyable part of the job is working individually with her clients.

Although happy and positive now, the unemployment period was unpleasant for Lorraine and her family. She suffered depression and guilt, along with a heavy dose of anger. She asked herself constantly what she had done to deserve such treatment and wondered whether she could have done something different. There were financial problems, and she says that her family was too closely involved with her situation to be of much assistance. Fortunately for Lorraine, her union friends and activities and former co-workers provided her with moral support, motivation, and purpose.

She herself suggests that she learned some valuable lessons from her experience. She says she came to realize that there is little security and that nobody is locked into a job for life, circumstances can't be predicted, and throughout life, you always have to be prepared for unemployment. For Lorraine and for other dislocated workers, she feels self-reliance and active involvement in something outside of yourself are the key to survival.

Phyllis

Phyllis is 32, divorced, and has a 12-year-old child at home. She had been working as a conveyor in the utility and boiler house of a major steel manufacturing plant. Even though she had not planned to stay at the plant forever, she had been counting on both the position and the job's high salary to give her a start in her own business. Phyllis was, and still is, a bright, ambitious person who had made very specific plans for her own future, only to have them thwarted by the sudden layoff. In her own words, she was "hurt and bitter" at the layoff and the subsequent plant closure.

Phyllis had a hard time during unemployment. During the 30 months of her layoff, she mostly worked part-time cleaning houses with a friend. In spite of Phyllis's holding several other small, part-time jobs, she and her daughter suffered financially. She received no alimony or child support from her ex-husband, and once her unemployment was depleted, she had practically nothing. Since she was a homeowner and didn't want to sell her house, according to Phyllis, she was ineligible for welfare. She indicates that her daughter exhibited symptoms of enormous stress during the period, feared the loss of their home, and was excessively concerned about bills. Phyllis says that she herself suffered from a loss of vitality, felt extremely old, and often went to bed sweating. Additionally, she says she was so busy with part-time jobs that there was no time for a social life.

Fortunately for Phyllis, she was qualified in two other skill areas. She was a certified teacher and a licensed cosmetologist. She was able to fall back on cosmetology for the job she presently holds as manager of a beauty salon. Even though reemployed full-time, Phyllis's problems are far from over. She has taken a \$13,000 pay cut compared to her former job and is making exactly the same amount that she earned from unemployment. She enjoys being in charge at her job but feels that she isn't paid enough for the responsibility of supervising 15 people, some of whom earn salaries higher than hers. She also feels that she knows more about the business than her own boss but that she is denied equal pay. She says that her salary barely covers expenses, and she's still spending much of her time crawling out of the hole she fell into while unemployed. She is unable to pay most of her bills but is trying to keep up with house payments.

Phyllis enrolled in a retraining program in health sciences at a local community college while unemployed. She really loved school and says that her confidence and self-esteem received a wonderful boost as a result of it. Phyllis enjoyed the study, but says that she had to drop out in order to continue supporting herself and her daughter. Her tuition and books were covered by the school, but she had no money for life sustenance during the training.

Phyllis wants and plans to continue her training when she can save enough money or find a different job. She is thankful to have a job, but she is continuing to search for another. She reflects back on her experience and says that she is no longer bitter. She does wish that she had received kinder treatment from the social service bureaucracy and that there had been a central place where she could have gone for accurate information and help while unemployed. However, at the present, she spends more time planning for the future than regretting the past.

Gladys

Gladys is 47, divorced, and has 1 child of high school age still at home. Gladys had a job as a utility machine operator in a local plant that closed its doors. She enjoyed the work, saying that it was regular, steady, and well defined. Also, she says that at the plant, you always knew what was expected of you. Gladys liked the structure and certainty of her work.

She found her present position as an aide in a nursing home after 32 months of unemployment. Gladys lives in a rural area and attributes at least part of her prolonged unemployment to the area's generally depressed economy and lack of jobs. She also perceived prejudices (e.g., former union membership and high wages) toward her and her co-workers from area employers.

The job she did get was suggested to her by a friend. The job is part-time, 3 or 4 days a week, and pays the minimum wage. The work is hard, dirty, and requires heavy lifting. Often, too, she is bruised by the patients at the nursing home. Gladys doesn't mind the hard work. However, she does dislike the revolving shifts. Also, because she is still new, she is assigned to do the dirtiest jobs. Gladys learned her skills on the job and likes her co-workers. However, she says that there is a lot of turnover and general grumbling among staff.

Gladys dislikes most aspects of her job. She says she is there because she had no other choice, she doesn't want to stay there forever, and she is still looking. In fact, she says that if she could have her old job again, even at minimum wage, she would take it.

Gladys had a hard time while unemployed. After her unemployment ran out and her savings were depleted, she went on welfare. She says she went to the grocery only when she knew nobody would see her using food stamps. She says her father could have helped her financially, but her stepmother prohibited him from assisting. Her married son did, however, offer periodic assistance.

The worst aspects of unemployment for Gladys were having to deny her high-school-aged child many school activities (including participation on the basketball team) and facing a threatened loss of her home. The bank constantly threatened foreclosure on her home while she was unemployed. At one point, a local community agency assisted her by covering four of her back payments. Gladys says that she tried to make at least a small payment each month. Even with these measures though, bank officials were saying "sell or we'll foreclose."

Gladys is still deeply in debt and says that a paycheck based on minimum wage won't stretch very far. She is trying to make a minimum payment on all bills. She did attend secretarial courses.

while unemployed and she completed her GED. However, due to her inexperience, she found employers unwilling to hire her. She does not regret her time spent on schooling because it gave her a purpose while she was out of work.

Gladys indicates that her life is not very positive at this point. She tries to persevere and be optimistic, but the enormity of her financial situation overwhelms her. She briefly considered relocation while unemployed but didn't want to take her son away from his high school. Now, relocation is a serious, but less than enticing, consideration for her.

Adele

Adele is 46, married, and has 2 children, both of whom are away from home. While she was unemployed because of a plant closure, her husband was also without a job. Adele had been a sales account and accounts receivable clerk at a major steel company at the time of the closure. She enjoyed her job immensely, was pleased with her wages and benefits, and liked the fact that she lived near her work.

After 17 months of unemployment, Adele has found a job that she likes. Working as a statistical clerk for a local government employment and training agency, she is using many of the same skills that she used in her former job. She enjoys the work and is busy all day. She has been able to rely on the transfer of some former skills. Others, she has learned on the job from her co-workers. Her biggest adjustment to the new job has been learning to do five or six tasks at once and working with younger workers. Her principal dislikes are the lower salary and the longer commute.

Adele says that her first year of unemployment wasn't bad. With her husband also at home, the period brought them closer together. She says they talked together often and became very supportive of each other. Her father and brother offered some financial help and Adele had some income from caring for a friend's mother. However, at the end of 12 months, after unemployment insurance expired, problems were much more serious.

For Adele, the actual time of the plant closing was the worst. She says there were rumors on all sides and neither management nor union officials were honest with the employees. She became very nervous and high-strung during the period, but managed to retain some stability. She hopes never to repeat the experience.

For Adele, the worst problems during the actual unemployment were dealing with the government bureaucracy and job hunting. She indicated that she felt like a charity case when having to accept unemployment compensation and was shocked at the rudeness and insensitivity of the employment service staff. Adele suggests that more assistance is actually available for workers than they realize. However, she feels that most workers, herself included, are given little information about such help. She blames the bureaucracy somewhat for failing in its information dissemination efforts.

The job search was hard for Adele. She found that many area employers wouldn't accept resumes or applications. Additionally, she perceived a bias against her because of her limited education. She sought help from a local dislocated worker program and was extremely pleased with their assistance. She credits them for helping her land her present job. The program's heavy emphasis on interviewing skills and resume preparation, she feels, was at least partially responsible for her success.

Adele is cautiously optimistic and hopeful about the future. She says that even though she is reemployed, not all her problems are solved. She wishes things were better financially, but indicated that she and her husband are "rolling with the punches." She does say, generally, that dislocated workers like herself need more labor market information and exploration opportunity. She hopes that neither she nor her co-workers will have a repeat experience with unemployment, but should this occur, she recommends more programs like the one she attended.

Frank

Frank is 38, married, and has 1 child of junior high school age who is still at home. Frank worked on an assembly line for 19 years at a local plant. When the plant closed, he lacked the requisite seniority to relocate to another of the corporation's sites. Although he was promised severance pay, it was 4 years before the company settled with him, and the final sum was only 47 percent of the originally promised amount.

It has taken Frank 4 years to find his present job. During the interim period, he sold insurance for a while, pumped gas, worked for a neighbor as an awning installer, cut grass for neighbors in the summer, and shoveled snow in the winter. Presently, Frank has a job he loves, selling health maintenance organization (HMO) memberships. He says he is extremely happy with his job and sees the opportunity to be successful. He attended school for the new job for 2½ months and was required to pass a certification exam. For the sales and marketing aspects of his job, though, he says he is self-taught. Frank especially enjoys setting his own hours in his new job and meeting the public. His biggest adjustments have been the long commute to his office and wearing a suit every day.

Frank is a man who is actively involved with his family and community. According to Frank, this involvement sustained him during unemployment. He says his neighbors invited his family to dinner regularly. Even though he hated not "paying his own way," he admitted that the invitations provided both entertainment and moral support. Frank also indicates that he was actively involved in church fund-raising projects during the time. He says the involvement gave his life purpose and strengthened his faith.

In terms of family, Frank says his own mother provided tremendous moral support, and his wife's job provided them with some income. His biggest fear during unemployment was of becoming ill. His family had no health insurance, and he felt that if anyone became sick, medical bills would completely wipe him out financially.

Frank says that as a result of his dislocation experience, he has changed his life and learned valuable lessons. He says that now he is making much less money, but he has more money in his pocket than ever before. He is careful about purchases, he uses no credit cards, and he carefully adheres to a savings plan. He also says that he was in a terrible rut in his old job. He knew exactly when he would retire, and he already had plans made for that period in his life. Also, he says he could perform his job blindfolded. Now, he knows he never wants to fall into that rut again. Although happy in his current job, Frank is thinking about and planning for the new skills and career directions he wishes to pursue. As one simple illustration, he says that every Sunday, he studies the want ads for sales positions.

Ken

Ken is 29, married, and has no children. At the time of the plant closing, he had been working 5 years as a millwright for a major steel manufacturer. After 30 months of unemployment, Ken is presently reemployed in a challenging job that he enjoys.

Ken works as a programmable control and motor drive specialist for an electrical sales company. He says there are many opportunities for promotion with his new employer. At present, he is setting up educational programs for customers who buy the firm's equipment and is serving as a support person to the sales staff. He is also preparing to take over a store in a neighboring State where he will be responsible for sales and product marketing. Ken had the requisite background for the job when he was hired. However, he will be sent regularly to factory schools and to community colleges for skill upgrading courses. Ken sees few difficulties in his new position. His hardest adjustment at first was putting in additional hours of his own time. In his former position, in a union environment, he had been paid for overtime and hours had been strictly regulated. He especially likes the physical setting of his new job (indoors in a clean, air-conditioned, and heated office), and he enjoys being in a managerial position.

Ken indicates that after a few months of layoff, the main problem for him was boredom and worry about where he would find his next job. He didn't feel that friends and family treated him differently because he was unemployed. However, he said that because his self-esteem and confidence were greatly lowered during the period, he reacted differently toward them. He indicates that the relationship with his spouse was generally positive. However, there was a strain on both of them when he was at home full-time.

Ken actively searched for a job while unemployed. During the first 3 months, he says that he was too ashamed of being unemployed to ask for assistance from friends and acquaintances. After this period though, he says he contacted almost everyone he knew for potential job leads. Ken perceived a lot of prejudice among local employers toward his former employer. He says that he even received advice on ways of not referring to his former employer in his resume. The job that Ken finally did find was not advertised on the open market—a friend had referred him to his present employer.

What really helped him overcome the plant closure, Ken suggests, was enrolling in a yearlong occupational skill cross-training program in robotics engineering. Ken worked with robots previously but had never looked at them as systematically as he did in the program. Initially, he says, he chose training out of desperation, as a way of escaping boredom. However, once into the training, he found many technical doors opened for him. Additionally, the interaction with fellow classmates, most of whom were also dislocated, and his new identity as a student, were so beneficial for him that he became enthused about and committed to the training. Ken's new job is directly related to his training, and he credits the training for helping him get the position.

As a result of his dislocation and reemployment, Ken says that he has changed. For example, he says that too much of his self-identity previously depended on being productive and employed. Although he has recouped much of his lost self-confidence through his new job, he is careful to derive esteem from non-work-related activities. He also says that he has learned to get along on substantially less money and that he realizes now how many employed people complain about unimportant things. Ken states that these lessons, plus the opportunities of his new job and career, have brought him to view the future positively and optimistically.

Ralph

Ralph is 53, married, and has 8 children. He had worked as a shop mason for his previous employer since 1971 and had experienced intermittent layoffs. The last layoff, however, was permanent. Ralph really misses his former job. He says that the company was a good employer and that this job was the first one ever to have paid him a decent wage.

Ralph found a new position after a 7-month layoff. However, working conditions at the new job were bad and he quit voluntarily. Ralph had been employed as a lathe operator for a racing transmission company. He says the factory was run like a sweatshop, the pay was low, and there were no benefits. He describes management's attitude at the new firm as hostile. Ralph indicates that one reason for his mismatch with the employer was that he had neither asked for nor gotten enough information during the job interview, and he accepted the job on the basis of faulty knowledge. He did say that his co-workers at the plant were very skilled and the foreman who taught him his job skills was very talented.

Ralph says that the job search was very difficult for him and that he currently felt himself to be in limbo because of his age. He suggests that he discerned age prejudices and discrimination among local employers. However, he had no formal proof. For him, the hardest part of job hunting was competing with able-bodied, younger workers for the same job.

For Ralph, the hardest part of his first 7 months of unemployment was to keep himself from, as he called it, "wishful thinking." He really wanted his old job back and had a tendency to sit around waiting for a recall. He says that at first he tried to joke with his family about his being a house husband. However, he said the humor of such remarks very rapidly wore thin. Throughout his unemployment, Ralph says he suffered from guilt and low self-esteem. Also, there were financial difficulties, although his wife's job offered some help.

Ralph doesn't talk openly about his feelings regarding a second unemployment period. He indicates that the dislocated worker program he attended while unemployed helped him, but he does not say he would return to it for assistance. He reiterates his expectation of again facing age discrimination and doesn't seem to have a firm idea about the type of new position he desires. He does say he will get more information about the next job before he accepts it. Also, he says that he ultimately wants a job that is immune to layoffs.

Peter

Peter is 41, married, and has 3 children. He had been with his former employer for 12 years. He started as a laborer, moved up to a metal power and machine operator, and then became an assembler. He was first bumped during a work force cutback, then he was laid off on a supposedly final basis. However, after a 13-month layoff, he was recalled.

During the time that Peter was unemployed, the plant underwent a change in ownership. As a result, Peter wasn't recalled to his former job. Instead, he was arbitrarily assigned to a grinder's position. During the change of ownership, the employees agreed to a 2-year wage freeze in order to keep their jobs. As a result, Peter faced a lower salary than he received from his former job.

Peter says he is thankful to have a job, but he is not comfortable with his current position. He says that he was assigned to the job arbitrarily and was given no training except for assistance from his co-workers. The job was difficult to learn—the company gave him 2 working days to learn

about 30 different types of casting to smooth down. He says that if he had not learned the company would have dismissed him. Peter also says he has to wear a respirator and finds this uncomfortable. Additionally, glasses are furnished to protect workers from flying chips. However, Peter says that they do not fit securely, and there is some danger to him and the other employees.

According to Peter, the most stressful period for him was the time just before the layoff. The employer was posting the names of those to be laid off on a large board, and employees never knew when they would be dismissed. During the unemployment itself, Peter's worst problem was adjusting to the change in routine of not having a job. He suggests that he spent most of his time just holding himself together to keep from falling apart.

He says that what helped him the most was the job search training he received from a local dislocated worker program. The program instilled tremendous confidence in him, helped him to think of his skills in new ways, and helped him with his resume. He said that his confidence had soared so much that he was able to negotiate more effectively with his employer when he was recalled.

Peter was not devastated by his layoff nor does he fear the future. Even before his layoff he had started to develop a solid set of skills in photography. He had completed one specialized certificate course at an institute in a major eastern city and he was beginning a second. His first love really is photography and he is planning to continue working at the factory while beginning to build his own side business. In this way, he plans to lay a solid foundation to provide him with a cushion against future unemployment.

Peter says he thinks going back to school or pursuing further education is one of the best ways to combat dislocation and unemployment. He says he thinks that automation is here to stay and that all jobs will change over the next 5-10 years. For him, the time to start preparing is now. Peter is hopeful about the future, and he credits the recent unemployment period with having enabled him to get a new perspective on his own goals and potential.

CHAPTER III

EMPLOYERS' EFFORTS TO AID ADJUSTMENT

Introduction

The second information-collecting effort involved conversations with employers who had hired dislocated workers. Although these conversations were open to other topics, they focused on the following kinds of information:

- Demographics of the reemployed workers
- Recruitment methods used to hire these workers
- Major factors that influenced the employers' hiring decisions
- Orientation programs or job-related training used by employers for the reemployed workers
- Employers' perceptions of workers' adjustments to the firm and of the workers' overall job performance
- Employers' opinions about hiring dislocated workers as a management practice
- Employers' perceptions of and advice on actions that could help dislocated workers become more employable and make smoother transitions to new jobs

Such information is useful to (1) program service providers (i.e., agencies serving dislocated workers' varied needs), (2) employers who may be hiring dislocated workers, and (3) dislocated workers themselves. This chapter discusses the findings in all of the topic areas except the employers' advice; those comments are included in the guidelines and recommendations chapter that follows.

Characteristics of the Employers

A total of 17 companies were represented in the conversations with employers. The majority of these were manufacturing companies. Other business and industry sectors represented in the conversations included finance, local government, services, retail trade, and communications. Ten of the companies employed 250 or fewer workers. Three of the companies were of medium size, employing 200-500 workers, four were large companies, employing more than 500 workers.

Scattered throughout the East and Midwest, four of the companies were in small rural locations, five in small city settings, three in medium-sized urban areas, and four in large urban areas. Table 1 shows the companies' employment sizes and locations.

Company representatives who participated in the conversations are shown in table 2. These persons included agency executive directors, company presidents, personnel directors, human resource managers, division managers, and line supervisors. Conversations, generally lasting about 45 minutes, were conducted as an open-ended, largely unstructured process so that company representatives could discuss the issues and perceptions they deemed most important. The conversations were guided to the degree that the major topics were addressed in each conversation.

Characteristics of the Reemployed Workers

Most of the participating employers had hired between one and five dislocated workers. A recreational vehicle manufacturer hired the most dislocated workers (250), whereas 2 firms, a television-radio broadcaster and an electric and supply company, hired the fewest workers (1 each). Other employers hiring more than five dislocated workers were as follows:

- Welding and machinery company—6 full-time workers
- Stainless steel manufacturer—37 full-time workers
- Heavy vehicle repair company—5 full-time, 4 part-time workers
- Industrial parts manufacturer—30 full-time workers
- Truck parts manufacturer—30 full-time workers

Four employers indicated that they currently had no dislocated workers among their work force but had hired dislocated workers in the past.

The majority of the newly hired dislocated workers were white males aged 30-50. One employer (a city municipal services and maintenance department) had hired a dislocated worker in his 20s, and the parts manufacturer had hired several workers in their 60s. Several companies (i.e., bank, multicounty social services agency, county garage, stainless steel manufacturer) indicated that they had hired workers in their 50s. Only two of the employers, the welding and machinery company and the recreational vehicle manufacturer, had currently hired female dislocated workers.

Seven of the employers provided specific information about the educational background of their reemployed workers. All of these workers had at least a high school diploma. Three companies had hired dislocated workers with skill training or formal education beyond the high school level. The following companies had hired dislocated workers with high school diplomas or post-secondary training or education:

- High school diploma—
 - Multicounty social services agency
 - Welding and machinery company

TABLE 1
COMPANY INFORMATION BY SIZE AND LOCATION

Company Type	Estimated Size	Location
Manufacturing		
Industrial parts manufacturer	Small	Rural
Household appliances manufacturer	Large	Medium urban
Heavy vehicle repair	Small	Small city
Welding and machinery	Small	Medium urban
Toy manufacturer	Small	Small city
Stainless steel manufacturer	Large	Small city
Truck parts	Large	Small city
Recreational vehicle manufacturer	Large	Small city
Rubber floor mat manufacturer	Small	Medium urban
Communications, Util. & Sanitary Service		
Television-radio broadcasting	Medium	Large urban
Wholesale and Retail Trade		
Electric and supply company	Small	Large urban
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate		
Bank	Medium	Large urban
Services		
Multicounty social services	Small	Rural
Direct mail service	Medium	Large urban
Building management	Small	Large urban
Government		
Municipal services and maintenance	Small	Rural
County garage	Small	Rural

TABLE 2

EMPLOYERS INTERVIEWED BY TYPE OF COMPANY AND POSITION

Company	Persons Interviewed
Industrial parts manufacturing	Director of personnel
Household appliance manufacturer	Director of personnel Manager of hourly employees
Heavy vehicle repair	Personnel Manager Foreman
Welding and machinery	President
Toy manufacturing	Director of personnel
Stainless steel manufacturing	Personnel manager
Truck parts manufacturer	Director of personnel Plant supervisors Shift supervisors
Recreational vehicle manufacturer	Production supervisor
Rubber floor mat manufacturer	Director of personnel
Television-radio broadcasting	Human resources manager
Electric and supply company	Sales manager
Bank	Director of operations
Multicounty social services	Executive director
Direct mail service	Operations manager
Building management	Building manager
Municipal services and maintenance	Head of city services
County garage	Assistant personnel supervisor

- Stainless steel manufacturer
- Municipal services
- Training beyond high school—
 - Television-radio broadcaster
 - Electric and supply firm
 - Building management company

Of the 13 employers with dislocated workers currently in their work force, three had had workers on the job for more than 1 year. Of these, the bank and the recreational vehicle manufacturer had had dislocated workers on the payroll for 4 and 7 years, respectively. Workers in the remaining 5 companies had been on the job from 1 to 6 months. Table 3 summarizes the dislocated workers' tenure in their new jobs.

Many of the dislocated workers hired by the employers moved into job categories similar to those they had left in their former jobs. At six of the companies, the reemployed workers moved into skilled manufacturing or crafts positions that were similar in status and responsibility to their former jobs. At five other companies, employers hired skilled manufacturing or crafts workers, but the new positions were entry-level or assembly positions. These new jobs had lower status and significantly greater task variety (e.g., performing two or more major job tasks instead of one) than the former jobs. However, although these latter jobs generally were of a lower status, not all of them paid lower wages. In fact, several of these workers had retained their former wage levels.

In other companies, reemployed workers entered jobs that involved significant career or occupational changes. In one case, a reemployed worker who had formerly been a blue-print/layout person was hired to work as a midlevel operations manager—a change of occupational status. In three other instances, workers who had received formal skill training during unemployment changed from skilled machinist jobs in manufacturing to stationary engineers in white-collar service firms. In a fourth company, workers were hired as outreach staff, peer counselors, and program planners and managers in a social service agency after having worked previously as skilled factory workers in manufacturing jobs.

In addition to changes in job tasks or occupations, many of the reemployed workers also experienced significant changes in their work environments and routines. Some of these changes were as follows:

- Changes in wages or benefits
- Changes from hot, dirty, noisy work environments to clean, air-conditioned, indoor office environments
- Changes from indoor factory work to outdoor laborer jobs
- Changes from union to nonunion positions
- Changes from physical, highly structured jobs to jobs with few guidelines and room for autonomy and individual decision making

TABLE 3
REEMPLOYED WORKERS' LENGTH OF TIME IN NEW JOBS

Time Period	Employer Type
<p>One month</p> <p>Two to four months</p> <p>Five to six months</p> <p>Seven to twelve months</p> <p>More than one year</p>	<p>Electric and supply company</p> <p>Television-radio communications Municipal services</p> <p>Stainless steel manufacturer Industrial parts manufacturer</p> <p>Multicounty social services Building management Truck parts manufacturer</p> <p>Bank</p>
<p>Several months to 7 years</p> <p>One month to 1 year</p> <p>Varied time length</p>	<p>Recreational vehicle manufacturer</p> <p>Welding and machinery</p> <p>Heavy vehicle repair</p>

Employer Practices

Employers were asked about their general policies and practices related to hiring, orienting, training, and supporting dislocated workers. The following sections discuss these practices as revealed by the employers.

Recruitment Practices

Each employer was asked about his or her company's methods used to recruit the dislocated workers who had been hired. Table 4 shows what recruitment methods were used and the

number of employers who used each method. Please note that employers frequently used more than one method.

The recruitment method used most often was contact with service programs for dislocated workers. In every case, this contact was initiated by the service program. Employment service referrals also resulted in four of the employers' hiring dislocated workers. Just as often, however, the dislocated workers were already known to the employers, or they submitted resumes and applications to the employers ("walk-ins"). Less used methods were newspaper ads (three employers), referrals from current employees (two employers), referral from former employers (one employer), referral from a veterans' program (one employer), and contact with a trade association (one employer).

TABLE 4
RECRUITMENT METHODS USED
IN HIRING DISLOCATED WORKERS

Method	No. of Employers Using Method
Contacts with dislocated worker programs	7
Resumes and applications from walk-ins	4
Employee already known by employer	
Employment service referrals	4
Newspaper ads	3
Referrals from current employees	2
Referral from former (outplacing) employer	1
Veterans' program referral	1
Contact with trade association	1
Recruitment methods are not mutually exclusive; an employer may use a combination of methods.	

Generally, the size of a company did not influence the methods used to recruit dislocated workers. Smaller companies were those most likely to use contacts with service programs and trade associations, referrals from former employers, or prior contact with the workers themselves. Representatives of smaller companies often said that dislocated workers were valuable as trained workers, as they brought discipline, maturity, good technical skills, and good work attitudes to the new jobs. Although definite conclusions cannot be drawn from the small number of employers visited, these statements about dislocated workers seem to verify the choice of recruitment methods used by the smaller employers. These employers may have utilized the dislocated worker programs because of the number of qualified, trained workers found there. Also, relying on current employees, former employers, and personal contacts may be an extremely cost-effective recruitment method for the smaller companies. The smaller companies that were visited were, for the most part, located in rural areas or small cities (see table 1). Typically, in more isolated labor market areas, the supply of qualified labor is more limited. Thus, for these employers, the dislocated worker programs served as a valuable screening agent for the hiring employers.

No specific patterns emerged for medium-sized or large companies. Employers who mentioned using employment service referrals, however, typically were those required by law to list job openings with the public agencies.

Hiring Practices

The employers in the conversation group used a variety of criteria in deciding to hire the dislocated workers. The prime criterion overall was the match between the worker's skills and the task requirements of the job to be filled, as may be expected. Beyond that, however, employers considered very divergent worker qualities or traits. Table 5 lists the criteria or factors and the number of employers using them.

Aside from matching a worker's skills to the job tasks, the employers look at less readily measured traits, such as general work maturity, discipline, evidence of stability and dependability, a positive attitude toward work and the prospective jobs, and a high level of motivation. Employers felt that dislocated workers tended to have these qualities because they had had to develop them in order to have held onto their former jobs for so many years.

Employers indicated a couple of hiring factors that suggested a concern about hiring workers from a different occupational background or from a union environment. One example was how well a worker from a unionized firm whose former job had been highly structured and segmented might perform in a new job where being flexible and performing more than one job task would be required. In other cases, employers worried that dislocated workers who had had better wages and benefits in their former jobs would resent the wage cuts in the new jobs and would develop adverse attitudes toward the new jobs.

About a third of the employers relied on interviewing and references to decide whether to hire a dislocated worker. These companies kept resumes and applications on file and referred to them as vacancies occurred, or they used resumes and applications to select workers to interview. Table 15 shows that the criteria used either to prescreen interviewees or to hire the dislocated workers can be grouped according to skill and job tasks, general workplace skills, and personal and attitudinal factors.

It is interesting to note that, aside from factors directly related to work-related skills and attitudes, employers also considered leisure and volunteer pursuits outside of the workplace. A

TABLE 5
HIRING FACTORS UTILIZED BY EMPLOYERS
EMPLOYING DISLOCATED WORKERS

Factor	Employers Using	Factor	Employers Using
1. Interviewing and References		3. General Workplace Skills	
References	6	Interpersonal skills	3
Resumes and applications	5	General work maturity	3
Interviewing skills	4	Ability to work as part of a group or team	1
Assessment of direct supervisors present during interview	2	Independent decision-making ability	1
2. Skill and Job Tasks		Communication skills	1
Prior work experience	11	Life skills	1
Prior work performance	4	Evidence of resourceful problem- solving ability	1
Test scores and course grades	3	4. Personal and Attitudinal Factors	
Transferable skills	3	General attitude toward work, prospective job	4
Prior training	3	Positive attitude toward life	3
Trainability	3	Discipline	3
Supervisory experience	3	High level of motivation	3
Availability for shift work	1	Personality	2
People-related ability	1	Evidence of stability and dependability	2
Physical dexterity	1	Willingness to work at more than one job	1
Mechanical aptitude	1	General appearance	1
Technical specialty	1	Flexibility toward learning new job tasks	1
Ability to meet deadlines	1	Attitude toward working for less pay and benefits	1
Demonstrated ability to move rapidly into new job tasks, and new technological areas	1		

number of the 17 employers indicated that a worker was hired on the basis of skills, including leadership skills developed outside the workplace, acquired through a hobby or volunteer activities

No clear patterns emerge relating company size to the hiring criteria used. However, smaller companies, with resource constraints and limited in-house training facilities, placed more emphasis on matching a worker's skills and the job requirements. These smaller companies were most likely to hire dislocated workers with the following traits

- The worker had been through a relevant training program during the period of unemployment
- The worker possessed a unique blend of technical and personal skills not found in the average worker
- The worker was older, possessed work maturity, and had proven to be independent and responsible in the former job

Orientation and Training Practices

Each of the 17 employers offered some type of workplace or job-related orientation to re-employed workers. In all but one case, however, the orientation was not developed specifically for dislocated workers. Most employers said that the reemployed workers were well qualified and adjusted and that no special orientation was needed. Four employers who had hired workers from formal retraining programs said that these reemployed workers needed less orientation and on-the-job training than regular workers. These same employers indicated that the reemployed workers assumed more responsibility and became fully productive in far less time than normal.

Several employers said they had declined to develop special assistance for reemployed workers for fear of calling attention to the workers' problems and, thereby, creating barriers between them and the regular work force. These and other employers said that supervisors and managers kept in close contact with the reemployed workers, and if the workers encountered personal or work-related problems, the supervisors or managers could arrange for needed special assistance. The one employer who had developed a special orientation program for displaced workers had hired workers who were making a complete occupational change without benefit of retraining during unemployment.

Several employers indicated that their companies offered assistance to reemployed workers beyond orientation and training related to job tasks. One employer had an industrial nurse on site to help all workers with job-related stress or personal illness, and this assistance was also available to reemployed workers. A second employer said that the firm offered assistance to all workers with medical, financial, or substance abuse problems. One employer referred workers with financial problems to a community-based budgeting and credit counseling agency. In this case, the company was willing to arrange with the employee and creditors to deduct a percentage of the employee's paycheck and place those monies in a saving or debt repayment account.

Employers who did provide orientation and training for workers offered the assistance in one or several areas: (1) introduction and orientation to the company, (2) task-related training and orientation, and (3) ongoing assistance. The following sections examine what composed the companies' orientation and training in these three areas.

Introduction and orientation to the company. All but 3 of the 17 employers offered some type of structured orientation to the organization for entering workers. This typically included the following:

- A brief overview of the company
- An explanation of wages, benefits and insurance, personnel policies and promotional procedures
- A review of safety practices and procedures
- A complete tour of the plant
- An explanation of union contracts, if any
- An introduction to appropriate co-workers, managers, line supervisors, and union stewards, if any

The orientation was usually offered immediately after a worker was hired, although in two instances, it actually began during the interview when the direct supervisor took the individual on a tour of the workplace and described the actual job. Usually the orientation consisted of one short session that lasted for a few hours and included an explanation of personnel procedures and workplace safety and a tour of the plant. One employer, the bank, offered a multisession orientation program spread over two months. Only two companies, the bank and the television-radio broadcasting firm, included a history and orientation to their respective industrial sectors in the introductory sessions.

Atypical orientations were offered by the household appliance manufacturer and the multi-county social services agency. The appliance manufacturer said that although the company's orientation session was short, the topics dealt with several areas that might potentially be pertinent for the dislocated worker:

- Differences between prior and current job
- Nature of the work to be performed
- How to handle being the low-status person in the department
- How to adjust to factory work, if the person is new to a factory environment
- The nature of the work assignments (e.g., people are frequently loaned out to different departments)
- The influence that sales levels have on employment

The multicounty social services agency, because of the complex nature of its mission, had a longer, more structured orientation. The dislocated workers hired were given a thorough overview and explanation of each program and service offered, the eligibility requirements for clients, and the clientele served by the respective programs. This overview was followed by an extensive tour of the three-county area that the agency served.

Task-related training and orientation. Each of the 17 employers reported that they used on-the-job training or job-shadowing methods to provide job-related orientation and necessary job task training. This generally involved having the new hiree spend a short amount of time with more experienced co-workers or receive brief instructions from a line supervisor, senior engineer, or manager. Several employers said that for upgrading tenured employees or familiarizing them with new product lines, the companies used factory schools or formal classroom instruction, often at a community college. However, for new hirees, necessary instruction was always given at the workplace.

Because most employers selected and hired the dislocated workers on the basis of their skills and abilities, these workers needed little job-related instruction, in most cases. Orientation and on-the-job training acquainted the workers with the tools and machinery used at the company and familiarized them with the workplace procedures and regulations.

In cases where the dislocated workers underwent a complete change of occupation or were in need of updating in a specific skill area, companies did provide more extensive job-related training. For example, the multicounty social services agency hired a special trainer to help the re-employed workers strengthen their communication and interpersonal skills. This trainer worked with each individual in understanding and using nonverbal communication skills. In addition, the agency director deliberately assigned tasks to the new workers without giving specific directions for how to do the tasks; workers were then told to cooperate as a group to devise appropriate guidelines and procedures. In this way, the new workers felt ownership and gained hands-on experience with their new tasks. The agency provided ample support and encouragement during this learning and adjusting period, so that the workers were able to take responsibility for defining their own jobs and tasks (with the input and concurrence of the agency director). The dislocated worker hired by the electric and supply company also received a short period of job shadowing to enable him to gain a solid knowledge of customer needs, establish customer contacts, and enhance his general sales skills. This worker did not have a sales background or work experience in sales.

All of these approaches were essentially unstructured. Only two of the companies, the truck parts and household appliance manufacturers, had a structured approach to initiating new employees (dislocated or regular) to their tasks and routines. The truck parts manufacturer's approach involved giving the workers daily feedback on performance for the first week on the job, followed by an evaluation. After that, feedback was given every 15 days during the remainder of the evaluation period. The line supervisor was the evaluator who tracked the worker's interpersonal skills and behaviors and offered coaching as needed. The workers were sometimes assigned to a variety of jobs on different shifts and instructed by a technical representative in order to learn a range of job task skills or to sharpen a particular skill.

The household appliance manufacturer assigned and prepared line supervisors to work with the new employees. The line supervisors then conducted part of the employees' on-the-job training. New workers learned one part of their jobs at a time. During the first weeks of the training, the company assigned experienced workers to work alongside the new employee on the assembly line. These experienced workers provided instruction and advice to the new employee and compensated for the usual loss of productivity that occurred during the new worker's adjustment period.

Ongoing assistance. Most of the 17 employers provided some kind of ongoing, job-related training and assistance to workers, though none of this support was specifically tailored to the needs of reemployed workers. Only the multicounty social services agency director met regularly with reemployed workers to discuss and resolve work-related or personal difficulties affecting their work.

Other employers used a variety of strategies to provide ongoing development and growth for workers in the workplace. Six employers used quality circles, regular meetings among management and employees, and dissemination of information about industry trends, sales levels, and the like. These employers reported that they maintained an open-door policy, that is, line supervisors and managers would make themselves available to workers, often on the shop floor, to answer questions or provide specialized instruction for new tasks.

Three employers had active employee associations in the workplace. In two cases, the associations functioned mainly as social organizations, but in the third, the association kept employees abreast of company developments and involved them in management and decision-making activities.

Most of the employers considered on-the-job training as the main technique for teaching new job skills when employees were promoted or product lines changed. Two employers, the truck parts manufacturer and the electric and supply company, reported making active use of factory schools and formal training programs for these needs. Most employers do provide tuition reimbursement for employees wishing to upgrade or diversify their skills through formal, outside training. One employer reported offering incentive pay to foster ongoing productivity improvement and faster mastery of job skills.

Several employers also provided non-task-related aid to workers. Included were outplacement counseling for terminated employees, help with substance abuse and medical problems, and referral to community debt counseling services.

Job Adjustment from the Employers' Perspective

This section reviews the 17 employers' observations of how dislocated workers coming into their companies adjusted to changes in (1) wages and benefits, (2) job tasks and responsibilities, (3) supervisors and management styles, (4) co-workers, (5) company environment (e.g., routines and schedules), and (6) reemployment, following a long period of unemployment. These job adjustment factors parallel a number of those discussed in chapter 2, which gives the workers' own perspectives on the same adjustment areas.

The employers felt that, in general, the dislocated workers they had hired had adapted positively to their new jobs and the workplace. They recognized, though, that the workers were experiencing heightened anxiety and stress, and some workers had difficulty during the adjustment period. As expected, the workers making complete occupational changes experienced the most problems. Others, however, also experienced significant readjustments, particularly those whose wages and benefits diminished significantly or who found themselves in new jobs where co-workers and management styles differed greatly from their previous jobs. Overall, the employers sympathized with and appreciated the effort needed for these workers to adjust to a new job and its effect on their lives.

Changes in Wages and Benefits

Six of the seventeen employers reported that reemployed workers were receiving lower wages or fewer benefits than in their previous jobs. Only one of these employers, however, received complaints from the reemployed workers. Three employers said that better job security and expanded benefits seemed to offset the wage reduction. Another employer suggested that better working

conditions and a cleaner work environment seemed to compensate for some of the wage loss. In one company, an employee stock ownership plan helped offset a 20 percent reduction in benefits, a cut in the number of paid holidays, and the requirement that workers pay for family insurance coverage (coverage for the employee only was still paid by the company).

Changes in Job Tasks and Responsibilities

Nine employers reported that their reemployed workers were required to make substantial changes in job tasks in their new jobs. Those workers whose new jobs involved an occupational change had the most extensive adjustments to make in this area. Employers did not comment specifically on the effects of stress that these changes engendered.

At several companies, reemployed workers had to adjust to a more structured job setting or to performing several job tasks instead of one. Some workers had to adjust to a more extensive involvement in the design, scheduling, and management of the actual work flow. These workers had to develop a broader, more integrated view of the workplace and had to learn to function as members of a work team. The employers reported that reemployed workers adjusted successfully to these new conditions.

Several employers noted particular aspects of jobs that were likely to influence the reemployed workers' job adjustment, including the following:

- **Paperwork**—a particularly irritating task for former blue-collar workers who moved into white-collar service jobs
- **Job assignment changes**—where, for example, workers are loaned to individual departments on the basis of work flow needs rather than skill levels
- **Shift work**—an irritant for those unfamiliar with factory environments
- **Production quotas combined with repetitive job tasks**—where the new job often carried with it increased production quotas and tasks that were more repetitive than the former jobs
- **Highly specialized but unfamiliar skills**—where the job tasks require a special skill that the new worker finds unfamiliar or is unprepared to perform. In one company where this happened, the task required special physical dexterity and adeptness, and new workers who were unable to perform to their own satisfaction in a short period of time placed themselves under unnecessary pressure, resulting in dissatisfaction with the job overall.

An interesting example of a task-related job adjustment problem was a dislocated worker who moved into an unfamiliar white-collar, managerial position. Although the worker handled the change well overall, the pressure of being suddenly responsible for others' job performance affected the worker negatively. It took this person 2 years to feel comfortable in the new position.

The dislocated workers who moved from blue-collar manufacturing jobs into white-collar jobs in the helping professions seemed to experience the most problems in adjusting to the new jobs. For these workers, the entire structure of the work tasks changed drastically from focused, task-oriented physical jobs to unstructured, often ambiguous jobs that required intellectual, verbal, and decision-making skills. In essence, these workers went from dealing with predictable machines to dealing with unpredictable people. These same workers had to learn to pace themselves to keep

from "burning out" when dealing with clients' problems to handle disappointment when they were unable to assist people, and to rely on their own resources in the absence of concrete guidelines and procedures. Despite these considerable changes in job tasks, the employer reported that these workers adjusted successfully to their new jobs.

Changes in Supervisors and Management Styles

Three employers offered specific comments on reemployed workers' need to adjust to new supervisory and management styles. In two companies, dislocated workers, who had previously worked in highly structured, unionized settings where jobs and work roles were well defined, found themselves in new situations where management styles differed considerably. These workers were now expected to help design their own work, to work as members of a work team, and to participate actively in workplace planning and decision making. The overall management style focused on cooperation and open lines of communication between employees and managers.

In both of these cases, workers openly expressed satisfaction with the new management style. Reemployed workers in one of the companies not only expressed a liking for the change, but became actively supportive and understanding of management's positions on work-related matters. The workers quickly learned to offer constructive suggestions about workplace matters.

The third employer felt that hiring dislocated workers required adjustments by both the workers and management. Management had to learn how best to utilize these workers' skills, how to facilitate the changes the workers had to make in job tasks and work environments, and how to provide support for the workers during the adjustment period. The reemployed workers had to adjust to a more relaxed and informal work situation than the relatively rigid, restrictive plant environment in which they had worked previously. In the new firm, the workers experienced some temporary problems while learning to accept informal personnel procedures and staff decisions made on an individualized basis. They also experienced some problems accepting responsibility for becoming subject-matter experts for the agency. All of the workers eventually adjusted to these changes successfully.

Overall, the reemployed workers adapted rapidly to new supervisory styles and practices. Most workers adjusted readily to quality circles, open-door management policies, and other participatory work practices.

Changes in Co-workers

All of the employers reported that reemployed workers generally established good relationships with their new co-workers. Only two employers noticed any problems between reemployed workers and regular workers. In one company, the dislocated workers were initially treated with suspicion by the regular workers until the new workers proved their competence. However, the employer said that regular workers tended to treat all new hires that way, not just the dislocated workers. New hires who proved to be incompetent were never accepted.

In the second company, five reemployed workers' skill and productivity levels were so high that regular employees initially viewed them as threats. In both companies, however, the reemployed workers' problems with co-workers disappeared after a few weeks on the new job.

Several employees commented that workplace morale improved noticeably following the arrival of reemployed workers. One employer thought that regular employees developed a greater appreciation for their own jobs and life circumstances when they learned about the reemployed workers' difficult unemployment experiences. Another employer commented that good relationships developed in the workplace carried over into non-work-related social activities.

Changes in Work Environment

Seven employers reported that reemployed workers had to adjust to both physical and non-physical aspects of the new work environment. In one nonunion, largely white-collar firm, for example, a reemployed worker from a former blue-collar job had difficulty adjusting to being independently responsible for job advancement and growth within the company. This worker also suffered anxiety about being accepted into a white-collar work environment.

Workers entering a nonunionized blue-collar company made the transition from a former heavily unionized firm with surprising ease. In this case, the transition seemed to be aided by the workers' stronger personal identification with their craft than with their union.

In several companies, reemployed workers moved from hot, dirty mill environments to clean, well-lighted, air-conditioned surroundings. Employers reported that these workers adjusted rapidly and comfortably to the new work environment. In another case, reemployed workers moved readily from unpleasant factory environments to outdoor construction work. These workers expressed satisfaction with and pleasure regarding the change.

Some employers noted particular aspects of their firms' environments that required some adjustments on the part of the reemployed workers. These aspects included the following:

- The workers had to learn that their continued employment depended in large part on consumer demand and the volume of sales.
- The workers had to learn about how the company's recent growth and expansion had changed the workplace and how this affected the company's regular work force, which experienced periodic disorientation as a result.
- The workers had to learn that the type of work done, combined with the company's managerial philosophy, allows employees to make a certain number of mistakes without reprisal during the job adjustment and learning process. Some reemployed workers experienced unnecessary anxiety until they accepted this situation.

In general, reemployed workers adjusted readily to these and other changes in the work environment, given time.

Changes from Unemployment to Reemployment

Six employers said that the dislocated workers they hired experienced noticeable adjustments during their transition from unemployment to reemployment. Because many of these workers had been unemployed for long, stressful periods, the most striking change when they entered new jobs was their immediate reduction in anxiety. This was visible in the reemployed workers' increased self-confidence and self-esteem. Several employers reported that the workers expressed a general

relief and thankfulness at having a job again to structure their lives and replenish their depleted financial resources. Many reemployed workers expressed pleasure at moving into improved working conditions (as compared with their former ones). A reduction in family stress was also reported to several of the employers.

In a few cases, adjustment to wage reductions as compared to former jobs was not so easy. A number of workers had suffered serious financial depletion during long periods of unemployment, and to cope with the double loss of reduced wages, they requested wage advances or had their wages attached by creditors.

One employer noted that even though the dislocated workers now had new jobs, the workers remain insecure about their long-term employment. The employer attributed this feeling to the workers' belief that they were now "the lowest on the totem pole" and, therefore, the first most likely to be laid off should the new employer have to cut back the work force. Another employer commented that one of the reemployed workers' strongest desires was for job security, but that they had to adjust to the knowledge that this could never be guaranteed. These workers had to accept the realization that, regardless of where they were employed, they would face the possibility of layoff.

Some employers suggested that job insecurity drove the extremely high productivity levels that some reemployed workers exhibited when first on the job. One employer who had hired several older workers thought that these workers' unusual productivity stemmed in part from their desire not to appear inadequate or incompetent.

Hiring Dislocated Workers as a Management Practice

As a group, the employers interviewed expressed satisfaction with their decisions to hire dislocated workers. They felt that these workers made positive contributions to the company. They also believed that these workers made overall positive adjustments to their new jobs and that fairly good matches had been made between worker qualifications and the jobs filled.

Most of the employers said they had been pleasantly surprised with how quickly the reemployed workers had adjusted to and become productive in their new jobs. One employer said that the dislocated worker he had hired was performing at full capacity after only a month on the job, where normally it would have taken 6 months. Three other employers said they were particularly impressed with the independence of the reemployed workers in learning their job tasks and becoming fully productive. In some of the jobs, the new workers needed little assistance beyond basic orientation for jobs in which individuals typically would require a full year of experience and at least some "hand holding" from the employer to become fully productive.

The employers had other comments on the dislocated workers' work behavior and overall adjustment to their new jobs. These included the following:

- Reemployed workers take the initiative in suggesting more efficient ways of completing job assignments.
- Reemployed workers have excellent work attitudes, are adaptable, are capable of assuming leadership where necessary, and have proven themselves to be competent, responsible, and reliable.

- Reemployed workers are highly motivated, steady workers
- Reemployed workers accept new tasks and assignments willingly and perform them dependably
- Reemployed workers have mature attitudes toward their work combined with expertise, which makes them invaluable to the company
- Reemployed workers are capable of adjusting to and growing in their new jobs
- Reemployed workers readily develop confidence and new skills, many of which are transferable across the company or to new occupations and work settings outside, if necessary

Overall, the employers interviewed felt positive about hiring dislocated workers as a management practice. Reemployed workers frequently outperformed regular workers, had better attendance records, and were more highly motivated and thoughtful about suggesting workplace improvements. Because of these workers' previous job experience, a company's capital outlay for hiring, orienting, and training dislocated workers was often less than for regular workers. This was particularly true in small to medium-sized companies that hired workers from similar occupational or industrial backgrounds. Two employers went so far as to say that by bringing in dislocated workers, their companies gained the best combination of workers they had ever had. In some cases, the reemployed workers' well-developed job task skills enabled companies to accomplish some tasks in-house that previously had been subcontracted to outside firms.

In evaluating the employers' positive comments, it should be noted that those interviewed were mostly located in areas where a surplus of unemployed workers existed. As a result, the dislocated workers hired by these employers tended to be "the cream of the crop" in terms of their available skills and work experiences. Employers in less competitive labor markets may have different experiences with their reemployed workers.

Another factor to consider about hiring dislocated workers is that most of these employers displayed exceptional management styles and were aware of the problems of dislocated workers. For example, several of the employers had extensive knowledge of the economic and unemployment conditions in their labor market areas and, as such, did not decide against dislocated workers on the basis of long-term unemployment, union membership, formerly higher salaries, or former employment with higher status and more responsibility. These were employers who assessed workers' backgrounds from a broader perspective and often could spot qualities in dislocated workers that other employers with more traditional hiring approaches might overlook.

Employers generally seemed to feel that hiring dislocated workers who previously had unionized jobs did not present the problems for workers or company that might be expected. Workers appeared to adapt to nonunion job situations without trouble. In several cases, reemployed workers told their employers that union protection, despite providing them with higher salaries and benefits, had artificially limited their skill development and job advancement. Other workers expressed a preference for the nonunionized management-worker relationships in the new company.

Overall, the employers interviewed seemed to feel that hiring dislocated workers was a sound management practice.

Summary

As a group, the employers interviewed were aware of the problems confronting dislocated workers, the underlying economic and social causes of worker dislocation and the difficulties that reemployed workers face when adjusting to a new job in a new company. They also were knowledgeable about dislocated workers' needs for service and assistance both during unemployment and following reemployment. Most had given thought to how they could help alleviate some of the difficulties that their reemployed workers faced.

The employers felt that worker dislocation is a long-term problem that will continue to plague the country's economy. One employer suggested that American workers will have to adjust to a labor market with the following characteristics:

- Entire labor market areas that decline or become obsolete
- Emergence of new technologies and related job tasks that do not as yet exist but that will be necessary to many jobs
- Creation of many new jobs in small industrial firms rather than large ones
- Necessity for continual learning and retraining throughout one's work life

In many labor market areas, there is not an abundance of high-paying, attractive jobs, but also, the employers noted that many workers are unable or unwilling to relocate to other areas with better employment opportunities. Although the employers generally sympathized with these dislocated workers (particularly in the absence of good labor market information and relocation assistance), they did emphasize the need for workers in dying labor market areas to consider relocation seriously.

Employers also acknowledged that their own and community biases could hamper dislocated workers' job search and reemployment efforts. These biases, the employers suggested, are particularly evident in areas that have strong unionized companies. Community residents, generally, and nonunion workers, specifically, resent and distrust workers from unionized companies because of the higher wages and benefits in those firms. When workers from unionized companies find themselves laid off and must seek new jobs, they find little sympathy or support from the community or nonunion workers in other companies. Employers admitted to being reluctant to hire ex-union members for the following reasons:

- Union callback rights for workers in plants that have dismissed part of their work force rather than shutting down completely
- Fear that union hires will attempt to unionize the new workplace
- Fear that union workers have been protected and unproductive, have never made decisions for themselves, and have received promotions and raises based on seniority rather than merit
- Concern that union workers lack skill diversity or the motivation to work at more than one job task

- Fear that dislocated union workers who suffer a drastic wage-benefit package reduction will feel demeaned and fail to adjust successfully to the new job

The employers interviewed admitted that, on the basis of their own experiences, most dislocated workers (union or otherwise) did not fit these stereotypes. The employers did comment, however, that many less experienced companies did believe in the stereotypes and consequently represented barriers to dislocated workers seeking new jobs.

The employers interviewed felt that many dislocated workers would not regain their former salary levels and life-styles for at least several years following reemployment, regardless of community biases. Some suggested that younger workers would absorb their losses more easily than older workers and would eventually exceed their former salary levels. Older workers, they suggested, were much less likely to recoup their former income levels. This is because older workers have a more difficult time than younger workers finding jobs, and they have fewer years to remain in the labor force.

Some of the employers were initially reluctant to hire dislocated workers because they felt that layoffs are generally a way for a company to get rid of unproductive workers. However, these employers' experiences with reemployed workers have convinced them otherwise. They felt that the reemployed workers overall made successful adjustments to their new jobs, despite some initial difficulties, and that in terms of productivity, work attitudes, motivation, and general performance, the reemployed workers often excelled. Several employers suggested that dislocated workers are an asset to community employers, as well as to community economic development efforts designed to attract new area industry.

The most common adjustment that reemployed workers had to make was to receiving lower wages and fewer benefits than on the former job. In many cases, however, the reemployed workers expressed a preference for their new jobs because of cleaner, more comfortable working conditions, a management attitude that challenged the workers to be resourceful and creative, better promotional opportunities, a chance to develop transferable skills, and increased job security.

The employers generally felt that reemployed workers did not need special assistance or extensive support services once on the job. The employers were reluctant to single out dislocated workers for special assistance for fear of drawing unwelcomed attention and jealousy on the part of regular workers. The employers did suggest that all new hires, whether dislocated or not, could benefit from more organized, structured orientations to their new workplaces.

Because reemployed workers usually had good work habits already, the employers felt that these workers needed only minimal aid in learning new work routines, job tasks, and discipline. Many of the employers said that the reemployed workers were now in positions with promotion potential and that these workers could look forward to continued employment (economic conditions and consumer demand permitting) with their companies. However, unless the workers had entered a unionized work environment, they bore most of the responsibility for broadening their own job responsibilities and skills.

CHAPTER IV

SERVICES NEEDED FOR DISLOCATED WORKERS

Introduction

This chapter reviews the major problems the dislocated workers experienced during unemployment and the assistance and services they sought and received. These services are grouped into three categories:

- Informal assistance provided by family, friends, and community
- Government transfer payments
- Special programs offering job search, placement, and occupational skill training

For each of these categories, workers' perceptions and recommendations are examined. Unmet service needs are also mentioned.

Unemployment Problems

The workers experienced problems and exhibited needs that are typical for those who have lost their jobs due to forced occupational change. In the focus group discussions, the workers indicated that during the unemployment period, they were plagued by stress, severe loss of self-esteem, the need to readjust their relationships with family and friends, and intense financial problems.

The stress workers mentioned stemmed from a variety of causes, with the most frequent source of stress resulting from financial problems. Other frequently mentioned sources included stress related to engaging in the job search process, coping with general loss of self-esteem, dealing with the unemployment insurance system, adjusting to family changes, and accepting the loss of their former jobs. Out of the entire sample, only six individuals mentioned such problems as heavier than normal drinking. One-fifth of the sample commented that they experienced boredom and felt useless during the unemployment period.

Regarding their financial situation, at least one-fifth of the workers indicated that meeting utility bills and house payments was their biggest problem. Of these, five individuals spoke of specific problems with making mortgage payments and keeping their homes. Many indicated that because of their financial situation they experienced significant anxiety and disruptive sleeping patterns. Some said that their children and spouse also experienced depression, anxiety, and minor health changes over the family's change in financial status. Several suggested that their recreational activities were severely curtailed because of insufficient funds.

Although most of the workers experienced some combination of personal or financial difficulties during unemployment, there were a few who suffered minimal difficulties. These workers are characterized as having—

- adequate personal financial resources,
- no dependents,
- an employed spouse, or
- a substantial severance package from their former employer

Additionally, these were the same people who found jobs before having to use all of their personal assets

The type of service or assistance that most of the workers sought and received depended upon two factors (1) their particular problem-solving abilities and individual coping mechanisms and (2) the types of assistances and programs that were available in the community. For example, many workers relied mainly on family and friends. Those workers reported that in spite of strained financial resources and low self-esteem, they maintained a positive outlook and successfully readjusted their relationships and life-styles to accommodate the change in their lives. Some workers with young children indicated that they grew extremely close to those children and became more involved in family life during unemployment. Other workers turned mainly to the external community for help. These workers said that they became more involved in community activities, volunteer service, and church and fraternal organizations. In both cases, these were individuals who reached out to those around them for comfort and support. Similarly, they learned to divorce themselves from their identity as wage earners and to derive fulfillment and identity from other, non-work-related areas of their lives. These were also people who were rewarded, when they did reach out, with a positive response from their loved ones, friends, or acquaintances.

Still other workers handled the trauma of unemployment, particularly the financial strain, by readjusting their life-style and spending patterns; gaining family agreement in cutting expenses, seeking out less costly types of entertainment, and changing former habits, such as walking more instead of using the car, changing shopping and nutritional habits, and so forth.

Most workers, because they were unacquainted with community social services and were too proud to ask for help, initially stayed away from special programs for dislocated workers. It was only after being influenced by personal outreach efforts of program administrators or referrals from co-workers who had been helped by the programs that they took advantage of these services.

Types of Services

The workers who participated in the discussions received three different types of assistance or service during their unemployment period. One type was *informal assistance* delivered by community groups to which the workers belonged or by family members, neighbors, and friends. This type of assistance included psychological support and comfort, occasional outright financial help, and the offer of food, household items, and sometimes a part-time job. Also included in this category were such activities as a community-sponsored job fair, a union-sponsored food bank, or an awareness and outreach campaign to educate local townspeople about the plight of the dislocated. Typically, this type of assistance dealt with workers' immediate emotional or financial needs and often resulted from the workers' preexisting network of support.

The second type of assistance consisted of *government transfer payments* and occasionally *special hospitalization or health insurance* offered by the local hospital or the former employer or union. Such assistance generally included unemployment insurance compensation, welfare, and food stamps. These organized, legislated services, available to the public at large, required workers to make a formal application for the assistance and conform to a prescribed set of eligibility guidelines and procedures. Most of the workers in the sample drew unemployment compensation, and about one-fourth of them also received welfare or food stamps. Few of the workers received assistance in the form of health insurance or hospitalization coverage.

The third type of assistance was the *organized, formal programs and services* that had been established especially for the dislocated worker population. Often, these programs were sponsored by funds from the Job Training Partnership Act. Others were sponsored by the outplacing employer, local-level county government, and jointly funded labor-management programs. These programs usually had eligibility criteria attached to them, although some were targeted specifically for workers from a particular plant.

Because of resource constraints, the programs' efforts focused primarily on job search assistance and skill training. By the time many workers from the sample had enrolled in such programs, they had been unemployed at least a year. As a result, many of them sought assistance for psychoemotional problems as well as job search and skill training assistance. In such cases, program providers either attempted to help these workers within the confines of their own programs, or referred them to other community service providers.

The range of program services that workers in the sample received included the following:

- Skills assessment
- Self-assessment
- Career and life planning
- Labor market orientation
- Resume writing and preparation
- Interviewing preparation
- Job and employment orientation
- Assistance with designing a job search campaign
- Self-marketing and confidence-building techniques
- Basic skills training
- Occupational cross training
- Skill and upgraded skill training
- Skill enhancement training

- Job development assistance
- On-the-job training placements

Not every worker in the sample received all of these services. Typically, those workers who were in programs offering primarily career planning and job search assistance attended a 2-4 week, structured training program. This training included class lectures, role playing, workbook exercises, case studies, telephone utilization, self-selling techniques, and instruction on how to use labor market and employer information. Often, the training was combined with a job club or some other placement assistance. After training was completed, workers typically continued to use center facilities and to meet with instructors for assistance with resume writing and preparation, individual consultations about the design and conduct of search efforts, access to newspapers and other job search tools, and periodic coaching about interviewing techniques and application preparation.

Some of these program services also included short-term skill training and placement assistance that took the form of on-the-job training contracts. The workers who were in formal skill training programs typically attended courses at a community college. If workers attended skill-training courses before their unemployment insurance ran out, they received tuition assistance from the program and could use the transfer payments for personal financial support. Otherwise, the individual had to use personal savings or a spouse's earnings to meet living expenses. Typically, skill-training programs update existing skills, upgrade skills to qualify for a better position in the same occupation, or prepare the individual for an entirely new occupation. Generally, workers in the sample had career counseling before choosing an occupation, at which time they were encouraged, when possible, to choose occupations in demand. However, if workers demonstrated a particular talent in a nondemand occupation, they were not discouraged from training for it. In some instances, workers from one occupation were cross-trained for a new occupation that utilized their previous job skills. Whatever form the skill training took, at least some attention was given to job search or placement. When placement assistance was provided, it generally occurred in an informal, individualized way with the course instructor or director acting as a screening agent for a personally known, local employer.

Workers' Perceptions of Services and Assistance

Informal Assistance and Support

Among the workers who appeared to adjust comfortably and successfully to unemployment, there was an evident appreciation for the help of family and friends, churches, unions, and the community at large. Across the sample, only a few individuals mentioned that unions* and communities had undertaken organized assistance during the unemployment period. However, for those that did, the actions were received positively by the workers. The following comments illustrate the workers' perceptions of the informal assistance they were given.

The workers made comments such as these:

- Our greatest asset through all of this was the personalities of the wife and me. Whenever we had a fight or anything like that, we organized ourselves so that we were in communication with each other. We didn't allow communication to break down. As far as friends and neighbors, everyone was congenial.

*Unions were most active in providing job search and placement assistance. This is discussed in the section on formal program assistance.

- At least once a week, we [unemployed co-workers from the same plant] met and talked. Friends and neighbors stuck together.
- My support came from parents and other people and an employer where I worked part-time. When other workers wanted to be off, they'd always ask me if I wanted to work in their place. They knew I was unemployed and asked me if I wanted to work.
- My son was my main source of strength.
- My family and my husband were close and supportive during the time. Both my husband and I were off work and we got along even better than before.
- Neighbors were great. One neighbor tried to get me a job with his brother-in-law and got mad at him when he didn't hire me. People knew we needed things, and they'd always call me when they needed something fixed.

When it came to assistance from the church and unions, the workers had two types of comments. One type referred to the spiritual and emotional support received from these groups, and the second centered on actual help these groups provided. Comments such as the following were typical:

- My religion was a lift, it drew me closer to my family.
- There were several of us who were unemployed. We found strength in numbers and in our religion. As we lost our jobs, we found ourselves pooling our resources and solidifying our faith.
- I had one more thing going for me that nobody's mentioned here yet: my belief in my God, because He's always sustained me. He's the biggest thing I depended upon.
- My priest at the local church got word I have been unemployed for 2 years, and he made a contribution to the family.
- Our religion was a support. We worked very closely with our church. We started a special services program and in 1 year made \$1,600 for our church. There was something going on constantly.
- One of the things that helped me was a union food bank. This let us know that somebody cared—which was almost more valuable than the food itself.
- The unions and the local community held a communitywide get-together for the unemployed over Labor Day. It was a nice outing—a way for people to get together.
- I did volunteer work for our union group while unemployed. In this way, I kept myself going and worked myself into a job.
- I was very strongly involved in the union environment [while employed] therefore that's where I got my motivation not to give up.

Regarding general communitywide assistance, workers from two of the focus groups commented that some assistance had been rendered. In both cases, various community groups had

organized in an attempt to keep the plant open. Financial and tax packages and other incentives were offered. Additionally, in one of the areas, workers indicated that the whole community was a source of informal support. "We're all close here, we all grew up and have worked together. We all kept our sense of humor and worked together through the problem."

Government Transfer Payments and Hospitalization Assistance

The majority of workers in the sample held negative perceptions of the assistance provided by government transfer payments such as unemployment compensation, food stamps, and welfare. Although they were thankful to have some money coming in, most of the workers stated that they felt degraded and ashamed to be receiving this type of help. Most of the workers perceived themselves to be strong, independent, capable people who made valuable contributions to their workplace and their society. To be suddenly in a position of having to receive transfer payments made most of them feel like beggars and inadequate citizens.

The sense of shame and embarrassment could probably have been overcome had the workers perceived themselves as being treated humanely by those who administered the program or had they been able to wend their way more easily through the bureaucratic maze to qualify for and receive assistance. Most of the workers, however, stated that they were treated brusquely by unemployment insurance clerks and caseworkers. They also indicated that when problems arose with their payments, or if they were unable to understand some of the requirements for filing forms, they were treated with hostility and, at times, contempt. Workers also made comments about the long lines they were forced to stand in (time they could have used to look for jobs) and the lack of coordination between the unemployment compensation offices and other offices administering transfer payments.

Many of the workers indicated that receiving unemployment insurance penalized them if they tried to file for other forms of public assistance. They also indicated that given the sudden, unplanned drop in income, the amount of compensation was not nearly enough to help with family expenses and house payments. Such workers said they did not expect their home mortgage payment to cease during unemployment, but they would have appreciated some assistance directed specifically toward that aspect of their financial burden. Other major complaints about transfer payment assistance were as follows:

- The inability to collect unemployment insurance and enroll in a skill training program. Many workers desired retraining but could not enroll in an all-day, 5-day-per-week training program if they were required to be contacting a quota of employers in order to receive unemployment checks.
- The fact that home ownership wasn't permitted for welfare recipients. Many workers perceived themselves to be solid, middle-class citizens who were having a momentary run of bad luck and who were being penalized unfairly for owning their own homes.

The workers additionally criticized most of the government social service agencies for not having accurate and accessible information regarding available assistance. Many of them indicated that they felt threatened and intimidated by the entire transfer payment bureaucracy. They were unfamiliar with it and disliked having to use it. Consequently, they felt that they needed accurate information from a centralized source. Agency personnel frequently provided them with conflicting, erroneous information that caused them to expend valuable time and resources (e.g., gasoline, funds expended for child care) running to different locations to obtain needed assistance.

Regarding hospitalization and medical insurance assistance, most workers said they did not receive any. There was one employer who did provide continued coverage for extreme medical emergencies and another provided 1 week of continued coverage for every year of an employee's seniority. There was also one community hospital that provided free services for local unemployed residents.

Workers not having medical coverage during unemployment reported severe stress, worry, and fear about the possibility of them or their families becoming ill. A few workers tried to buy individual coverage but found they were unable to afford it after several months. Just about all the workers in the sample cited health insurance assistance as their greatest unmet need during unemployment and expressed a desire for increased attention to this need from both government and service providers alike.

Dislocated Worker Programs

All of the workers in the sample had been through a dislocated worker program. The majority of them (75 percent) had been through job search and placement assistance programs. Approximately one-fifth had been through formal skill-training programs. About 15 percent had been through both formal skill-training and job search assistance programs.

The common denominator among the participants was that they were all positive about the programs in which they had been enrolled. Due to the structure of the project and the type of information that was gathered, making a comparison between the benefits and impact of training and job search programs was neither possible nor desired. What mattered (and was emphasized in the focus groups) was the workers' overall perception of the services they received and components of the programs they considered most helpful. Although there were no outright negative comments made about program services, there were aspects of the programs that workers said could be strengthened. These perceptions will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Job search and placement assistance. Several types of service delivery characterized the programs that offered job search assistance to the workers. There was one ongoing, employer-sponsored outplacement program represented. A second type was a short-term, employer-sponsored outplacement program for workers who were at the plant at the point of closure, followed by a longer term JTPA-sponsored program for all of the plant's ex-workers. A third type was a joint labor-management center that was established for the workers of a specific plant over a year after the plant closed. A fourth pattern was a multifunded labor organization that offered plant-specific and worker-at-large services. Yet a fifth was characterized as a community-based program that served both plant-specific workers and workers at large. A sixth type was a local program that served eligible dislocated workers from the entire community.

Typically, the workers in all of these programs were enthusiastic and positive about the help they had received. Their comments generally focused on two broad aspects of program services: the esteem-building aspects and the job search and placement aspects.

As a group, the workers derived immense personal satisfaction and support or comfort from attending the programs. Many of them had for various reasons initially been suspicious and skeptical about the programs helping them. For example, some individuals, after their experience with the unemployment insurance system, were totally fed up with program assistance. Others, up until the period immediately preceding program enrollment, thought that they knew how to design a job.

search campaign. Some had attended a city-sponsored job fair or an unhelpful career counseling center, or they had suffered mistreatment from a private employment agency. Yet others simply lacked information about a program's existence. For whatever reason, many of the workers were negative or cynical about program services in general and felt that the special dislocated worker programs would also prove to be useless.

Once involved in the program itself, however, the workers reported that a dramatic change began to occur. The support of the program staff and the opportunity to interact with others in similar circumstances brought them out of the loneliness and isolation. The structured nature of the job search training and assigned exercises and tasks that they had to complete provided a routine for them, led them out of their boredom, and gave them a purpose. The career planning, the analysis of their skills, and the setting of life goals provided them new, highly positive self-images. In other words, the workers gained self-confidence and were motivated to get their lives moving again and to find a new, satisfying job.

The second aspect of the programs on which the workers commented enthusiastically was the job search skills they learned and the placement assistance they received. For a majority of the workers, the labor market they faced during unemployment was vastly different from the one they encountered when beginning their working lives. For many of them, entering the mill or the factory where their fathers, uncles, and relatives worked was a foregone conclusion. They had started working after high school and had spent 10-20 years with the same employer. They had never filled out an application, had little idea of what a resume was, had little idea of their own competencies and career desires, and had rarely, if ever, gone on an interview. There were, of course, exceptions to this, but even for these individuals, the labor market was often confusing and somewhat hostile. Consequently, from the workers' perspective, the job search training was of inestimable value. Specific aspects of the program that workers found helpful were the following:

- Developing a broader job description of their former jobs
- Role playing interviewing situations
- Learning to apply their skills to other occupations and industries
- Learning telephone techniques
- Discovering self-marketing techniques
- Writing cover letters and thank-you letters
- Exploring employee networking
- Discovering interview follow-up techniques
- Designing and conducting an organized job search campaign
- Setting life goals and career objectives
- Learning about ongoing access to telephones, resume writing assistance, and job search resources at the program center

The workers expressed almost no dissatisfaction with program services. However, they did offer several suggestions and ideas about expanding program activities. These were as follows:

- Involve spouses as much as possible in program services. Teach them to help in the job search process.
- Offer an orientation for children. Help them understand what is happening to their unemployed parent. Teach them to cope with and adjust to life-style changes.
- Provide more information about program and community social services to workers via union halls and meeting and shopping areas.
- Involve local employers (especially personnel and recruitment staff) more directly in the job search training.
- Begin program services as early as possible. Do not wait until 1 or 2 years after the plant closure or layoff.
- Make a provision for workers to continue the career and life-planning process that began during the job search training. This can either be through the program itself or through another community-based agency.

Occupational skill training. Those who received formal skill-training assistance while unemployed were very positive and enthusiastic about their programs. There were individuals who prepared for and received their high school general equivalency diploma (GED), those who enrolled in short-term skill courses to enhance their current occupational expertise, and others who retrained for a completely new field. Although both older and younger workers attended occupational training classes, the majority of men and women in the sample who trained for new fields were between the ages of 25 and 45.

As a parallel to comments that workers made about job search assistance, those who received training praised it in terms of both the psychoemotional fulfillment and the technical skills they received. When asked why training was chosen over other forms of assistance, many workers replied that initially they saw training as an escape from boredom and depression. Once in the classes, however, these same individuals indicated that the pride and the excitement they derived from the technical skills they were learning took over and made their experience more than just an escape. Almost all of the workers in training suggested that meeting other people from different backgrounds was one of the most positive aspects of the training. Through the course of training, especially that designed specifically for the dislocated, the workers found others who were in situations similar to their own. Consequently, a significant amount of sharing and mutual assistance occurred and a spirit of comradeship evolved as the workers studied together and helped each other with their classroom work.

Workers, especially those who had not gone beyond high school and were now in a community college setting, stated that they gained tremendous confidence from proving themselves capable of advanced study. For example, several people who had not studied beyond algebra in high school derived tremendous pride from being able to do calculus and trigonometry. The same general sentiment was also expressed by both young and older workers who completed their GEDs or who successfully finished short-term skill training.

Most of the workers who were enrolled in long-term skill-training programs (e.g., those 9 months or longer) said that they chose their respective occupations because (1) they expected the occupation to be in demand in the future or (2) they had always been interested in the occupation but had not had an opportunity to pursue it. These individuals had received career counseling before making their final skill choices and often had to meet minimal verbal and math requirements. Workers who were in short-term skill-training classes preferred to stay in their old occupation or simply did not have the resources or access to training facilities to permit them to enroll in long-term classes.

Not all workers were employed in jobs that directly related to their field of training. For those who were not employed in related jobs, there was not apparent regret or hostility toward the training experience. The workers did not blame the school or themselves for having chosen the wrong field. Rather, they just said the local labor market was to blame. Especially for the younger workers, there was the feeling that they could work into relevant positions in the future. Also, for many of them, there were training-relevant positions in the companies where they were working, and several had been told that they could expect to transfer into these positions. In at least three instances, employers had already drawn upon a worker's knowledge that was acquired in the training class.

For the older workers who were not in training-related positions, they stated that the training had at least exposed them to some new techniques and had helped them cope emotionally during the unemployment period. Generally, across all age groups, the workers said that although a job did not result directly from the training, many other doors had opened for them both intellectually and emotionally. They now saw themselves in a more positive light and had new ideas for developing and applying their talents. Significantly, several of these individuals had plans to pursue further education even though they had become reemployed.

Workers in training-related jobs said that their job satisfaction was greatly increased because of the training. These individuals had chosen their fields of training because they were interested in the occupation. Consequently, they were quite pleased that a job followed the training. Several of these workers suggested that these current jobs were the best they had ever held and that they held the potential for promotions. Significantly, many of these individuals were continuing their education via night school.

Across the group of workers who did and did not receive training, there was the perception that education and occupational training were one major answer to the dislocation problem. When asked to give recommendations to employers, service providers, and workers, the response was almost always "provide or go after more education or training." Many of those who received training said that the dislocation experience had shown them the necessity of having a diverse background with skills in more than one area. This is one of the factors that led them to training initially. It was also the factor that caused many of them to continue their education after reemployment. They stated that they were not going to be caught unprepared should they again become laid off and that more education was one of the longer term planning and coping mechanisms they were using to ensure their security.

For those who did not pursue training, there was still a positive perception of education or training. Many of these individuals had been unable to pursue training, even though they wanted it. Some of the reasons were as follows:

- They did not have the resources. Many had exhausted their unemployment benefits and had no other resources available. Even though they may have been eligible for tuition assistance, they had nothing to live on while in training.

- They had not been able to find information about available training assistance and programs. These individuals indicated that neither Employment Service personnel nor other community groups had such information for them.
- The individuals wanted apprenticeship training and were told they were too old to be accepted into or qualify for the program.
- There simply were not adequate training facilities or courses available within a reasonable commuting distance. This occurred most often in the rural project sites.

In addition to highlighting the positive aspects of training, the workers offered a number of cautions. They did say that if training is to be offered, good instructors and up-to-date equipment are a must, otherwise, the training really would be wasted. Also, there was a general call for training program personnel to strengthen the placement component of their programs. The workers felt that course instructors could provide valuable direction and advice for job search campaigns and placement. Workers generally suggested that instructors, working together with the employer community, might be more resourceful in this area.

As a third point, workers, especially those having two or more trades or skill competencies, felt that with some expert career counseling they could update and apply their existing skills in the labor market. These were people who really loved their chosen occupation and skills but who also recognized the need to adapt themselves to the local labor market needs. Similarly, since they found themselves unemployed even though they had more than one trade or occupational specialty, they were reluctant to train for a totally new field and face potential unemployment at the end of the training. From these workers, there emerged a strong recommendation for more career counseling for the workers, more labor market planning for training institutions, and a greater variety of short-term skill enhancement training in general.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, the dislocated workers in the sample drew upon three sources of assistance during their unemployment period. The assistance included the informal help offered by family, friends, and community, government transfer payments, and formal programs developed especially for dislocated workers. There is no way to tell which of these services were most useful in helping the workers reestablish some stability in their lives, nor to know which services would have the longer lasting impact.

From this work, more information is now known about how the workers attempted to handle their problems and what some of their likes and dislikes were regarding the assistance they did or did not receive. Much that has been written in the literature about services for the dislocated has been confirmed, and service providers, at least at the project sites, received reaffirmation about their practices. Additionally, some other issues were raised that merit further consideration and action. Among them are the following:

- At almost every project site, only a relatively small number of those who had actually been dislocated took advantage of program services. Workers spoke of former co-workers who were not seeking assistance and were still unemployed. Even those who had gone through the programs reported initial skepticism and reluctance about using program services. This suggests that outreach is extremely important. There is nothing new about this statement—many others have reiterated it. However, the importance of establishing

personal contact with workers, getting *accurate* information to them, and working with them as early as possible in their dislocation experience should not be overlooked

- In at least two of the project sites, special programs for the dislocated had not been initiated until at least a year after the plant closure. The workers in these locations said that such a time lapse is destructive, especially if the program is largely funded and established by the former employer. In the words of the workers, this kind of service was often "too little too late." The timing and delivery of program services are extremely important. Whether a program is offered by an outplacing employer or by a community, early contact with and accurate information for workers are important.
- The whole issue of training and its value for workers needs to be closely reexamined. Many service providers assume that training, especially for older workers, is a nonproductive, unworkable strategy. The workers in this sample provided somewhat contrary information. Perhaps, then, the whole issue of training needs to be rethought. There may be benefits derived from training that go beyond the specific occupational skills that are taught (e.g., creation of a self-image as a student rather than an unemployed worker who is living off society). This suggests that the more salient issues surrounding training are what type of training may be best (2-year community college programs may not be sufficient), who can best benefit from the training, and when training should be delivered. On-the-job training contracts *properly* used to deliver actual training for the employees and not as a subsidy for the employer, for example, may offer creative options for short-term training.
- The issue of follow-up services for the dislocated needs to be examined closely. Information from focus group participants indicated that most workers adjust to new employers and job tasks fairly easily. However, the acceptance of a job may not end a worker's need for some continued career and life-planning assistance. This is especially true if the new job is clearly distasteful to the worker and does not provide at least intrinsic satisfaction. Additionally, the dislocated worker may lose the first reemployment position because of budget and staff cutbacks. Thought needs to be given to whether such workers should be permitted to return to programs for counseling and assistance, be referred to other community resources, or even be helped at all. With funding time limits of about 1 year for many programs, referral to other providers may be necessary. If so, the provision of accurate and helpful information about such resources again becomes an important issue.
- Experience has shown that those dislocated workers who handle the entire experience more comfortably are those who can and do draw upon the support of the informal service sector (family, friends, churches, unions, and so forth). One important form of assistance that service providers can offer is to help the worker utilize this informal service network more effectively.

There are other recommendations and suggestions that surfaced (e.g., the need for a centralized information and service delivery center, the need for family involvement in program activities, and so forth). These will be discussed later in relationship to designing programs and services for the dislocated.

CHAPTER V

IMPROVING SERVICES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED: RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS

Introduction

Both the dislocated workers and hiring employers offered suggestions about how reemployed workers might be assisted—or helped to help themselves—to make faster and better adjustments to their new jobs. Some of these suggestions apply more to dislocated workers currently in a period of unemployment than to reemployed workers starting new jobs. These comments are included here because preemployment activities and interventions often affect a dislocated worker's attractiveness to a hiring employer, the worker's attitudes about him or herself and work in general, the worker's adjustment behaviors on the new job, and the worker's adjustment to changes in life-style.

The reemployed workers' recommendations, based on their own experience with long periods of unemployment and later adjustment to new jobs, address four groups intimately involved with job displacement and reemployment: (1) service providers (e.g., public agencies), (2) employers of dislocated workers; (3) Federal, State, and local governments, and (4) other dislocated workers currently seeking or entering new jobs. The employers' recommendations, based on their own experiences with reemployed workers in their firms, address (1) service providers, (2) other current or potential employers of dislocated workers, and (3) dislocated workers currently seeking or entering new jobs. The following sections review relevant recommendations made by workers and employers.

Employees' Recommendations

Recommendations to Service Providers

Most of the recommendations that the reemployed workers had for service providers relate to services needed during the long period of unemployment experienced by so many of these workers. The recommendations address a number of general areas, including job search and placement needs, job information needs, counseling approaches, relocation problems, debt management aid, retraining programs, and agency concerns and approaches.

Job search and placement needs. The reemployed workers made a number of specific recommendations about job search and placement needs. These recommendations are as follows:

- Service providers need to teach dislocated workers how to prepare resumes and write cover letters.

- Service providers should offer dislocated workers a place where they can access telephones, get help typing resumes and get financial assistance with mailing costs since mailing resumes can be a real expense for unemployed workers
- Service providers should place as much emphasis as possible on helping dislocated workers attain interviewing skills. One practice session may not be enough
- Service providers should bring corporate managers in to see program facilities and talk with dislocated workers
- Service providers should ask employers to work with the program instructor when hiring new employees and should offer to help the employers with recruitment and screening of dislocated workers
- Service providers should invite reemployed workers to come to program sessions and relate their own experiences, help with writing resumes, filling out applications, and so forth
- Service providers should ask reemployed workers to help dislocated workers still in the job search stage via networking and employer contacts. Reemployed workers can help keep service providers aware of openings in their companies
- Service providers should stress placement more strongly in programs, especially retraining programs, and they should help workers with this as much as possible
- Service providers should involve the spouses of dislocated workers as much as possible including training the spouses to assist in the job search (e.g., by developing good telephone-answering skills—especially helpful when employers phone a dislocated worker at home for additional information or to arrange an interview)

Job information needs. The following specific recommendations were made by the dislocated workers about job information needs for persons in the job search stage of unemployment

- Service providers need to provide more accurate information about the local labor market, as well as explain the workings of the local labor market to the dislocated workers
- Service providers need to find or do more research about which local employers are hiring what types of workers, as well as about what the occupational needs are in training programs they offer. This information needs to be communicated more effectively to dislocated workers
- Service providers should provide information that will help dislocated workers make better decisions about skill training. Often, workers have a variety of trade and skill experiences, but they need direction in how to apply and develop them in relation to the needs of local employers. Often, 6 months of brush-up training will qualify a person for a job, but the person needs to know the specific skill areas on which to concentrate
- Service providers should have training program instructors become more involved in giving information to dislocated workers about jobs and employers
- Service providers need an agency to put together a computerized information bank that matches available jobs with the skills of available dislocated workers

- Service providers should offer workshops or presentations that feature experts on the local labor market and local employers. These workshops should be free of charge with no commitments required from the workers to register for program services. Afterwards, the service providers should spend a few minutes discussing program offerings and should invite dislocated workers to register for services.

Counseling approaches. The reemployed workers offered the following specific recommendations to service providers about their counseling approaches:

- Service providers should concentrate on helping people obtain needed training and personal and family counseling during long unemployment periods. Also, many dislocated workers have hidden talents and need help developing and marketing them.
- Service providers need to have more information, including materials and publications, about other services in the community for dislocated workers. Too often, workers have to run from place to place seeking information about services, or they must wait until they are on public assistance before learning about other available services.
- Service providers need to concentrate on convincing dislocated workers that they may need to get additional training or go back to school.
- Service providers should offer counseling and support for the spouses of dislocated workers. This should not be ongoing psychotherapy, but it should help the worker solidify his or her position with the spouse during this difficult period. Too many families split up during the layoff because the spouse blames the worker for what has happened. The spouse should be helped to know how to support the dislocated worker and respond to his or her needs at this time.

Relocation problems. The following specific recommendations for service providers were offered by the dislocated workers about relocation problems:

- Service providers need to create a program or workshop to help dislocated workers determine whether to stay in their local labor market or relocate. Workers also need help in finding out whether such a move is financially feasible.
- Service providers should help dislocated workers understand the wisdom of relocation (in appropriate circumstances).

Debt management aid. The dislocated workers in the focus groups had the following recommendations for service providers about helping unemployed persons in managing their finances:

- Service providers need to help dislocated workers early on in their unemployment to reorganize their priorities to match their financial situation.
- Service providers should seek potential sources of financial assistance for dislocated workers with large expenses such as mortgage payments and hospital bills. Although debts cannot be erased, some kind of cushion is often needed.

Retraining programs. The dislocated workers mentioned the following recommendations for retraining programs:

- Service providers need to convince dislocated workers in depressed labor markets that retraining is the best and quickest way to get back into employment.

- Service providers need to help dislocated workers in retraining programs identify new talents and interests and develop new skills. Overall, service providers need to help workers see themselves positively.
- Service providers need to offer more help with basic skills during retraining programs. Workers also need to be made aware of technological developments in their general industrial area, even if their specific occupation presently is not using those technologies.
- Service providers should emphasize developing dislocated workers' hidden talents and help them identify transferable skills.
- Service providers should monitor and evaluate the quality of all retraining (and other) programs to ensure that the best instructors and equipment are in use. The quality of the instructors and equipment determines a program's quality.

Agency concerns and approaches. The workers had many comments about agency approaches. They offered the following specific recommendations:

- Service providers should ensure that their staff members treat dislocated workers with respect. Many workers complained that they were treated "like animals" or "as less than real people." This was especially true about staff in large public bureaucracies.
- Service providers should leave their "ivory towers" and make themselves accessible to dislocated workers via such networking activities as newsletters and information passed through labor unions, local churches, and the like.
- Service providers should make staff aware that dislocated workers have special problems and are somewhat different from more typical clients. Several complaints by the focus group workers were that agencies too often "throw everyone together." Service providers (particularly the unemployment offices) should make better use of information about laid-off workers from outplacing employers.
- Service providers need to focus on getting dislocated workers "into something—anything—just get them off the streets and out of their houses where all they do is watch television."
- Service providers should consider a service that picks up dislocated workers at their homes and brings them to the service site.
- Service providers should begin program activities for laid-off workers as soon as they become unemployed. It would be good if program attendance could be a requirement for receiving unemployment insurance.
- Service providers need to convince dislocated workers that their jobs are gone and they will not be rehired by their former employers. Agencies need to get these workers away from sitting by the phone waiting uselessly for a recall from their former employer. Service providers need to get workers into programs as soon as possible.
- Service providers should avoid competing with each other in delivery of services. All service staff should recommend other appropriate services to the workers. The unemployment service should not withhold referrals to local programs just because they fear losing credit for a positive termination. Also, all services should be made available to dislocated workers without bias or fear of losing status.

- Service providers should establish one central location at the program site where dislocated workers can get information, find out about application opportunities, get assistance, get information about financial help, and so forth. This could also be at a union hall or unemployment office. Dislocated workers often do not have the money or transportation to travel "all over the country" for different services or information.
- Service providers should provide information and assistance on a one-to-one basis. Not all services should be delivered on a group basis. For most dislocated workers, explaining their problems individually to a caring person is very important.

Helping reemployed workers adjust. The workers primarily discussed how service providers could improve services to dislocated workers who are still unemployed. However, some of their recommendations related directly to how service providers could help newly reemployed workers adjust more effectively and more rapidly to their new jobs and associated life-style changes. These recommendations are as follows:

- Service providers should continue helping dislocated workers after they are reemployed. Sometimes these workers will have problems adjusting (especially to a serious loss of earning power), and they may become depressed or lack motivation in their new jobs.
- Service providers should set up support groups for reemployed workers that will help them adjust to the new job.
- Service providers might set up job co-op programs with the help of staff at a community college. Reemployed persons could meet weekly for a discussion group, led by an instructor, that would help them deal with adjustment or learning problems on the new job.

Recommendations to Employers of Dislocated Workers

The reemployed workers discussed a number of ways in which employers could help make unemployment-to-reemployment transitions for dislocated workers smoother and more positive for both the workers and the hiring companies. The groups made recommendations to both outplac-ing and hiring employers.

Outplacing employers. The reemployed workers had a number of specific recommendations for employers that lay off workers. These recommendations are as follows:

- Outplacing employers—as well as related labor unions—need to be more sensitive toward laid-off workers' needs and problems during plant closure. Company managers and union leaders should hold joint workshops to foster cooperation and diminish confrontations that negatively affect the laid-off workers. Above all, these groups should try to avoid "nitpicking" regarding workers' personal problems and should jointly seek practical ways to help the workers.
- Outplacing employers should furnish information about terminated workers to the unemployment office to aid in placing the dislocated workers in new jobs.
- Outplacing employers should at least give terminated workers a letter of recommendation, without which it will be difficult for the workers to find new jobs.

- Outplacing employers should allow workers who are to be terminated to cut back on work time (e.g., to a 3- or 4-day work week) before the layoff. This time would be used by the workers for retraining or skill upgrading to improve their chances of finding a new job quickly. The continued part-time pay would help alleviate undue financial stress.
- Outplacing employers should provide retraining or tuition reimbursement. They should help outside service providers by directly referring workers to them or by providing information about workers to the service providers.

Hiring employers. The reemployed workers had several specific recommendations for ways that companies hiring dislocated workers could facilitate their job adjustment and help them become assets to the new employer. These recommendations are as follows:

- Hiring employers should have the line supervisor or direct manager for the open position interview the prospective dislocated workers applying for the position. These supervisors or managers should then participate actively in the hiring decisions. Too often, interviewers from a company's personnel department do not know much about the job and may inadvertently give the prospective worker false or exaggerated information or expectations about the job or company.
- Hiring employers should recognize and make use of the value of older dislocated workers. These workers can train new employees and serve as mentors to younger workers.
- Hiring employers should be careful not to expect an unreasonable amount of work out of newly reemployed workers because they know how desperate the workers are to have the job.

Recommendations to Federal, State, and Local Government

The workers had many comments related to government policies and practices at all levels. Some were directed to the Federal Government or to both Federal and State government. A few recommendations were specific to local government. All recommendations provide insight into how these reemployed workers perceive the role of government in helping them with unemployment and reemployment problems. Their recommendations are as follows:

- Government should not have laws that enable employers to close plants as an excuse for breaking up unions. Further, some sort of legislative intervention is needed to prevent this from happening.
- Government should do everything it can to encourage smaller companies to hire new and dislocated workers. Tax breaks would be one way to do this.
- Government should pass a law that gives workers the opportunity to buy a plant before the company shuts it down completely.
- Government should establish a comprehensive benefits system that allows workers to carry their benefits from employer to employer. This should include pension, health care, and insurance benefits. Alternatively, government should institute minimal coverage in these areas for unemployed workers that would, like unemployment insurance, be available during unemployment.

- Government should establish special laws and guidelines for dislocated older workers. These workers are sometimes too young to retire, yet employers will not consider them because of their age. This valuable source of skilled labor should not be wasted.
- Government should establish laws or guidelines to prevent employers from abusing on-the-job training subsidies. Many companies will not hire skilled dislocated workers because they can get partial wage reimbursement by hiring and training less skilled persons.
- Government needs to face the reality of the unemployment problem and acknowledge the existence of dislocated workers whose discouragement at not finding work has taken them out of active job searches. These workers are not considered in measuring the National unemployment level.
- Federal or State government should establish policies and funds to help dislocated workers cope with the financial strain of long-term unemployment. Such aid should only be available if workers are willing to contact their financial institutions and creditors and advise them of the problems.
- State Governments should stop competing with each other for companies. Employers that have been in an area for 100 years or so should not be enticed away by another State that offers lower taxes and other free benefits. The result is only that one State benefits at the expense of laid-off workers in the other State.
- Government should provide aid to dislocated workers who must or want to relocate to find a new job. These workers need help in buying and selling homes and in moving.
- Local government should set up revolving loan funds to sustain existing companies or attract new ones. These funds would be especially helpful in keeping plants open that would otherwise shut down.

Recommendations to Other Dislocated Workers

The workers had many recommendations for other dislocated workers. These recommendations focused primarily on the unemployment period and addressed the following areas: (1) general attitudes and self-knowledge, (2) career planning, (3) job search, (4) assistance programs and retraining, (5) part-time work and use of free time, (6) employment agencies, and (7) financial coping.

General attitudes and self-knowledge. The reemployed workers had the following recommendations for other dislocated workers concerning general attitudes and self-knowledge:

- Dislocated workers shouldn't be embarrassed to ask for help during the unemployment period. They should take advantage of any program resources that are available.
- Dislocated workers should try to have faith and stay optimistic. They must be careful not to become complacent or so discouraged that they give up looking for another job.
- Dislocated workers should stop feeling sorry for themselves and do something about their situation. They should avoid negative thinking and should not get into drinking or taking drugs. They should try to keep their sense of pride and self-worth.

- Dislocated workers should evaluate their skills and the possibility of using these skills in other occupations

Career planning. The reemployed workers had the following recommendations for other dislocated workers about career planning

- Before investigating a new job, dislocated workers should evaluate their income needs, acceptable commuting distance to work, and tolerable working conditions
- Dislocated workers should become involved in different activities, make contacts, check into retraining opportunities, and be willing to relocate if necessary
- Dislocated workers need to reevaluate their skills. In many cases, they may need retraining. Because all trades are changing, workers may need to learn new skills or obtain new knowledge in order to find a good new job
- Dislocated workers who find new jobs should take a long-term view of it and consider that the job may change in 5-10 years. Reemployed workers should begin preparing themselves for those changes now

Job search. The workers recommended the following to other dislocated workers about conducting a job search

- Dislocated workers should get out of the house, meet people, and make contacts that may eventually lead to job interviews
- Dislocated workers should begin to look for new jobs as soon as they are laid off
- Dislocated workers need to face the fact that they may experience rejections and disappointment during their job search. This happens to everyone, and they should not give up
- Dislocated workers should take a job they like, even if the pay is lower than in previous jobs. It is easier to find a job if the worker already has one, and employers will at least see that the worker is motivated to work
- Dislocated workers should take advantage of any schooling, programs, or adult education available in order to enhance their skills, to meet new people, and to make new job contacts that may lead to interviews. Workers will have a better chance of finding a job through personal contacts than through most other sources of job information
- Dislocated workers should find opportunities to mix with other workers, both ex-employees and those currently employed. These people are also good sources of job information
- Dislocated workers should be persistent about maintaining contact with potential employers. Sometimes employers will be impressed with workers' persistence and hire them
- Dislocated workers should realize that there are both good employers and bad employers. They should try not to be discouraged by unpleasant experiences with bad employers during their job search

- Dislocated workers should stress to prospective employers that they do not expect to be recalled by their former employers or that if they are recalled, they will not leave a new job to return to their former jobs. In many cases, prospective employers want a confirmation of this during the interview.
- Dislocated workers should realize that some employers do not know how to delve into the workers' backgrounds during an interview. As a result, the workers must learn to "sell" themselves and their skills to the prospective employers. Employers often look for this quality in interviewees.

Programs and retraining. The reemployed workers offered the following advice about programs and retraining:

- Dislocated workers who are eligible for special assistance should register to receive that assistance. Many dislocated worker programs are especially helpful for those who haven't looked for a job in 10-20 years. These programs also are a good source of job information about the local area.
- Dislocated workers should use every possible program or educational opportunity to get as much trade or skill training as they can. If they don't have this training, they aren't likely to get better jobs. Many workers who retrain often get better jobs than the ones they lost.

Part-time work and use of free time. Recommendations about unemployed workers' use of free time and acceptance of part-time work are as follows:

- Dislocated workers should consider part-time employment. Employers may offer this kind of work to test a worker's interest. Also, accepting part-time work demonstrates the worker's willingness to work.
- Dislocated workers should not be afraid to take short-term entry-level jobs. Doing so may extend the overall period of eligibility for unemployment compensation by interrupting it with temporary paid employment. After the interruption, unemployment would again resume. This way, workers can extend time available for training or job search services.
- Employers are impressed with dislocated workers who use their unemployment productively. That may mean attending service programs, retraining, or even doing volunteer work.

Employment Agencies. The reemployed workers made the following recommendations to other dislocated workers about dealing with service providers:

- Dislocated workers should be aware that some workers encountered private employment agencies that had an agreement with hiring companies to provide temporary workers. The worker, who was not necessarily told of this agreement, was subsequently dismissed from the job after a few months. In such a situation, the worker could not collect unemployment insurance and still had to pay the private agency's fee for placement.
- Dislocated workers should know that some private employment agencies try to pressure a worker into taking a job for which the worker may not be suited.

Financial coping. The workers offered the following advice about financial coping during long periods of unemployment

- Dislocated workers should realize that another member of the family (often the spouse) may need to go to work during the unemployment period
- Dislocated workers should try to meet their financial commitments as best they can and should consider part-time work if necessary

Employers' Recommendations

Recommendations to Service Providers

Most of the 17 employers interviewed were knowledgeable about local programs and services for dislocated workers and had been associated with the local services providers in a variety of ways. The employer's recommendations for service providers focused on three main areas: (1) personal services for dislocated workers, (2) job search and employment-related services, and (3) reemployment follow-up services.

Personal services for dislocated workers. A number of the employers felt that dislocated workers need some type of personal counseling during the unemployment period. The term counseling does not imply deep, ongoing psychotherapy, but rather guidance, information, and advice offered in the form of workshops or one-on-one sessions. Spouses and children also were seen as important participants in the counseling and workshop activities. A second major perception was that, at the very least, dislocated workers need to be given information about the availability of services and the location of agencies that offer assistance. Specific suggestions that the employers offered are as follows:

- Service providers need to give dislocated workers information about the existence and availability of program services. Service providers may be able to get unions and companies that are laying off workers to disseminate this kind of information.
- Service providers need to find ways to prod dislocated workers gently and invite them personally to participate in program activities. Again, unions and companies that are laying off workers may be able to help with this.
- Service providers need to offer financial planning and counseling assistance to dislocated workers. If the agencies themselves lack the resources to do this, they should at least refer workers to other providers within the community who do offer these services.
- Service providers should establish a place where dislocated workers can go to meet others experiencing similar problems. This may be the most important service that an agency can provide.
- Service providers should try to involve a dislocated worker's entire family in program activities, with a special effort to involve children, because they sometimes suffer considerable shame at their parents' unemployment.
- Service providers should ensure that program staff who work with dislocated workers treat these workers respectfully and help them maintain their dignity. Dislocated workers

who encounter patronizing or bullying staff in service programs often find these experiences negative and damaging. The workers particularly mentioned unemployment insurance offices as sources of this negative staff behavior.

Job search and employment-related services. The employers offered specific recommendations to service providers about job search training and assistance. Advice focuses on three areas: (1) the value of the programs to employers, (2) content of job search training, and (3) placement and community outreach services. The recommendations are that service providers should do the following:

- Service providers should provide training in job search skills and labor market orientation to dislocated workers in order to help workers present themselves positively to prospective employers.
- Service providers should consider offering an initial screening of dislocated workers for prospective employers. This service is valuable to employers because it saves them time. It is valuable to dislocated workers because it eliminates unnecessary disappointment for those who are truly not qualified for the positions, while it increases the qualified workers' chances of getting the jobs.
- Service providers should provide retraining programs for dislocated workers whenever possible. Employers are interested in hiring skilled, experienced, well-trained dislocated workers because these workers need less orientation and become productive much more quickly than regular workers.
- Service providers need to help dislocated workers prepare for and understand the adjustments they must make in a new company. This is especially important for workers coming from high-paying, highly unionized, and highly structured industries.
- Service providers need to provide training in interviewing skills and other activities that help strengthen dislocated workers' self-esteem.
- Service providers should aid dislocated workers in preparing good resumes. Resume writing skills should be a part of both job search and occupational retraining programs.
- Service providers should foster in dislocated workers a realistic view of what they can and cannot offer employers. Dislocated workers must understand that they need to have at least a minimum match between their skills and the job requirements.
- Service providers should seek the support of community groups (e.g., Rotary, churches, trade associations) to get people to discuss the problems of job dislocation openly and to aid dislocated workers via support groups and other assistance.
- Service providers should place much more emphasis on placement as part of their services to dislocated workers. This need is strongest in some of the skill retraining programs.

Reemployment follow-up services. The employers generally felt that service providers did not need to offer extensive follow-up services to reemployed workers. They did, however, have a number of recommendations in this area:

- Service providers should try to help reemployed workers develop an understanding of where and how they fit into the new company
- Service providers should check periodically with reemployed workers to see whether there are adjustment problems at work or in the workers' homes
- Service providers should provide follow-up counseling for reemployed workers who are overqualified for their new jobs. Such workers need help in using their skills more creatively in the new company, in setting more specific and long-term career goals, and in avoiding chronic job-hopping because of job dissatisfaction

Recommendations to Other Employers

The interviewed employers had numerous recommendations for other employers concerned with dislocated workers. The advice was specifically for managers, personnel office staff, and human resource development staff within companies. The recommendations addressed three roles in which employers find themselves in dealing with worker dislocation and reemployment: (1) employers laying off workers, (2) employers interviewing and hiring dislocated workers, and (3) employers hiring dislocated workers.

Employers laying off workers. The employers agreed that a company laying off workers has at least some minimal responsibilities to help ease the dislocation and make it as short as possible for the former employees. The specific recommendations for employers in this situation are as follows:

- Employers should at the very least provide workers with letters of reference and resume writing assistance
- Employers should actively seek ways to reinforce workers' self-esteem by emphasizing to the workers and the community the economic reasons for the termination
- Employers should, whenever feasible, provide outplacement counseling and assistance for workers
- Employers should contact other companies in the area to obtain job information for workers

Employers interviewing and hiring dislocated workers. Most of the employers felt that hiring dislocated workers was beneficial to their companies. The employers offered a number of specific recommendations to other employers about interviewing and hiring these workers, especially older dislocated workers. Their recommendations are as follows:

- Employers in general and personnel staff in particular should rid themselves of dated and illogical attitudes about hiring, particularly biases toward worker age, previous experience, job requirements, and the like
- Employers interviewing dislocated workers should examine such qualities as overall attitude, cooperativeness, willingness to learn, trainability, and attendance. Employers should give less importance to such factors as age, previous salary, union membership, and reputation of former employer

- Employers should not refuse to hire a dislocated worker because the person appears to be overqualified for the position. Many dislocated workers have a broad array of skills, and if the employer finds ways to use these skills creatively, the worker will be an asset to the company.
- Employers should not refuse to interview dislocated workers who formerly earned high salaries (e.g., \$20,000-\$30,000 per year), particularly those who had unionized positions. These wage levels should not be viewed as faults. Instead, employers should examine the workers' attitudes toward the prospective job and their willingness to work for the lower wage.
- Employers should not refuse to hire a dislocated worker for fear that the worker will return to the former employer. Dislocated workers whose new jobs promise stability and security usually will not want to return to their old employers.
- Employers need to be pragmatic and realistic about the requirements of the positions they seek to fill and what qualities they expect of prospective workers. Employers should be honest about these factors when interviewing dislocated workers.
- Employers and particularly personnel staff should become as informed as possible about the issues and realities of job dislocation. They should realize that many good, qualified workers lose their jobs due to plant closure or mass layoffs that have nothing to do with the workers' performance.
- Employers should be careful to avoid stigmatizing dislocated workers who apply for employment because of former union membership.
- Employers who are recruiting new employees should not overemphasize the need for college-level training unless it relates directly to position requirements. Overemphasis on educational requirements may screen out dislocated workers whose work experience may be as valuable (or more so) than formal education.
- Employers should recognize the value of hiring older dislocated workers. Managers always claim they want mature, loyal, healthy, stable, and family-oriented workers. Many older dislocated workers have all of these qualities.
- Employers should consider older dislocated workers for part-time work as well as full-time work. Many older dislocated workers are interested in part-time work if finances are not their prime reason for wanting to work.
- Employers should realize that many older dislocated workers have private retirement and alternative health care arrangements. Such workers would not be much of a drain on company benefits.
- Employers should consider hiring older dislocated workers when the company needs to train younger workers. The older workers can serve as valuable trainers and mentors.
- Employers need to consider more creative and flexible ways to take advantage of the rich skill background that older dislocated workers often have, when they consider who to hire for open positions.

Employers of dislocated workers. The employers had a number of suggestions for how companies hiring dislocated workers can help the workers adjust to the new jobs more easily and how the companies can make creative use of dislocated workers' skills once they are on the job. These recommendations are as follows:

- Employers should realize that most reemployed workers are starting in their new job from "point zero." Employers should not take advantage of these workers' lingering fears of layoff or threaten them with job loss.
- Employers should not hire dislocated workers en masse. Instead, companies should hire the workers in small numbers and allow them to integrate slowly into the work force. This should permit the worker to be accepted more readily for himself or herself, unencumbered by biases and stereotypes that co-workers may hold toward the former employer.
- Employers should be aware that many reemployed workers may not have had to adjust to a new job or a new company in years. Most of the workers will adjust without problems, but employers should cooperate with a dislocated worker assistance program to follow up on the workers' adjustments and provide needed assistance.
- Employers, especially line supervisors, should avoid singling out reemployed workers for special attention in the workplace. This might create barriers between the reemployed workers and the regular work force. However, employers should be aware of possible problems and be able to make referrals for service as appropriate.
- Because dislocated workers may be experiencing financial difficulties from a prolonged period of unemployment, employers should consider advancing reemployed workers their first check instead of withholding the first pay period wages.
- Employers who hire dislocated workers to fill positions in entirely different occupations than the workers' former jobs should give the workers some latitude in making initial minor mistakes.
- Employers should provide newly hired dislocated workers with some structure in the new job, but should also allow the workers freedom to define and carry out work on their own.

Recommendations to Dislocated Workers

The employers offered many recommendations for dislocated workers seeking reemployment. Many of these recommendations address the workers' attitudes toward unemployment and reemployment. Others are of a more pragmatic nature dealing with how to get along in and adapt to the new work environment. Overall, the employers seemed to expect workers to assume most of the responsibility for making a successful adjustment to the new job.

The employers' recommendations can be grouped into three segments of the layoff-to-reemployment-adjustment continuum: (1) the unemployment period, (2) the job search and interview period, and (3) the reemployment adjustment period.

The unemployment period. The employers' advice focused largely on the need for dislocated workers to control their bitterness about their job loss, to realign their expectations for the future, and to accept the realities of the job market. The specific recommendations are as follows:

- Dislocated workers should lay to rest any anger and bitterness toward their former employers. Such negative emotions will often sabotage job search and interview attempts.
- Dislocated workers must try to leave their former jobs behind, that is, they would give up the idea of returning to those jobs and turn their attention to the future and another employer.
- Dislocated workers should use their free time during unemployment to do part-time or volunteer work or to pursue other leisure activities. They could become the basis for starting and building a job search campaign.
- Dislocated workers should pursue activities that will help them enhance their old skills or learn new ones. Productive activities during unemployment are good signs to prospective employers.
- Dislocated workers who lost their jobs for economic reasons should not take the loss personally. They should never allow their self-esteem to falter.
- Dislocated workers need to examine their life-style and income needs while they are unemployed and use the time to realign their expectations for the future. They need to consider the fact that they may not return to former wage levels.
- Dislocated workers need to face the reality that the labor market is very competitive and that a job search may take a long time and will require much persistence.

The job search and interview period. The employers had a number of specific suggestions for dislocated workers to help them focus on successfully finding a good new job. These recommendations are as follows:

- Dislocated workers should be able to explain in an interview what experience and skills they can offer a new employer.
- Dislocated workers should realize that they may have to apply for jobs that they may not want. They may also need to accept jobs they do not want, at first, in order to meet their financial obligations. Once they are working again, they may need to continue looking for more attractive jobs.
- Dislocated workers should not sit around waiting for the ideal new job to appear. Instead, they need to stay active, work at whatever they can, and keep looking.
- Dislocated workers should know that to many interviewers, the workers' attitudes, personal orientation, and motivation can be as important as their skills, training, good work habits, discipline, and interest in the job can make the difference between the worker who is hired and the one who is not.
- Dislocated workers need to demonstrate to a prospective employer that they have the ability to grow and improve within the new job and the new company. Workers must be able to apply skills in new ways and to learn new skills.
- Dislocated workers should not allow themselves to place preconceived "price tags" on prospective jobs, especially if their wages at their former jobs were higher. Prospective employers do not know a dislocated worker's worth, and the worker may have to prove his or her worth in terms of being a hard-working employee.

- Dislocated workers need to prepare themselves for rejection during the job search process. For most dislocated workers, finding a good job is a long process, and a worker should not give up or give in to depression because of this.
- Dislocated workers should realize that most jobs today will require at least a high school diploma. If the worker does not have one, he or she should earn a GED.
- Dislocated workers should not neglect small companies when searching for new jobs. These employers often offer good promotional opportunities and the potential for skill diversification. In addition, many small companies expand when they become more successful, and the opportunities for workers to grow with the company are frequently better than in larger, established firms. This is especially true in single-owner companies.

The reemployment period. The employers had the following specific recommendations for reemployed workers who are starting new jobs:

- Reemployed workers must be willing to leave the past behind. This may mean adjusting to changes in wages, status, union protection, performance requirements, seniority, job security, and so forth.
- Reemployed workers must try to understand the employer's expectations and requirements for the new job and try to adjust accordingly. This may include understanding the nature of the new workplace, the industry, the worker's role in the organization, and so forth.
- Reemployed workers should accept the fact that automation has become a fact of life in the work world. For that reason, the workers should seek ways to keep diversifying their skills and abilities, even after they are reemployed.
- Reemployed workers should try to understand that they do not need to derive their personal identity and self-esteem from their job or occupation. Persons who are reemployed in jobs having lower status than their former jobs are not failures as human beings.
- Reemployed workers who do not find their new job satisfying should view the job as a vehicle for moving up, either within the company or to a more satisfying job in a different company.
- Reemployed workers should learn from their past experiences and apply what they can to their current jobs, but they should also be willing to learn new skills and new routines and procedures.
- Reemployed workers should demonstrate a high level of motivation on the new job.
- Reemployed workers should be willing to take on new responsibilities in the new job.
- Reemployed workers should not hold back in the new job setting. Instead, they should be willing to demonstrate their abilities and learn and fit in as quickly as they can.
- Reemployed workers should not be afraid to ask questions while learning their new jobs. They should not make assumptions or judgments. These may lead to unnecessary mistakes or to poor work habits.

- Reemployed workers should pay careful attention to job task explanations and work environment information they receive while learning their new jobs and becoming aware of the new work environment
- Reemployed workers need to demonstrate good work attitudes by showing a willingness to accept new supervision by being on time for work, and by maintaining a positive work attitude
- Reemployed workers should proceed on a day-by-day basis when first entering the new work environment. They should avoid being too aggressive or forceful. Workers need to give themselves time to become acclimated to the new work environment and to let their co-workers and supervisors become acclimated to them, as well.
- Reemployed workers should try to be confident, but not arrogant, with new supervisors and co-workers. The new workers should try to contribute to the new work group as soon as possible so as to gain co-workers' respect.
- Reemployed workers who have lingering financial problems from a long period of unemployment should find out whether the new employer has a credit union or can assist with finances via a special payback schedule for the creditors. The same process can be used for other problems carrying over from unemployment.

Guidelines for Easing the Unemployment-to Reemployment Transition

The reemployed workers and hiring employers made a broad range of recommendations to service providers, employers or dislocated workers, and the dislocated workers themselves. Some of the advice is very specific, whereas other advice is very general. The comments of the reemployed workers generally paralleled those of the employers. From these many recommendations, the following seem to be the major guidelines for each of the three groups involved directly in the dislocation-to-reemployment transition.

Guidelines for Dislocated Workers

- Accept personal responsibility for your career and life goals and directions. No one else is going to "take care of you" in these areas. There are no guarantees that you will get a new job and stay in it for the rest of your working life, so you need to think further into the future and develop as many alternatives for your career and life as you can. Many agencies have counselors who can help you get started on long-term career planning.
- Include family and other people important in your life when you consider long-term plans that may affect your income, your life-style and your emotional needs and commitments. These people can be an invaluable support group for you. Also, they need to be involved in the decisions you make that will affect them.
- Seek out and take advantage of community and employer-provided opportunities and resources to help you through the difficulties of this time, whether you are still unemployed or are adjusting to a new job. There are many opportunities for you to improve your work skills and knowledge. You need to be expanding and upgrading these skills from now on.

- Keep up to date with the important trends and changes in your occupation and your industry. This knowledge will tell you when you need to seek new training or perhaps even change occupations or move to another State.
- Work to put bitterness at your job loss in the past. Anger will only hinder you in your efforts to find or adjust to a new job or career. Instead, think about the many new opportunities that this change may mean to you in the long run.

Guidelines for Employers of Dislocated Workers

- Recognize the tremendous assets that dislocated workers represent to your company. These workers generally need much less orientation or training than regular workers, and they become fully productive much more quickly. They also bring good work habits and attitudes to a new job.
- Try to be sensitive to laid-off workers' needs. At the very least, provide recommendations for each worker laid off for economic reasons. Contacting other local companies about job openings for the laid-off workers does not require much expenditure but can go a long way toward helping some of them avoid the negative effects of long-term unemployment.
- Find creative ways to use the experience and skills of reemployed workers. These workers can act as trainers and mentors for younger, regular workers. Often they have skills that will allow them to contribute to the company in unexpected but valuable ways, if given the opportunity and encouragement. Many reemployed workers must give up higher wages and job status when taking a new job. By allowing them to design part of their work, you can help them find new job satisfaction while developing your company's labor assets.
- Recognize that many reemployed workers enter a new job with serious financial burdens from long-term unemployment. There are ways you can help: by not withholding the first paycheck, helping set up partial wage-withholding accounts for paying off creditors, and referring workers to service providers with financial assistance programs.

Guidelines for Dislocated Worker Program Service Providers

- Train program and agency staff (especially in government bureaucracies—employment service and welfare) to deal with dislocated workers in a respectful, helpful manner. Complaints are rampant about insensitive agency staff whose attitudes either discourage dislocated workers from using services or further damage the workers' already low self-esteem.
- Emphasize the delivery of local job market information and assist in placement as much as possible in all programs. Dislocated workers do not have the resources and contacts to stay current with many job opportunities. Involve employers and community organizations in gathering and disseminating up-to-date information on jobs as they become available.
- Involve the dislocated worker's family in program activities whenever possible. Job dislocation affects the entire family. Many divorces, incidents of child and spouse abuse, development of substance abuse problems, and the like might be averted if all family

members' needs are addressed. A dislocated worker's family should be his or her most important support group.

- Go to dislocated workers' homes and communities to "get them out of the house." Depression is often high following job loss or after a long, unsuccessful job search period. If the depression can be broken, workers will often become re-motivated to take advantage of agency programs for retraining or guided job search.
- Provide as much information as possible about not only your own programs and services, but also those of other service providers in the area. Competition in the delivery of services gains little for the agencies and may deny needed help to desperate dislocated workers and their families.
- Provide financial planning or other financial assistance to dislocated workers. Many of these people do not know how to reorganize their finances, contact creditors, or seek other aid. Not enough agencies provide this kind of service, and, as a result, many families unnecessarily lose their homes and other irreplaceable assets.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are many ways in which the dislocation experience affects workers. Being dislocated from a job that had been held for any substantial period of time usually necessitates a considerable amount of adjusting and coping by the former employee and his or her family. A distinction can be made here between life adjustment and job adjustment by the individual. *Life adjustment* involves those coping behaviors resulting from changes in an individual's life-style due to (in this case) the dislocation experience. *Job adjustment* refers to the degree of coping that the employee must do on the new job and is primarily a function of the relative differences between the new and the old job.

There are many life adjustments that a dislocated worker may be called upon to make following the job loss. For example, in the transition from work to unemployment, a pronounced change in life roles occurs. Familiar routines and time schedules are severely disrupted, and feelings of boredom and insecurity often result. Family relationships can alter significantly, with the spouse suddenly going off to work, children demonstrating a heightened concern about money, and all family members showing concern for house payments and overall security. Patterns of social interaction with friends may shift as limited income precludes even modest entertainment expenditures. Also, the constant anxiety from not knowing when or where reemployment will occur creates an emotional environment of stress that can lead to depression and self-doubt.

Emotionally, the dislocated worker frequently must struggle to overcome feelings of guilt, anger, and bewilderment at the sudden, perhaps misunderstood, job loss. The former employer's actions may be seen as uncaring and as only a ploy to receive a healthy tax write-off. There may also be a longing for the former job and a denial that the former plant or job is gone forever.

The worker must also adjust to the role and the idea of needing and accepting outside help or assistance. For people who are accustomed to paying their own way and being self-sufficient, there is often a need to file for unemployment compensation or welfare, to turn to relatives or family for financial aid, to depend on others for emotional affirmation, and to seek advice about searching for a job. Workers suffer a tremendous loss of self-pride and dignity and feel humiliated at the hands of public assistance bureaucrats.

Although the transition to unemployment is typically negative, for many workers, there are positive aspects intermixed. Family relationships can actually be strengthened as the workers and their spouses strive to absorb the job loss together. For example, a spouse who goes off to work for the first time and a worker who assumes household responsibilities for the first time can gain a deeper appreciation of the other's role. Likewise, new awarenesses and deeper friendships can evolve between children and the previously employed parent. Free time resulting from job loss is often channeled into volunteer activities, part-time work, and retraining or other activity that promotes career exploration. Also, income losses often result in prudent changes in spending habits. And, tremendous help and kindness are often encountered from community, church, and dislocated worker program centers.

As the dislocated worker moves from unemployment to reemployment, a new set of adjustments must be made. Just as with the transition to unemployment, there is a life adjustment aspect. This evolves around the worker actually taking responsibility once again for his or her own future, gaining a renewed sense of adequacy, and putting to rest any bitterness that may have lingered from the job loss period. Once back into a job, family roles must again shift and new routines and behavior patterns must be established. Depending on wages in the new job, finances may still be a source of stress.

On the job itself, the worker faces any number of adjustments and changes. Although workers can handle most of these adjustments on the surface, they are not typically made without some cost to the individual. In all probability, workers moving into jobs that are quite similar to their old ones face the least amount of adjustment. Even for these workers, however, there may be pronounced differences in wage levels, company environments, managerial styles, and the like—any of which necessitate changes in expectations and behaviors.

For workers entering new occupations or industrial sectors, there may be changes in job tasks and status along with those just mentioned. There also may be a shift from a union to a nonunion environment, with significantly different expectations to fulfill for supervisors and co-workers.

Dislocated workers typically must cope with a great deal of change, both in their personal lives and in the jobs they do. Because of long tenure in previous occupations, many of them, especially older adults, may lack practice and skill in coping with the many changes that are required of them. Nevertheless, with advice, support, and adequate orientation, these people can learn to adjust—often, quite successfully—to new jobs, people, and life-styles. Even more important, they are capable of assuming long-term responsibility for both their personal and work lives, and can make long-term, positive contributions to their communities and employers.

In conclusion, this work has focused on exploring the reemployment experiences and adjustments of dislocated workers and understanding the potential long-term scarring effects of forced occupational change. The experiences and background of the focus group participants represent a range of work and life changes that dislocated workers typically undergo in the unemployment-to-reemployment transition. It is extremely important that service providers and employers recognize the significance and scope of the transition that many dislocated workers must make. Their values and belief in themselves and the system have been tested to the limit. They are not just individuals who have left one job and must find another. They are, rather, people who must change in many ways that transcend their occupational roles. The following conclusions are based on an analysis of the workers' comments and perceptions about their job loss and reemployment experiences.

- The effects of dislocation appear to continue well beyond a long period of unemployment and, for many workers, require a major restructuring of personal and family plans, values, and life-style.
- A return to work after a long period of unemployment can trigger a second round of adjustments, as the spouse and children must adapt to the required changes necessary to accommodate the absence of the previously home-based adult.
- Not all dislocated workers adapt to the dislocation experience without longer term scarring effects. Some workers, particularly those who are unable to locate a satisfying job or who have suffered severe economic losses, continue to manifest a variety of effects, including mistrust of employers, low self-esteem, pronounced insecurity toward the future, and continued physical and psychological difficulties stemming from economic and material losses.

- Short-term services such as skill analysis, interview training, and resume preparation are important and helpful in the job search and rehiring process. However, success and future growth in a new job depend greatly on the ability of workers to make necessary job and life adjustments. Such needs are not adequately addressed through short-term services but require longer and more in-depth support and assistance, often from the new employer and co-workers.
- Life goals, security, the future, religion, faith, family, and the concept of self-worth have new and important meaning for those adults who have come through the trauma of dislocation. Their problems do not end with reemployment but shift from a concern about what to do now to a concern about what to do with the remainder of their lives.
- Dislocated workers often are flexible and adaptable in terms of adjusting to a new job environment. Employers indicated that many of the workers were required to make major job task and workplace adjustments. The ability of the workers to make these changes suggests a resiliency and high level of motivation.
- Generally, workers are able to make positive workplace contributions. This suggests that as a group, dislocated workers can be a potentially rich source of labor and productivity for both existing and new employers in a local labor market area.
- A positive reemployment attachment for both workers and employers grows out of a combination of factors, including worker's skills and backgrounds, the hiring employer's orientation to the workers, and the match between the worker and the job.
- Employers in a labor market area with substantial numbers of dislocated workers may want to give these workers priority consideration, simply because they often bring valuable training, ideas, and work maturity with them from their former employer.
- Dislocated workers often do not need or want special privileges but ask only that they be given an opportunity to prove their worth and value to a new employer in return for a fair wage and reasonable benefits. If they are given that opportunity, most will adjust successfully and prove their worth as productive, dependable, and loyal employees.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

About the Study

Objectives

The purpose of this study was to develop a set of recommendations that can facilitate the post-employment adjustment of previously dislocated workers who are entering new occupations. Through an investigation and analysis of actual adjustment problems and difficulties encountered by dislocated workers who have entered new occupations, it was anticipated that insights and knowledge would be gained that could contribute to the development of postemployment services. This study represents a shift in focus from postlayoff remedial training and job search assistance to preemployment and on-the-job interventions that can be implemented jointly by reemployment assistance programs, postsecondary colleges, and employers in order to avert or reduce the trauma associated with forced occupational change and reentry into significantly different work environments.

The objectives of the study were to (1) discuss with dislocated workers their job reentry adjustment problems and (2) develop a set of recommendations for actions and practices that could be implemented to help workers adjust to new occupations.

Method

The discussions with the workers were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Workers' comments were then categorized and coded according to three major categories—job adjustment, life adjustment, and services. Within each major category, appropriate subcodes useful for grouping and analyzing the responses were assigned. A total of 1,400 separate comments, averaging 150 words each, were selected and entered on an IBM-XT computer. A special software program called SUPERFILE was used to sort, compile, and retrieve comments for comparison and analysis. It was possible, for example, to examine all responses given by one individual, all responses given on a specific topic by an entire group of workers, or all responses relating to a particular subject across all 120 workers. The retrieval capabilities of the program enabled responses to be looked at from a demographics perspective (e.g., older vs. younger workers and men vs. women), from an individual service perspective, and so forth. Searches of the database were simple to conduct and a wide variety of data configurations were obtained.

Analysis of the worker experiences was based on several theories and models of organizational entry and socialization. The theoretical perspective employed in the analysis process is presented in chapter 1. Upon completion of the analysis phase, a preliminary draft of the findings was prepared. A second technical panel meeting was convened in order to obtain feedback and suggestions concerning the findings. Each member of the panel reviewed and reacted to a copy of

the preliminary findings from the study, and their comments and suggestions were incorporated into the final report when applicable. A preliminary version of the final report was then sent to be reviewed both by National Center staff and by professionals in the field who have expert knowledge of the particular topic area. Comments and feedback from these sources were then the basis for subsequent revision of the final draft of this publication.

The Sample

The volunteer sample consisted of 120 dislocated workers from 10 field sites. Two of the sites were in rural areas, three were in moderate-sized cities, and the remaining five were in, or near, larger urban centers. The field sites and the number of participants at each are shown in table A-1. As is shown in the table, 28, or more than one-fifth of the sample, were female.

TABLE A-1
PROJECT SITES AND PARTICIPANTS

Project Site	Number of Participants	Males	Females
Downriver, MI	16	12	4
Fort Wayne, IN	14	13	1
Canton, OH	12	11	1
Logan, OH	15	12	3
Columbus, OH	9	6	3
Midland, PA	14	12	2
Pittsburgh, PA	16	14	2
Hartford, CT	8	2	6
Torrington, CT	8	5	3
Bridgeport, CT	8	5	3
TOTAL	120	92	28

Of the 120 individuals, 116 indicated their age. Most of the individuals were between 30 and 54. Eighteen people were under 29, 46 were in their 30s, 32 in their 40s, 19 in their 50s, and 1 over the age of 60.

About three-fourths of the sample was Caucasian. Twenty-seven were from ethnic groups. Twenty-one of these were black, 1 was French, 1 Asian, 3 Hispanic, and 2 American Indian.

When compared to a recently released report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the present study sample of 120 individuals seems to be fairly typical of the overall dislocated worker population of 5.1 million ("BLS Reports" 1984).

In terms of marital status, 115 individuals provided information. Of these, the majority were married (80), 22 were single, and 13 were divorced. Eighteen of those who were by themselves reported having children. Of these, 12 were female. Most of these women had two children. However, one had six. The participants did not always indicate how many of their children were still at home or dependent upon them during their unemployment period.

Of the 110 who mentioned their educational background, 10 had less than a high school diploma. Forty-six individuals had only a high school diploma, whereas 33 others had a diploma plus technical or trade school or community college experience beyond high school. Nineteen had studies at the 4-year college level, and 2 had finished graduate study.

The period of unemployment for the sample ranged from 1 month to 48 months. The average unemployment time for the entire group was 15.7 months. In terms of age groups, the 30-34 group had the longest average unemployment time (22.2 months), whereas those under the age of 25 had the shortest (6.5 months). Table A-2 shows the average unemployment time in months for the various age and sex groups. In terms of comparisons between males and females, women in four of the eight age categories having females had longer average unemployment lengths.

Limitations of the Study

This was an exploratory study and was not intended to conform to a rigorous research design. The findings and conclusions, while informative and perhaps applicable to other dislocated worker populations, should be considered with several cautions in mind.

The workers who comprised the sample were volunteers who had completed dislocated worker programs and subsequently found new jobs. They were not systematically selected on the basis of specific criteria. The workers in the sample appear to typify those individuals nationally who are being forced out of their jobs. Both program service providers and project staffs' reviews of the literature confirm the parallels between the sample and workers across the country. Consequently, it is likely that the experiences of those individuals in the sample might be similar to those of other dislocated workers in similar situations. However, because the sample was not chosen to be scientifically representative, no predictions or estimates can be made as to the extent that the experiences of the current sample will occur for other workers in other situations.

Due to the nature of the focus group approach, a predetermined set of questions was not asked of every individual. The result of this approach is that different numbers of people commented on different issues and topics. Therefore, the unit of analysis for any topic or issue was only that group of individuals from the sample who offered relevant comments. Thus, for the inferences that were drawn, there was considerable variation in the underlying basis of support. The strength of this approach is that the workers were able to let staff know what mattered most to them, and staff were then able to mold their analysis to the workers' input.

For the employer aspect of the study, similar limitations or cautions can be raised. The employers volunteered, at the request of service providers, to confer with project staff. Although efforts were made to seek a representative sample in terms of size, locations, and industrial sector no exact predetermined criteria were utilized. As for the workers, caution must be used when interpreting employers' statements. Although their perceptions are likely to reflect those of other employers who have hired dislocated workers, the report material cannot safely be used for predictive purposes.

TABLE A-2
AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT TIME (BY AGE AND SEX)

Age	Average Length of Unemployment in Months		
	Males	Females	Both Sexes
Under 25	3.25	13.00	6.5
25-29	20.00	7.50	8.14
30-34	21.81	24.00	22.20
35-39	17.84	21.00	18.70
40-44	14.42	13.50	14.19
45-49	11.33	14.00	12.12
50-54	15.50	15.00	15.40
55-59	14.33	6.00	11.00
60-64	10.00		10.00
All Ages			15.70

Appendix B

Summary of Program Information

Program Site	Sponsoring Agency	Service Profile
Hartford, Torrington, and Bridgeport, CT	United Labor Agency	Formal outreach through unions, employers, community organizations; assessment of human service needs, and referral to appropriate agencies; skill assessment and career planning and counseling; 3 weeks of intensive job search training; resume preparation; ongoing placement assistance; ongoing resume assistance and access to staff and job search materials; limited OJT and classroom training.
Logan, OH	Community Action Agency	Formal outreach-home from staff; human service needs assessment and referral to appropriate agencies; 3 weeks of intensive job search training and job club; ongoing placement assistance and job club; OJT placements, formal classroom training, and relocation assistance.
Canton, OH	Pyramid Career Services	Outreach via community organizations and unions; assessment of human service needs, referral to appropriate agencies; transferable skills analysis; career assessment and life planning; 2 weeks of intensive job search training; ongoing job club; OJT placements.
Midland, PA	Midland Center for Career Development	Formal outreach-visits to worker homes, 2 weeks of intensive training—interviewing and job search, labor market orientation, skill assessment; limited classroom skill training; relocation assistance; ongoing access to resume preparation assistance, private job search counseling, free telephones, and job search aides.

Program Site	Sponsoring Agency	Service Profile
Pittsburgh, PA	<p>Dislocated Workers Education Training Program</p> <p>Steelworkers Cross-training Program</p>	<p>Formal outreach through community organizations, unions, neighborhood groups; career and human service needs assessment; referral to appropriate community agencies for human service needs; tuition assistance in skill area of worker's choice—preenrollment counseling offered; career assessment, life planning, and placement skills training offered with occupational skill training; limited placement assistance.</p> <p>Program developed in response to intensive labor market analysis; outreach to laid-off steel workers conducted by newspapers and community groups serving dislocated workers; workers recruited, screened, and referred for specialized skill training; 12 months of intensive schooling for stationary engineering or robotics technicians offered; tuition completely covered; limited placement assistance offered.</p>
Fort Wayne, IN	International Harvester Outplacement Center	Formal outreach by letters, and visits to former workers; career planning and assessment; resume preparation and interviewing skills; limited classroom skill training; placement assistance; on-going access to job search materials and job or career counseling.
Dearborn, MI	Downriver Community Conference	Outreach conducted through outplacing employers, unions, community groups, and newspapers; all workers given basic aptitude testing and a 4-day job-seeking skills workshop before being assigned to further services; available services include program services, with job placement assistance offered to those with immediate marketable skills; strong emphasis placed on employer involvement and outreach.
Columbus, OH	Rockwell International	Prospective employees (former dislocated workers) given preemployment tests and 2 weeks of skill instruction; persons selected learned skills by on-the-job training and job shadowing; workers also given orientation to plant and industry; when necessary, employees, especially those relocating, are given assistance with human service needs.

08

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