Differences in Jobseeking Behavior

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DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 541 VT 007 883

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Promoting Jobfinding Success for the Unemployed. Studies in Employment and Unemployment.

Upjohn (W.E.) Inst. for Employment Research, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Pub Date Apr 68
Note-23p.
Available from-W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1101 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (single copies without charge).
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.25
Descriptors-Anxiety, *Behavior Patterns, Blue Collar Occupations, Employment Services, *Job Applicants, Job Application, Motivation, *Unemployed

This brief summary of a much larger empirical study presented in the authors' book, "The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy," is presented to call wider attention to some of the more unique and critical aspects of the larger report. The original study, conducted in Erie, Pennsylvania in 1964, involved a sample of 455 male and female blue-collar workers. The study focused on: (1) differences in jobseeking behavior among skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers, between old and young workers, and between men and women, (2) the relative effectiveness of the various sources of job information used by jobseekers, and (3) whether the social-psychological factors of achievement motivation, achievement values, and job interview anxiety played a role in the jobseeking behavior of unemployed workers. Among the many findings were: (1) Reemployment success was greatest among those who did not avoid applying to certain companies and who used a wide-ranging job-hunt approach, (2) Social-psychological factors determined, in part, how early unemployed workers began their job search, their method of choosing companies at which to check, the number of companies at which to apply, and other behaviors, and (3) Workers finding new jobs through the State Employment Service had lower motivation and higher anxiety than workers finding new jobs through other techniques. (ET)

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Harold L. Sheppard
and
A. Harvey Belitsky

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By
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April 1968

The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research
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Preface

This bulletin is a brief summary of part of a much larger empirical study presented in the authors' book, *The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy,* published by The Johns Hopkins Press in late 1966. Most of that research was sponsored by the Office of Manpower Research in the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. This shorter version is presented to call wider attention to some of the more unique and critical aspects of the larger report.

The views expressed by the authors do not necessarily reflect policies or positions of the U.S. Department of Labor or of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Harold L. Sheppard
A. Harvey Belitsky

Washington, D.C.
March 1968

The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research

THE INSTITUTE, a privately sponsored nonprofit research organization, was established on July 1, 1945. It is an activity of the W. E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation, which was formed in 1932 to administer a fund set aside by the late Dr. W. E. Upjohn for the purpose of carrying on "research into the causes and effects of unemployment and measures for the alleviation of unemployment."

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Introduction

A recent Upjohn Institute study, entitled *The Job Hunt* and directed by the authors of this report, was an attempt to combine the insights of economics and social psychology into the subject of jobseeking behavior of blue-collar workers.[1] The study was undertaken with the hope of adding to the current body of knowledge on both the conceptual and practical levels and of contributing to a greater understanding and solution of unemployment problems. More concretely, the results of this research should contribute to improvement in the jobfinding success of unemployed workers.

The project, carried out in Erie, Pennsylvania, in the late summer and early fall of 1964, had a number of unique characteristics, such as an emphasis on the specific and measurable aspects of the jobseeking behavior of workers who had been unemployed at one time or another in the several months prior to the beginning of the study.[2]

The first concern in the project was to study the differences in jobseeking behavior, if any, among the three broad occupational divisions of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers; between men and women; between young and old workers (workers 39 and over were defined as "old").

A second line of inquiry was devoted to analysis of the relative effectiveness of the various sources used by jobseekers.

The third aspect of the study was unique in that it attempted to determine whether social-psychological factors in addition to such traditionally studied factors as age, education, and skill level played a role in the jobseeking behavior of unemployed workers. The three major social-

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[1]Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, 270 pp. The project forming the basis of the study was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Manpower Research.

[2]The total interviewed sample of blue-collar workers numbered 455 (309 males and 146 females). The sample was drawn from the files of the local office of the Employment Service and was restricted to individuals who (1) had been unemployed at some time between January 1, 1963, and April 1, 1964; (2) were not recent entrants into the labor force; (3) were not severely handicapped physically; and (4) had addresses within approximately 15 miles of the city of Erie. In addition, a small number of office-machine operators (mostly women) were interviewed. The blue-collar sample included some Negroes. Attention here is concentrated on blue-collar workers (white and Negro combined).

psychological factors or variables measured were (1) achievement motivation, (2) achievement values, and (3) job-interview anxiety.[3]

Three broad conditions in the response of the unemployed workers to their unemployment situations must first be stated so that the specific findings of the study can be properly interpreted:

1. A number of workers who had become unemployed during 1963-64 were (a) reemployed at their old jobs at the time of their interviews and (b) had also expected to be called back to those old jobs at the time they were laid off. Callback expectations naturally affect the degree to which workers will seek new employment and the methods they will use to seek work.[4] It should also be noted that the community had an abnormally high unemployment rate in early 1963, but had undergone a remarkable recovery during the following 18 months. Accordingly, many workers who were unemployed in early 1963 had been called back to their old jobs by no later than mid-1964. The analysis of the data in the Upjohn Institute study required that a distinction therefore be made between "callbacks" and "noncallbacks." Without such a classification, many fruitful findings would otherwise have been obscured.

2. The industry-mix of the Erie area had fewer female blue-collar workers in its labor force than did most other geographical areas. And once women lost their jobs, their chances of obtaining the same level of work were less than the chances of men—at least as measured by their employment status at the time they were interviewed. Moreover, women to a significantly higher extent than men had greater expectations when laid off of being called back to their jobs. In addition, their secondary roles as heads of families made it less compelling for them actively to seek new jobs. Therefore, a far larger percentage of female than male blue-collar workers in the sample were not working, either at new or at old jobs. The proportion of female blue-collar workers who made no effort to seek a new job when laid off was three times the proportion of males; and for the minority of women who did look, the time between their layoff and the start of their jobsearch was more than twice that of the men. For all these reasons, most of the data on jobseeking behavior discussed here relate to males.

3. *Jobseeking behavior* should be distinguished from *jobfinding success*. One of the basic assumptions here is that there is an intricate interaction between the behavior of the unemployed worker and the nature

[3]Although not originally designed as explicit purposes of the study, other types of findings also proved useful and deserve further attention from manpower program administrators as well as researchers. Some of them will be cited in the discussion of basic findings.

[4]Furthermore, among all those workers not yet called back to old jobs, the ones who had expected a callback were more likely to be still unemployed when interviewed than those who had *not* expected a callback.

of the labor market, or local economy. *Jobfinding success* is partly a result of (a) the worker's activity and partly a result of (b) the nature of the employers' demands for specific kinds of workers in terms of age, skill level, etc. Employers' demands have been studied extensively by economists. To some extent, characteristics of the workers (race, sex, age, education, and skill) have been studied too. But the characteristics of a worker include also (1) his social-psychological tendencies and (2) his jobseeking behavior. The latter includes his callback expectations; how soon he begins his job hunt; the kinds and total number of jobsearch sources he uses; the total number of such techniques and sources; whether or not he considers jobs that are "really different" from his usual one; how many companies he checks with; his *method* of checking with such companies (whether he concentrates on companies which he has heard are looking for new employees, or instead tends to check with companies even if he has not heard this).

The basic point, again, is that a distinction must be made between *jobseeking behavior* and the results of that behavior. The results must be explained in terms of what the worker himself does to find a new job, *and* in terms of the worker characteristics sought by employers.[5] The primary empirical data reported and analyzed in *The Job Hunt* pertain to those workers' characteristics and jobseeking patterns described above.[6]

The analysis of jobseeking methods used in *The Job Hunt* therefore differs from the usual hiring-channel or worker-recruitment studies made by labor economists and local officials of the Employment Service. Though these studies do demonstrate both the various means used and the success of the reemployed jobseeker, they do not cover the following aspects of jobseeking that are found in *The Job Hunt:*

1. Measurement of specific behavioral details in the jobsearch.
2. Differing intensities of the search and their importance.
3. Personal differences between successful and unsuccessful jobseekers, including differences in
   a. Skill level
   b. Age
   c. Measurable social-psychological factors.
4. Jobseeking techniques used by the *still-unemployed*, as part of the evaluation of the effectiveness of such techniques.

[5]Some of the characteristics, such as skill, may be intrinsically related to the nature of the job to be filled; others, such as race or age *per se*, may not have any intrinsic relationship.

[6]*The Job Hunt* also includes an intensive analysis of the interrelationship between the local economy and the jobseeking patterns of workers.

Differences in Jobseeking Behavior

According to their own statements, nearly 70 percent of the male blue-collar workers had expected, when laid off, to be called back to their old jobs. But at the time they were interviewed, 43 percent were working at their old jobs; 41 percent were employed in new jobs; and 16 percent were still unemployed. These data should not obscure the fact that more than eight out of every 10 men who said they had expected to be called back actually received a callback.[7]

Once unemployed, more than three-fifths of the blue-collar male workers started to look for a new job in less than one week after they were laid off. Indeed, more than two-fifths waited no longer than one day to start their job hunt. About one-fifth reported that they did not look for a new job at all when laid off, largely because they had expected a callback. It is pertinent to note here that Negro workers in the sample behaved no differently from white workers in terms of how long they waited before starting their search for jobs.

Although a large number of workers expected to be called back, many of them nevertheless chose to seek new employment. For example, of the group subsequently reemployed at their old jobs, about two-thirds sought a new job before receiving and accepting a callback. Were these blue-collar workers different in any way from the ones who chose not to look for a new job and to wait for a callback from their old employer? Certain insights are provided by the data pertaining to the social-psychological characteristics considered in *The Job Hunt*.

Many of the findings confirm those of previous research efforts. For example, (1) most workers found their new jobs by hearing about them through friends, relatives, or other workers; (2) older unemployed workers, if not called back to previous jobs, had a lower reemployment rate than younger ones; and (3) during the period of economic recovery in the local economy, skilled workers were hired before unskilled ones.

But the chief contribution of *The Job Hunt* lies in the answers to questions not previously explored in research on unemployed workers. For example, there was no uniform pattern of selecting companies at which to apply for employment. More than two-fifths of the blue-collar males said that there were certain companies in the area that they "just don't bother to check at when looking for a job." Furthermore, there was a variation in the extent to which workers concentrated on checking primarily with those companies that they believed were looking for new employees, instead of checking with companies to find out if they were seek-

[7]A small percentage chose not to accept the callback since they had found new jobs and preferred to keep them. This group of workers had higher achievement motivation and values than those who accepted their callback notices.

ing new employees. These two different methods of selecting companies in seeking jobs were labeled "prior awareness" as opposed to "wide-ranging." Slightly more than one-fifth of the workers relied on the prior awareness approach.

The importance of the variations in jobseekers' avoidance of certain companies, and whether they used the prior awareness approach or the wide-ranging one, lies in the effect on jobfinding success. There also is the question of how these patterns are related, if at all, to the social-psychological characteristics of the jobseekers. On the first point, we found that reemployment success was greatest among those who indicated that they (1) did not avoid certain companies and (2) used the wide-ranging approach. On the second question, we found that there was a clear relationship between certain social-psychological attributes and the particular methods of choosing companies at which to apply for jobs.

It is also important to report that, when interviewers asked jobseekers why they did not check at certain companies, (1) about one-third of the skilled workers said that they felt such companies discriminated against older applicants (this one-third consisted entirely of men 39 and over); (2) nearly three-fifths of the unskilled workers avoiding certain companies referred to reasons related to their own characteristics such as "I'm not qualified."

All the men and women in the survey were asked to indicate which of eight different techniques or sources of jobfinding they used.[8] Among the males not working at their old jobs, slightly more than three-fourths used at least four of the eight techniques, and the data indicate that the greater the number of techniques used the higher the jobfinding success among the noncallbacks. This was especially true in the case of younger workers. But, regardless of the total number of techniques used, older workers had a low reemployment rate.

Effectiveness of Jobseeking Techniques and Sources

One of the byproducts of the study was the construction of an "Effectiveness Index" for each of the major techniques or sources used by unemployed workers for finding a new job. This index was developed because we believe that information derived only from *jobfinders* about how or where they obtained their new jobs (the approach typically employed in other studies) should not be confused with information derived from *jobseekers*. It is more important to determine what percentage of the *job-*

[8]The eight sources or techniques were: (1) the Employment Service; (2) direct application at the company gate or personnel office; (3) private employment agencies; (4) unions; (5) friends and relatives; (6) newspaper ads; (7) any government agency as an employer; and (8) religious, welfare, veterans, and political organizations.

seekers using a given technique actually found jobs through that technique than to determine merely what percentage of *jobfinders* found jobs through each technique. In this particular study, four specific techniques were used extensively by the unemployed workers—newspaper ads, friends and relatives, the Employment Service, and direct company application. To a lesser degree, unions were also used.

The Effectiveness Index was derived by dividing the number of persons using a given technique into the number actually finding jobs through that technique. By this method of measuring the effectiveness of jobseeking techniques, it was determined that the use of friends and relatives was by far the most effective; indeed, it was twice as effective as the use of direct company application and the Employment Service (both of which were equally effective); and about 11 times as effective as the use of newspaper ads. A small number of jobseekers used unions; among those who did, the percentage actually finding jobs through a union was second to the percentage of jobseekers finding jobs through friends and relatives among those using this source.

Considering the four major sources of *actual jobfinding* for the entire sample, the following Effectiveness Index, by occupational class of workers, was found:

Source	*Most Effective*	*Least Effective*
Friends and relatives	semiskilled	skilled
Employment Service	unskilled	skilled
Direct company application	skilled	semiskilled
Unions	skilled	semiskilled

One interesting sidelight of this aspect of the study was that despite the fact that the use of friends and relatives was by far the most effective technique for finding a new job, the workers themselves — when asked to name the "best way" to find a job—rated this particular technique a poor third in a list of five, well below their favorable ratings for the Employment Service and direct company application.

Assistance From the State Employment Service

While nearly all the workers in the sample reported that they had used the State Employment Service as one of their ways to find a job, there were variations in the degree to which the Employment Service provided specific types of assistance to them. This fact was derived from answers to a series of questions concerning whether the Employment Service (if used) referred them to employers for a job; gave them some type of test; counseled them; prepared them for a job interview; or referred them to a training program. Slightly more than one-half of all the male workers

using the Employment Service in their job hunt received at least one type of assistance from that agency. What is significant about this part of the study is that workers *not* called back to their old jobs received a far greater amount of Employment Service attention than did those who were called back. The percentage of noncallbacks receiving at least two types of assistance was more than two and one-half times the percentage of callbacks. This indicates that those needing more assistance from the Employment Service actually received it.

But, *within* the group of workers who were not employed at their old jobs when interviewed, there nevertheless were variations in the amount of help received from the Employment Service, depending on their age and skill level. Younger workers (those under 39) received much greater attention than older ones. And the higher the skill within each age group, the more attention given by the Employment Service.

This type of research finding raises additional questions, particularly the following: (1) Did those workers receiving such services have greater success in finding new jobs than those not receiving them; and (2) did the *number* of such services received make any difference in the rate of jobfinding success? The analysis of findings clearly indicates that the answers to both of these questions are in the affirmative. On the first question, 88 percent of the workers referred by the Employment Service to employers for a job interview found new jobs in contrast to 64 percent of those who were not referred.[9] On the second question, it did make a difference in jobfinding success whether a worker received *none* of the five types of assistance, *one* of the five, or *at least two* of them. The fewer the number of services, the lower the rate of jobfinding success.

Finally, this relationship between number of services received and jobfinding success prevailed at all skill levels with age held constant; that is, regardless of age and skill level, employment success was related to the amount and the types of assistance workers received from the Employment Service.

Role of Social-Psychological Characteristics in Jobseeking Behavior

As already stated, jobseekers differed from one another in such matters as (1) whether they bothered to look at all for new jobs; (2) how soon they started their jobsearch if they did look; (3) total number of tech-

[9]Such a finding, and the following ones, must be carefully interpreted. It does not necessarily mean that a given employer actually hired 88 percent of all persons referred to him. It does mean that of all workers referred to employers, 88 percent were employed at new jobs when interviewed.

niques used to [illegible]nployment; (4) method of choosing companies at which to che[illegible]s; (5) the number of companies they checked with in the first month after being laid off; (6) whether they checked with out-of-town companies; and (7) whether they had ever tried to get a job "really different" from their usual ones. The important thing is that each of these jobseeking behavior items was related to jobfinding success.

Moreover, traditionally studied factors such as age, skill, and schooling do not always provide a complete explanation for differences in jobseeking behavior. Further explanation can be found in social-psychological characteristics, such as achievement motivation, achievement values, and job-interview anxiety.

Achievement motivation. The concept of achievement motivation is based on the research and theories of David McClelland, a psychologist at Harvard University, who has written extensively on the role of psychological factors in economic development and entrepreneurial behavior. The Upjohn Institute project, however, was the first in which the achievement motivation theory was applied to the jobseeking behavior of unemployed blue-collar workers. Essentially, the term refers to an individual's willingness and tendency to persist and to excel in situations involving success or failure. It is "measured" not by the usual method of asking a person to agree or disagree with a series of statements but rather by asking him to tell his own story about some pictures that contain one or more men or women and then by analyzing his story in terms of the degree to which striving, achieving, succeeding, etc., characterize it.[10]

Achievement values. These factors were adapted from the research of Bernard Rosen, a sociologist at Cornell University, who has made major contributions to the field of social stratification and occupational mobility as well as to economic development, both in the United States and in developing countries. Unlike achievement motivation, however, achievement values are measured by the agreement or disagreement by an individual to a series of statements relating to activism versus passivism, orientation toward the future or toward the present, and "individualism" as elements in economic or occupational success of individuals. Examples of such statements used in the study, and adapted from Rosen, are:

> The wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

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[10]See, for example, David McClelland, *Achieving Society* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961). For a technical explanation of how thematic apperception tests are used to estimate degree of achievement motivation, see John Atkinson, ed., *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958), pp. 205-18. Lawrence Littig, a psychologist, directed the coding of the workers' TAT protocols for the Upjohn Institute project.

When a person is born, the success he will have is in the cards, so he may as well accept it.

Planning only makes a person unhappy since his plans hardly ever work out anyway.

Job-interview anxiety. This refers to the fears workers have, and how nervous they claim to be when confronted with the prospect of being interviewed for employment by an employer or his representative. Eight questions were adapted by a psychologist, Lawrence Littig (now at Howard University), from previous research on anxiety among students concerning taking tests in school. Some examples are:

Before being interviewed for a job, some people are aware of an "uneasy feeling." How about yourself? At that time, are you: Very much aware of it? Quite aware of it? A little bit aware of it? Not aware of it at all?

Before being interviewed for a job, do you worry: Very much? A fair amount? Hardly worry? Not worry at all?

Before being interviewed for a job, would you say that your heart beats: No faster than usual? Somewhat faster than usual? Much faster than usual? Very much faster than usual?

After being interviewed for a job, how much do you worry about the results: Not at all? Just a bit? A fair amount? A great deal?

Starting the Job Hunt

As an example of the role of such factors in the search for jobs, take the question of whether the workers in the sample chose to look for new jobs when laid off and, if so, how long they waited before actually starting to look.

Among workers reemployed at their old jobs, those with high achievement motivation were more likely to look for new jobs (either as a source of interim income or as a permanent change in jobs) than others. And, if they did choose to look, how soon they started to seek new jobs was also related to achievement motivation.

Among workers who were *not* reemployed at their old jobs, the decision whether or not to look for jobs was not as clearly related to achievement motivation. (Economic necessity to seek reemployment would be a factor contributing to their decision.) But among these workers the ones with high achievement motivation started their jobsearch sooner than those with low motivation.

Achievement values also were found to be related to how soon the workers started their job hunt (or whether they looked at all) even when other factors such as education were taken into account.

Job-interview anxiety also was found to be related to how soon the unemployed workers, especially the younger ones, began their jobsearch. For example, more than three-fifths of the younger workers with low job-interview anxiety started their jobsearch before the end of one week, in sharp contrast to only one-fifth of those with high anxiety.

The amount of time taken by the unemployed to start the job hunt was even more sharply revealed when any two of these three social-psychological variables were combined. For example, workers with *high* achievement motivation and *low* job-interview anxiety had the greatest percentage starting their job hunt within one day after layoff; the same group had the smallest percentage not looking at all. Contrariwise, those *low* in motivation and *high* in anxiety had the lowest percentage starting within one day and the highest percentage not looking at all.

If we keep in mind that workers starting their job hunt before the end of one week had a greater reemployment success rate than the "late starters," the significance of these data becomes apparent; that is, social-psychological factors determined, in part, how early unemployed workers began their jobsearch.[11]

Techniques and Sources

One of the sharpest differences found between the jobseeking behavior of workers with high achievement motivation, on the one hand, and that of workers with low achievement motivation, on the other, was in the total number of jobseeking techniques used. Specifically, the percentage of low-motivation workers using five or more techniques was significantly below the percentage of high-motivation workers using the same number of techniques. In other words, the greater the achievement motivation, the greater the total number of jobseeking techniques used. Furthermore, as long as an individual worker had high achievement motivation, age or skill level made no difference in the number of jobseeking techniques he used.

Whether workers used the prior awareness method or the wide-ranging one when checking with companies for jobs was shown to be related to social-psychological factors. Workers relying on the prior awareness approach were significantly lower in achievement motivation than those who used the wide-ranging approach. They were also lower in achievement values. Workers with high achievement motivation visited a far greater number of companies than other jobseekers.

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[11]It was not surprising, furthermore, to find that among "early starters" with high achievement motivation the jobfinding success rate was significantly greater than among all other jobseekers.

Regardless of strength of achievement motivation, economic pressures to find a job when not expecting a callback were understandably great as a factor in the decision to look or not to look for a job when laid off, but the *intensity* of such jobseeking among those who decided to look—as measured, for example, by number of companies checked with—was clearly related to achievement motivation. Job-interview anxiety was also found to be related to number of companies checked, especially among younger workers; that is, the higher the anxiety, the fewer the companies checked.

Social-Psychological Characteristics as Causal Factors

Duration of unemployment. Given the fact that workers with low achievement motivation who were still unemployed when interviewed had, during the first month after being laid off, applied at fewer companies than those with high motivation, and given the further facts that (a) in the month prior to being interviewed these same unemployed low-achievement-motivation workers had checked with far fewer companies than those with high motivation, (b) had also tended to check less with out-of-town companies, and (c) had tried less to get a job "really different" from their usual occupations, achievement motivation can be viewed as a causal factor in the jobseeking behavior of the unemployed. This is the manner in which we felt it plausible to interpret the finding that, among the still-unemployed male workers, the higher their degree of achievement motivation, the shorter the duration of unemployment up to the date of their being interviewed.

Two other basic findings support this point of view. One is that the group with the lowest duration of unemployment, namely, the workers called back to their old jobs, were no different in degree of achievement motivation than workers with a greater duration of unemployment, namely, those *not* called back. If degree of achievement motivation *were merely a result* of unemployment experience, such a finding could not have occurred.

The second finding bearing on this important proposition relates to how long *jobfinders* were unemployed before obtaining reemployment, and the relationship of the duration of unemployment to achievement motivation. The data indicate that jobfinders with high motivation found new jobs in much shorter time than jobfinders with very low motivation.[12] Achievement values *also* were found to be related to length of unemployment among the finders of new jobs.

One of the basic generalizations deriving from these kinds of research

[12]It should also be noted that there was a difference in duration of unemployment between workers with high motivation and those with low motivation even when education was taken into account. The importance of this finding will be shown in the section on the relationship of achievement motivation to jobfinding success.

findings is that social-psychological factors such as those analyzed here are important determinants of unemployed workers' jobseeking behavior (e.g., how soon they start their job hunt, their method of choosing companies at which to check, the number of companies at which they apply, etc.) and that, in turn, such behavior affects the *duration* of their joblessness. For example, it was found that, regardless of achievement motivation, a high school education assured an unemployed worker a greater chance of finding a new job, *but* how long he remained unemployed was related to his degree of motivation. This social-psychological characteristic appears to be influential in how soon he started his job hunt, his method of choosing companies at which to apply, etc. If he starts late, if he restricts his jobsearch primarily to those companies that he has heard are recruiting workers, he will take longer to find a new job. And these jobseeking behavior patterns were found in our study to be related to achievement motivation and to achievement values.

Success in use of techniques and sources. Among those workers who did find new jobs, achievement motivation, achievement values, and job-interview anxiety played a role in the particular jobfinding technique that was used successfully by them. For example, *none* of the jobfinders characterized by *both* high achievement motivation *and* high achievement values reported that they obtained their new jobs through the State Employment Service although one-sixth of all the other workers did.

When achievement motivation and job-interview anxiety were considered jointly, it was discovered that workers finding new jobs through the State Employment Service had a far greater percentage with low motivation *and* high anxiety than workers finding new jobs through other techniques. Second, workers finding their jobs through direct company application had a higher percentage with the very opposite characteristics—high motivation *and* low anxiety.

The significance of this type of research finding should not be overlooked: the fact that one-half of all the new jobfinders obtaining their new jobs through the Employment Service had low motivation and high anxiety—in sharp contrast to less than one-fifth of all other workers—is clear evidence, in our opinion, of the important role that must be played by this type of public agency in the jobseeking problems of certain kinds of unemployed workers, notably those with social-psychological characteristics that tend to require an institutional intermediary in their quest for jobs. A combination of low achievement motivation and high job-interview anxiety would seem to be among such characteristics.

On the other hand, successful jobfinders with the opposite characteristics—high motivation and low anxiety—tend much more than all other

workers to use the "active" technique of direct application to employers and also tend much less to rely on friends and relatives.[13]

We believe that this type of finding contributes a new dimension to our existing knowledge and viewpoints about the jobseeking behavior of unemployed blue-collar workers. It might also offer a new tool for those programs dealing with the problems of such workers. At the very least, it is not enough to seek to compare and understand the jobseeking behavior of such workers merely in terms of such routine variables as skill and age.[14]

Rate of jobfinding success. If, as reported here, such worker characteristics as achievement values, achievement motivation, and job-interview anxiety seem to affect jobseeking behavior, it should be expected that there would be a relationship between these characteristics and jobfinding success. This expectation was verified in most instances, especially when any two of these three factors were jointly taken into account.[15] For example:

1. The rate of jobfinding success among those workers with high achievement motivation *and* values, regardless of age or skill level, was found to be significantly higher than the rate for all other workers.

2. The joint effect of achievement motivation and job-interview anxiety on jobfinding success proved to be important only among the skilled and semiskilled jobseekers; in these occupational groups, jobseekers with high motivation and low job-interview anxiety had a significantly greater rate of jobfinding success than all others. If they had the very opposite characteristics—low motivation and high anxiety—the jobfinding success rate was lower than all others.

3. With regard to the joint effect of job-interview anxiety and achievement values, our expectation was confirmed only among the older work-

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[13]It is also worth noting that, when the workers were asked to name the "best way" to find a job, those naming the Employment Service were significantly higher in job-interview anxiety than those choosing other techniques.

[14]An analysis by skill level offered little, if any, explanation for the variations in the ways that workers found their new jobs. When age was considered, for example, it was found that 64 percent of the young workers (under 39) finding new jobs through the Employment Service were low in motivation and high in anxiety; and that only 21 percent of the young workers finding new jobs through direct company application had the same social-psychological characteristics. Contrariwise, 57 percent of the young workers finding jobs through direct company application were high in motivation and low in anxiety, while only 18 percent of those finding jobs through the Employment Service had the same social-psychological characteristics.

[15]On each of the three social-psychological variables treated separately, there were exceptions to these expectations, depending on age and skill level.

ers (39 and over). Older workers with low achievement values and high job-interview anxiety had a significantly lower rate of jobfinding success than all the other older workers.

The jobfinding success of unskilled workers was not related to degree of motivation and anxiety combined, and the jobfinding success of younger workers was not related to degree of values and anxiety combined; nevertheless, the *jobseeking behavior* of the unskilled and the younger blue-collar workers *was related* to such social-psychological characteristics.

Program and Research Implications

The results of the jobseeking process are determined by the *interaction* of the economy, demands and preferences of employers, demographic factors, and the social-psychological characteristics of jobseekers. Several of the *objective* elements related to the jobsearch have long been identified, and they generally are predictive of reemployment success. The addition of such *subjective* elements as achievement motivation, achievement values, and job-interview anxiety add to our predictive abilities in the field of manpower development.

On the basis of our study, we see the following possibilities and implications:

1. It may be possible and feasible to modify the jobseeking behavior of many persons through intensive instruction, counseling, or reorientation, as a way of improving their job prospects—just as we use training for raising qualifications and adjust our fiscal and monetary policies to raise employer demand for workers.

2. If there is going to be any payoff from increasing the jobseeking activities of workers, there have to be jobs available to begin with. Because one of the conditions for a high level of employment involves a high degree of achievement motivation among industrial and commercial managers and owners, the techniques used by McClelland to increase such motivation among business leaders should be considered in certain types of areas with low economic growth.

3. Since the wide-ranging method of checking with companies during a jobsearch results in a higher rate of jobfinding success than merely concentrating on those companies that workers believe are hiring, the Employment Service could provide jobseekers with a list of all employers who employ persons in the same types of occupations as those of the job-

seekers—even if such employers have not registered vacancies with the Employment Service.[16]

4. It would also be useful for the Employment Service to identify those jobseekers with high job-interview anxiety for the purpose of providing them with more specialized services designed to reduce such anxiety.

5. In the same vein, jobseekers would benefit from awareness that their jobfinding success would be increased if, for example, they (a) started their job hunt immediately; (b) checked with many companies; (c) used the wide-ranging approach. One of the further implications of the research findings is that the effective persuasion of workers to adopt such techniques cannot be separated from the need to change their psychological orientation. McClelland now believes that it is possible to effect such a change.[17]

6. In part, the achievement values of many disadvantaged persons have been negatively affected by many previous frustrations and defeats. They have also been affected from early childhood on, as a result of being "socialized" by their elders who have experienced these frustrations and defeats—and/or as a result of certain patterns of child-rearing, regardless of the life experiences of their parents. Such programs as OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Centers initiated by Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia, and now being introduced in a number of other central cities) are concerned not only with the training of the unskilled, the unemployed, and underemployed, but equally important, with enhancing their motivation and self-confidence. Accordingly, any program designed to improve the jobseeking behavior of unemployed workers (and also of new labor-force entrants and of the underemployed) should also include a systematic effort to improve the social-psychological components of such jobseeking behavior.

7. Since callback expectations substantially affect a worker's jobseeking behavior (and his jobfinding success, if not actually called back), it may be useful for such agencies as the public Employment Service to verify with the worker's former employer just how accurate his expectations are. Greater attention could then be provided to those whose expectations were not verified.

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[16]The U.S. Department of Labor, in following through on this recommendation, has recently initiated an experiment in Pittsburgh under the direction of Pennsylvania State University. The purpose is to discover whether jobfinding success is greater for those workers receiving lists of employers typically employing persons with their occupational qualifications than for those workers using the traditional approach (contacting only employers believed to have vacancies).

[17]David McClelland, "Achievement Motivation Can Be Developed," *Harvard Business Review*, November-December 1965.

8. This study has shown once again that, once unemployed, older workers face greater difficulties with employers (and the Employment Service) than younger ones. The image they have of job opportunities, their anxiety, and other sin lar factors also operate to impede their job-seeking behavior and thus their reemployment chances. The Employment Service should devote more of its resources and imagination to the problems of older jobseekers; and private and public organizations should take a greater leadership role in reducing the prejudices against older workers. (As of early 1968, such steps were initiated by the USES.) The 1967 legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment on the basis of age provides a strong framework within which to carry out these recommendations.

9. While not reported here, the fuller study also found that a small but significant portion of male workers stating at first that they would not move any distance at all for a "better" job nevertheless went on to say that they would do so if the costs of relocation were provided (including those associated with selling and buying a home). If the encouragement of geographic mobility becomes a major public policy for solving area unemployment, such comprehensive financial assistance should be made part of a mobility program. Furthermore, procedures for identifying workers with "high mobility propensity"—based perhaps on techniques used in *The Job Hunt*—should be made an intrinsic part of such efforts.

10. The Effectiveness Index should be more widely applied in evaluations of alternative ways of finding employment, taking into consideration at the same time varying phases of the economic cycle and contrasting various economic areas.

11. As the United States Employment Service assumes or is assigned greater and greater responsibilities in the flesh-and-bone realities of the local labor market process, the need also will grow for an objective evaluation of that role. One measure of the effectiveness of the various local Employment Service offices could be the same as used in *The Job Hunt*, based on interviews with past and present jobseekers (as opposed to office records) concerning the kinds and numbers of services received from Employment Service personnel, according to worker differences in skill level, sex, race, age, and other characteristics.

12. Since only limited knowledge can be gained by restricting research in manpower problems to the usual classifications of age, skill, industry, and sex, and since these traditional variables offer, at best, only partial explanations, regular data-collecting agencies should incorporate a variety of questions relating to social-psychological variables—and such agencies should use the new information as part of their regular cross-tabulations when analyzing and reporting the results.

13. In this connection, we also recommend the development of a "manpower social science" that would transcend the traditional fields of labor economics, industrial psychology and sociology, and vocational education. If we are to comprehend adequately the problems of manpower development, we will need, in effect, a new profession which brings to bear on such problems the concepts and tools of the several already existing professions. Each of these disciplines needs to learn from the other, so that the attack on the problems is more meaningful and therefore more effective.

14. As in all research endeavors, this study had certain limitations. Some of them could be overcome in future research if longitudinal research were conducted, that is, interviews with the same individuals over a period of time. In this way, many of the hypotheses and conclusions of this and other studies could be more effectively tested and verified. Such research could help to answer such questions as the following: Does jobseeking behavior change over time? To what degree do social-psychological characteristics relate to such changes, etc.?

15. Much more concrete research needs to be done to learn more about how the "informal" methods of jobseeking actually operate, especially since such methods appear to be the major technique used for successful jobfinding.

16. Finally, we express the hope that more researchers (and sponsors of research) in the field of manpower and employment problems will begin to use social-psychological variables such as the ones used in this study, in order to learn how they function in other situations and with other groups and to provide greater detail than provided in *The Job Hunt*, which was basically an exploratory study of these variables.