

**WILL I EVER WORK AGAIN?:
POST-DISPLACEMENT EMPLOYMENT**

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I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Sociology

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to examine the rates of employment among displaced workers. The model used for this study looked at individual, structural, and gender segment variables that affect employment. The data came from the 2000 Displaced Worker Survey, a supplement of the Current Population Survey. This study found that displaced workers with a college degree were more likely to be employed net of other factors at the individual level. At the structural level, it was found that net of other factors those displaced from a white-collar high-skill position were almost 60% more likely to be employed than those displaced from blue-collar low-skill position. Women, net of other factors, were found to be less likely compared men to find employment post-displacement. Overall, this study shows a need for increased education and job training among workers. Also, the difference in the rate of employment between men and women show possible discrimination in hiring practices.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Worker displacement is becoming a common trend throughout the United States. A displaced worker is considered an individual who has lost or left his/her job because of plant closure or plant relocation (US Department of Labor, 2004). Between January 2001 and December 2003, 5.3 million workers who had held their job for a minimum of three years, were displaced in the United States. This was an increase from the 4 million displaced from January 1999 to December 2001 (US Department of Labor, 2004). Due to financial strains and other stressors, those who become unemployed face severe health effects, including higher rates of depression, compared to the employed population (Turner, 1995). The unemployed also have an increase in suicidal ideation, especially among those who are unemployed, in poor health, and suffer from depression (Brown & Vinokur, 2003). Violent tendencies are often increased due to job loss, and domestic violence is more prevalent among the unemployed (Torres & Han, 2003).

Whether one finds a job post-displacement is effected by many different factors. Some theorists, such as Becker (1958), believe that a worker's human capital is the basis for finding work. O'Connor (1973) believes the economic structure of the American society determines as to who finds a job post-displacement. While the previous two researchers view gender as a variable, other theorists like Jacobs (1989) see gender as a process that in itself determines one's employment status.

The alternative model for this paper recognizes the direct effect individual and structural forces have on post-displacement employment. Gender, however, indirectly causes employment differences by affecting the individual and structural segments. By examining all of these components, individual, structural, and gender, a more holistic understanding of

post-displacement employment is reached. Data from the 2000 Displaced Worker, Employee Tenure, and Occupational Mobility Survey will be used to examine the alternative model.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Individual Level

Investing in oneself through education, job training, job skills and other areas where self-improvement can be attained leads to an increase in human capital. This increase in human capital allows individuals to become employable and increase their socioeconomic status (Boyle & Boguslaw, 2003). The human capital theory views differences in employment among workers, areas, or time periods as the result of differences in physical capital, technological knowledge, ability, or institution (Becker, 1962).

Companies, along with individuals, invest in their employees' human capital. Through the use of on the job training and skill training, companies are ensuring their own future (Becker, 1962). The investments in human capital made by employers are limited. The job training provided by companies is job and company specific and is not transferable if the employee chooses to leave or is displaced (Becker, 1962). Investment in human capital by companies will, although not immediately, increase company productivity (Becker, 1962; Caputo, 2002).

When studying displacement, those with higher levels of human capital, presumably white males, are more connected to the labor market, and due to their close ties with the market, these employees are less likely to be displaced (Smith & Rubin, 1997). If employees with high human capital are displaced, they are more re-employable and have a better chance of finding a job (Smith & Rubin, 1997; Zippay, 2001).

In order to increase employment chances after displacement, workers can choose to turn to programs that increase their human capital. Those who achieve long-term job

training, such as earning a degree, have an increase in earnings following displacement compared to those with no or only short-term job training (Zippay, 2001).

Perceived hiring discrimination by employers can also be explained by human capital variation among applicants. Minorities and women are less likely to invest as much in job training, education, and other human capital areas as white males (Caputo, 2002). This makes these groups less employable because they would be less productive (Caputo, 2002). This type of hiring discretion is a positive move for both the companies and the individual. The company can hire an individual who has the human capital that they want and need, thus causing productivity to increase (Caputo, 2002). After not receiving the job, the individual will then invest in his or her own human capital in order to make him or herself more employable (Caputo, 2002).

If all labor market participants invested equally in human capital, employment would also be equal, but human capital varies, which causes employment to vary as well (Becker, 1962). The argument that women are discriminated against based on their sex is incompatible with human capital since discrimination is an added cost to employers. Women are hired at lower rates than men because they choose to put forth less energy towards work and human capital investment (Becker, 1985). Instead, women, especially those who are married, choose to expend more energy at home (Becker, 1985). Unmarried women who have no children often choose to put forth more effort at work than married women. Due to the fact that married women choose to have more energy expending duties at home, including housework and raising children, they do not have the same amount of energy for work and human capital investment as do men (Becker, 1985). Also, individuals choose their jobs, thus, women will choose jobs where they have to work less, part-time jobs, or

choose to take jobs that require less investment. Therefore, companies will hire more men because men choose to expend more energy at work than women.

2.2 Structural Perspective

Structuralists argue that positions, not individuals, segment the labor force and predict workers' employment (Reid & Rubin, 2003). Companies consist of a hierarchy based on economic positions. The positions are predetermined and therefore not based on an individual's worth. Companies determine the type of employment, part-time, not the individual. Thus, wages are determined by positions within a company or firm and the wages are also affected by the company's position in the economy.

O'Connor (1973) organized the private business sector into two groups, competitive and monopolistic industries. Monopolistic industries are those that are large and work on a national and international level and have high profit potential (Reid & Rubin, 2003). These industries have a steady workload unlike competitive industries (O'Connor, 1973; Reid & Rubin, 2003). The monopolistic industries are usually structured to produce higher wages, therefore they are able to provide better pay for workers compared to competitive industry jobs and due to their size, monopolistic industries are able to recognize Union demands unlike smaller firms (O'Connor, 1973). Part of the wage difference comes from market power that monopolistic industries possess. This market power includes price setting (O'Connor, 1973). This allows monopolistic industries to raise prices when labor wages increase while competitive industries must keep prices level with other firms, thus not allowing them to offset increasing wages especially during periods of little work (O'Connor, 1973). By keeping wages down in the first place, competitive industries are then able to better compete in the market (O'Connor, 1973).

The technical relations of production also cause differences between monopoly and competitive firms. Technical changes in production lead to the devaluation of and the replacement of workers (O'Connor, 1987; Liker, Haddad, and Karlin, 1999). Firms are attempting to find the cheapest and the most predictable methods of production, thus leading to deskilling of work (Liker, Haddad, and Karlin, 1999). Monopoly industries are able to produce and purchase new technology to decrease their workforce and streamline production; this is unlike competitive firms that do not have the technology available to them. This is another factor that increases the profit for monopolistic industries.

Competitive industry jobs are located in small firms with restricted markets; these are also labor-intensive productions and contain a lower profit potential (O'Connor, 1973; Reid & Rubin, 2003). These jobs are also more likely to belong to minorities and women who are excluded from other opportunities due to discrimination (O'Connor, 1973). The competitive industry also experiences an unstable market where workloads are ever changing (O'Connor, 1973; Reid & Rubin, 2003). Since competitive firms must remain competitive with monopolist firms even during times of little or no work, they offset some cost by keeping wages down in the first place, competitive firms are then able to better compete in the market (O'Connor, 1973). These industries are less technologically advanced as monopolistic industries; therefore, competitive industries are spending more money on less efficient methods of production and are unable to replace workers with technology. This costs competitive industries money and puts them even farther behind the monopoly industries.

The continuing trend of deindustrialization along with the dislocation of non-essential work in monopoly industries has led to a decrease in employment in the monopoly industry (Reid & Rubin, 2003). Displacement trends show that as the percentage of monopoly jobs decrease the percentage of competitive jobs increase showing a shift in employment for those

displaced by monopoly jobs (Reid & Rubin, 2003). Technology also increases worker displacement. O'Connor (1987) says that "modern information technology is displacing labor at a growing rate in the service and information sectors of the economy" (pg. 86). With technology increases occurring most often in the monopoly industries this points towards workers being displaced from those industries more often than from competitive ones.

Beyond American industries being separated, American workers are also segmented into different labor markets divided by race, sex, educational credentials, industry grouping, and other characteristics (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973). These different groups belong to "different labor markets, with different working conditions, different promotional opportunities, different wages, and different market institutions" (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973, pg. 65). These segmented labor markets are due to political and economic forces and other endogenous factors (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973). These factors include the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973).

The two main segments of the labor market are primary and secondary, but the primary segment can also be broken down into two separate segments. The independent primary segments are those with the most prestige (Waddoups and Assane, 1993). This includes professionals and managerial positions that are characterized by good wages, stable employment, and advancement opportunities (Reid and Rubin, 2003; Waddoups and Assane, 1993). The subordinate primary segment is characterized by job specific tasks and advancement in relation to tenure (Waddoups and Assane, 1993). The lowest segment is the secondary segment which carries with it unstable jobs, poor pay, and limited mobility (Reid and Rubin, 2003; Waddoups and Assane, 1993).

Minorities and women are unequally proportioned in the secondary labor market (Reid and Rubin, 2003; Doeringer and Piore, 1975). Women are also less likely to have upward mobility between segments compared to men (Waddoups and Assane, 1993). Unfortunately, society automatically puts these groups into the secondary labor segment and sets them up to receive lower wages compared to white males.

Workers in the secondary labor market are those most likely to be displaced because their positions contain job specific tasks and are being sent abroad or are being replaced by technology. However, a new trend has shown that even those in the independent primary segments are now subjected to being displaced (Helwig, 2004). However, those being displaced from the primary labor market are more likely to find work after displacement with similar pay (Helwig, 2004).

2.3. Gender Perspective

The individualist and structuralist level view gender as a variable acting the same as age or education. However, gender theorist view gender as a process that determines certain outcomes no matter what other variables indicate. Even when controlling for occupation, location, education, work experience, union membership and group membership, there is still a still a gap between the wages of men and women (Shelton and Firestone, 1988).

One such factor in the gender employment differences is household labor and its affect on women's employment in the work force. It has been found that women, whether employed or unemployed, do most of the household labor (Shelton and John, 1996). Studies have shown that the amount of household labor done by women has a negative relationship on a woman's wages and employment (Shelton and Firestone, 1988; Shelton and John, 1996). Therefore, the more household work they do, the lower their wages and employment. Many see these domestic and child care responsibilities held by women as restricting their

occupational mobility, and the reason so many women work in women's jobs is because there is flexibility for these responsibilities (Chan, 1999).

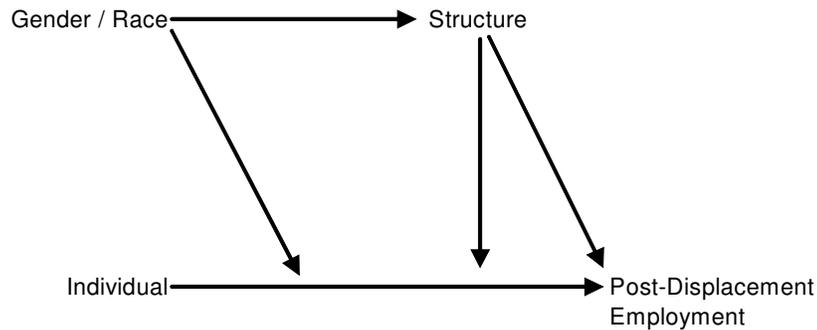
The crowding hypothesis is one explanation set forth by researchers to explain gender employment differences. The 2005 Current Population Survey, shows that of the 511 employment codes, 141 (or 27.6%) employ 90% or more men. However, only 27 (or 5.3%) of the employment codes employ 90% or more women (Current Population Survey, 2005). Since more employers are searching for men to fill positions, employers have to increase wages in order to attract and keep men (Cohn, 2000). On the other hand a plentiful supply of women must compete with each other for jobs occupied by women, allowing the employers to employ whoever will work for the lowest wage (Cohn, 2000). This configuration is creating a market that predisposes men to acquire higher wages and rates of employment.

The idea of the revolving door presented by Jacobs (1989), suggests that women move in and out of sex-typical occupations over their lifetime. This idea suggests that women will shift between women and men's work, and are not ascribed to either. Chan (1999) found that 60% of the sample worked in jobs heavily occupied by females. Ten years later, however, only 40% did, but after ten more years the rate had rebounded to 50% (Chan, 1999). This shows a fluctuation of workers in and out of the prominently female jobs indicating that the women either entered segregated or male dominated work or dropped out of the workforce (Chan, 1999). Many women who do choose to do men's work are faced with heavy discrimination. This can include being set up to fail by being assigned jobs for which the female worker is not trained to do. Discrimination of this type is not isolated to a individual's co-workers and immediate boss, but is often institutionalized throughout the company.

Labor and job queues also affect employment. “Labor queues order groups of workers in terms of their attractiveness to employers, and job queues rank jobs in terms of their attractiveness to workers” (Reskin and Roos, 1990, pg. 29). A Queues definition is the ordering of element, thus determining rank by who is first (Reskin and Roos, 1990). If employers favor men then men will be ahead of women in the labor queue, thus creating a gender queue. There are five factors that influence the creation of gender queues. First, stereotyping work as a man’s or a woman’s job creates influences in day-to-day hiring practices by employers. Second, employers, when hiring an applicant, cannot predict workers productivity so they must rely on human capital attainment as indicators. A person’s sex is also used as an indicator through stereotypical beliefs that women are not as productive as men are in male jobs (Reskin & Roos, 1990). Third, employers worry that there will be negative reactions from men if they have to work with women or have to take orders from women, thus increasing male turnover (Reskin & Roos, 1990). Fourth, due to labor costs, employers will ignore or become indifferent to the small savings they could have by new labor queue positioning (Reskin and Roos, 1990). Last, employers are willing to accept the higher wages of men because they favor men in their labor force (Reskin and Roos, 1990).

Due to the high concentration of women in service jobs, men, who are more likely to work manufacturing jobs, are more likely to be displaced. However, the women who have been displaced will experience overcrowding and lower pay than their male counterparts. Also with job displacement shifting to the service industry, more women are at risk of displacement than previously.

2.4. Alternative Model



The model set forth in this section examines employment following worker displacement. The individual level model predicts that the individual determines their employment by rationally deciding to invest in human capital. Individual level variables include education, job training, experience, and age. The individual level indicate that those with more human capital are more likely to acquire employment. The structural level predicts that the position one occupies is the main determinant of one's employment. This means that occupational prestige, positioning in occupational hierarchy, and industry grouping into the dual economy determine positions. Therefore, post-displacement employment is not determined by individual variables, but instead by positioning in the economic sector. The third level is gender which looks at how being a woman affects job employment. Women are overwhelmingly pushed towards low paying jobs with little room for advancement and when they do enter into high paying jobs they are pushed out and/or paid less than men doing the same work. Gender affects post-displacement wages by women receiving less pay for equal work, and as more women enter into certain occupations formally consumed by men, pay decreases.

At the individual level is hypothesized:

- 1a) Post-displacement employment will be higher for those with higher levels of education net of other factors.

1b) Older workers will be more likely to be re-employed than younger workers net of other factors.

At the structural level it is hypothesized:

2a) Net of other factors, workers displaced from the service industries will report working more than those displaced from the good industries.

2b) Net of other factors, increases in education will result in higher employment rates for workers in the primary segments.

At the gender level it is hypothesized:

3a) Net of other factors men are more likely to find primary labor segment employment post-displacement.

3b) Net of other factors men will be more than women to be employed.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data

The re-employment rates will be determined by using preexisting data from the Displaced Worker, Employee Tenure, and Occupational Mobility Survey (DWS) a February 2000 supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS), administered by United States Census Bureau. Those who were participants of the CPS were given the DWS supplement if they had been previously displaced from a company and over the age of fifteen. There were a total of 2,963 participants who took part in the DWS.

Restrictions for this particular study include selecting only civilians and removing those who have military spouses. Additionally, those who did not respond or did not know their last job's worker class were removed, by knowing the worker class a better comparison can be made. Those who reported being disabled or retired post-displacement were also removed. After these restrictions the final sample size for this study was 2,776.

The DWS uses weights that must be used in data analysis to better mirror the population. The weights used by the DWS produce large sample sizes and bias population parameters that reduce standard errors. A relative weight is created and used in order to prevent the reduction of error for analysis. Dividing the DWS's weight by its mean creates a relative weight. This allows the sample to reflect the population distribution but uses a smaller sample size and reduces population parameter bias.

3.2 Variables

3.2.1 Dependent variable

The dependent variable for this study is post-displacement employment. A binary variable, working or not working, was created from an original seven level variable.

3.2.2 Independent variable

3.2.2.1 Individual level variables

Independent level variables that are used in this study consist of age, education, residential location, family income, household type, and job tenure. A participants' age is recorded in years and since there is no means to measure job tenure, age is used as a proxy. Job experience and job skills should increase with one's age, therefore, as age increases so should one's income and employment.

Education is coded into a five level variable with less than high school, high school diploma, some college, a bachelor's degree, and graduate or professional degree. By using the five level education variable, binaries for all levels were created. Also created was a college degree binary, with those with a college degree or higher being coded as one. It is expected that those with college degrees will report that they are working more often than those without college degrees.

The location in which the participant lives is noted by two separate variables, region and rural. For the region variable, the South region is created into a binary with South as one. Other regions, West, Northeast, and Midwest are coded as zero. South was chosen because through an ANOVA the South was shown to have lower rates of post-displacement employment than other regions. The South is expected to have a lower employment rate. The rural variable is coded one rural and zero urban and suburban. Rural was coded in this manner because rural workers showed a lower employment rate. Rural workers, when they are displaced, are seen as having fewer options because of the lack of jobs in their area.

The family income variable was originally coded as an ordinal level variable. For this study it was changed to an interval level variable by assigning midpoints for each group. This variable ranges from \$5,000 to \$75,000. It is expected that those with higher incomes will have a higher unemployment rate than those with lower family incomes.

The household type is coded as a three level nominal variable. At each level, two adult household, single parent household, and living alone, binaries were created. It is expected that those living alone will be more likely to be working than those who are married.

3.2.2.2 Structural level variables

The structural level variables for this study are hours worked, government work, union membership, occupation, occupational prestige, and industry for both current and lost job.

Hours are measured at an interval level and consist of the number of hours worked per week. From the hours variable, a part-time binary is created for those working thirty-four hours or less and is coded as one. It is expected that those displaced from a full-time job will be more likely to be working than not working..

Government worker is measured as a binary level variable. Government worker includes those at the federal, state, and local levels. Government worker is coded as one for this variable. It is expected that workers who were displaced as a government worker will be more likely to be working than not working.

Union membership is coded as a binary. All those who are union members are coded as one and the rest are coded as zero. It is expected that workers who are displaced union members will be more likely to be working than not working.

Occupation is measured as at a nominal level and is a thirteen level variable. The variable is then broken down into four levels, white collar high-skill, white collar low-skill, blue collar high-skill, and blue collar low-skill. White collar high-skill consists of work in management, professional, education, and health occupations. White collar low-skill industries are sales or clerical occupations. Blue collar high-skill work is considered protection, construction and extraction, precision craft, and high-skill transportation. Blue collar low-skill occupations are those in service, labor, machine operation, farm, fish, and forest, or assembly. Each level is also created into a binary. It is expected that white collar workers will have a higher rate of employment than blue collar workers.

The occupational prestige variable is an interval index. The occupational prestige scale is created through public ranking of occupations. The variable ranges from the lowest, seventeen, to the highest, eighty-six. It is expected that as one's occupational prestige increases, so will their employment.

The industry variable is coded as a binary. Goods producing industries are coded as one and service industries are coded as zero. It is expected that workers in the goods producing industries will experience less employment than service industry workers.

3.2.2.3 Gender level variables

Gender level variables for this study are considered sex, marital status, children, race and ethnicity, and occupational and industrial sex segregation.

Sex is coded as a binary with females being coded one. It is expected that women will have a larger decrease in pay after displacement than men. Marital status is a seven level nominal variable that was used in creating three binaries for this study. The binaries for are married, never married, and ever married. The last binary, ever married, include those who are widowed, separated, or divorced. It is expected that those who are married will be more likely to be working than not working.

Children are measured in two ways. The first variable looks at the number of children in a home and is measured as an interval level variable. The second variable is a binary that is based on the children's ages. Homes with related children under the age of six living there are coded as one for this binary. It is expected that those with children under the age of six will be more likely to be working.

Race and ethnicity were coded into a four level nominal variable, White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, Other non-Hispanic. A binary was then created for each category. Also, a minority binary was created. White non-Hispanic is coded as one and all other race and ethnicities are coded as zero. It is expected that White non-Hispanics will have higher rates of employment than other groups.

Occupation and industrial sex-segregation is an interval variable that ranges from zero to two. A score of a one would mean that females and males are equally represented in the industry in proportion to their overall workforce participation percentage. A sex-segregation score of less than one means that men are overrepresented and a score over one means that women are overrepresented.

3.3 Methodology

This study will use univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analysis to look at the sample. Univariate analyses are used to provide parameters of the full sample and the subsample: working and not working. Bivariate analyses, t-tests, are used to examine statistical significant differences between the working and not working groups. A statistically significant differences is considered being below .05. Logistic regression will be used for multivariate analysis. This measure will examine the extent variables affect employment net of other factors.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Univariate and Bivariate Analysis

4.1.1. Table 1: Values for Full Sample, Working and Not Working

Table 1 presents the mean scores for descriptive factors for the full sample, those working, and those not working. The table also shows bivariate relationships in the three model segments, individual, structural, and gender. These relationships are determined through the use of t-test.

Individual level factors show that those working are more likely to hold a college degree or higher (25.5% versus 15.4%). Single parent households are found to have higher rates of unemployment (23.1% versus 18%). There is also a significant difference between those who received unemployment benefits with 44.6% not working and 33.9% working. It is also shown that those not working had more weeks unemployed than those currently working (32.45 weeks versus 9.67 weeks). It was found that age, living in a rural area, living in the south, or years at last job are not significantly different between the working and not working groups.

Bivariate analysis shows that only three structural level factors are significant. At a significant level, those working report being displaced from a full-time job more than those not working (87% versus 79.9%) It is found that white-collar high-skill workers were significantly more likely to be working than not working (32% versus 20.6%). Also found was that blue-collar low-skill workers are significantly more likely to be not working than working (33.1% versus 22.7%). It was shown that working in the goods-producing industry, being a government worker, being a union member, or working in a white-collar low-skill or blue-collar high-skill occupation are not found to be statistically significant.

Gender level analyses show that displaced workers who are married are more likely to be working than not working at a significant level (57% versus 51.8%). Never married workers are significantly more likely to be not working (28.5% versus 23.2%). Members of minority groups are shown to be more likely not working than working (37.1% versus 25.4%) at a significant rate. Having children under six and occupational sex segregation are found to not be significantly different between working and not working.

4.1.2. Table 2: Descriptives for Working and Not Working

In table 2 education, household structure, and race/ethnicity are examined for the working and not working groups. It is shown that those with less than a high school education have a higher rate of not working at a significant level (19.1% versus 9.4%). Having a college degree shows a significantly higher rate of employment (18.1% versus 9.9%). Having a high school diploma, some college, or professional or graduate degree does not show to have a significant affect on working or not working.

Table 2 also shows that only living in a single parent household has a significant affect on working or not working. Single parent households show a higher rate of not

working than working (23.1% versus 18%). Other household types, two parent and living alone, did not have a statistical significant difference between working and not working.

When examining race/ethnicity it was found that White non-Hispanics have a significantly higher rate of working than not working (74.6% versus 62.9%). Black non-Hispanics (17% versus 11.5%) and Hispanics (15.4% versus 10.6%) both show a significantly higher rate of not working. The other non-Hispanic group was found not to be significant.

4.1.3. Table 3: Lost Occupation Level for Working and Not Working

Table 3 portrays the occupational level of previous employment for the working and not working groups. This table shows that white-collar high-skill workers are more likely to be working at a significant level (31.9% versus 20.6%). Those in the professional field show a significantly higher rate of working (11.6% versus 4.7%). Blue-collar low-skill workers have higher rates of not working at a significant level (33.1% versus 22.7%). All occupations in this segment also have higher rates of not working, service (11.2% versus 7.1%), machine operators and assemblers (11.7% versus 8.8%), laborers (8% versus 5%), and farm, forest and fish workers (2.2% versus 1.6%). All but farm, forest, and fish are found to be significant. It was found that white-collar low-skill, blue-collar high-skill, managers, health care, sales, clerical, protective services, precision craft, transportation equipment, and farm, fish, and forest are not significantly different between the two groups.

4.1.4. Table 4: Lost Industry for Working and Not Working

Table 4 examines lost employment industry. The only industries that show statistically significant differences between those working and not working are whole-sale trade, service, and professional service. Whole-sale trade (5.9% versus 3.6%) and professional services (15.2% versus 10.4%) show a higher rate of working. Service shows a

higher rate of not working (5.7% versus 3.7%). Goods, agriculture, mining, construction, non-durable goods, durable goods, service overall, transportation, retail trade, real estate, business and repair services, and public administration are not significant across the two groups.

4.1.5. Table 5: Post-Displacement Mobility for Current Workers

Table 5 portrays the occupational mobility experienced by those currently working after displacement for the full sample and for each gender. Mobility is seen as being upwards or downwards. Those who increase their skill level will experience upward mobility, however, those who decrease their skill level will experience downward mobility. In the full sample analysis it is indicated that more workers experienced downward mobility compared to upward mobility. Of those who lost positions from the white-collar high-skill segment 72.1% remained in the white-collar high-skill segment while the rest experienced downward mobility. Only 61.5% in the white-collar low-skill segment remained there while 18.2% had upward mobility but a larger 20.3% experienced downward mobility. Of the lost positions from the blue-collar high-skill segment, only 69.1% remained there. Upward mobility was experienced by 11.2% of the workers and a larger 19.6% had downward mobility. Of those in the blue-collar low-skill level in their previous position, 62.4% had no mobility and 37.5% had upward mobility.

When only examining men, it is found that of those who lost positions at the white-collar high-skill level, 74.6% remained at that level, while the other 25.4% experienced downward mobility. Of the men in the white-collar low-skill level, only 51.9% remained in the same level, as 21.8% experienced upward mobility and a larger 26.4% had downward mobility. Of the blue-collar high-skill workers, 72% remained in the same level; only 9.3%

moved upward, but 18.8% moved downward. A smaller percentage (60.1%) of blue-collar low-skill remained in the same level, while 40% had upward mobility.

The women only table shows that of those in the white-collar high-skill level only 69.1% remained in this level, while the rest experienced downward mobility. Of those in the white-collar low-skill level only 66% remained at this level, while 16.4% experienced upward mobility and 17.6% experienced downward mobility. Forty-three point two percent of those in the blue-collar high-skill level remained there, 29.6% had upward mobility but 27.3% had downward mobility. Of those women in the lowest skill level, blue-collar low-skill, only 64.9% remained at that level and 35.1% experienced upward mobility.

This table also shows that men who were displaced from high skill occupations are more likely to remain at that skill level than those displaced by low skill occupations. However, this is not true for women, who experience consistent rates at all levels.

4.2 Multivariate Analysis

4.2.1. Table 6: Logistic Regression Analysis for Employment

Determination Model

Through use of a logistic regression analysis, relationships between the independent and dependent variables net of other factors are examined. At the individual level it is found that as years of education increase, the likelihood of post-displacement employment increases by 7.5%. Displaced workers receiving unemployment benefits are 43.1% less likely to be working. Age, living in a rural area, living in the south, and single parent household did not have a significant difference between those working and not working.

At the structural level it is found that workers displaced from full-time positions are 59.8% more likely to be employed. As ones occupational prestige increases, their

likelihood of employment increases by 1.8%. It was found that working in the goods industry and being a union member are not significant.

At the gender level, the analysis shows that females are 28.6% less likely to be employed than males. Being a member of a minority group also showed a 31.2% less likelihood of being employed post-displacement. Being married and having children under six are not significant.

Through the use of a standardized rank, it is found that receiving unemployment benefits has the greatest impact on post-displacement employment followed by occupational prestige and education. Other significant variables, full-time, female, and minority, have a close to equal impact on employment.

When men and women are separated it is shown that as men's years of education increase their likelihood of employment increases 7.9%, while women experience an increase of 8.5%. Men who receive unemployment benefits are 54.1% less likely to be employed while women are only 27.8% less likely to be employed compared to those not receiving unemployment benefits. As occupational prestige increases, women are 2.2% more likely to be working and men are 1.5% more likely to be working. Being married increases the likelihood of being employed for men by 130% but being married decreases the likelihood of being employed for women by 28.9%.

For men, being married has the greatest impact on employment, followed by receiving unemployment benefits. For women, occupational prestige impacts employment the most, followed by education.

4.2.2. Table 7: Logistic Regression Analysis for Expanded Employment

Determination Model

Table 7 expands variables previously examined in table 6. Education, household structure, occupational prestige, marriage, and minority are expanded on. At the individual level, receiving unemployment benefits is still significant, but now age is also significant. This indicates that for every year increase in age, the likelihood of employment decreases by 1.3%. Education is broken down into five levels. Compared to workers with less than a high school diploma, those with a college degree are 250.1% more likely to be employed. Those with some college are 83.6% more likely to be working than those without a high school diploma. Workers with a high school diploma are 63% more likely to be employed than those without. Living in the South, living in a rural area, having a post-graduate degree, and household structure are not significant between those working and not working.

As in the previous table, being displaced from a fulltime job is significant. However, when occupational prestige is broken down into four levels, only being displaced from a white-collar high-skill position was found significant. These workers are 53.7% more likely to be employed than blue-collar low-skill workers. Working in the goods industry, being a union member, and being displaced from a white-collar low-skill or blue-collar high-skill position are not found to be significant.

At the gender level, being female shows a 34.5% less likelihood of employment. Workers who have never been married are 37.2% less likely to be employed compared to those who have ever been married. Black non-Hispanic respondents are 29.9% less likely to be employed than White non-Hispanic. Hispanics are 29% less likely to be employed compared to White non-Hispanics. Being married, living with children under six, and other non-Hispanic are not significant.

When examining the differences between men and women, it is shown that men with a college degree are 170.8% more likely to be employed after displacement compared to those with less than a high school diploma, while women are only 136.2% more likely. Men who receive unemployment benefits are 56% less likely to be working while women are only 28% less likely to be working. Being displaced from a white-collar high-skill position indicated for men a 50.9% more likelihood of being employed compared to blue-collar low-skill and women have 68.2% better likelihood of being employed. It was found that age, post graduate degree, some college, high school diploma, rural, south, household structure, working in a goods industry, working full-time, white-collar low-skill, blue-collar high-skill, union member, married, never married, living with children under six, and all race/ethnicity variables are not significant for both men and women.

5. DISCUSSION

At the individual level it was hypothesized that employment rates would be higher for those with higher levels of education. This hypothesis is supported by the findings in this study. However, while there is significant difference between working and not working for those with a college degree, there is no significant difference for those with a post-graduate degree, except when looking at women only. The second individual hypothesis is that older worker will be more likely to be employed than younger workers. This hypothesis is not supported because the study showed that with every year of age the likelihood of becoming employed after displacement decreased 1.3%.

The first hypothesis at the structural level is that workers displaced from the service industries will report working more than those displaced from the good industries. This hypothesis was not supported. There was no significant difference between the two groups and working or not working. The second hypothesis is that education will result in

higher employment rates for workers in the primary segment. This hypothesis is supported through this study. Those in managerial, professional, and health care positions with college degrees have higher employment rates than those in other positions with the same education.

At the gender level it was first hypothesized that men are more likely than women to find primary labor segment employment post-displacement. This is not supported through this study. Women compared to men are more likely to move into the white-collar segment post displacement. However, women are less likely to remain in a white-collar high-skill position. For women, the rate of upward mobility was the greatest for those displaced from blue-collar high-skill positions and currently employed in white-collar low-skill positions. This increase could be due to the sorting of women into female-typical work such as clerical positions. However, the sample size for this group was small and could have affected the outcome. The percentage of women moving out of white-collar positions and into blue-collar positions is smaller compared to men, but this may be attributed to the type of work categorized as blue-collar. The second hypothesis is that men will be more likely to report that they are working post-displacement. This is supported through this study. Women were shown to have a 34.5% less likelihood of post-displacement employment compared to men.

Limitations present in this study involve variables that are assumed to be constant. Marital status, having children under six, and education are thought of as constant throughout the displacement process, but they could have possibly changed. Also, a household labor variable would be helpful. The impact of the inequality in marriages and the domestic second shift leads to the devaluation of work outside the home. Marital status and children under six are proxies for household labor, but do not adequately address the issue. Another limitation is that there is no information about the firms from which the workers were displaced. This would help sort the participants into structural categories. Variable

addressing spouse employment and other earnings in household would provide implications as to how important the displaced worker's earnings are to the household. Local unemployment rates would also provide information affecting employment.

This study shows that post-displacement employment can be increased through education. Business and government policies need to be put in place that will assist workers in gaining education and on the job training. Having a college degree or better, increased a worker's chance of employment. By increasing on the job training, displaced workers will be able to remain in their current level or to move up skill levels. This would be especially useful for those displaced from the blue-collar low-skill segment since they have the hardest time finding employment. Also, any policy that would promote women remaining in white-collar high-skill positions post-displacement would be beneficial. These policy implications would create an environment where all displaced workers have an equal chance of finding employment at the same or higher skill level after being displaced.

Workers must also be educated of the dangers of displacement. Community based programs that inform workers of proactive steps they can take to increase their likelihood of post-displacement employment would be helpful. Programs should be directed to all skill levels and all workers, not just those in occupations or industries with high rates of displacement. These programs would encourage workers to increase their education and skill level, thus increasing their likelihood of post-displacement employment.

The lower rate of post-displacement employment for women, net of other factors, indicates hiring discrimination. Some of the difference could be caused by error or variables not included in the analysis, but this cannot explain all of the difference. Policy should be put in place that educates employers on the benefits of hiring women and discourages stereotypes. Firms who continue with discrimination need to be fined more aggressively than

current practices allow. Tax breaks for those companies who actively recruit and hire women would also assist in easing discrimination.

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APPENDIX

Table 1
Values for Full Sample and
Working & Not Working

Variables:	Full Sample	Not Working	¹	²	Working
Independent Variables:					
<i>Individual-level factors:</i>					
% College Degree (0,1)	23.4%	15.4%	***	^	25.5%
	(.42)	(.36)			(.44)
Education (Years)	13.1297	12.3631	***	^	13.3396
	(2.73)	(2.92)			(2.64)
Age (years)	38.75	38.94			38.7
	(11.46)	(12.05)			(11.3)
% Rural (0,1)	18.8%	21.2%			18.2%
	(.39)	(.41)			(.39)
% South (0,1)	32.8%	35.8%			31.9%
	(.47)	(.48)			(.47)
% Single Parent Household (0,1)	19.1%	23.1%	**		18.0%
	(.39)	(.42)			(.38)
Years at Last Job	4.5453	4.6361			4.5205
	(6.59)	(7.93)			(6.17)
% Received Unemployment Benefits (0,1)	36.2%	44.6%	***	^	33.9%
	(.48)	(.5)			(.47)
Weeks Unemployed	14.56	32.45	***	^	9.67
	(21.47)	(27.85)			(16.24)
<i>Structural-level factors:</i>					
<i>Lost Job</i>					
% Goods-Producing Industry (0,1)	35.2%	36.7%			34.8%
	(0.48)	(0.48)			(0.48)
% Government Worker (0,1)	4.2%	3.8%			4.3%
	(.2)	(.19)			(.2)
% Union Members (0,1)	8.6%	8.3%			8.6%
	(.28)	(.28)			(.28)
Full Time (0,1)	85.5%	79.9%	***		87.0%
	(.35)	(.4)			(.34)
Occupational Prestige	41.83	38.30	***	^	42.79
	(12.91)	(11.45)			(13.12)
% White-collar High-skill (0,1)	29.5%	20.6%	***	^	32.0%
	(.46)	(.4)			(.47)
% White-collar Low-skill (0,1)	26.5%	27.4%			26.3%
	(.44)	(.45)			(.44)
% Blue-collar High-skill (0,1)	19.0%	19.0%			19.1%
	(.39)	(.39)			(.39)
% Blue-collar Low-skill (0,1)	24.9%	33.1%	***	^	22.7%
	(.43)	(.47)			(.42)
<i>Gender</i>					
%Female (0,1)	46.4%	55.2%	***	^	44.0%
	(0.50)	(0.50)			(0.50)
Lost Job Occupational Sex Segregation	0.92	0.96			0.91
	(62.71)	(65.04)			(62.03)
% Married (0,1)	55.9%	51.8%	*		57.0%
	(0.50)	(0.50)			(0.50)
% Never Married (0,1)	24.3%	28.5%	**		23.2%
	(0.43)	(0.45)			(0.42)
% With Children Under Six (0,1)	18.9%	19.0%			18.9%
	(0.39)	(0.39)			(0.39)
% Minority	28.0%	37.1%	***	^	25.4%
	(0.45)	(0.48)			(0.44)
Sample n (Weighted)					
	2,779	597			2,179
	100%	21%			78%

¹ =***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.5

² effect size greater = > .20

Table 2
Descriptives for
Working & Not Working

Variables:	Full Sample	Not Working	¹	²	Working
Education Level					
% Less than High School Dipl.	11.5%	19.1%	***	^	9.4%
	(0.32)	(0.39)			(0.29)
% High School Dipl.	33.3%	36.2%			32.5%
	(0.47)	(0.48)			(0.47)
% Some College	31.9%	29.4%			32.5%
	(0.47)	(0.46)			(0.47)
% College Degree	23.4%	15.4%	***	^	25.5%
	(0.42)	(0.36)			(0.44)
% Professional or Graduate Degree	7.0%	5.5%			7.5%
	(0.26)	(0.23)			(0.26)
Household					
% Two Parent Household	58.9%	56.6%			59.5%
	(0.49)	(0.50)			(0.49)
% Single Parent Household	19.1%	23.1%	**		18.0%
	(0.39)	(0.42)			(0.38)
% Living Alone	22.0%	20.3%			22.5%
	(0.41)	(0.40)			(0.42)
Race/Ethnicity					
White non-Hispanic	72.1%	62.9%	***	^	74.6%
	(0.45)	(0.48)			(0.44)
Black non-Hispanic	12.7%	17.0%	***		11.5%
	(0.33)	(0.38)			(0.32)
Hispanic	11.6%	15.4%	***		10.6%
	(0.32)	(0.36)			(0.31)
Other non-Hispanic	3.6%	4.8%			3.3%
	(0.19)	(0.21)			(0.18)
Sample n (Weighted)	2,779	597			2,179

¹ =***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.5

² effect size greater = > .20

Table 3
Lost Occupation Level
for Working & Not Working

Occupation	Full Sample	Not Working	¹ ² Working
<i>White-Collar High-Skill</i>	29.5%	20.6%	*** ^ 32.0%
	(0.46)	(0.40)	(0.47)
Executive, administrators, mrgs	15.5%	13.0%	16.2%
	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.37)
Professional	10.1%	4.7%	*** ^ 11.6%
	(0.30)	(0.21)	(0.32)
Health Care	4.0%	2.9%	4.3%
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.20)
<i>White-Collar Low-Skill</i>	26.5%	27.4%	26.3%
	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.44)
Sales	12.6%	13.1%	12.5%
	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.33)
Admin. Support, Clerical	13.9%	14.3%	13.8%
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.34)
<i>Blue-Collar High-Skill</i>	19.0%	19.0%	19.1%
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Protective Services	0.9%	0.7%	1.0%
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Precision Craft	13.9%	12.9%	14.2%
	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.35)
Transportation Equipment	4.2%	5.4%	3.9%
	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.19)
<i>Blue-Collar Low-Skill</i>	24.9%	33.1%	*** ^ 22.7%
	(0.43)	(0.47)	(0.42)
Service	8.0%	11.2%	*** 7.1%
	(0.27)	(0.32)	(0.26)
Machine operators, Assemblers	9.4%	11.7%	* 8.8%
	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.28)
Labor	5.7%	8.0%	** 5.0%
	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.22)
Farm, Fish, Forest	1.7%	2.1%	1.6%
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.12)
Sample n (Weighted)	2,779	597	2,179

¹ = ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

² effect size greater = > .20

Table 4
Lost Industry for
Working and Not Working

Industry	Full Sample	Not Working	¹ ² Working
<i>Goods Industry</i>	35.2%	36.7%	34.8%
	(0.48)	(0.48)	(0.48)
Agri, Fish, Forest	1.5%	1.1%	1.6%
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Mining	1.2%	1.8%	1.0%
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Construction	9.4%	10.0%	9.3%
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.29)
Man, Non-Durable	9.7%	11.3%	9.2%
	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.29)
Man, Durable	14.9%	13.6%	15.3%
	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.36)
<i>Service Industry</i>	61.9%	60.6%	62.2%
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)
Transportation	5.7%	5.2%	5.9%
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Whole-Sale Trade	5.4%	3.6%	* 5.9%
	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.24)
Retail Trade	17.2%	19.4%	16.6%
	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.37)
Insurance & Real Estate	6.5%	6.0%	6.6%
	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Business & Repair Service	8.7%	10.4%	8.2%
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.27)
Service	4.2%	5.7%	* 3.7%
	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.19)
Professional Service	14.2%	10.4%	** 15.2%
	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.36)
Public Administration	1.5%	1.6%	1.5%
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Sample n (Weighted)	2,779	597	2,179

¹ =***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.5

² effect size greater = > .20

Table 5
Post-Displacement Mobility
For Current Workers

Full Sample

<i>Lost Position</i>	<i>Current Position</i>				
	White-Collar High-Skill	White-Collar Low-Skill	Blue-Collar High-Skill	Blue-Collar Low-Skill	
White-Collar High-Skill	72.1%	17.4%	5.1%	5.4%	100%
White-Collar Low-Skill	18.2%	61.5%	5.1%	15.2%	100%
Blue-Collar High-Skill	6.0%	5.2%	69.1%	19.6%	100%
Blue-Collar Low-Skill	6.0%	15.5%	16.0%	62.4%	100%

Men Only

<i>Lost Position</i>	<i>Current Position</i>				
	White-Collar High-Skill	White-Collar Low-Skill	Blue-Collar High-Skill	Blue-Collar Low-Skill	
White-Collar High-Skill	74.6%	13.9%	8.2%	3.3%	100%
White-Collar Low-Skill	21.8%	51.9%	12.0%	14.4%	100%
Blue-Collar High-Skill	5.5%	3.8%	72.0%	18.8%	100%
Blue-Collar Low-Skill	5.9%	9.5%	24.6%	60.1%	100%

Women Only

<i>Lost Position</i>	<i>Current Position</i>				
	White-Collar High-Skill	White-Collar Low-Skill	Blue-Collar High-Skill	Blue-Collar Low-Skill	
White-Collar High-Skill	69.1%	21.5%	1.4%	7.9%	100%
White-Collar Low-Skill	16.4%	66.0%	2.0%	15.6%	100%
Blue-Collar High-Skill	11.4%	18.2%	43.2%	27.3%	100%
Blue-Collar Low-Skill	6.5%	23.2%	5.4%	64.9%	100%

Table 6
 Logistic Regression Analysis
 for Employment Determination Model
 (Working=1)

Variables	Full Sample			Men			Women		
	unstd. ¹	Odds Ratio	Stdz Rank	Unstd. ¹	Odds Ratio	Stdz Rank	Unstd. ¹	Odds Ratio	Stdz Rank
Independent Variables:									
<i>Individual-level factors:</i>									
Age (years)	-0.007	0.993		-0.020 **	0.980	-0.23	-0.002	0.998	
Education (Years)	0.072 ***	1.075	0.20	0.076 **	1.079	0.21	0.081 **	1.085	0.22
Rural (0,1)	-0.155	0.856		-0.240	0.787		-0.137	0.872	
South (0,1)	-0.060	0.942		-0.027	0.973		-0.094	0.911	
Single Parent Household	0.061	1.063		0.017	1.017		0.052	1.053	
Received Unemp. Benefits (0,1)	-0.563 ***	0.569	-0.27	-0.778 ***	0.459	-0.37	-0.325 *	0.722	-0.16
<i>Structural-level factors:</i>									
Lst Goods Industry	-0.061	0.941		-0.079	0.924		-0.025	0.975	
Lst Full time	0.469 ***	1.598	0.17	0.410	1.506		0.366 *	1.441	0.15
Occupational Prestige	0.018 ***	1.018	0.23	0.015 *	1.015	0.19	0.022 ***	1.022	0.28
Lst Union Member	0.232	1.261		0.497 *	1.644	0.16	-0.132	0.877	
<i>Gender-level factors:</i>									
Female (0,1)	-0.337 ***	0.714	-0.17						
Married (0,1)	0.195	1.215		0.833 ***	2.300	0.41	-0.341 *	0.711	-0.17
W/ Children Under age 6 (0,1)	-0.045	0.956		0.218	1.243		-0.286	0.751	
Minority	-0.375 ***	0.688	-0.17	-0.268	0.765		-0.508 ***	0.602	
(Constant)	-0.051	0.950		0.286	1.330		-0.462	0.630	
Model Chi-sq	157.17 ***			98.08 ***			93.16 ***		
n=	2,776			1,489			1,287		

¹ = ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Table 7
 Logistic Regression Analysis for Expanded Employment Determination Model
 (Working=1)

<i>Variables</i>	Full Sample			Men		Women	
	unstd.	¹	Odds Ratio	unstd.	¹ Odds Ratio	²	unstd. ¹ Odds Ratio
Independent Variables:							
<i>Individual-level factors:</i>							
Age (years)	-0.013	**	0.987	-0.025	**	0.975	-0.008 0.993
Post Graduate (0,1)	0.553		1.738	0.651		1.918	0.597 * 1.817
College Graduate (0,1)	0.917	***	2.501	0.996	**	2.708	0.860 * 2.362
Some College (0,1)	0.608	***	1.836	0.675	**	1.963	0.563 1.756
High Sch. Dipl. (0,1)	0.489	**	1.630	0.982	***	2.670	0.174 1.190
Less H.S. (0,1)			ref group			ref group	ref group
Rural (0,1)	-0.136		0.873	-0.249		0.780	-0.064 0.938
South (0,1)	-0.080		0.924	-0.084		0.920	-0.070 0.932
Two Parent Household	-0.353		0.702	0.003		1.003	-0.917 ** 0.400
Single Parent Household	-0.069		0.933	-0.012		0.988	-0.217 0.805
Living Alone			ref group			ref group	ref group
Received Unemp. Benefits (0,1)	-0.589	***	0.555	-0.822	***	0.440	^ -0.328 *** 0.720
<i>Structural-level factors:</i>							
Lst Goods Industry	-0.003		0.997	-0.060		0.941	0.044 1.045
Lst Full time	0.484	**	1.623	0.403		1.496	0.402 * 1.495
Lst White Collar High-Skill	0.430	**	1.537	0.412	*	1.509	0.520 * 1.682
Lst White Collar Low-Skill	0.241		1.273	0.147		1.158	0.379 1.461
Lst Blue Collar High-Skill	0.034		1.034	-0.067		0.935	-0.136 0.873
Lst Blue Collar Low-Skill			ref group			ref group	ref group
Lst Union Member	0.217		1.243	0.510		1.665	-0.055 0.947
<i>Gender-level factors:</i>							
Female (0,1)	-0.422	***	0.655				
Married	0.243		1.276	0.602		1.825	0.220 1.246
Ever-Married			ref group			ref group	ref group
Never Married	-0.465	***	0.628	-0.508	**	0.602	-0.319 0.727
W / Children Under age 6 (0,1)	-0.101		0.904	0.181		1.199	-0.311 * 0.732
White non-Hispanic			ref group			ref group	ref group
Black non-Hispanic	-0.355	**	0.701	-0.224		0.799	-0.528 *** 0.590
Hispanic	-0.342	*	0.710	-0.199		0.819	-0.496 * 0.609
Other non-Hispanic	-0.496		0.609	-0.499		0.607	-0.463 0.629
(Constant)	1.506		4.506	1.548		4.702	1.302 3.677
Model Chi-sq	372.27	***		226.147	***		207.106 ***
n=	2,776			1,489			1,287

¹ = ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

² significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher