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Managerial Unemployment

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MANAGERIAL UNEMPLOYMENT

by

Dennis J. Stevens

A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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MANAGERIAL UNEMPLOYMENT

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on managerial unemployment and its effects upon middle managers. Recently, managerial unemployment has accelerated to an unprecedented level due in part to mergers and restructurings. Thus, the intention of this study is to bridge the literature gap between managerial unemployment and its effects upon the manager. This exploratory study stresses a grounded theory approach during thirty-two interviews with middle managers at two self help agencies where unemployed managers are counseled. The agencies are located in a large Midwestern city.

This study explores the ways in which managers experience unemployment and examines the impact of job loss on a group of individuals more used to firing others than losing jobs themselves. It shows how they self-consciously present themselves as managers and explains their process of unemployment and how it shapes the quality of the jobs they eventually choose. It further shows how unemployment fits into their career perspective, what they do day after day, and how their family and friends are affected. Lastly, it compares its findings to the blue collar literature to determine how closely those accounts are related.

As expected, since work was experienced differently by the managerial and blue collar groups, their unemployment experience differed too. Those differences emerged partly from a desire of the managers to clearly distinguish themselves as managers and partly from the training in seeking career jobs they received from the self help agencies.

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VITA

The author, Dennis Joel Stevens, is the son of Jo Ann Gorgette Stevens. He was born in Riverside, Illinois.

His elementary education was obtained in the Roman Catholic schools of Riverside and Chicago, Illinois. His secondary education was completed at Riverside Brookfield High School, Riverside, Illinois.

In June, 1982, Mr. Stevens entered Northeastern Illinois University, receiving his degree of Bachelor of Science in Sociology in 1983 and his Master of Arts in Social Science in 1985. He also received his secondary state teaching certificate while at Northeastern Illinois University and student-taught at Glenbard South High School in Glencoe, Illinois.

In January, 1985, Mr. Stevens entered Loyola University of Chicago as a graduate student in sociology. While a student, Mr. Stevens published an article in the journal Education and another about his experience as a student teacher in Urban Education. He worked for Moraine Valley Community College, The College of Dupage, and Lewis University teaching sociology part time to students including inmates at Joliet Correctional and Stateville Correctional facilities. While writing his dissertation, he

was a full time Assistant Professor at Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina and part time at the University of North Carolina for two years. Mr. Stevens has accepted a permanent position at the University of South Carolina at Aiken the fall of 1990.

Mr. Stevens is a member of the Southern Sociological Association, The American Society of Criminology, The American Corrections Association, and The John Howard Society. He has presented several papers at their annual meetings. In November, 1990 he will chair a committee and present his findings from a study on 209 incarcerated inmates in North Carolina prisons at The American Society of Criminology. Lastly, for the past year, Mr. Stevens has been an active volunteer in a family support home consisting of six abused children in Charlotte, North Carolina. He will continue those volunteer efforts in South Carolina.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Unemployment can affect how any worker lives. Since work produces the money for goods and services as well as the social identity for personal growth and relationships, the effects of unemployment pervade the life of any worker. Most of the past research on unemployment has focused on blue collar workers. When blue collar workers lose jobs, they tend continually to blame themselves for their job loss. Moreover, highly skilled blue collar unemployment has been shown to produce alienation, anxiety, depression, powerlessness, family violence, and child abuse¹.

Additionally, it can cause illness, accidents, suicides, and death². In sum, blue collar unemployment is related to vast sociological, psychological, and physiological changes.

How does unemployment affect other kinds of employees? The focus of this study is on the effects of unemployment upon managers. This study argues that just as managerial work differs in a number of significant ways from blue collar work, managerial unemployment differs from blue

collar unemployment. Much of those differences, it will be argued, derive from the career orientation of the respondents. Unemployment experience of blue collar workers can be studied from the vast literature³. However, there is less information available on managerial unemployment partly because of its recent rise to an unprecedented level (Hartley, 1980, 1987).

UNPRECEDENTED MANAGERIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

Professional managers, like many blue collar workers, lack protection from arbitrary job loss particularly those caused by mergers and restructurings. As a result, managerial unemployment has recently accelerated to an unprecedented level. For example, in 1983 the ten largest mergers out of 1,500 changed the lives of 220,000 white collar workers, many of whom were middle managers (Magnet, 1984). For instance when Connecticut General and INA merged and became Cigna, 4,200 employees were fired. In another example, when Wells Fargo acquired Crocker National Bank in San Francisco, 6,600 employees were fired (Wall Street, 1987). Restructurings or organizational cost cutting have taken their toll, too. For example, Digital Equipment Corporation began to cut 8,000 top employees to save money during the spring of 1990 (Wilke, 1990). Goodyear plans to eliminate 1,100 jobs during the summer of 1990 (Chicago

Tribune, 1990). Then, too, the Chicago Sun Times (1986) reports that the

list of companies cutting back on managerial staff is a veritable Who's Who of American business: AT&T, General Motors, Exxon, General Electric, Time, CBS, Eastman Kodak, Xerox, Polaroid, and IBM.

At AT&T 27,400 employees will be dismissed by year-end 1990 and IBM announced a 10,000 managerial reduction (Chicago Tribune, 1986). Moreover, 703,000 managers had their jobs eliminated over a five-year period due to organizational cost cutting (Rones, 1986). Rones says, "Years ago you never heard about this happening to managers. It always hit blue collar workers." Job security used to be taken for granted by most career managers. Now, adds Murray and Forbes (1986)

As U.S. companies have continued to prune their payrolls ruthlessly, middle management joblessness is estimated to have reached a rate equal to or higher than the national rate.

There were 581,000 executive managers unemployed in December, 1989 (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1990). However, Bluestein (1976) argues that there may have been four to five times more unemployed managers which the government neglected to count since many unemployed managers accepted jobs below their skill levels and/or were unemployed for

short periods of time. Nonetheless, there has been an historically high level of managerial unemployment that climbed from less than 1% in 1969 to more than 2.8% of all workers unemployed in the early 1970s, and remained above those 1969 figures throughout the 1980s. In addition, unemployed managers are out of work longer than most other occupational groups (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1978, 1985, 1990). For example, the mean duration of unemployment for managers was 15.3 weeks as compared to an average of less than 12.5 weeks for all other occupations (U.S. Department of Labor, 1990). In other words, managers are out of work longer than other occupational groups in all categories with the exception of public administration.

WORK AS A CAREER

Managers have careers as well as jobs. A career can be seen as a set of jobs through which an employee travels into higher managerial positions. It can be a set of job expectations. Wilenski (1960) sees a career as

a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered, predictable sequence.

Since individuals are the main unit of analysis in this study, subjective career dimensions are emphasized. A subjective career suggests that the data are largely

biographical experiences of respondents over time. They are self defined work experiences and expectations arising from those experiences. They are

the actor's recognition and interpretation of past and future events associated with a particular identity, and especially his [or her] interpretation of important contingencies as they were or will be encountered (Stebbins, 1970).

Yet, it is noted that self interpretations are themselves shaped by the individual's location in a social structure. The organizations that employ career managers shape their experiences and expectations as do professional associations, colleagues, educational pursuits, and the industry where the career is spent. Kohn adds that

there is nothing wrong with starting from the individual and moving toward the social structure, just so long as investigators recognize that studying the immediate environment is only the first step in a truly sociological analysis. One must then go on to investigate systematically how that environment is fashioned by larger social structures (1989:28).

Working for a variety of organizations and through a sequence of positions is one key to upwardly mobile jobs and one key to understanding why managers view their jobs as different from others (Priest & Rothman, 1985). To get from one job to another, a manager might be unemployed several

times during his or her career. It is a major focus of this study to examine how such a career orientation affects managerial experience.

Careers are entities of their own that transcend the organizations that currently employ managers and the positions they temporarily fill. Many times, managers think and talk about their careers without reference to their jobs (Pavalko, 1988). Careers, themselves, are a focus of personal aspirations, and pursuing them can often lead to an elevation that transcends the interests of a specific organization or a specific position. Furthermore, much individual career activity differs from the mission of the employing organization (Daft, 1988).

Moreover, the careers pursued by managers can affect their life-styles much more than the organizations that temporarily employ them. For instance, a manager and a blue collar worker employed by the same firm and earning a similar income may have very different life-styles as a consequences of the career orientation of the manager (Zussman, 1985). Therefore, it may be expected that a manager will see a career as his or her primary job and relate to it as a set of stable expectations which includes both the job and the unemployment experience.

MANAGERS AND JOBS

There are many layers of managerial jobs. This study focuses on middle managers who can be characterized as occupying job positions toward the middle of an organization's authority hierarchy. For example, Daft describes middle managers as those who:

set objectives and make decisions for their departments and coordinate activities across departments. They are concerned with the near future, are expected to establish good relationships with peers around the organization, organize their department, encourage teamwork, and resolve conflicts (1988:13).

Middle managers are located between senior managers who have the legal authority to make policy and those individuals with very limited authority who engage in limited work tasks. They receive their orders from senior managers and implement strategies with their own subordinates. They can be fired by their superiors and can fire their subordinates. Therefore, while managers may view their careers as their primary focus, their most important work relates to carrying out the policies created by senior managers and utilizing their authority to discipline and even fire their own subordinates as one means of implementing those policies. A primary difference between a professional, such as a university professor, and a manager lies in the use of

authority to hire and fire personal. Typical managers in this study included men and women from technical and managerial occupations such as advertising directors, auditors, divisional presidents, financial officers, engineers, lawyers, sales managers, scientists, and a military commander. Two defining features they had in common was their organizational authority to fire others and their unemployment.

BLUE COLLAR WORK

In this study, managerial employees are contrasted with blue collar workers, workers who occupy positions at the lower end of an organization's hierarchy and do not fire others as a major part of their job. They may be in stable jobs and be members of unions receiving high wages. They can be employed in a modern technological setting, a small locally competitive industry, a municipality, or a major retailer. They can be those

who program America's computers, manage its fast-food stores, type its letters, drive its trucks, teach its children and find community in the gritty populist anthems of singer Bruce Springsteen. ...[they hold] positions in a gray area between professional and laboring ranks - many in service jobs. ...referred to as Rinso-Blue collars (Walsh, Bronson, Thornton, & Walsh, 1989:94).

Le Masters (1975) offers a description of blue collar workers at work:

This man's work is not monotonous: he has to be alert at all times; he is responsible for an expensive piece of equipment; he has no close supervision on the job; he is not about to be replaced by a computer; he belongs to a strong trade union; and with his overtime he earns almost twice as much as a public school teacher (1975:21).

For the purpose of this study, blue collar workers can be carpenters, dock workers, electricians, factory workers, police officers, postal workers, plumbers, retail appliance clerks, roofers, school teachers, social workers, technically trained office clerks, truck drivers, welders, and in other physically demanding jobs. A typical feature of blue collar work is that it lacks career potentials in the managerial sense, and where career possibilities do exist, as they do in some bureaucratic organized forms, they are restricted to a single firm or organization (Edwards, 1979). Thus, considering the many differences between the work blue collar workers do and the work managers do, it would not be surprising to find major differences between their unemployment experiences too.

KEY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MANAGERIAL AND BLUE COLLAR WORKERS

Table 1

Key Differences Between Blue Collar and Managerial Workers

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>Manager</u>
Authority at Work		
hire/fire duties	less	more
supervise others	less	more
autonomy	less	more
hierarchy location	bottom	middle
job competence controlled by supervisor	more	less
conformity to bureaucratic standards	more	less
work setting	homogeneous	varied
Unemployment Resources		
savings, insurance cash values, home equity	less	more
cash loan sources	less	more
household goods/sell spouses' income	less	more
Required Human Capital		
career job skills	no specific	yes varied
education	less	more
status	less	more

The three major job differences between managers and blue collar workers are authority, resources, and human capital (see Table 1 for summary). Managers largely hire and fire subordinates; blue collar workers do not. Blue collar workers exercise very little authority over their routine work tasks and supervise very few workers, while managers utilize a variety of work methods to perform their duties and supervise their subordinates. They tend to be more independent and to perform tasks that are less related to production than those of blue collar workers (Bowles, Gordon, & Weisskopf, 1983). Managers are located towards the middle of the hierarchy, while blue collar workers are located towards the bottom of the hierarchy. The competence or performance level of a manager can be ascertained by senior managers, colleagues, trade associations, and industry standards while the performance of a blue collar worker is determined largely by their supervisors. Moreover, blue collar workers can be burdened with rigid bureaucratic job standards and are encouraged to demonstrate dependability, discipline, and responsiveness to the rules. Managers follow the formal rules less often and conform more to the values and norms of senior managers (Karp & Yoels, 1982). Blue collar workers are concentrated in homogeneous work settings more often while managers perform in various work settings and with many different individuals.

The resources available to the unemployed managers are also far greater than those available to most blue collar workers. They tend to have more money in savings accounts, insurance cash value policies, and in home equity (Newman, 1989). Many usually have the credit rating to borrow from banks, friends, and networks. They are likely to have many possessions that can be sold to raise money to survive unemployment (Leventman, 1981). But, Newman (1989) says that this does not save them from downward mobility. For example, Newman argues that managers in the United States are

longtime members of the American middle class, they suddenly find everything they have worked to achieve - careers, life styles, and peace of mind - slipping through their fingers. And despite sustained efforts to reverse the slide, many discover there is little they can do to block their descent [relative to unemployment]. ...one in five [middle managers] ...skid down the occupational hierarchy (1989:50).

However, downward mobility takes time as managers tend to have more resources than others. When unemployment strikes blue collar workers, their jobs come to an end, and they lack the resources to survive for long periods at the same living standards as when they were employed. To cope with unemployment, the spouses of blue collar workers have fewer resources, such as university degrees, that would enable

them to hold the lucrative jobs that managerial spouses can, asserts Hartley (1987).

Managers possess different types of human capital or personal assets. For example, managers tend to see beyond their jobs to careers while blue collar workers have only jobs. Moreover, their job skills are varied as they usually have had experiences with many different aspects of an organization, and the educational level of a manager tends to be greater than that of a blue collar worker. For example, many managers have advanced degrees such as MBAs, and credentials such as CPAs. Furthermore, the status of a manager is greater than that of a blue collar worker because of his or her earnings, education, and organizational position. Managers derive status from their careers, degrees, training, publications, and involvements with other organizations while blue collar workers largely derive status from the job. Furthermore,

they once had it made... They have job skills, education, and decades of steady work experience. ...They must therefore contend not only with financial hardship [during unemployment] but with the psychological, social, and practical consequences of falling from grace, of losing their proper place in the world (Newman, 1989:8).

Therefore, there are several major differences between managerial and blue collar jobs, the most important of those

differences relating to authority on the job and the firing of others or exploitation (Wright, 1985). However, both groups are employees who can lose their jobs, and in this respect the groups may be more alike than different.

Managers are discovering that they, too, share in the characteristics of the subjugated worker. After all, neither group shares in the ownership of the organization, and both are subject to the authority of senior management.

This dissertation seeks to explore the ways in which managers experience unemployment and to examine the impact of job loss on a group more used to firing others than losing their jobs themselves. In doing so, it should shed light on the extent to which the characteristics of work would come to shape the experiences of its loss.

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter II describes the methods and the data collection used in the study. It defines the sample and describes the source of that sample. It explains the interviews and the rationale of those interviews. Chapter III describes the unemployment processes of managers and blue collar workers and shows the self-conscious changes made by the managers. It clarifies the reactions to unemployment and how those reactions affect a job search. Chapter IV describes how managers relate to jobs and careers

and how unemployment fits into their perspective. Chapter V shows how the managers spend their time during unemployment. Chapter VI shows how unemployment affects the relationship between friends and family members and compares its findings to the blue collar literature. Chapter VII offers a conclusion.

NOTES

1. For a further review on contemporary discussions of worker alienation, see Karp & Yoels, 1982; Larson, 1984; Halle, 1984; Mortimer & Sorensen, 1989; Tyler, 1989. For a review of anxiety as produced through unemployment for blue collar workers see Halle, 1984; Warr, 1984. For a review of depression Le Masters, 1975; Tiffany, Cowan, and Tiffany 1970:74. The writers argued that psychological problems lead to unemployment and that unemployment produced psychological maladjustment in many unemployed workers. For a review on powerlessness see Bakke, 1940; Le Master, 1975; Tyler, 1989. For a review of the nonmanagerial unemployment and intrafamily violence see Gelles (1974) and Gill (1971).
2. For an in-depth discussion on unemployment and health see Brenner (1973), Brenner and Mooney (1986), Keefe (1984), and Slote (1969). Slote (1969) interviewed 54 blue collar workers at their plant, and interviewed them again when their plant closed. He concludes that unemployment produced three cases of ulcers, eight cases of arthritis, five cases of hypertension requiring hospitalization, two cases of alcoholism, and three industrial accidents. Raussell's (1976) study of the auto workers in Flint, Michigan shows that when 20% of the labor force in that city were unemployed, alcoholism increased by 150% and child abuse doubled. For an historical review on suicide and unemployment see Platt (1986). Brenner (1973) found at least 26,000 deaths resulted from unemployment, and the stress related diseases of stoke, kidney and heart ailments over a five year period. He also found 1,500 suicides and 1,700 homicides were related to unemployment during that same time period (1970-1975).
3. Bakke, 1940; Braude, 1989; Brenner, 1973; Cochran & Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Fineman, 1987; Ginni & Sullivan, 1989; Komarovskiy, 1940, 1967; Kornblum, 1974; Larson, 1984; Le Master, 1975; Mortimer & Sorensen, 1989; Newman, 1988; O'Toole, 1971, 1974; Slote, 1969; Swinburne, 1981; Tyler, 1989; Young, 1967. For an indepth discussion of the literature in relation to the pervasive life style of unemployed blue collar workers, see Leventman, 1981:1-27 and Larson, 1984. For a brief discussion on the pervasive life style of unemployment managers, see Newman, 1989.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Given the relative shortage of previous material on managerial unemployment, much of this research is deliberately exploratory, and the methodology reflects this. Prior to the first interview, a series of open-ended questions were devised, constructed around the consequences of past work experience, current unemployment experience, and future expectations. After seven pretest interviews, a series of topics were developed to guide the project while encouraging informant spontaneity. Thirty-two interviews were conducted over the summer of 1987 in the offices of two self help agencies in a large Midwestern city where unemployed managers were counseled. Data collection and analysis proceeded simultaneously in keeping with Glaser & Strauss' (1967) perspective of "grounded theory." Both the process and products of research were shaped from the data.

Fresh theoretical interpretation were sought from the data instead of forcing the data from a standardized set of

questions or through a series of hypotheses tests. When the data obtained from these managerial interviews was compared to the blue collar literature¹, a series of differences emerged which form the substantive portion of this dissertation. While physiological and psychological experiences of unemployment were discovered in the interviews, they were not emphasized. The major emphasis was on the reactions to changed social experiences resulting from the loss of managerial jobs.

SAMPLE

The sample interviewed were individuals who had previously occupied middle management positions. They had implemented overall strategy and policy as defined by senior managers. They had set objectives, made decisions, and resolved conflicts within their departments. They had coordinated activities across departments and officially cooperated with other managers.

Generally, managers are all individuals included in the U.S. Department of Labor Statistics (1990) as Managerial and Professional Speciality Executives. The managers in this study had been employed as administrative department managers, advertising managers, auditors, chemical engineers, corporate advisors, plant maintenance managers, sales managers, social agency executive directors, and also an academic director, an aerospace scientist, a Chief

Operating Officer (CEO), a Chief Financial Officer (CFO), a computer specialist, a corporate legal council, a corporate trainer, a credit manager, a health agency director, a regional field manager, a staff manager, a transportation manager, an organizational specialist, and a vice president. Because the CEO's and CFO's had been managers in small and medium sized subsidiaries, they were considered middle management for the purposes of this study.

The thirty-two managers in this study included twenty-eight men and four women. They had earned from \$25,000 to \$125,000 per year and ranged from 40 to 64 years of age. Their education ranged from five without a university degree to sixteen with advanced degrees including two PhD candidates and one JD; the schools represented ranged from Harvard to a local community college. They had been unemployed for periods that ranged from one month to four and a half years. Severance compensation had ranged from nothing to twenty-five months pay. Their occupations had ranged from engineer to CEO.

Interview time ranged from one and a half hours to three hours, and most of the interviews were conducted at the offices of two self help agencies. Two were conducted at the home of the manager. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed, except for two which were written directly after the interview.

The average participant was male, 47 years old, had earned \$63,000 per year at a managerial position, was employed for 10 years 4 months by the same employer, possessed an MBA from Northwestern, had been unemployed for 1 year 2 weeks, received 18 weeks severance pay, and was interviewed for 2 hours 12 minutes.

At the time of this study, all of the respondents were looking for managerial jobs that would lead to senior management positions. Seven were still working in a management position at the time of the interview but had received future dismissal dates. Six others worked part time as consultants and two as university instructors.

SAMPLE SOURCE

The sources of the managers in this study were two self help agencies in a large Midwestern city where unemployed managers are counselled.

In Agency One¹, the director was also interviewed for this study. He received no income as the director and was an unemployed manager. Directors hold office for a three-month term. Each is elected by the active membership in a closed ballot. Agency One is a not-for-profit member-operated cooperative of unemployed executives,

¹ The real names of the agencies must remain confidential.

managers and professionals, forty years of age or older, dedicated to helping members conduct an effective job search. There are independent Agency One offices in many urban centers in the United States, all of which operate independently of each other. The expenses are borne by their individual members, and the agencies have no paid employees. The work load in each agency is performed entirely by its members. Agency One claims that they "promote mature experience and practical business training" as represented by its members. The goal of the agency is to obtain managerial employment for its members and to build future connections or networks.

There were forty-nine active male members plus four female members at the time of my summer interviews in 1987. "Active" meant they were actively seeking employment. There were, in addition, approximately nine hundred inactive members who were once active but now had jobs and contributed their job seeking expertise and networks to the agency. Several acted as workshop agency leaders who lead and evaluate the active members' progress. Most of the members lived in the affluent suburbs of the major city and commuted by rail and car.

Before a manager becomes a member, she or he must be voted into membership by the active members who interview and observe them over a two week period. Officially, to

become members, the agency manual claims that candidates must be at least 40 years old and U.S. citizens or legal residents of this country. They can be either employed or unemployed but must be actively seeking a new managerial job. They must have held a recent executive or professional job. Candidates must submit six reference letters which become the property of the agency. They must attend all weekly meetings while unemployed. Also they must spend a minimum of two days each week helping other members to conduct the business of Agency One. They must agree to share job opportunities with all members of the agency and keep their resumes in an open file for other members to review. Their confirmation fee is \$800 total, starting with \$100 a month. Agency One membership requirements are strictly observed to ensure that members are what they represent themselves to be, the agency's manual claims, in order to decide the compatibility of each applicant. Furthermore, "there is no discrimination of race, sex, or religion," the Director said.

There are informal criteria for membership too. Each member depended on other members for phone messages, interview training, emotional support, employment placement, and future connections. Mutual participation is the key; for example, while some were at interviews or attending association meetings, others manned the phones. Employers

called in new job openings. They might request a specific manager based upon the notices mailed to several thousand potential employers. Sometimes the employer would not have a specific person in mind. Those manning the phones had an obligation to notify the appropriate individual of the job, either face to face or through the mail. If the members felt a candidate could not appropriately perform these reciprocal obligations, she or he was not granted membership. "Could the candidate help others in the future is the prime concern," the Director said and added,

How successful will that person become and how many members of [Agency One] will prosper because of them. If the answer is not at all or if they won't follow the rules or just don't look like management - then we vote nay. They're out. But that's unofficial.

Three managers were not voted membership during the summer of 1987. Information about those individuals can not be substantiated.

Agency One recruits members through its active and inactive members, referrals, and ads placed in the business media like The Wall Street Journal. When a candidate inquires about membership, a meeting is arranged and references are checked because the agency advertises each new member's qualifications by means of their organizational mailing lists.

Once a candidate becomes a member, she or he attends a series of meetings which emphasize employment sources, resume creation, and interviewing skills. Agency One provides its computerized listings, off-set printing facilities, and video recording equipment to its member plus a telephone and address service. Some members jointly utilize a consulting firm shell [telephone listing, letter head, and support services] which offers its business consulting services to firms and current clients of incoming members.

Agency Two was established in the 1970s and was designed to create employment opportunities for the mature worker. The emphasis is not on the middle manager but on an "age variable." Many more members are blue collar workers over fifty-five as compared to the white collar workers under fifty at Agency One. However, Agency Two has a special section to deal with unemployed managers and professionals. Agency Two has over forty community-based senior centers and headquarters throughout the city. It has paid employees and volunteers who supervise, council, and direct both the operation and its clients.

The director of Agency Two was also interviewed for this study. His division is a recently formed part of the larger agency. It assists professional, managerial, and technical level people, age 40 and older, in preparing,

organizing, and conducting their job search. He said that

my three day workshop assists the individual identify what to do during a job search and how to do it. What to say in an interview and how to say it. And what not to say and how to avoid it.

Seminars consist of ten unemployed individuals who meet over a three-day period to learn these skills. They meet once again ten days later to discuss their progress. However, they are always welcome at the agency to practice their interviewing techniques. Among the jobs previously held by the clients of one seminar were: a CPA, a vice president of a small electrical company, a district administrator of a retail firm, a computer specialist, three engineers, a PhD chemist, a sales manager of an import firm, and a training director.

The Director's goal is to "Help'em find suitable work." The fee for this workshop is \$150 and if an individual requires them, partial "scholarships are available," he added in his open letter of inquiry to job seekers. He said that he has held a dozen such seminars over the past year and expects to hold more in the future.

Clients at Agency Two came primarily to attend workshops and to practice their interviewing techniques. On the other hand, the members at Agency One came by to drink coffee and listen to the ball games. Interactions at Agency

One were less formal and more spontaneous. In fact, the atmosphere at Agency One resembled that of a private club in that members did as they pleased since each "owned" shares of the facility and its equipment. The activities at Agency Two were controlled by its paid director, while the director at Agency One guided activities of the business [expenses like rent and purchases] but did not preside over the meetings.

I was a participant observer at both agencies. At Agency One, as well as attending meetings, I wrote several resumes for members, answered phones and correspondence, interviewed candidates for membership, video taped mock employment interviews, and handled job openings directed to the agency. At Agency Two, I assisted the director in the training lab and helped unemployed managers rehearse interview lines. One intent was to determine the influence of those activities upon the responses of my participants and to learn as much as possible about the methods utilized by both agencies. My primary objective, however, was to obtain participants for this study. I concluded that the managers tended to respond far more attentively than expected because most of them utilized the interview to rehearse the techniques that they had learned from the agency. For example, one manager stated that he

tries to be prepared for the salary question [during employment interviews]. Everybody brings it up at a different time, and they say it - phrase it differently. And I don't always have my prepared statement on the tip of my tongue. So I'm trying...

The respondent and I read the appropriate section in Agency Two's manual and discussed how he should respond to the salary question in future job interviews.

Obviously the members of both agencies do not represent the population of all unemployed managers. They are older and likely to have been unemployed longer than the norm, and they have been willing to share their experiences with others. However, both agencies accepted client-members from diverse backgrounds. They did not discriminate against race, creed, gender, or managerial location within an organization. Choosing to join either agency was primarily a prerogative of the unemployed manager, assuming he or she were somewhere around forty, seeking a managerial job, and at Agency One there was an income variable. Both agencies advertised in the local and the national media where managers looked for employment. In this respect, the sample may have been representative of forty-year-old managers who were seeking managerial employment in the Midwest during the summer of 1987.

THE INTERVIEWS

There were 32 managers interviewed, averaging over two hours each. However, there were many more discussions with individuals who were not formally interviewed. Most of the interviews were conducted in an office provided by one of the agencies, and the environment encouraged attentive respondent participation. The managers were not offered any incentive for their participation.

Of forty-three individuals approached for this study, five claimed they did not have free time for an interview. Their priority was to find a job, and they wanted to keep their "schedules free and reserve their energy." Three individuals were currently seeking managerial positions but had not been managers in the past and therefore did not meet this sample criterion. Two others relied on someone else for a ride home and were not sure how long they would be free. Another individual agreed to an interview but refused to answer any questions about herself and her past employment experiences. She left the agency and did not return that summer.

Of the 32 respondents who participated in the interviews, reactions to the study varied. They responded slowly and deliberately at the beginning, but, by a quarter of the way through, their responses became more animated.

Half way through, they seemed to be less guarded.

At the beginning of each interview, I generally requested the help of the subjects to fulfill my dissertation requirements and promised confidentiality. At the conclusion of each interview, most of the respondents said something like Phil

You're not going to tell anyone what I said, are you? How'd I do? Would you hire me? There's a lot of stuff I wanted to say about [XYZ Utility]. But let's face it, if I said it, who'd believe me and frankly, who gives a darn? I want a job.

Most of the managers agreed with David that their interview was

a great help to [their] interviewing skills. You've helped me focus on some things that will streamline by job interviews.

Another remarked:

I feel much better that I've gotten that off my chest. I've never gone through it [his unemployment experience] so thoroughly before. I feel much better. Thanks (Howard).

RATIONALE OF THE INTERVIEW

If each respondent had provided a running written account of their work experiences, the task of determining any changes brought about by their job loss would have been

easy. There were so many questions I had such as: how would I determine any attitude change experienced by the respondents? How much can a respondent remember? How much of a tendency would there be to idealize the past? What hidden agendas might influence the accounts of the managers today? If the managers contradicted themselves, how would I interpret their thoughts? When the managers described their work and home environments, how could I tell which conditions existed before unemployment and which ones resulted from their employment loss? Since this study was intended to determine what conscious changes were shaped by unemployment, and the methods utilized in this study were open ended questions centered around the past, present, and future of the manager, I was mindful of the major problems in ascertaining changes. Komarovsky guided me toward two goals:

how to help the informant reconstruct the past and interpret his experiences as they bear upon our problem, and... to break through [any] deliberate lies or [any] rationalization (1940:17).

One of the techniques utilized to help the manager remember clearly, and help him or her to reconstruct the past, was to ask the the respondents to describe concrete situations in their work and nonwork life whenever they made generalities about themselves. Follow up questions were

asked relative to their responses. Questions changed with each interview depending upon the informant's response. For example, when a respondent said, "I knew the writing was on the wall. I knew I'd get canned soon." I asked, "Give me an example of what you mean by the writing on the wall?" He replied, "I was ignored by everyone." I asked, "How did they ignore you, give me an example?"

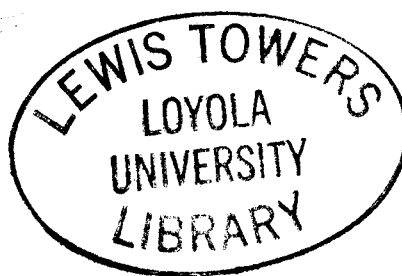
I pursued questions that reflected the most influential changes in the daily life of the manager. These ranged from the direct: "How has your relationship changed with your wife since you lost your job?" to: "Do you see yourself doing something different at home than you did before you lost your job?" and: "What part of your life has been improved because of your job loss?" "What would you do differently today than you did when you worked?"

I followed Komarovsky's (1940:135) procedure with modifications during each interview. For example, I performed some preliminary checking of the evidence to make it more specific and complete. I did that by asking specific questions concerning data offered to me. I asked a question more than once but in different words to determine whether the subject would respond in a similar way. I checked the evidence for consistency with other situations in the life of the respondent and, generally, with human reactions observed in similar situations. I also thought

through any alternatives not explained by a respondent. I also asked other respondents to interpret some of the data of an earlier respondent and checked their interpretation with that of others.

The data were transcribed into 32 individual accounts. Each was carefully reviewed. Several were compared and contrasted. Those similar accounts or patterns which emerged were categorized, entered into a data base, word-for-word and separately from the other responses, and numbered. A search of all the accounts began in order to find responses that matched those already placed in the data base. Those found to possess a similar meaning were also written into the appropriate category, separately and numbered. As other similarities emerged, more categories were created in the data base, and a check was made to find other responses that fit those categories. Many times categories merged. The process continued until all relevant responses of the informants were entered into the data base. Many responses were entered in more than one category at a time because of the abstract nature of some of the categories. Hard copies were made of each category. They were reviewed, compared, and contrasted with each other. Those which seemed awkward or had little relevance were discarded, and much of that data was moved into other appropriate categories. The process continued as old

categories were eliminated and new categories were created while others merged and some split. Most of the categories were eliminated as new discoveries were made from the data. The process continued throughout the writing of the dissertation, producing a more effective interpretation of the data. Once the categories were somewhat stable, the data unfolded into chapters or vignettes that told a story of how the respondents were affected by unemployment.



NOTES

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1. Bakke, 1940; Braude, 1989; Brenner, 1973; Fineman, 1987; Ginni & Sullivan, 1989; Komarovsky, 1940, 1967; Kornblum, 1974; Larson, 1984; Le Masters, 1975; Leventman, 1981; O'Toole, 1974; Swinburne, 1981; Tyler, 1989; and Young, 1967. For an in-depth discussion of the literature in relation to the pervasive life style of unemployed blue collar workers, see Leventman, 1981:1-27 and Larson, 1984. For a brief discussion on the pervasive life style of unemployment managers, see Newman, 1988.

CHAPTER III

UNEMPLOYMENT PROCESS

The way employees experience the process of unemployment itself shapes the quality of their job search and the kind of jobs they eventually choose. This chapter examines the process of unemployment and its consequences for managers and contrasts those findings with blue collar experiences. I argue that managers often experience self-blame as a first reaction to unemployment, but most learn to stop blaming themselves as part of a deliberate plan to find career jobs. In contrast, blue collar workers continually experience self blame during their unemployment experience. They see themselves as failures and accept poorly paid jobs below their skill levels.

LOSING A MANAGERIAL JOB

As one listens to managers talk, it soon becomes evident that regardless of how they lost their jobs, it had little impact upon their first reactions or any changes they

experienced during their unemployment process. Managers lose their job in a number of ways: some gradually, some abruptly, some voluntarily, while others had no choice.

Fourteen managers said that the process of losing their jobs had occurred gradually, over a period of time, resulting in their isolation from their own subordinates and co-workers. These managers sensed their coming job loss long before it actually happened but were powerless to do anything about it. A typical remark offered by many of these managers was,

The writing was on the wall about my job, but I couldn't do a thing about it. It seemed everyone knew - it just wasn't official. God, I hated those days (Otto).

For almost ten years Otto enjoyed a harmonious and productive relationship with his bosses and his own subordinates. He added that

The entire process [my termination] took about eight months. I had my review [merit raise], and I was denied an increase [in pay]. Their explanation was that my performance level was below par. They didn't fire me then because they would of been subject to problems because the previous reviews [every three months over nine years] had not been bad. They were building a case against me. But people in the lower ranks seemed to know that you have gotten a bad review... and treat you with disrespect. ...snide remarks... I ate [lunch] alone... I wasn't part of the team anymore.

His co-workers harassed him. They mimicked him at staff meetings and cackled at him in the hallways. He said that he had felt "distant and rejected." He knew his job "was on line" because of the way everyone treated him. Finally, nine months later, the company "pink slipped" [fired] him.

Dorothy also explained that she was isolated from others for several months prior to her surprise job loss. She said,

I had been firing people months before. At first they told me to bring my division into a certain budget. I took the initiative of cutting salaries and getting rid of certain employees who were marginal. ...I was cutting to make the company look good. Little did I know that I, too, would be offered up to the gods.

And Dick offered this explanation about his gradual job loss.

Loss of sales, the grape vine buzzing. People avoided me. They wouldn't come to my desk that often. Towards the end, no one talked to me. Telephone calls were diverted to others. Paper work slowed. I felt isolated. They treated me like a leper. They didn't even walk by my office. ...I saw the writing on the wall. [Finally, my boss] called me in one day at 2:00 to fire me.

Unlike Otto, Dorothy, Dick and the others, thirteen of the managers lost their jobs abruptly. For instance, Katz, an aero space scientist, thought that, due to his many

contributions to the company, he would never lose his job. However, although the financial picture of the company had remained unchanged, he was fired without warning. He said

I was making a series of testing systems for a number of government customers. The company was up for sale, but the product was a year or two away. ...my boss was walking through the corridor, and he called me over. He gave me a date which was my last day. ...he said the company was cutting back and that since I was the last hired [three years ago], I was the first fired.

The stories of many of the managers who were fired abruptly were similar. For instance, Dale stated,

My community liaison program was going well. I had a committee that included a director from Maryknoll and one from United Way. The new staff functioned well, too. But back at the parent agency, that new director placed this crack-pot as a new executive director of professional services. ...but she couldn't touch me. She had little if no experience with public agencies. ...it was right after a board meeting. The executive director called us into his office. 'Your community project is over. Get out, now,' he said.

And Gary explained that he

got this letter from the dean of my department stating that as of September 1, 1987 [two months hence] my services are no longer required. Nothing before that time suggested in the least that I was about to be canned. His excuse was that my department was not turning enough profit. He wanted more. We never really talked about profit

when I was hired. I never thought the department was operated on a profit base.

Less than half the managers abruptly lost their jobs. However, highly trained blue collar workers usually lose their jobs without advance notice due to swift and unsuspected organization cut backs (Le Masters, 1975).

Three other managers had accepted voluntary early retirement offered by their respective companies, and one other respondent quit to look for a new job. For example, Larry at 51, accepted the retirement incentives of his employer, a large utility company. He thought about it for several months before accepting. He said,

It wasn't just me. The company made an offer to anybody that fit a certain description. I happen to fit. I was surprised. All but one in our department took it. We all talked about it for months. It wasn't their first offer. This was their third. I couldn't get that kind of money until 1995. Considering the tax situation and so on. [Today] I live on Margret's [spouse] income, but I'm debt here.

And Fred offered his perspective as to why he quit his job,

I had a nice job. One day the boss, vice president of marketing, pulled me into his office. Fred, he said, you're great. I've put you up for a promotion. You'll be officed next to the regional manager. I want you to handle our advertising department. It's a cush job. Lots of traveling. And in about ten years that job leads right into this office. I quit. Not for me. Everything

was planned right down to my future. No thanks. Things would become routine; my income, my production, who I report to and who reports to me. It wasn't me who he was promoting. I had been under the wing of the regional man. I was his clone and rightfully so. I was comfortable that way until I realized that everything had been timed and coordinated by him. I quit.

Lastly, although six of the managers had been with one employer over twenty years, only one had received mandatory retirement benefits. Sam officially retired from the U.S. Army at fifty-seven. He had been a base commander.

FIRST REACTIONS TO JOB LOSSES

The managers' reactions to their job losses varied. Some managers experienced denial, some resentment, while others felt optimism. For example, ten of the managers said that they had denied being fired when they first heard the news. Several said that they knew their supervisors had the authority to hire, but that they "really didn't" have the authority to fire. Others who exhibited denial said that their job loss was a "mistake," Don said this and added, "I thought, it's only a matter of time before I'd be back because those in power will realize that a mistake was made and call me back to work." Ron a transportation manager phrased it this way:

I had well picked and trained people from my assistant to the drivers working for me. If they follow their training they will be able to run it for several months by themselves. The first time they come up with a need for a decision they're going to have problems. They'll call me and fast.

As long as the managers expressed denial, they had not looked for a job. They "awaited reinstatement." They had not told their families about their job losses right away. For some, that meant several days. Then, too, denial was a similar reaction described by the blue collar workers: however, blue collar families knew about their job loss as soon as it happened. Like managers, they think their dismissal is an error due to a mix-up of some kind. They are not the workers to be cut because of their excellent quality of work. As soon as the mistake is discovered, they believe, they will be called back to work (O'Toole, 1971).

The managers who reported resentment were five of the six respondents who had worked for the same employer for over twenty years. They were "dumb founded" about the action the company took against them. At first, they refused to look for another job because they were angry. For instance, some of the managers said,

you'd think after twenty-six years with the same company [engineering] that they wouldn't treat me like a disease. They fired me without a hearing (Bill).

to treat people so rude after all their years of work is ridiculous. The company didn't even pay me for my personal day off when I left. [After 25 years] I received two weeks severance pay. Dirty bastards (Larry).

I have a chip on my shoulder, sure. But long term leadership, those were his [boss'] words in the letter [which stated that I was fired]. He said I don't have the leadership potential he thought I had. I haven't talked to him since I received it [last month]. The dean has established the programs and I've carried them out: how could I lead? I probably will remember those words for the rest of my life (Gary).

Most of the managers buried any resentment while they were looking for a career job. Demonstrations of anger and resentment would not get them hired, they thought. Ralph presented this typical thought held by the managers, "Putting an old boss down is suicide. You'd never find a job that way." The focus of the managers was to find a job that led to senior management. On the other hand, for blue collar workers, as time passes and their old boss has not called them back to work and they have not been able to find a job anywhere, they experience resentment. They begin to resent how their boss fired them and how their company refused to help them in their time of need. After all, they have worked hard for the company, and now they need help, but the company is not there to help them (Halle, 1987).

Seven of the managers described what can be called

optimism as one of their first reactions. For example, one manager thought that "employment was around the corner." A friend - which one he was not sure - would offer him a job. There had been no urgency to look for a job, he argued. In fact, the day after losing his job, Dick told his wife that they should go on a vacation. He said that once "the industry finds out I'm available, we won't have another chance to go." He's been unemployed for two years. And Sam, the retired Army commander, indicated that he was not anxious to look for a new job. He explained,

My background was not that hard to relate to civilian occupations; administrative management, personal management, city management, things like that. ...at least that's what I thought two years ago. ...I thought I'd have no problems in finding what I'm looking for. One of my guys [friends] will get a'hol' o' me. I waited for somebody - a friend, an old buddy... Nobody called.

Denial and optimism produced half-hearted job searches and were temporary reactions many of the managers experienced.

SELF-BLAME

By far, the most common response to unemployment was initially to blame themselves. The managers felt personally responsible and incompetent in varying degrees. For example, Bill said, "It's my own damn fault [that I'm out of

work]. Now, who'd hire a dummy like me?" he asked. He internalized his failure, and it impeded his job search. He had not looked for a job that fit his skills, much like the experiences of unemployed blue collar workers.

Some of the managers also experienced powerlessness.

For example, one said:

They changed the name of the company. Who is he, the new president, who changed the company name? In my family, [XYZ Utility] has been around since 1926 when my dad started work there. I would have liked to have matched my dad, but they took my opportunity away. They took away my history. He [the president] moved the headquarters too. Then the bastard offered me an early retirement package. I had no choice but to take it or lose everything [Larry].

Self-blame and powerlessness often accompanied a pervasive change in the life styles of the managers and impacted their job search. For example, Bill's behavior at home changed. How could he apply for a new job, he asked, when the old job "canned me cause I'm stupid." He performed many of the household tasks originally done by his wife who worked full time as a human resource specialist. She was "furious" with him and told him to "find a job, any job!" He told her, "Maybe next month."

Barbara was another career manager who experienced a changed home life when she blamed herself for her job loss. She had been more than her "usual aloof self" with her

father and her twenty-six year old daughter. She had not spoken to either of them about her job loss for weeks after she was fired. "Consequently they ignored me," she said. She stopped performing many of her usual tasks around the house like preparing meals. "I wasn't worth the price of a song on the marketplace, so what good could I do for Sara Jo [daughter] and dad. God... I had to shake it [blaming herself for her job loss] or die," she revealed.

None of these initial reactions, including self blame, lasted very long for the managers. Only in the case of two did the initial reaction seem permanent. Larry thought he would sell used cars after twenty-six years as an engineer, and Bill thought he would apply to a retail store for a clerk's position. Their unemployment experiences led to feelings of personal failure, and they were willing to accept jobs and incomes below their skill levels and income requirements, or downward mobility, like blue collar workers who felt that way (Braude, 1989; Newman, 1988). Most of the managers, however, overcame their self-blame and began to focus on market and organizational factors as part of an answer which would fit more readily into a search for a career job.

On the other hand, as the resentment of blue collar workers grows when they can not find jobs, they describe feelings of isolation, powerlessness, and rejection

(Leventman, 1981).

Blue collar isolation partly emerges as family members and friends ignore them. No one invites them out. No one telephones. When unemployed workers run into any of them at the store or on the street, family members and friends say that they have no time to talk. They get the feeling that they have a communicable disease (Komarovsky, 1967).

As unemployment continues, blue collar workers experience powerlessness. Many try but fail to pinpoint the cause of their unemployment; therefore, personal feelings of self-blame escalate (Le Master, 1975). They become confused about themselves, their joblessness, and the way others treat them. As they fail to overcome their feelings of shame and run out of money, many feel that there is nothing they can do to change their situation or the situation of their loved ones until they got a job, any job.

They experience rejection as they unsuccessfully attempt to find work. They begin to feel that everyone, including employers has rejected them and blames them for their job failure (Furstenberg, 1974). For example, O'Toole suggests that

There is always the question in everyone's mind that his being unemployed may be 'his own fault.' He is 'surplus man' around the house, because the sharp division of labor in the lower class family gives him a minimally active role in housekeeping and child

rearing, and because the wife feels he should be out working or looking for work. And since unemployment in low income households is often a reality and always a prospect - or even if he works steadily, he may not be bringing home enough to live on - the man is constantly vulnerable to the definition, his own or others' or both, that something is wrong with him, simply not worth enough to be paid a living wage (1972:185).

Thus, many blue collar workers feel incompetent and come to think of themselves as failures (Sennet & Cobb, 1972; Warr, 1984). When these workers were on the job, they took pride in their workmanship; once unemployed that pride works against them. They doubt themselves because of a common idea that productive workers will always have a job. O'Toole suggests that unemployed blue collar workers go so far as to "doubt their own potential as human beings (1974:8)." Merton (1957) argues that the prediction itself becomes one of the causes of downward mobility, a self fulfilling prophecy. When blue collar workers blame themselves for their joblessness, they feel incompetent and look for easy hires which are largely low paid jobs below their skill levels (Lopreato & Chafetz, 1970; O'Toole, 1974). In other words, they accept survival jobs. Thus, the unemployment process for blue collar workers often results in downward mobility.

On the other hand, during the unemployment process managers self-consciously present themselves as managers and

not as subordinates and begin to blame structural factors in order to get senior positions. I want to argue that while their dialogues or "managerial talk" have a number of sources, the most influential are partly derived from a desire of the managers to clearly distinguish themselves from non-managerial employees and partly from the training they receive at a self help agency. In large part, the purpose of this conscious presentation of the self through "managerial talk" is to ensure that any new jobs they might come across would fit into their image of appropriate career moves.

"MANAGERIAL TALK"

The respondents described their experiences in "managerial talk" or a self conscious articulation centered around their own previous position on a managerial career ladder in an attempt to distinguish themselves from other workers, especially their own subordinates. "Managerial talk" is idealized statements about employers and their expectations about managers. There is a widespread assumption held by the managers promoting "managerial talk": sounding as if you could do the job is more important than being actually able to do it. For example,

Companies ask for VP's who have experience with IBMs, or this equipment or that software. Why? He's not going to write a

program. If he's hiring on at the level then they don't need a VP. He has to learn the A to Z' of that company. But to establish that as the criteria for hiring is absurd. Must have an MBA? No. It may not be translated into managerial skill - that remains to be seen. The recruiting process don't work. You have to look like the job even if you're not (Don).

It's not the qualified person who always gets the job. The marketing philosophy is that the best qualified person doesn't get the job. It comes back by the numbers. Thirty percent are hired for what they can do, and seventy percent are hired by what they are perceived capable of doing (Mike).

Sounding like a capable manager gets jobs, the managers argued. Given that, the managers agreed that their own managerial positions are located between senior managers and their own subordinates. In the words of one manager,

A hierarchy is a pecking order just like chickens have. The managers follow the directives of the folks above'em. But those [their subordinates] below them, better beware (David).

But the relationship is not seen as symmetrical.

"Managerial talk" means showing how they used their authority in the best interest of the organization. For example, many managers made typical statements such as,

I believe in upgrading my employees. I trained them well. They could go out there and do the job. They couldn't make the decisions that I could, but they could do the job. A couple of group leaders became very

proficient in their tasks, maybe not the planning of it. ...these guys know how to do it [the job] (Ralph).

Direction is necessary. Because people [subordinates] don't know how to handle decisions. They need to be controlled. People will take advantage of a lack of control. I don't think another form of order works. They've [my subordinates] got to be productive (Byron).

Most managers made statements such as "employees should contribute to the success of the organizations who employ them." They agreed with Don when he said, "[Management] is the process of coordinating people to achieve company objectives: hiring, training, and organizing." For men and women who prize their own careers more than their own jobs, where to do these statements fit? Moreover, "managerial talk" is a method of hiding personal feelings about unemployment by praising the very organizations that had fired them. Typical statements that praised employers were,

My termination may be justified in the sense of savings for the company. I agree with their position on this matter [my termination] and would have followed the same course of action in eliminating others if I still ran the company. I've learned a hell of a lot about myself, and I know I'm a better manager for it (Phil).

...my separation is reasonable and necessary if they [the organization] are to survive in an appropriate [financial] posture. I agree with their decision [to fire me]. ...unemploy-

ment won't bother me, I'll be at work in a better job in no time (Glen).

In addition, the managers often gave two different accounts of a single event for the purpose of maintaining their uniqueness. For example, when they lost their own jobs, it was now due to factors that were beyond their control such as mergers, foreign competition, and unscrupulous senior managers. However, when they fired their own subordinates, they said it was because of the personal incompetence of that worker. In fact, twenty-six of the managers argued that when they fired their own subordinates, it had been because of the incompetence of that subordinate even when their employees were productive. For example,

I lay out the parameters [to my subordinates], the job responsibilities, and standards. I'll give everyone a second change and a third, but after that, we may have to realize that one of us is wrong. You come to an understanding how things are done. I'm not a baby sitter, and I don't look over people's shoulders. If they fugg-up cause they're a dummy, it's because they didn't do the job. I'll can'em [fire them]. ...there is only one right way to do things [my way]. ...It has to be done correctly and on time. I'm results orientated.

Subordinates were fired because they had been incompetent, the managers argued, and throughout their accounts, they

continually demonstrated their superiority over those workers. For example,

I'm people sensitive. I run an open style operation [in my department]. I let people do what they like. I want somebody to do something, but they want to do it their way, I say o'okay. I don't want to take credit for other people's work. I'm competent about work. ...when a subordinate does something I don't like, I talk to them about it. We'd go step by step. I'd show him where he was wrong. If he continued to want to do it his way, I'd encourage him to do it correctly [my way]. If all else failed, I'd pull rank (Pete).

I warned him [a subordinate] that his business was not the business I wanted [although the subordinate was very productive]. I told him to dress a little better. He didn't listen. He was on commission. I told him about territory and our [company] map. I said that he wasn't qualifying accounts [clients] the way I wanted [despite the fact he was a top salesmen], and I was going to let him go (Howard).

The respondents also utilized words and phrases typical, they thought, of managers, and they continually related to their managerial expertise even when they talked about their home life. For example, Jacob an account analyst said,

I avoid telling her [his spouse of 8 years] what's going on [with my job search]. Her position is somewhat contradictory. If I write in to an ad [send my resume], and they want to talk to me, she thinks that's it! I've got it [the job]. If they don't write back, she's depressed. Maybe her ideas are because she works for a high school [English

teacher in an inner city school]. ...When it comes to money, she doesn't know anything. I can show her on a computer, net worth, statements, give her all of reports. She can look on the screen. She periodically says, "if you die I don't know what I'm going to do." Well, you should learn about those things. She doesn't want to know.

In part, of course, the account of his wife as "little woman" is "managerial talk," but it is also explaining a version of self as "manager" even when unemployed.

After all, most unemployed managers are engulfed in a personal battle with their identity. They are managers, but they have lost their jobs. How could competent managers allow themselves such degradation? Their own subordinates might lose their jobs because they are incompetent, but career managers are not incompetent! Newman, too, believes that unemployed managers,

are left hanging, ...between two worlds [and] juggle two incompatible senses of personhood. On the hand, he or she is a well educated, skilled professional, accustomed to power, to deference, to middle class norms of consumption (1988:10).

Of course, on the other hand, they are unemployed. Therefore, unemployed managers describe their experiences in "managerial talk" to show their managerial identity and uniqueness. Hence, when managers account for their career experiences, they offer accounts that resolve their identity

by distinguishing themselves from subordinates. Mills (1940) might refer to these managerial accounts as "vocabularies of motive", and Lyman and Scott (1970) might refer to their "perspective of accounts." Then, too, Hochschild (1983) might refer to a "managed feelings" perspective. For example,

what is taken for granted all along is that there are rules or norms according to which feelings may be judged appropriate to accompanying events (1983:59).

The managers articulated ideal descriptions of their work environments or "managerial talk" in anticipation of future job interviews. Moreover, they maintained two sets of accounts because the less they were seen to be subjugated or exploited by those above them, and the more they could be seen to have subjugated or exploited those below them, the higher would seem their position within the hierarchy. Dorothy clarified this mutually shared characteristic of subjugation:

The president [of my company] would tell me what to do, and I did it. He didn't want to fire people. He left that to me. The first year he simply told me to keep within certain guidelines. The next year things were more specific. The third year and my last, he made it clear along with names and dates [of who to fire]. Then he fired me.

The managers throughout their interview with the researcher were practicing their "managerial talk" to impress potential employers. The indicators that led to this conclusion are in the accounts of the respondents. For example, at the end of each research interview, sixteen managers asked a similar question: "How did I sound? Did I get the job?" In addition, twenty managers said that their interview allowed them to "work through" their frustration over their unemployment.

TRAINING RECEIVED AT A SELF HELP AGENCY

The managers learned some of their "managerial talk" from the self help agencies. Both agencies trained managers in interviewing techniques and advised managers explicitly that if they blamed themselves for their job losses, it would result in a loss of personal prestige and self esteem. Moreover, it would reduce their individual chances of finding good career jobs. For example, a workshop leader at Agency One explained that

no one [employers] wants to hear that you were the cause of your job loss. Blame it on the real cause - foreign competition and poor business swings.

While several of the members debated, others took notes. One manager asked, "What do you say when you worked for a

successful company like mine and still lose out [get fired]?" One workshop leader replied, "You wan'a job, right? Do what you gotta do." Another member smiled and asked, "Lie, right?" Three of the four workshop leaders yelled in unison, "Right."

Additionally, during a work study meeting at Agency One, Barbara presented a story about how she learned to blame market and organizational factors instead of herself, and how that view helped her get a job offer. She said that she went on nine interviews but had not been successful until she joined Agency One. She learned to "stop blaming herself" at this agency. Her first interview produced a job offer although she turned it down as it was not leading to top management. Other experienced job seekers presented similar accounts to the members, many of whom participated in this research.

Agency Two's Skills Workshop III manual, for another example, offers a list of frequently asked interview questions and sample responses. Question five asks, "Why did you leave your last job?" The instruction reads: "Be able to state your reason positively and concisely." When one manager asked for clarification of that response at a seminar, the managing director replied, "A positive response means organizational changes that arbitrarily eliminated many jobs." In other words, structural changes.

The managers also learned how to respond to awkward job interviewing questions, thus enhancing the techniques which helped them sound unique and which reduced some of their uncertainty about job interviews. Allan had described how uncomfortable he was about discussing new job income with a hiring executive. However, he read Agency Two's manual which stated,

Negotiate salary as an equal: know the current pay range and where in that range your skills and experience place you. The offer won't be withdrawn simply because you ask for more. He who mentions a specific dollar amount first loses.

Afterwards, we talked about the section in the manual.

After some deliberation, Allan said that he now felt more self assured and like a professional. He added,

My canned talk is this, see what ya think? Of course, salary is important, but it's not the most important thing to me. I'm looking for a job with a challenge that is interesting, and my requirements are open. What is your range for the position? [I smiled and he added], those shit-heads [hiring executives] had better bite on that one since I spent so much time getting it right!

The managers learned other interviewing techniques which made them feel more self assured, such as interview response-time: the time it took to answer an interviewer's question. The manuals and trainers of both agencies said

that if response-time lasted over two minutes for any question, it was "an inefficient answer." The respondents had planned answers to anticipated questions and practiced their delivery to each other and to me on video recorders. Also, many of the managers had prepared questions for hiring executives, as well, utilizing historical data of the self help agencies as their guides.

Most of what the managers said about a job search had been learned, or at least reinforced, by the training instructors and training manuals at Agency One and Agency Two. While the directors were familiar with what the other organization offered, neither had any direct experience with the other agency. Also, only one member, a manager who was not part of this research, had been a member of both agencies. Overall, it became obvious that an explicit aim of the two agencies was to teach unemployed managers what to say in interviews. Thus, the managers learned "managerial talk" perspectives to get top career jobs.

BLAMING THE STRUCTURE

Thirty-two managers said that they had originally blamed themselves for their job loss, but after going through some training sessions at a self help agency and realizing the importance of sounding like managers, thirty of them now blamed market and organization factors or the

structure for their joblessness. However, twenty of the managers explained their job loss in terms of market factors beyond their control as managers, such as: mergers, restructurings, business slow downs, foreign intervention. For example, Phil argued market factors had been responsible for his job loss,

Commodity prices [for jewelry] have dropped as local banks have folded and blown away. The jewelry market [he was a jewelry wholesaler] in those communities have faced problems. Most of the agriculture communities are surrounded by malls, and the tendency of mall operations is to lease space not to local merchants [his clients], but rather to national chains like Zales and Gordens. ...the bigger houses have their own middle men like us; that way they get to eliminate operators like us. ...[our clients] were downtown.

Eight of the managers said that organizational factors such as: department losses, unclear directives, and incompetent and unscrupulous top management had been the reason for their job loss. Gary typified an organizational factor when he explained that since his "department was not turning enough profit," he lost his job. Another example was offered by Pat.

All summer I was hearing it, we [the company] were losing money. ...We were the support arm of the profit centers. [My] job was to help them. Each department had their objective levels. We help them obtain those objectives. A department needed a seminar, we arranged it. This department needed a sales brochure,

we designed it. ...The managing partner hired me because of my telemarketing experience in the first place. But I guess I didn't understand that. He had that experience highlighted in yellow on my resume. ...[But] I had no control over these people [telemarketing personnel]. I was in charge of the program but not the people.

Another manager said that "incapable people are in management all the time, but there is someone covering them." Incompetent top managers were characterized as an organizational factor that affected the jobs of five of the managers. For example:

I should have never trusted that guy [president]; he picked my brains until the unit was approved by the Feds [an agency of the U.S. Government] and bounced my butt the day after he got their approval.

An awkwardness existed for the managers: if they blamed the structure too harshly, they might not sound as if they had done their jobs as managers. Of course, we do not have employers' explanations of why these managers lost their jobs, yet according to the accounts of the managers, market factors and organizational factors came to be seen as critical factors in their job loss only after the managers had received training at a self help agency and when they tried to sound like managers. However, they were mindful that by blaming the corporate structure too harshly for

their job loss, they could undermine their own future job prospects.

SURVIVAL JOBS AND CAREER JOBS

Most of the managers made it clear that they would not "accept just any job," no matter how long it took to find a career job. Previous experience suggested how upward mobility largely was understood by those workers who, at least publicly, did not blame themselves for their unemployment. For example, Don's last job took "three years to find" while he was unemployed. As a Harvard MBA with ten years Fortune 500 experience, he could have taken a number of alternative jobs like that of an educator, a banker, or an administrator of a savings and loan. However, he wanted a job that would lead to top management. He was tempted to accept a survival job, but argued that he is a "professional, and so I stuck it out."

Another example was offered by Mark, a corporate lawyer, who during law school had wanted to be like the trial lawyer Clarence Darrow. Yet the career issues that he talked about conformed to his individual career orientation more than to his law school dreams. He refused to go into

any form of private practice. I'm not comfortable in a small operation [my own office]. I like working for corporations. I

aspired to eat cream cheese and bagels in the morning and help little people in the afternoon. I hadn't accepted side jobs or trial work [survival jobs] since law school.

Clearly, Mark and many managers could have found survival jobs, but they said they only looked for jobs that would bring their career objectives closer.

"Survival jobs" offered few incentives to career managers. Many of those jobs could be described as dead-end positions that offered little organizational mobility. For example, personnel supervisors historically can not move into mainstream management. Other survival jobs such as those with job titles that had less prestige than the title of their last job, offered little career enhancement. Other survival jobs, such as educators offered little authority to hire and fire others.

Career jobs, in contrast, enhanced their organizational knowledge, improved their career networks, furthered their mobility opportunities for top managerial positions, and broadened their power and authority experiences. Managers and blue collar workers who blamed themselves for their joblessness tended to accept survival jobs (Newman, 1989; Wilensky & Edwards, 1959). Ninety-eight percent of these managers, however, shook their self-blame and were looking for career jobs. Once blue collar workers are unemployed, they generally experience denial, resentment, and self-blame

which lead to feelings of personal incompetence and to their eventual downward mobility, as they accept poorly paid jobs below their skill levels.

In summary, managers and blue collar workers initially report parallel first reactions to unemployment. However, managers try to guide their behavior according to their career expectations as they look for a job. Therefore, their first reactions are temporary unlike the blue collar experience. Managers are consciously presenting idealized statements about their world in preparation for future job interviews.

CHAPTER IV

FITTING UNEMPLOYMENT INTO A CAREER PERSPECTIVE

When the managers described their work, they distinguished between jobs and careers. This chapter explores the relationship between jobs and careers and describes the jobs chosen by the managers to enhance their careers. The chapter argues that the managers typified their own unemployment as a component of their career and treated it as though it were part of a sequence of events which brought them closer to their career objectives.

HOW MANAGERS DESCRIBED JOBS AND CAREERS

As the managers looked back at their work experiences, they said that both their employers and their own career expectations shaped their behavior. The managers saw jobs as activities related to employers, and as a set of responsibilities and constraints within an organizational position. The managers thought there were two major components of their positions: "task work" and managerial

responsibilities. "Task work" was described as work they performed while managing their own subordinates who contributed to the managers' "task work." For example:

I was a facility's manager, which means that I was in charge of plant engineering - industrial engineering. A lot of renovations, asset procurement. Janitorial services. The upkeep of the grounds (Ralph).

My responsibility was to send goods out of the country... travel there - China to England, create new markets and keep old ones hot (Allan).

My job was basically that of a policemen for the agency. How were we spending funds. Payroll. Hiring. Watching our case flow. Following up with counselors. ...I surveyed [areas of the city] for youth services, set up the agency advisory board for establishing agency operations in the community (Dale).

As a group controller, I created a separate service division that resulted in a 10% increase in sales and profits. I initiated staff reductions resulting in a 10% savings in both people and costs. I re-evaluated and reduced computer costs by 50%, and I reduced facilities cost by 25% through renegotiation of our lease hold (Edwin).

I was the manager of office services which was a service department that caters to a technical organization. That's anything from shipments to office services like copying equipment, office supplies, and contracts. Special purchases for our overseas people since most of our technical employees traveled extensively. Job sites overseas. They need anything from an Arrow shirt to (Bill)...

I was a researcher. I researched markets and package development. Client companies would come to our firm. I created the package design and the market for the end-product. Like [a top 3 oil firm's] new synthetic oil. I would design the package it came in and suggest the market to sell it, complete with outlets (Fred).

My job is more executive than short sleeve. Executive means I evaluate, plan, and execute corporate policy through appropriate channels and then monitor and evaluate the results as opposed to carrying them out which is short sleeve. Carrying out policy is all right, but if I'm doing that then I have less corporate control. The amount of control [over the organization] I hold determines my success. That's what I have been trained for, educated for, and prepared for (Glen).

The plant had a perpetual additive injection problem causing product quality problems. I worked out a system where the product quality was great, and the predictability was improved.

All of the managers had subordinates whom they directed, from the two under Katz to over five hundred under Glen. Some managers thought that their managerial activities got in the way of "task work," and others thought that "task work" disrupted their official managerial duties which included "planning, organization, directing, and controlling," said Byron.

Yet no matter how they defined their work, it seems that their career aspirations held a priority over many aspects of their job activities. For example, they argued

that one of their primary functions was to manipulate those above their position and control those below to get ahead. David said, "kiss brass and kick ass." Pete explained further that

If a person is my subordinate, I'd take'm aside. ...and pull rank on him if he doesn't do what I want. ...If the person is my superior, than I'd decide how important this thing [I want] is first. If not, then I'd pass it off. If it's something that can be corrected once he's out of the way, I'd let it go also, knowing that I can change it. Other times I'd make suggestions.

Most of the managers thought that careers are above jobs, positions, and employers. In other words, when a manager is fired, his or her job is effected but not necessarily his or her career. Careers were typically described as:

When I was going for my master's degree, I was told that unless someone died, I wasn't going anywhere [being promoted] with them [my company]. One of the professors said that I wasn't going to be satisfied because the company was small. I needed to go with the parent company in the same job for advancement (Ralph).

Careers get you moving... It took me a while to understand that the way to promotion was an as account executive. I didn't want that route. That was clearly marked 'the path.' I don't think that I understood that when I transferred out of that job. Those were the people who were promoted. Account executives were a certification type job. If you had that certification, you'd get promoted. I kept

rebellious and saying there should be more opportunities other than this. It became more and more apparent that any job in marketing opened up through this process, and I opted out of that program. ...My career suffered because I didn't know any better (Pat).

Careers are managerial possessions; they are paths, or a number of connected events, leading to senior management jobs. But, not all the managers believed that credentials or advanced degrees were absolutely necessary for careers. It depended upon the organization, they thought. For instance,

Education is just a means to an end. Education buys you into a higher level job realizing that the industry is changing rapidly itself (Fran).

If you want to be the world's leading brain surgeon, you have to get an education first. Credentials give you the opportunity to compete at a higher level of performance. PhD. is a status in my business but has little to do with performance. The only thing that counts is performance. True, the degrees give the opportunity to compete, that's all... want the top job? Find out what the company rewards - give it to 'em. ...The corporation has a pecking order of individuals which works. All systems have a degree of merit, gotta find what's merited and what's not. That's how you benefit your career (Fred).

One of Fred's major points was that different career paths exist in different organizations. It sounds as if Fred might be saying that careers belong to the organizations since

career paths consist of a hierarchy based upon power and legal authority. As one possible explanation, Pavalko says that "the career only has meaning within the organization, and in this sense it 'belongs to' the organization (1989:125). But Fred offered this additional perspective typical of many of the managers' thoughts about this managerial possession

By the time a guy is upper management, he has had a lot of sandpaper rubbed on his back. They decide their priority, and others decide if they'll accept it. It's always what you can do for them, the brass.

Managers make decisions about what they will personally accept within their career framework; therefore, careers are personal assets even though they are shaped in part by employers. Thus, jobs are components of careers, and in some respect, a manager's status can depend more on his or her career than on the quality of job output, particularly if she or he is on that fast track into the president's office (Kanter, 1977). It would come as no surprise that managers value their careers more than the jobs as it was those career paths, they thought, which got them prized positions even whether they were employed or not. Obviously, since blue collar workers are barred from careers in the managerial sense because their performance is related to the job itself, mobility comes less often. Furthermore,

through their jobs, they can demonstrate prized goals such as independence, initiative, and leisure (Le Master, 1975). The work ethic and lives of blue collar workers center around the slogans, a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and hard work produces fair wages (Sennett & Cobb, 1972; Tyler, 1989). It appears that both managers and blue collar workers primarily use the job as a device to obtain rewards as opposed to receiving rewards from the job itself. If careers produce rewards for managers, then I can expect that their career expectations would effect their attitudes towards jobs.

HOW CAREERS EFFECT JOBS

The career orientation of a manager shapes his or her behavior at work more than the constraints of any job she or he occupies. For instance, an old ideology had been that managers should put their personal priorities aside and execute the policies of senior managers. Steve remarked that the only time a manager

could be trusted, [was] when she or he demonstrated that organizational goals were above their personal matters. The mission of the company comes first.

This was Steve's first experience with unemployment.

However, most of the managers who had been unemployed before

argued that career managers need to interpret the mission and strategy of an employer in the light of their own career goals. For example, one respondent stated,

I was developing OEM [original equipment manufactures]. My view was to not get the small company or the one that called on us for small parts, but the companies whose business we could make thirty to forty percent profit. User business [on the other hand] is what Bill the General Manager wanted, but the return [net] was only ten percent. I did it my way, hoping to move upstairs (Howard).

This manager interpreted the organizational mission, developed an alternate plan in keeping with his career framework, and executed his plan. He said that he would be "pleased to tell future employers that I have the guts it takes to be a top gun [manager]." Employers, the managers thought, promote managers who demonstrate personal initiatives such as being "assertive, [and those who] took risks, took action, took leadership, and maybe even caused a few wrinkles," as Howard said. Seventy-three percent of the managers agreed with Fran when she said,

I run my division no matter what Tom [her boss] says. I've got the experience to know what I'm doing, and I know where I'm goin'. It's my ass on the line and my future.

Thus, managers seem to ignore organizational missions and employer strategies when those elements interfered with

their own career expectations.

Another traditional theory of work centered around reciprocal loyalty: a worker works for one employer, and that employer rewards the worker's loyalty. Career expectations seemed to have changed that relationship too. In fact, six of the managers had worked for one company throughout their careers and only one received some recognition, then was forced into early retirement. Allan described his thoughts after becoming unemployed at the end of a twenty-two year career with the same employer when he said,

From what I have been reading, even before my generation, like in the steel mills, fathers and sons tied up their whole life. But in recent years it is a custom to [job] hop. They used to look at your resume, and if you changed jobs a few times, you were a job hopper and something was wrong. You weren't stable. Now, if you don't change jobs, you're not motivated or something like that.

Now, all but four of the managers agree, at least in part, with Phil who seems guided by his career orientation more than a job he may occupy.

If you have an eye out for your career, you will junk jobs for better ones every three to five years. That way you can build experiences that will allow you to get to upper jobs.

Fran added that

Job security is not guaranteed. You have to determine where the future lies for you [every so often]. What's going to be hot, that's where you gotta go. ...ya gotta keep taps on the market [new jobs] or you'll lose out.

Pat summed the old loyalty idea with this typical idea held by many of the managers.

I've learned not to be loyal to another company. No more nice guy stuff. These people [employers] have taken me over the coals for the last time. Next time, it's me first, company second.

Therefore, many career managers think that they should be as fluid and as flexible as the organizations and the industries that employ them. In other words, a manager must often move from employer to employer and from job to job. Moreover, Terry thought that a manager should "always look for a job, even when employed." In sum, the managers believed that they must go through a series of events and a variety of experiences to get to top management, and as Phil revealed, "The day of one employer is over. We've got to be nomads to succeed." Thus, since managers are influenced by their career expectations, it would seem natural that they have taken jobs based upon those expectations too.

JOB CHOICES

As the managers looked back at their work experiences, they described several strategies based upon their career expectations that could have moved them into top management. For instance, some of the managers accepted jobs as partial owners and operators (general partnerships) in companies that could have enhanced their knowledge. Others worked for senior managers to improve their career status. Some took jobs with international companies to further their mobility opportunities, and a few worked for foreign concerns as local top managers to further their power and experience.

For example, Phil and Larry were general partners in two different management-owned corporations. Their career expectations about their future had been shaped by their belief that "when you're an owner, ya' learn a lot more, and I think people respect guys who tried. Your status automatically goes up." When the companies filed for bankruptcy, both Bill and Larry lost their CEO positions. Bill said he would not have worked as hard as he had if he knew his directors would bankrupt the companies. Yet that was an appropriate and timely option which both managers had considered themselves many times. They had hoped that their directors and creditors would extend corporate loans to maintain their companies after filing a petition in the

courts for organizational restructuring. However, both agreed that bankruptcy was advantageous for the companies and themselves as they had gained the experience and networks they desired. "I now knew everyone in the business, and they knew me. The right slot will open up, and I'll be ready," Larry said.

Other managers felt that if they worked for top managers, their future would be secured. Twenty managers had previously reported to the top management of large organizations. They had accepted their jobs because of the rank of their supervisor. They thought that his rank would have helped them to the top. "If the guy's a VP now, he'll become top dog eventually. That's why I worked for him," Pat said. However, this proved to be less a guarantee of advancement than had been expected. For instance, Pat reported that she accepted a job in a large Midwestern accounting firm. Her boss was a senior partner in the firm, and she thought that, due to his corporate position, her future objectives were assured. After a few months, she realized that his decisions were being overturned by the more powerful stock holders. She was the first to lose her job when business changed.

Twenty-two of the managers believed that top managers "were out for themselves and were not to be trusted," as Barbara explained. However, some managers thought risk with

top managers was necessary for advancement. For example, Fred plotted "the financial progress of a number of acquisitions" for a large national corporations. He provided data for the "high command" who would establish the sales strategies. Once:

He [the president] just wanted to duck the problem [I presented in my data]. See, if he and his board make a bad decision about a buy out, but don't know it till later, that's not the kind of information that he wants to know. CEO's are in for the short term money. ...long run projects eat up money and personnel. ...I could have kept my data to myself or altered it... ...I could have turned in numbers that made him look good...

Fred largely worked within his career parameters. He knew that he had taken a risk, a risk he might not have taken under other circumstances, he said. He could have given the president what he wanted, and he would have kept his job. He added that

But I'm getting older and wanted a shot. So I took it [a risk] and lost this time. Maybe next time it'll be okay. I'll win and that's what it's all about.

Emmit said that he, too, followed his career expectations into a new job, and that once there, he discovered a situation with top managers that could have made him prosperous or unemployed. For example

No one billed certain clients for certain [auditing] services [from my department]. They [the senior partners of the auditing firm] routinely wrote off billing for [my] services just to keep an account [client] around. Year and year this was going on. My department was performing, but there was no billing for their performance. I looked bad [when we restructured the firm]. They fired me because my department wasn't productive! The partners considered their clients as an old age annuity.

Mark revealed this example of his experience with top managers.

The company was bought out... I had no idea that they were going to can [fire] 700 people out of 3,800. The bastards. I watched department after department terminated. They eliminated layers of managers at a time. ...we [my department] thought that the more work we did that that guaranteed us employment. He [my new boss from the parent company] would come to my office. Do this, do that! Get this done now, he demanded. He made me feel like I couldn't be trusted. We would go over things several times... I'm a professional, I know my job. He didn't know his. Once I taught him mine [my job], he fired me.

These managers had a choice about their jobs, just as the six other managers who believed that their careers would prosper more in large corporations. They took jobs with the largest companies that would hire them. For example, Don believed that "the bigger the company the better the management development and opportunity into top management." Another manager said, "There's always room at the top." And

Mike typified the thoughts of these managers when he said,

I wish I had that job again. I'm trying [to get back into that kind of a company]. I'd do anything to be back there. It's just a matter of time.

Edwin, too, worked for a major firm but let his expectations direct his efforts. He said,

I worked my way right out of a job by negotiating all of the financing to implement a leveraged buy out. I probably knew that I wouldn't be a survivor, but what could I do? It was my job to get the best deal for the company.

Another point of view suggested that secondary power positions, such as that of local president for foreign companies, would bring the managers closer to their career goals. Managers like Glen made a conscious decision to work for one of them knowing that eventually he would be unemployed. He said,

I worked for a British company. I'm the CFO in the United States. We have 11 subsidiaries that I control. I had worked out a financial program to transfer the assets of several of the subsidiaries. I centralized their operation. I cut costs and developed programs that allowed for an easier flow of operations. Then it seemed that I made it easy for them to terminate me and replace me with a Brit. ...I knew that [would happen] from the beginning. Originally they had no choice but to hire an American business man to coordinate and centralize their operations. Once things were well under way, they, as expected, brought in

one of their own, but with less ability to operate. My corporate involvement was to set the corporate culture within the American environment. ...I wanted the experience and no American company was willing to give me the control I had there. Now, I'm ready to move into an American company.

In sum, the career expectations of the managers influenced their work decisions, bringing their career objectives closer, they thought, although unemployment resulted. Nonetheless, the managers knew in advance the risk of unemployment and, in many cases, the risk was worth the gain.

HOW UNEMPLOYMENT FIT INTO THEIR CAREER MODEL

I argue that the managers made informed and conscious decisions about their jobs including job loss potentials. Throughout their accounts, they suggested that they were knowledgeable about what they could gain and about what they could lose. For example, Byron revealed that

Arron [his boss] asked if I was interested in the vice president of sales slot for the whole company. He'd pay for the move and give me a healthy raise. I turned him down. No way am I moving to Memphis [from Los Angeles] and then getting knocked off when the company is sold [it was for sale]. I'll stay in L.A. and keep my operation smooth [regional VP]. They can't replace me as quickly... if I was VP for the whole company, I'd be part of the termination package that Arron contracts... He's like a father to me, but business is business.

When a manager remained focused upon his or her career objectives, she or he saw unemployment as part of the sequence of events leading to senior management positions. Sometimes it was acceptable and other times, no. Managers accepted jobs without guarantees of continued employment, and the few who had thought that work loyalty was reciprocal altered their career expectations to match their new knowledge. In other words, unemployment was an expected event within a career perspective. Moreover, three-fourths of the managers implied that it was a temporary process, and all but four characterized unemployment as part of their "dues, a ritual or right of passage into nirvana [top management], as Pat argued. "Maybe it's the thing you gotta do like combat in order to talk to generals," Phil elaborated.

On the other hand, if work maximized the lives of blue collar workers and enhanced their individual independence and freedom, then unemployment represents an interruption of those benefits, benefits which are cherished more than the job itself (Halle, 1987; Tyler, 1989). Moreover, those workers view unemployment as disruptive since they are not in control of their personal lives. Le Masters writes that

When deer season opens - or pheasant season - these men love to take a week or two off without pay and think nothing of it. But when circumstances beyond their control force a lay off they become upset (1975:26).

Thus, those skilled workers see unemployment as interfering with their independence, freedom, and leisure - their most prized possessions. Unemployment is a loss of identity, status, and self respect and may not be part of an employment calculation.

In summary, the job managers perform and the career paths they describe are separate and distinct components of work. But both components are shaped by employers and by the career expectations of the managers since they perform within their career perimeters. Careers are a sequence of events or a number of connecting jobs leading to senior management positions. They see unemployment as part of that sequence of events or just another job. It is thought of as a temporary process and a ritual of mobility. In contrast, blue collar workers see unemployment as disruptive events in their lives producing anger, disorder, and downward mobility.

CHAPTER V

BEING UNEMPLOYED

When the managers talked about how they looked for a job, they described what they had done during the day to fill their time. This chapter explains the daily activities of the unemployed managers and compares those findings with the experiences of blue collar workers. While listening to the accounts of the managers, it became evident that their daily activities centered around building their professional image, and their job search included activities at a self-help agency, developing resumes, building networks, researching organizations, arranging and conducting job interviews, attending conferences, enlisting recruiters, and spending time in a bar or at a movie. The focus of the manager was on presenting an appearance that she or he was engaged in full-time job search activities. It is expected that since the work managers do is different from the work blue collar workers do, their daily activities are different too.

FULL AND PART-TIME JOB SEARCH ACTIVITIES OF MANAGERS

Twenty-five of the respondents claimed to have looked for a new job on a daily or a full-time basis, while the others had looked part-time. Both groups utilized a variety of resources: resumes, letters, newspaper ads, product research, trade conferences, networks, and telephones. Full timers had used those devices more often and with greater frequency than part-timers.

Full-timers had a daily routine. For example, Dorothy said that she woke at the same time as she had when employed. She had breakfast, composed letters to prospective employers, made personal visits, and telephoned executives and colleagues as she built her employment networks. Ron said that he left his home in the morning and returned in the evening for dinner - "just like before." He spent his time researching organizations, building networks, and finalizing letters of inquiry. Fran said her job search consisted of mailing 300 resumes and making many more telephone calls, and that her typical day was made up of

newspaper ads, coffee, letters, resumes, out the door, here [Agency One], phone calls, interviews, home, association meetings at night, five days a week. Sundays, it's the newspaper, Tribune for the ads, and the Wall Street, New York Times. Planning on Sunday night. It's a full-time job.

David's day:

started at six in the morning. Walk the mutt and think about things I have to do. Feed Petty [family pet] and put out the kids' breakfast plates and get ready for them. Coffee and jot through the Wall Street and the New York Times' want-ads. Check my appointments for the day and make lists of what I expect to get done. Decide what I should wear. ...Feed the kids, kiss'em bye, wash their plates, wake their mom, dress and leave for Agency One. I do all that in a daze and hope the hell I didn't forget anything like an appointment out of town which means I should be at the airport. ...I start telephone calls, and when the mail comes I get all excited. Sometimes employers ask for me to call them [the agency mails blind information about their members by using numbers not names]. Sit in a meeting [job search] then practice my interview techniques... Call the wife at work and see how's she's doin'. I usually have coffee for lunch and a donut or something sweet. In the afternoon, go on one sometimes two appointments. If I have none scheduled, I phone companies until I find someone who wants to see me either that day or tomorrow. Or every couple of weeks, fuggit, I'll just go get drunk with some of the guys and forget the whole ugly mess till tomorrow.

Twenty-two of the twenty-five managers who had looked for a job full-time, read newspapers and joined associations, kept written accounts of their progress, and organized their activities. Jacob said

I actually worked harder in some respects at finding employment than being engaged [working]. There's so much to remember and you've always gotta be up - always gotta be sharp cause the next guy ya talk on the train in or in the store, could be someone looking

for a professional manager, or they know someone looking.

Most managers felt that they were "involved in a competitive job hunt, and damn it," as Phil stated, "I'm not in this hunt to get nosed out." They had been engaged in a daily routine as though employed, they said. And as Jacob advised, "My job is to find the right job." A career job.

In contrast to the a full-time effort, seven of the managers explained that other activities had kept them away from the job market such as their families. For example, Bill said that he had not looked for a job earlier in the year because his son graduated from high school, and his eldest daughter needed his "special attention."

Sometimes seasonal situations had competed with a full-time search. "It was during Thanksgiving, then Christmas [that I was unemployed], and no one hires then," Terry noted. And sometimes, other activities were described:

Monday I plan on going to the Science Museum as a volunteer. Tuesday I play tennis with one of the neighbor women. That eats up an hour or so. By the time I get home and wash up and look through the mail... so if I wasn't doing that, I'd do something to keep my weight down.

Two managers said that they had not made vigorous efforts to find a job. For example, Walter was considering a career change, a change meant his job would change but not

his goals. Walter said,

I don't push that hard looking for a new job in my old profession. I need time away from business to think through business. There's appointments with counselors to determine how my past experiences fit into a new management picture and what credentials would be restrictive or advantageous. And there's new network systems to build. ...But still want'a be top dog.

And, lastly, two managers had not overcome self blame for their job loss and felt personally incompetent. As explained in an earlier chapter, those two managers had not looked for a job since their unemployment.

In contrast to the daily activities of managers, the experience of blue collar workers suggest more family and leisure-centered activities than job-looking activities. Moreover, it is expected that since blue collar workers largely derive their social identity and status from their jobs, unemployment effects their daily activities, especially their job search. Blue collar workers have limited alternatives of compensating for their identity and status loss as they lack many of the resources possessed by managers such as advanced degrees.

Blue collar workers see job hunting as "pointless" after they have been looking for a few months (Komarovsky, 1967). The longer they remain unemployed, the harder it is for them to think that they are hard workers and valuable

members of their families or their communities (Leventman, 1981). They spend more time trying to cure their feelings of blaming themselves for their job loss through suspect methods like over-eating or drinking than trying to enhance their work skills (Le Masters, 1975; Jahoda et al, 1971). Overall, when blue collar workers are unemployed, they spend much of their time doing "nothing", and nothing includes not looking for a job (Rainwater, 1974:367). Komarovsky (1967) offers a table of blue collar unemployment activities which is contrasted to the accounts of the managers in this study.

TABLE 2 COMPARING ACTIVITIES

<u>BC WORKERS</u>	<u>MANAGERS</u>
1. television	meetings/self-help agency
2. playing with children	developing resumes
3. swimming	building networks
4. smoking	researching organizations
5. visit relatives	arrange/conduct job intvws
6. relatives over	attending conferences
7. visiting friends	enlisting recruiters
8. eating out	bar/movies
9. home improvement	
10. tavern	

Table 2 suggests that the daily activities of managers largely center around activities that are designed to create a professional image of themselves, resulting in often absences from their homes. In contrast, the Komarovsky's blue collar workers spend much of their time at home involved in leisure activities. Differences in the results

of Table 2 may be due to a different emphasis exercised by the researchers since the managers were not asked to rank-order activities they enjoyed. There may be age differences between the samples¹ and historical time differences². Furthermore, the managers have shown that they engage in "managerial talk" about many of their experiences, making it difficult to determine what would personally please them. Moreover, since managers see unemployment as an opportunity, is it an opportunity to do a lot of nothing, much like blue collar workers?

CREATING A PROFESSIONAL IMAGE: JOINING SELF HELP AGENCIES

The managers had joined self help organizations like Agency One and Agency Two partly because they provide the methods and the means that produce interviews at a low cost within a context of intimate interaction among peers. Both agencies provide daily workshops, resume development, employer lists (targeted to their managerial levels of expertise), video recorded role playing activities, telephone services, office facilities, a reference library, and camaraderie with other top-job-seeking managers. One manager at Agency One said that "it felt like home." But above all, the agencies provide a professional atmosphere in which to conduct a career job search. All of the respondents were members of either Agency One or Agency Two:

twenty-six were members of Agency One, and six were members of Agency Two.

Agency One's members in particular are in the offices daily during their job search, especially since each member agrees to work in the office sixteen hours a week answering phones, interviewing new potential members, lecturing on their expertise, researching new job opportunities for the members at large, and preparing member resumes. The members at Agency One were there less often unless they were attending the initial three-day seminar or one of the four three-hour seminars scheduled over the month. They can use the privates offices and other resources such as councilors and phone service. The point is that there are planned and spontaneous activities at both agencies which can monopolize much of their daily activities. Much of what they learned is covered in the section on "managerial talk" in an earlier chapter.

The agencies helped the managers in a number of other skills as will be discussed. However, the managers felt that self help agencies provided the appropriate atmosphere to help them get a career job and meet other managers; thus, they spent a great deal of time there when they were looking for jobs.

RESUME DEVELOPMENT

A professional image could be partly created by the resume presented by the respondents, and looking professional got job interviews, the managers thought. "Resumes don't get jobs; they get interviews," Byron said, an idea with which nearly all the managers would agree. For instance, before Ron joined Agency One, he had mailed seventy resumes and received two interviews. After joining, he learned how to present himself which included "managerial talk" and how to create professional resumes. He, like ninety-eight percent of the respondent, had received far more interviews from fewer resumes. He said,

I've gone three months without a single interview. But of course I was making a mistake because I was using ads out of the paper. I know that now since Agency One taught me that each ad gets one to four hundred resumes [for each job opening]. And you've got to have something in your resume or cover letter that keeps you out of the round-file. I'm glad I'm here [Agency One]. I've learned a lot. They teach me how to be a professional.

Creating a resume was harder than it sounded at first, many said. For example, Jacob explained,

I talked with a few resume service firms but once they told me how much money they wanted, I thought I had best go elsewhere. I came here [Agency Two]; the price was right. I guess I

never really looked for a job when I was 20. I had a wife, a kid, and a dog, and needed a job when I came out of the Marine Corps. Then you just go get one. Didn't need fancy resume and all that. Just go in and talk to the person doing the hiring and that was that. Not now... it [your resume] better be super sharp, or you don't even get in the friggen door.

Moreover, some managers believed that it would not matter if a company had an opening or not, if the right hiring executive received the right resume. A hiring executive could create a position for a professional applicant.

However, getting to the right executive was not enough. Many managers wanted the hiring executive to view them as "professionals, aside from [their] qualifications." One way of doing that was to develop a professional resume package that consisted of a commercially printed resume, an individualized cover letter, and an envelop in matching paper stock. And since the managers thought that the hiring supervisor received as many as 400 resumes for each job opening, their resume required "something unique and professional" about it to promote an interview.

"Preparing a professional resume package was vital," Phil insisted in agreement with over a third of the managers who felt that a resume produced an interview. But Steve asked, "If an individual had not prepared many resumes in the past, where did he learn how?" Nine had hired resume services, and all found them "impractical." For example,

I think of resume services as a fraud. I once went to one and this guy gave me a presentation. What he was going to do was to rewrite my resume and my cover letter and mail them out to my [organizational] lists. That's something I can do for myself. It cost \$2,500.

Lists of specific types of organizations or targeted organizations were available from a number of sources. For example, nineteen of the managers had gone to libraries, and fifteen found them useful in building target lists. Other sources of target organizations were friends who worked in executive search firms or professional associations. Agency One and Two supplied targeted lists too. Also, lists were also created from client and competitor files compiled during their previous jobs.

Target lists were grouped by employers where the managers thought they could get jobs with their individual qualifications and experience. For example, Gary was an administrator for a management development division within a university. He compiled several lists consisting of

ninety universities across the United States who had departments similar to my area of expertise. Also, I targeted thirty consulting and recruitment firms and three hundred and eighty state-wide organizations...

Once targeted lists were created, large mailings were made. In his mailings, he included with his resume, a specific

cover letter, and a stamped post card with his address. He telephoned the senders for an appointment when he received one of his post cards.

About half of those managers had mailed several hundred resumes, and many of them were individually "crafted to meet different career situations thereby widening the gap of opportunities," as Edwin explained. However, getting a professional resume into the "hands of the appropriate person, the hiring executive, was a major achievement in itself," David argued. Professional resumes were useless unless they were sent to the right person, and "getting that person's name was a result of good networking and research," Phil advised.

NETWORKS

Presenting a professional image could also be produced by networking since it helped in getting interviews with hiring executives instead of low level personnel or personnel departments who could easily eliminate applicants for trivial offenses. The managers thought that when they had interviewed with the hiring executive that it was less formal, and "facilitated a more open exchange between them," Barbara said. Some of the "formal barriers are bridged, and an evaluation could be more candid," Mike revealed. In

short, networks cut the competition and the red-tape for top jobs.

The most productive way to build those networks was through professional associations and business friendships, the managers thought. For example, one manager joined The Society for the Advancement of Management and went to several meetings after he lost his job. There he met someone who led him to a temporary consulting job and Agency One. During that time, he had started to write a text on management principles which recently had found a publisher through someone else he had met in The Society.

Barbara offered an example from a social agency that had recently been in the national news. Her last job had been offered by an old friend she had not seen "in years." She had called him on a Saturday for "a direction to a job," and he asked her to start work Monday morning for him. Walter, too, had been engaged in a conversation with a recent acquaintance who told him about a top computer job with a national car rental firm. The hiring executive was an old high school friend of Walter's who tentatively offered him a job over the telephone.

One reason to network was to discover information that was not available through other methods. For example, Barbara said,

It's to learn other people's perspectives.
It's to broaden horizons and to come up with
ideas you didn't have before. It's to create a
circle of people interested in your problem.

Networking had cut through job requirements and facilitated interviews for many of the respondents. For example, although some of the managers were highly skilled and had been performing at levels that generally required an advanced degree, getting an interview was highly competitive. Edwin, for instance, had a BA degree but was once a manager for a Fortune 500 company. Networking helped him get in touch with hiring executives and cut through the "red-tape" of personnel departments.

Furthermore, both self help agencies felt that networking was the most productive and least expensive method of getting a job. "Networking is talking to people, telling what you need or what you're looking for; it's asking for help," Dick, the director of Agency One said at a meeting to the members. Agency One's manual advised that

Self assessment, feeling okay about
networking, and continuing the use and
development of networking make it [networking]
more effective.

It was emphasized by the training material of both Agency One and Agency Two that a manager should keep records of whom they talked to and what happened. Mike,

the director at Agency Two, added that

Managers must overcome some of the pitfalls about networks like a fear of rejection, a fear of being a pest, and the fear of communicating that he or she needs the helping hand of others.

When the researcher read Mike's statement to Dick, the director at Agency One, Dick quickly agreed and showed the researcher an Agency One brochure which stated that

A false pride, an unwillingness to admit vulnerability, a fear of rejection, and a fear of being a pest were ideals that needed to be avoided.

Networking is the preferred method of getting interviews, primarily because it looks professional, it is cost efficient, cuts red-tape, and offers immediate access to hiring executives more often than other methods such as working with recruiters and outplacement firms.

RECRUITERS AND OUTPLACEMENT

For those who did not rely primarily on networks, recruiters and outplacement firms were used. Ten of the fifteen managers who used recruiters said that they had made initial contact with recruiters and employment agencies through ads in newspapers and trade publications. Most of the time these ads had not indicated that they were

recruitment firms and requested resume response to post office box numbers. One advantage of recruiting firms was that they helped the respondents build networks. Yet all but two of the fifteen managers who used recruiting firms said that they were "unethical" and like "used car salesmen" partly because

they had not done anything for me that I couldn't have done for myself. They worked on commission and only encouraged certain people who met stereotyped experiences and skills.

Dorothy, an aggressive former Executive Director of a health care agency, said that they were "unprofessional and demeaning." She offered this typical account,

Number one, what they were going to do for me, I was going to do for myself. Number two, they insisted that my husband come in for my meeting. I asked if they did that with their male clients. They said [that] they did. I had to bring my resume and my husband. When the guy started calling my husband my 'mate,' I said no, he's not my mate - he's my husband. The guy said it's a family thing because the family has to know about the program, and he said that it's better this way because there's a fee. I'm capable of paying my way I told the guy. Most of the conversations revolved around my 'mate' and not me. I think the cost was around two to three thousand dollars. I never went back.

Outplacement firms were employed by a specific client-company which was in the process of lay-offs and would help its client-company's employee find employment

elsewhere. Those firms are profit-orientated and promoted only those managers with top credentials and neglect others whose background showed the slightest variation from the norm. The individual applicant had little control over the process utilized by the agency which could show them in an unprofessional manner. Four managers had used outplacement firms provided by their former employers, but said that they had been unable to "place" them in the "right new job." Both recruiters and outplacement firms were thought of as crutches since the best characteristic a professional can demonstrate is self reliance.

RESEARCH, USING ADS, AND AVOIDING PERSONNEL DEPARTMENTS

The respondents also utilized other methods during their job search, including research and ads. They all sought to avoid personnel departments. For example, Fred had visited a K Mart automotive department and researched new products on their selves. He had studied the packaging of those products and sent his findings to the packaging companies. Two companies had arranged interviews with him. Although few of the managers had used that approach, twenty-six had researched the management structure, branch hierarchy, and products and/or services of many organizations.

Ads in newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, and various trade publications had also provided leads to various organizations. The competition was fierce for any job listed. "A company that had advertised a upper mobile position expected three to four hundred resumes," Edwin said. Employers were seen as utilizing a number of methods to cut the responses. For example, Larry said,

Typographical errors on resumes [and] hesitation in answering [typical] questions [like past employers]. There are ways, too, like cutting those [applicants] who had not outlined the basic job, experience, and/or educational requirements requested.

It was believed that organizations responded only to those managers whose resumes "perfectly fit" the the job requirements. Therefore, to look professional and to get the interview, their resumes and cover letters needed to be grammatically correct and fit the ad as perfectly as possible.

Over a half of the managers who looked for a job full time thought that the personnel departments of organizations had been demeaning and incompetent. For example, Steve offered a typical response,

I don't deal with personnel departments. They generally have a job description and try to fill it from that description. I deal with

the legal department directly [he was a corporate lawyer] or the guy who wrote the job description in the first place. He knows what he's looking for and how to put together the strengths of an applicant.

Most of the managers felt that personnel departments only had a basic sense of what the job involved and drew a standardized description of the position from the limited data provided by the hiring supervisor and the historical data supplied by the department itself. Furthermore, personnel departments do not know what type of personality would fit in with the hiring executive. A face-to-face interview between the hiring executive and the respondent could speed the process and be far more meaningful to both of them. They could ascertain during their interview, at what level they could work together.

Additionally, some personnel interviewers, the managers said, "were shallow and uninformed because they couldn't hire anyone," Pat argued. They gave recommendations to those applicants who cooperated with them during the interview. Personnel interviewers were known to ask inconsiderate questions of the applicants when they interviewed. For example,

They would ask questions like: What were you ever criticized about? This's gotta be a screen to cut the number of applicants since that was their [the personnel department's] primary function.

On the other hand, it was believed that when a manager interviewed directly with the hiring executive, that executive determined the success of "a fit between the manager and the organization far more efficiently than the personnel department."

Nevertheless twenty-five of the managers felt uncertain about some aspect of the job interview no matter how experienced they were. Allan, for example, said he had felt unprepared to discuss new job income before becoming a member of Agency One. He said:

Everybody [interviewer/s] brings it up at a different time, and they say it differently too. I don't always have my prepared statement on the tip of my tongue. So I'm trying. The last time we talked a little and he just brought it up: wages, what are you looking for? That's not usual in itself, but they seem to bring it up when I'm not expecting it.

Thus, the respondents knew personnel departments could not hire nor could they offer an analysis of the interaction between the hiring executive and the manager. The managers felt that personnel departments would not communicate their professionalism to the hiring executives as eloquently as they could, and that by-passing that department showed their professionalism, too.

In summary, when unemployed managers concentrate upon their career aspirations, their daily activities are different from the daily activities of unemployed blue collar workers. Managers have resources such as advanced degrees, networks, and experiences which enhance and encourage their job search. It also brings them closer to their career objectives.

NOTES

1. An age difference of the sample, may suggest an age difference relative to their children. Younger children might be "played with" more often than teenagers. Seventeen was the average age of the children of the managers. The average age in Komarovsky's (1967) study is not known.

2. It was not that fashionable to smoke in 1987 as compared to 1967: 23 managers did not smoke, 7 did, and 2 I'm not sure about. Of course, they may not have smoked in the interview, the source of this data, since they were practicing their interviewing skills.

CHAPTER VI

FRIENDS AND FAMILY MEMBERS

Because managers focused on their career aspirations during unemployment, their relationships with friends and family members remained much the same as when they worked. This chapter will show how the experiences of unemployed managers are different from the experiences of blue collar workers. The chapter argues that those differences derived in part from their self-help agency membership and the need of the respondents to present themselves as managers in order to get a top level job.

MANAGERIAL FRIENDSHIPS

Hirsch (1986) offers his analogy between cockfights and managerial unemployment. The cockfight as an art form is "really real only to the cocks," and it had been "transformed from a blank and unvarious spectacle, a commotion of beating wings and trobbing legs into a means of public display." Managerial unemployment is only known by

others if the managers tell them that they are out of work. Managers control their personal environments by subjugating it to their career aspirations. For instance, twenty-four of the managers kept their unemployment a secret from some friends and neighbors. Sometimes it was unintentional; "I just didn't talk to neighbors much to begin with," Otto said. Another manager explained

I get up every morning and come home the same as before. Everything is the same. No one really knows. I don't come out of my way to make it appear that I'm working, but that's how it looks (Glen).

However, most of the time, it was intentional. For example, Edwin told his personal friends that his partners had purchased his shares in the company. His partners had bought his shares, but only a few dollars changed hands. They were involved in litigation. Nonetheless, Edwin kept the "details of the buy out a secret" from his friends. Only a few individuals, his network friends, who could help him get a good job, were advised of the specific details. He was unemployed for two years. He said that when people find out

they stay away. It started about three or four months after. ...Sometimes there are parties in the area, and we aren't invited. We fit into the classification of a divorced couple. Divorced people and unemployed people are isolated by others. At restaurants they stay away thinking that maybe I'll drop them the

check. Others think that I'm loaded. I have to keep up the image for my own good and the good of the kids. But one thing, I don't tell people I'm unemployed because of the stigma attached to that label.

Mark, a corporate lawyer, told his personal friends that he "left" the company after 20 years and was "pursuing a private law practice," after his company merged and fired him. When his friends called for legal assistance, he referred them to "other trial lawyers." He pretended that he was too busy to handle their case, he said. "They [his friends] would treat me like I had the plague. I'm not telling," he added. Mark, like the other managers, pretended to be employed because he wanted the companionship and admiration of his friends. He thought that if they knew, he would lose his managerial identity and status. For example:

I'd call one up and they'd say that they were busy on long distance... They'd ask if they could return my call. I never hear from them again. [I've lost] three or four really close couples [as friends]. People I've known for years. When they needed advise, they knew where to come. It's as though I'm no longer an attorney. Sometimes it's as though I just graduated law school again. I worked hard to get though. Sometimes I just want to run away somewhere (Mark).

Bill offered this additional typical thought held by the managers:

I don't think it helps to tell people how I feel. My friends can't help me... they don't know what to say. I don't like to embarrass them.

The first time Dorothy was unemployed she said that she felt "discarded" by her friends. Whenever they met, they avoided discussions about their jobs. They stopped going with with her and her husband on vacation, overnight trips, and dinner dates. She and her husband were financially stable despite her job loss, so, spending money on entertainment was never a problem. The next time she lost her job she kept it a secret, and the trips and dinner dates continued.

Larry said that his friends had avoided him as if he "were a leper" when they found out. He avoided them too. "It was uncomfortable," he said. "I know they thought they shouldn't be with a loser." Phil, too, explained why his friends avoided him after he had lost his top job with a firm started a century ago by his grandfather:

I think they suddenly realized that they, too, were vulnerable. It can happen to them. Many respected my financial expertise. I ran a company founded by my great grand-daddy in 1877. How could a man like me be out of work? If it could happen to me, it should have happened to them sooner. They don't want to think about it.

Telling personal friends about managerial unemployment

brought out a variety of reactions. Pat said that she kept her distance from personal friends for fear of being shunned and treated differently by them. For example, she stopped dining with personal friends because they treated her:

like a date. When I go to lunch with my friends, they wouldn't let me pay. It's awkward. This one couple took me out and said that they understand what it's like to be unemployed. They'd buy my dinner and drinks.

Pat felt as though her friends thought of her differently, and those were not the reactions she wanted from them. Thus, she did not tell others about her job loss. Other managers complained, too, about the treatment they received from friends. For example:

It seems that our relationship hasn't changed. This one special couple have taken my wife and I out to dinner a few times. They paid the bill and told us they would before we went. They chose the restaurant. They talked about work with my wife, but I was sort of out of the conversation. I wasn't sure what to talk about. I told them I felt funny and they stopped... but got back on the subject when the main entree arrived (Bill).

In contrast, blue collar workers¹ rarely have the option of telling their friends or not since most of them are work related friendships (Komarovsky, 1967). Le Masters (1975) suggests that some blue collar workers drink beer after work with members of their work crew and generally

enjoy other leisure activities together. It is usually a circle of work friends who interact individually and together. Unemployment breaks the friendship circle of blue collar workers (Le Masters, 1975). Identity loss and isolation can be experienced on the day of their job loss. Thus, friendships last as long as the job does.

Managers did tell individuals who were part of their employment network about their unemployment. These network friends shape career decisions which can develop into job interviews. For example, Pat disclosed that she had utilized her network-friends to get into the offices of hiring executives. Before, when she had approached male top managers for work, their female secretaries:

interrogated me as though I were some vixen on the prowl. I want a job, not a lover, I told one of them in anger one day. Now I use friends to get in to see the guys.

Moreover, twenty of the managers said that their friendships like those of blue collar workers, were tied into their organizational positions. When their positions changed, they said, network-friends changed. For example, when Steve looked back and talked about his friends, he said that every time he received a promotion, he "got close" with new friends from that department. Pete said that his friends changed with each new employer too. Network-friends

helped the managers get new jobs, and they changed often.

Few relationships lasted "a long time." Dick added:

I've met the same people going up the ladder as I met coming down. Every time I moved up, I met new guys who became my friends. The old ones disappeared. Now that I'm out of work, I talk only with guys like me.

Peer group involvement had depended upon his position within the organizational hierarchy, he and the others seemed to say. Friendships changed as the position of the manager changed, or more precisely, as she or he reached another rung on the organizational ladder (Karp & Yoels, 1982).

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Turning to their relationships with family members: the managers argued that their relationships did not change as a result of their job loss, in part as a result of their maintaining a career focus. For example, the loss of a provider role in the family was not seen as detrimental to the respondents. One way to maintain a career focus was to relinquish family leadership to a spouse when they worked, and the same arrangement continued when they were unemployed.

The managers disclosed that when they had been employed, they had strived for independence, not leadership of the family. This was largely because of their

unpredictable absences and work load. Executive travel and long work hours meant fewer experiences with family members, which often resulted in a personal aloofness when they were present. For example:

My wife disciplines the kids. That's her job. My job is to make the bucks. Hell, I'm never home. I never watched my kids grow. I was always on the road [traveling]. I wish that wasn't the case. Whatever she says, goes. We talk about schools and things like that. But Suzi does the leg work and mothering and fathering of our children (Byron).

My first wife hated my traveling too. I was based in Chicago, but there were years when I traveled 345 days of the year (Jacob).

This family role of the manager continued as largely unchanged during unemployment. For example:

I've been there before [unemployment], and I'd do the same thing I did before. Finding a job is scary, but it's a full time job. I'd use everybody and everything I know to put food on the table. I'd not come home till I had work. Suzi runs the house and the girls [three daughters] (Byron).

I try to maintain a work schedule [when I'm unemployed]. I don't stay at home. I go to the libraries in the city. I go to the law libraries. I read the papers. I read the association news. I make notes of who is doing what. ...[home life] hasn't changed. My wife [who runs a catering business] disciplines the children. I've always been a backup man to her. She disciplines them, and then if they get out of hand, she calls me in. Nothing has changed. My wife does all the cooking and cleaning and so on. She likes

that. It makes her feel good, she told me. I'm not to start doing house work. But I think I wouldn't do it even if she asked because that's her domain. Once I start work again, I wouldn't have time for homework [kids]. I've been leaving the house in the morning and returning in the evening for dinner, just like before (Mark).

I try to maintain my schedule though. I dress in a suit. Make interviews. Come downtown. Make calls. ...what I do is pretend that I'm working. I really am. I'm working to find work. I have to keep myself right. Looking sharp... My wife has been out working and comes home and takes care of the house. I don't make her do that, she likes to do it. ...my older daughter is handicapped... I take care of the yard. I don't do anything other than what I used to do around the house. I wash the car, you know, what ever needs to be done. I don't do any house work. Rarely I'll throw a load in the washer, but not that often (Allan).

Furthermore, left over details from the office, preparation of a future assignment, and/or "thinking through or discussing some problem I'm having at work with my wife," were typical activities when they were home. For example, Glen, a divisional president, whose travel and work load were extensive said:

I traveled too much. We talked about it, and she [spouse] wanted me out of there [my old job]. The pressure, the travel, and the time away from home in general made our marriage and kids strained. When I was there, I wasn't. She [spouse] runs the house, the kids, dogs. That's how I survive!

Even though the respondents held serious discussions with network friends about travel, relocation, and work load, both to insure their approval and to gain their guidance, they rarely held such discussions with family members. They said that they had not asked the advice of family members, even spouses, when they made decisions about those related activities. Rather, they tried to "subtly" persuade family members to accept whatever decision they had made with their network friends. Most of the managers thought that company travel, family relocation, and work loads were decisions closely tied to their career aspirations. The perspective held by most of the managers is that "the job makes the money, so it decides where and how we live." Therefore, the managers made choices about travel, relocation, and work load based upon how they saw their own career, regardless of the consequences to their family members. For example, Gary said:

Yea, I'm ready to move to Atlanta. The family [wife, two daughters away at college, one daughter in 8th grade] is neutral... but ready. [Does Lorra-Lee want to go to Atlanta]? It's not a big deal. I don't want it to be a big deal! She's a school teacher between jobs. She wouldn't be any worse off in Atlanta than in [City X] looking for work. She's been a part-time sub, and you could get a sub job anywhere. [Did you ask her]? No but... I told her housing is a little cheaper in Atlanta. It's my job. They're goin. It's a way up.

From what the managers said about travel, relocation, and work load, it seemed that they had assumed that they held the consent of their family. Further, it appeared those relocation and work load requirements, in turn, had shaped their continued aloofness at home, which helped maintain the behavior of the unemployed manager.

In contrast blue collar unemployment can affect the husband's authority in the family, and he struggles with his wife over family authority regardless of their pre-unemployment arrangements (Jahoda, 1979; Larson, 1984). For example, Furstenberg says that:

If the husband had had a primarily utilitarian role [that is, if he had earned the respect of his family through the economic support he provided], obviously the impact of unemployment on his position in the family was more severe than if his authority derived from his position as patriarch (1974:348).

The managers said that they had wanted to participate more in the activities of their family, but "seldom had the personal time or energy to do so." Managers kept families separate from both their work and their unemployment. Beyond income, work can have little to do with managers who have families, says Zussman (1983). The nature of careers, including activities during periods of unemployment, meant that managers were often absent or aloof from the family

more often than other workers. For example:

My focal point was to find a job. They did receive a little more of my time. My concentration was on letters and interviews and jobs. They went on and cut grass and stuff like that. I was a little nervous. I kept busy keeping my hands busy. What I found out was that my attention span was next to nothing (Otto).

Professional parents of high school children rarely involve themselves with their children as a family unit, whether they worked or not (Stevens, 1988).

The children of a manager, regardless of age, largely were excluded or were indifferent to the unemployment of their parent. For that matter, the managers said that they have excluded their children from conversations about employment too. For example:

Let's face it, kids have no business in the business of their parents. They grow up too fast as it is. I don't talk my work with my kids mainly because I'm never home at a sane hour. I do my thing; they do theirs. I love'em though. What they don't know, won't hurt'em. Knowing I'm out of work - might. Why saddle them with that extra horse (Dick)?

My daughter is busy in school. She really doesn't have time. But both of them hear my wife and my conversation about work. ...my daughter once asked why I just don't take anything that comes along. I told her that work is important, but dignity is equally important (Mark).

I have two kids in college and one who's a senior in high school. My oldest child lives

in an apartment and goes to workshops during the week but comes home on weekends. I can't say that our relationships have changed. Things are going the way they always have. Even the baby, she's not home much. She's turned into a social butterfly. Nothing has changed. Once in awhile they will ask me how things are going. When I look back, I find that my father in his 40's lost his job. I wasn't aware of it then. I learned of it only recently. I didn't know it, and I guess my kids aren't moved by my situation today (Allan).

They [four teenaged sons) treated me well. I didn't get treated like an outcast. They didn't treat me any differently than when I was working (Otto).

One of Mike's [his son] friends is giving her [his mother] a hard time over being unemployed. I picked up Mike at her home and we [the mother and the manager] talked about it. But my son hasn't said anything about my unemployment. Her son is not a very nice kid. My kids aren't like that. They're not overly supportive, but they're not on my back. They don't ask to do anything for me. They don't discuss it with me. But they don't give me a hard time about it. ...He doesn't seem responsive [Mike]. I yelled a few times 'like I'm going through some tough times right now and you're not helping.' Nothing (Walter).

On the other hand, blue collar unemployment means a loss of income which demonstrates that the worker is unstable and which cuts into his family's buying patterns as well as his children's allowance. His income kept family order, and he disciplined the children through bribes. Without his providing money, his children disagree with him

and violate his wishes more often (Cochran & Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Since his social identity has also changed from a "hard worker" to that of a "lazy bum," his environment might become hostile. Family members reinforce his feelings of personal incompetence and self-blame over his job loss (Furstenberg, 1974). For example, O'Toole suggests that:

There is always the question in everyone's mind that his being unemployed may be 'his own fault.' He is 'surplus man' around the house because the sharp division of labor in the lower class family gives him a minimally active role in housekeeping and child rearing, and because the wife feels he should be out working or looking for work (1972:185).

Managerial employment can mean that the manager is home with family members at different times than when he was employed. However, Ron felt that he had been "upsetting the schedule" of his family members by being home at different times than in the past. Ron's twenty-five-year old daughter watched the soaps on television every afternoon. He wanted to spend time with her, yet the only time he had free was in the afternoon. They lunched a few times and had short conversations, Ron mentioned. When he had asked her questions, she answered with yes-and-no responses. "She grew vague and impatient after a while," Ron claimed. She wanted to "catch up on what was happening in her soaps." Eventually he compromised and watched the soaps too for a

few weeks, but found it increasingly difficult to maintain a harmonious conversation between the commercials on television. He decided to maximize his employment search to include the afternoon since he felt he would be unable to improve his relationship with her.

Blue collar unemployment experiences suggest that family relationships are tense during unemployment because family members are not accustomed to the workers' presence, and the workers involve themselves more with leisure activities which do not involve family members (Komarovsky, 1967; Le Masters, 1975).

Furthermore, some blue collar men drink more when they do not work. Many might have a "drinking problem,"

which they control, at least in part, by not drinking on the job eight hours a day, five days a week. Unemployment upsets the delicate balance of their drinking program-partly because they spend more time at the tavern when they are not working. ...the marital relationships of some of these men seem to become tense when the husband is unemployed. The wives are not accustomed to having their husbands home very much during the daytime, with the result that normal routines are disrupted. The husband, being upset by his inability to work, is not, [comfortable]. ...financial problems develop... (Le Masters, 1975:26).

Some managers have drinking problems too, but these managers argue that since they focus upon their career aspirations, they have little interest in engaging in activities other

than looking for a job.

CONFLICT WITH EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS

One third of the respondents fought with their extended family members about unemployment, largely because of differences in work orientations. Managers make decisions about jobs in the context of their career expectations while their extended families may have other expectations about work. For example, Pat's uncle, who took her father's place after his death, constantly argued with her about her job strategy. She mimicked the deep voice of her uncle, as she said:

You're too young [she was forty-something] to comprehend the true worth of employment. A respectable person worked for one company all of his life. You're flying around from job to job. If your father were alive, you'd settle down. ...my mother said, 'I can't believe that a company as big as XYZ Bell couldn't make you happy! ...how can you leave?

She wanted to work for only one company like her father and uncle, "but times change," she said to me. Because of her uncle's and mother's remarks and subsequent behavior, she had equated her job loss with a "divorce," and "felt guilty" for many months, she said. Evidently the ways in which her uncle and mother saw a career were different from Pat's.

Mike experienced similar conflict with his extended

family. After he had discussed his job loss with his aunt and uncle, they changed. Their reaction was far different from what he expected. He revealed:

I expected emotional support that never came. They think I'm foolish and childish now. They don't talk serious [sic] with me anymore. They used to ask my advise. Now they think I'm a just a fool.

In another example, Dorothy's mother "refused" to talk with her, she said. "Jobs were plentiful for nurses," Dorothy mimicked her mother. "Too good to do the work you were trained for?" her mother asked. She was unhappy that Dorothy was not employed as a nurse. "An honorable profession for a girl, and stop looking for a man's job," Dorothy imitated the words of her mother.

Variations of work expectations between the respondents and some of their extended family members who had held different careers can be one source of conflict as Dorothy further explained:

It's strange that when you're talking to people about unemployment or being unemployed, they always relate to what blue collar workers do on an unemployment level. Even if there is a good reason for your unemployment, people like my family tell me that there are many jobs in the newspapers. When I tell them that I just can't settle for this job at the dime store or the library, they seem to withdraw. I try to explain it to them that I am seeking an executive position; they just don't seem to understand that. When I turn down a job, they grow very uncertain of me. I don't know if

it's because I'm a woman or it's because I'm management?

Thus conflict arose between some of the managers and their extended family members when they held different views about careers.

SPOUSES AND PARTNERS

The spouse or partner² of a respondent who tended to be economically and emotionally supportive during the manager's unemployment had the resources to help in the career search of the respondent. In general, those partners are well educated, are employable or already working in a professional environment, and may have experienced career unemployment processes themselves.

There were thirty partners described by the managers. Of those, seventeen worked full-time and seven part-time. All but four worked in professional careers. Ten have advanced degrees equivalent to those of the managers; five had more, while only three had less, education. Their average education averaged three years of college as compared to five years for the managers, and nine earned significantly higher incomes than their mates. They were caterers, corporate artists, educators, executive secretaries, human service specialists, journalists, printers, psychologists, public relation agents, sales

representatives, and shop owners.

The respondents said because their partners were employed in jobs producing high incomes that they took their time when looking for a job. Fifty weeks was the average unemployment time for the managers, an average far longer than the national average for managers (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1990). Part of the reason for that longer period could be the earnings of their partners. For example:

She's [my spouse] a professional. She was about to be transferred to Chicago in the 4th quarter of 85. I was let go in June (1985). What we did was put the money [his severance and her moving expenses] into the house. They gave me a nice severance pay. She makes more money than me so what the hell. I came to [this large Midwestern city] to buy a house [without her]. I took my time and once she moved here too, I took my time looking for work (Howard).

We used to have friends over often for dinner. Not for a few months now... Chuck [room mate] wants to pay more of the expenses, but I can't lose face; it's bad enough I lost my job. So he has gone along with me and stopped inviting people over as often (Dale).

Many managers suggested that their partners wanted them to concentrate on getting the best career job possible. The managers said they received "personal space" from them to "work through" their unemployment condition which included emotional support. Otto's spouse of twenty-seven years

said, "Life's not always fair." Despite their high family expense requirements due to their four teenaged sons, her emotional support continued even though Marge worked full time in her own business.

In contrast, perhaps as high as a third of the spouses of blue collar workers are committed housewives who deliberately stay out of the labor market even after their children grow and leave home. Many work, but in lower white collar jobs as secretaries or in clerical or retail settings. They earn money for vacations, new appliances, or to pay off specific old debts. The working blue collar wife, regardless of her background, is never taken seriously by her nuclear and extended family (Bell, 1972). Moreover, her income tends to be less than his despite her ability (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1990). Moreover, the small proportion of women who hold jobs as professionals or as managers does not affect what the community thinks of their family. Status is derived by what their husband does for work. Furthermore, when a wife works at a higher paid job than her husband, or when she becomes the breadwinner due to his unemployment, she can damage her family's standing in the community and lose the respect of extended family members. It is not a woman's job to provide for a family (O'Tool, 1974; Mortimer & Sorensen, 1989).

When Dorothy told her employed husband that she lost

her job, he said, "Every nickel was counted for our retirement years, now... who knows!" Later, he apologized and comforted her with "gifts, dinner, but no sex," she remarked with a smile. She said that she felt "guilty" that she was not contributing to the household any longer; her contribution, she argued, was a "social identity wrapped in her managerial employment." Employment gave her an "equal role" with him in their relationship, she revealed.

How do blue collar spouses respond to their unemployed mates?

When the husband could not find any work, his role suffered in the eyes of the other members of the family. Wives sometimes lost their respect or accused their husbands of not trying to find work. Unless the husband could work out some role in the household [difficult to do], he really had no role to play (Cavan, 1959).

Many of the working partners of the managers had experienced unemployment themselves and understood unemployment's dynamics. Those partners have learned that an unemployed manager needs patience, privacy, and financial support to find a new job. Travel to far away conferences to build networks or to learn marketable skills are encouraged, and adequate funds are provided.

Unemployment is one of the major causes of marital dysfunction within blue collar families (Jahoda, 1979;

Larson, 1984; Mortimer & Sorensen, 1989). However, the behavior of the managers with family members, especially working spouses, was unchanged during their unemployment when career objectives were pursued. I contend that some of their behavior was shaped by structural factors.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS THAT HELP SHAPE THEIR BEHAVIOR

Some of the behavior of the managers can be attributed to structural factors such as self help agency membership and the need for the respondents to present themselves as managers in order to get top jobs. For instance, all of the respondents were members of either Agency One or Agency Two. Primarily, they spent most of their time at the agencies because they provide the office resources and the camaraderie desired by many of the managers. Ron, for example, was able to alter his job search to include the afternoon by spending time at the offices of Agency One instead of spending more time with his daughter who enjoyed the soaps more than his presence.

Then, too, it can be argued that the respondents were trying to present themselves as managers when they accounted for their unemployment experience. For example, saying that he or she is productive while unemployed is more acceptable an explanation of their time than saying that they are watching television at home. Productive means that the

managers are engaged in an extensive job search. Unemployed managers need to show others, including hiring executives, that they are managers, and managing a job search is one way of doing just that. As Phil suggested, "Don't give an employer a breath to count you out." In other words, hiring executives disqualify applicants for many reasons, and an applicants who want jobs may tell any person listening to them that they are, indeed, managers. Sitting in the theater in the afternoon is not as appropriate as "knocking on employer doors." Moreover, employers who call the agencies to arrange interviews with specific managers are advised that the respondents are at job interviews regardless of where they happen to be. Thus, managers are away from home a great deal of the time when they are unemployed partly because they have somewhere to go and partly because they need to sound like managers to get career jobs.

In sum, when the managers focused upon their career expectations, unemployment did not change their behavior with friends and family members. Their friends changed as their hierarchical positions changed, but they tried to keep their job loss a secret for fear of losing status and being isolated. Since spouses were socially and economically equipped to help them through their unemployment, the

managers took more time looking for a job.

NOTES

1. For a closer look at the life-styles of blue collar families, see Halle's (1987) study of the blue collar workers in a chemical plant in New Jersey. The total number of subjects varied from a low of 115 to a high of 126 over a 7 year period. Forty percent said that they were unhappy with marriage. Halle says that "the modern marital ideal of shared companionship as well as shared sex is one of which all these workers are aware and to which most subscribe. But in practice many find it hard to achieve. Thus, the most frequent problem in these marriages is conflict between leisure time with wives and spending it in other ways" (1988:318). Halle's (1987) thesis seems to state that one of the main factors which create conflict between the blue collar worker and his family members can be a lack of time spent together, specifically, leisure time. For more in-depth discussion on what blue collar men do when at home and unemployed see Bakke, 1940; Fried, 1966; Gursslin & Roach, 1964; Komarovsky, 1940, 1967; Koos, 1946; and Shostak & Gomberg, 1964.
2. Spouses or partners were not always the opposite gender of the manager and could be loved-ones or live-in companions, thus the label of "spouse" is inappropriate.
Five managers never married, 18 married once, 7 married twice, and two married three times. At the time of the interviews, 1 manager was widowed, 24 were married, 5 never married but lived with their partners, and 2 were legally separated. Partners were self defined by the participants.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Unemployment is likely to be painful. It results in a loss of income, status, and power. Initially, it produces some degrees of rejection, powerlessness, and self-blame. Although unemployed managers, like other workers, experience these losses, they view it differently. The evidence partly supports the major thesis that work shapes the unemployment process for workers. How managers see unemployment is how they see work. Thus, different work groups, like blue collar workers, experience an initially similar, but ultimately different unemployment process than do managers.

All workers go through a parallel process of unemployment when they lose their jobs and look for new ones. Unemployed workers experience degrees of denial, resentment, and isolation resulting in feelings of self-blame and personal incompetence. Although managers, like other workers, lose their jobs in a variety of ways, they invariably blame themselves for their job loss. They

feel a lot of self-pity and guilt; self-pity because they lost their jobs due to what they perceive as their personal incompetence, and guilt because they are not contributing to their family or their life-styles. Self-pity and apprehension pervade their entire realm of living. There are few incentives provided by others to change their beliefs, and workers who think they are failures are treated differently by employers, family members, and friends: employers underpay them, family members ignore them, and friends isolate them. The conflict many experience feeds into their personal blame like a self fulfilling prophecy.

However, by focusing upon individual career orientations, managers wait for career jobs and in the process, learn to idealize their experiences, patronize their employers, and blame the structure for their job loss in order to get senior level jobs. This self-conscious presentation radically alters the unemployment process for managers as contrasted to the experiences of blue collar workers. Joining a self-help agency and needing to maintain a managerial identity are two vehicles that promote these changes.

Managerial unemployment is an expected part of mobility. It is a process where managers are waiting for a job. They talk about unemployment like fishermen who talk about "the one that got away!" Reaching objectives means

making choices within career perimeters which transcend jobs, employers, and unemployment. Managers must often be as fluid and flexible as their employers; thus, they move from job to job and employer to employer. A career is a sequence of expectations that includes unemployment. Therefore, unemployment is an element within their career equation and part of a sequence of events leading to senior management jobs.

In contrast, unemployment for blue collar workers curtails the benefits of work such as independence, initiative, and leisure. Unemployment is a road block in their lives as they lack other vehicles to get these goals.

During unemployment, the daily activities of managers revolve around a job search when they focus upon their career orientations. They are away from home during the day, and their activities include learning job search techniques and looking for career jobs. In contrast, blue collar workers spend much of their time engaging in leisure activities and dealing with their self-blame.

Unemployment does not change the behavior of the managers with their friends as long as they follow their individual career aspirations. Managers try not to tell them about their job loss because of their fear of losing their identity and becoming isolated. However, managers tell network-friends to enhance their careers, and as they

move into higher positions, these friendships are primarily fragmented and short lived. In a like sense, blue collar friendships last as long as the job does since most of their friends are their co-workers. Although, few of these friends can help them find new jobs.

Managers relinquish the daily leadership of their families to their spouses when they are employed, and during periods of unemployment the leadership of the family does not change, nor is it sought by unemployed husbands as it is in blue collar families. Decisions about travel, relocation, and work load are made with network friends as opposed to family members. The managers experience some conflict with extended family members due to differences in work orientations. Since partners are employed and have the social skills to help unemployed managers, the managers spend more time looking for career jobs than do other workers.

Therefore, in conclusion, managers who focus upon their career orientations experience unemployment differently than do other workers. Although a job is used to get different rewards for different workers, initial unemployment processes are similar for managers and others, but managers self-consciously change their perspectives to match their career orientations. Unemployment is seen as part of a

career sequence bringing career objectives closer, while blue collar workers see it as disruptive. The daily activities of managers center around their job search, while blue collar workers spend time with leisure activities. The behavior of managers with friends and family members remains much the same as when they are employed as long as they focus on top jobs. In contrast, the behavior of blue collar workers with friends and family members radically changes during unemployment. Career expectations shape the unemployment process for managers.

These findings were not completely expected. Prior to data collection for this study, I thought that the unemployment experience of managers would be similar to the unemployment experiences of blue collar workers as Newman (1988) suggests. Newman (1988) explains that unemployed managers try to maintain their managerial identity, nonetheless, they skid down the occupational hierarchy, lose their community status, and family members and friends ridicule and isolate them. She and I both thought that unemployed managers were angry, frustrated, and disorganized, much like unemployed blue collar workers. Furthermore, her sample was derived from a similar self-help agency.

However, after studying the data for this paper, different findings emerged partly because of the different methodology used in this study. In my study, both the process and the products of research were shaped by the data. In other words, it was the managerial accounts which simultaneously shaped my theories and interpretations. For example, as it became evident that the work managers did was different than the work blue collar workers did, I compared managerial experiences to blue collar experiences to determine how closely those experiences were related. In contrast, Newman (1988) uses blue collar unemployment experiences to explain managerial unemployment. Perhaps more research is required to help clarify the differences between managerial work and blue collar work experiences.

Furthermore, in addition to interviewing the managers, I interacted with many of them on a daily bases and yet the anger, frustration, and disorganization both Newman (1988) and initially I thought they held, rarely surfaced. What we did often hear was the respondents presenting themselves as managers and distinguishing themselves from their own subordinates. But since my theory emerged from the data, I interpreted their presentations as job interviewing techniques after seeing the perspectives of Hochschild (1983) and Lyman and Scott (1970) bloom from their accounts. The managers practiced their interviewing

techniques during their research interview and many of their other interactions too. For example, Phil asked me, "How did that sound to you?" after he made several statements about work during lunch. In contrast, Newman (1988) correctly identified that an identity struggle was in progress but felt that their conscious presentations were designed to cover up their anger and frustration. Also, joining a self-help agency and practicing job interviews suggests that the managers may have been more organized than expected particularly when they focus upon their career orientations. More research could be conducted about the identity of managers to determine their intent.

It appears that my original thoughts were not supported by the data and that managerial unemployment is a different experience than the experience of unemployed blue collar workers because the work managers do is different than the work blue collar workers do.

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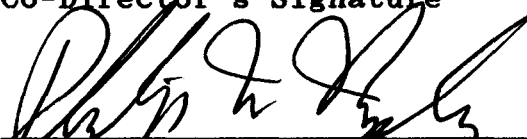
The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now give final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

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