

Job Prospects for Welfare Recipients: Employers Speak Out

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Occasional Paper Number 10



Assessing
the New
Federalism

*An Urban Institute
Program to Assess
Changing Social Policies*

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This report is part of The Urban Institute's *Assessing the New Federalism* project, a multi-year effort to monitor and assess the devolution of social programs from the federal to the state and local levels. Alan Weil is the project director and Anna Kondratas is deputy director. The project analyzes changes in income support, social services, and health programs. In collaboration with Child Trends, Inc., the project studies child and family well-being.

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The nonpartisan Urban Institute publishes studies, reports, and books on timely topics worthy of public consideration. The views expressed are those of the authors and should not be attributed to The Urban Institute, its trustees, or its funders.

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The authors would also like to acknowledge the excellent advice and thoughtful comments provided by Steve Bell, Stephen S. Fuller, Harry Holzer, Pamela Loprest, and Sheila Zedlewski.

Assessing the New Federalism

A *ssessing the New Federalism* is a multi-year Urban Institute project designed to analyze the devolution of responsibility for social programs from the federal government to the states, focusing primarily on health care, income security, job training, and social services. Researchers monitor program changes and fiscal developments. In collaboration with Child Trends, Inc., the project studies changes in family well-being. The project aims to provide timely, nonpartisan information to inform public debate and to help state and local decisionmakers carry out their new responsibilities more effectively.

Key components of the project include a household survey, studies of policies in thirteen states, and a database with information on all states and the District of Columbia, available at the Urban Institute's Web site. This paper is one in a series of occasional papers analyzing information from these and other sources.

Contents

About the Economic and Social Research Institute	vii
Executive Summary	1
Key Findings	2
Introduction	5
Overview and Methodology	9
Findings: The Entry-Level Job Market	13
Hiring Former Welfare Recipients	15
Wages	16
Benefits	17
Accessibility of Entry-Level Jobs	20
Job Turnover	21
Employer Views of the Availability of Jobs	21
Impact of the Federal Minimum Wage Increase on Hiring	23
What Employers Look for When Hiring Entry-Level Employees	23
Qualities Employers Feel Are Important in Entry-Level Job Applicants	24
Familiarity with and Use of Government Incentive Programs	26
Findings: Employer Attitudes toward Welfare Recipients	29
Employer Attitudes toward Former Welfare Recipients in the Workplace	31
Satisfaction with Former Welfare Recipients in the Workplace	35
Willingness to Hire Someone on Welfare in the Future	36
Analysis and Discussion	39
The Entry-Level Job Market	40
What Employers Are Looking for in Prospective Workers	41
Government-Supported Incentive Programs	41

Notes 45

Appendix I: Survey Instrument and Aggregate Responses 47

Appendix II: Sample Design 63

Appendix III: Findings Weighted by Employee Distribution in the Workplace 65
Key Findings of the Survey Weighted to Reflect Employees in
the Workforce 65

About the Authors 69

About the Economic and Social Research Institute

The **Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI)** is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization in Washington, D.C., that conducts research and policy analysis in health care and social services. ESRI specializes in studies aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of social programs, improving the way health care services are organized and delivered, and making quality health care accessible and affordable.

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Executive Summary

The Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) surveyed employers' requirements for entry-level workers and their views on hiring people who have recently been on welfare. ESRI first conducted a small exploratory telephone survey of selected businesses around the country to collect information about attitudes and hiring practices in the entry-level labor market. ESRI then conducted a national survey of 500 employers in industries likely to have higher-than-average numbers of entry-level workers. The employers were surveyed at the level of their establishments—offices, plants, factories, stores—rather than at their headquarters. The survey team asked a series of questions about the employers' entry-level jobs and workers, what they look for in new hires, whether they ever hired welfare recipients, and what their perceptions are of people on welfare and how well they would perform in the workplace. These employers are representative of their industries. Like the population of employers at the establishment level nationwide, the ESRI sample consists mostly of small employers with fewer than 50 workers. Most of the employers surveyed indicate that they employ one or more entry-level workers, and nearly two-thirds report that their business has hired someone on welfare.

The survey team conducted an additional 200 interviews—100 each in Milwaukee and Los Angeles—to see how two cities might reflect or differ from national responses concerning the entry-level job market and welfare reform. Both cities have large welfare populations, and they are at different stages in their welfare reform activities. Wisconsin is considered a national leader in innovative welfare-to-work initiatives, and Milwaukee, with relatively high welfare caseloads and unemployment, has been an important target of these initiatives. At the time of this survey, most counties in California were just beginning to move toward a work-first philosophy. Thus, there was the presumption that attitudes about hiring welfare recipients might differ between Milwaukee

and Los Angeles, with Los Angeles employers being less familiar with welfare-to-work programs.

These surveys uncover several important findings. Perhaps because of the strong economy and low unemployment rate, many employers in the national and city surveys are actively looking for workers to fill entry-level positions, and most anticipate hiring one or more entry-level workers in a six-month period. Employers appear to be willing and sometimes even eager to fill these positions with people who are or have been on welfare—if the applicant exhibits a positive attitude and can be a reliable worker. Specific skill levels and education seem to be far less important at this end of the job market, although there are some interesting differences in opinion among respondents in the national survey and those in the city surveys. There are also interesting differences among categories of employers in the national sample. In general, however, employer attitudes, willingness to hire, and familiarity with government employment supports are similar across the board.

Despite employer interest in hiring welfare recipients, the survey echoes a cautionary note about the job market for this population. The jobs that employers offer, as described in the national survey and in both city surveys, pay an hourly wage that is only marginally higher than the required minimum, and provide a very limited set of employee benefits.

Key Findings

Employer Attitudes toward Welfare Recipients

- Employers generally have positive views of welfare recipients and their performance in the workplace. Only about one-fifth of employers surveyed rate welfare recipients negatively on attributes such as willingness to work, motivation, reliability, and ability to be trained.
- The two qualities that employers identify as most important when hiring someone—a positive attitude and reliability—are each considered to describe welfare recipients in the workplace “extremely well” or “very well” by 37 percent of employers. When the response “somewhat well” is added to these positive responses, the proportion of employers with a positive view of welfare recipients increases to 70 percent.
- On some attributes, employers who have hired welfare recipients (62 percent of employers surveyed) are more likely to express favorable views of welfare recipients. Those who have hired welfare recipients appear to differ most from all employers surveyed in their perceptions of welfare recipients’ willingness to work, motivation, friendliness, and ability to be trained.
- Nearly all (94 percent) employers who have hired someone on welfare would hire another welfare recipient in the future. Three out of four of these employers are satisfied with these employees’ job performance.
- More than four out of five employers who have not hired welfare recipients say that they are likely to hire a current or former welfare recipient in the next year, provided they have a job opening.

Hiring Entry-Level Workers

- Employers indicate that when they try to fill entry-level positions, the pool of qualified applicants is small. While most employers say they see plenty of applicants, very few have the qualifications that employers value most.
- When employers have an opening, most hire (in order of importance) through walk-ins, word of mouth, newspaper advertisements, referrals, or response to “help wanted” signs.
- Looking ahead, employers see the number of entry-level jobs remaining steady; most say that the 1997 increase in the federal minimum wage will have no effect on their hiring practices.
- Most employers are not using government incentives for hiring entry-level workers and welfare recipients. These incentives include the Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit, state income tax credits, government-sponsored employee training programs, employee candidate screening, and training in work readiness. Most employers at the establishment level are not familiar with these incentive programs.
- Employers most frequently say they are looking for a worker who is reliable and who has a positive attitude; few employers claim that prior work experience or previous training are important qualities. Many employers, however, require references from former employers, some prior experience, and a reason for leaving the last job when considering someone for employment.

Wages and Benefits

- Employers report that they pay \$5.50 an hour for a typical entry-level position. Employers in Milwaukee report a slightly higher median wage (\$6.00).
- Nearly half of the employers offer health benefits; however, only 6 percent of employers provide coverage immediately. Many employers require a lengthy waiting period before employees qualify for benefits. Among employers offering health benefits, half pay 80 percent or more of the cost for entry-level employees, and one-quarter cover 50 percent or less.
- While 48 percent of employers surveyed provide paid vacation, only 17 percent offer paid sick leave. Very few provide transportation subsidies (5 percent) or child care assistance (1 percent). One-quarter of employers do not offer any benefits (such as health insurance, paid vacation, or sick leave) to entry-level employees.
- Because of the combination of high turnover and lengthy waiting periods for benefits, many entry-level employees never become eligible for their employers’ health or other benefits.
- Milwaukee employers are more likely than employers in the national sample to offer health insurance to entry-level workers. They are also more likely than employers in Los Angeles to make their employees eligible for benefits within three months.

Other Findings

- Employers report that a large share of their entry-level jobs are filled by part-time workers: 46 percent of their entry-level workforce work part time.



Across the national sample, about one-third of the positions are characterized by employers as low wage and part time.

- Geographic access to jobs may present a significant impediment for employers trying to fill positions and employees trying to find work. Thirty-six percent of employers in the national sample indicate that their entry-level positions are not accessible by public transportation.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine the views and attitudes of employers about hiring people making the transition from welfare to work. As states continue to develop and implement new strategies for moving welfare recipients into jobs, it is vital to understand the requirements and expectations of those who might hire them. By examining how employers think about the entry-level labor market in general, and welfare recipients as workers in particular, this study can assist states in formulating realistic work-based strategies.

For many years, states have been experimenting with a wide variety of new approaches to moving welfare recipients into the workforce. These strategies include workfare programs; such incentives as disregarding more income earned in determining allowable benefits; and the diversion of welfare payments to the recipient's employer. More recently, states have also been experimenting with "work-first" strategies requiring recipients to take any work available, imposing tougher sanctions on those unwilling to work, and placing time limits on cash assistance.

Building on and extending these reforms, Congress enacted the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act in 1996. This law made a number of historic changes in the six-decade commitment to cash assistance for low-income Americans. It includes a five-year cumulative limit on cash benefits, requires most recipients to work after two years, and makes the availability of the full federal grant contingent upon states' finding work for half of their welfare caseload (after a phase-in period). Even the name of the new program resulting from this act, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, emphasizes the change from an open-ended entitlement to a program with limits on the time cash assistance is available.

The debate over welfare reform has generally centered on the behavior of welfare recipients. The challenge has been depicted in terms of motivating—or requiring—people on welfare to enter the labor market and become self-sufficient. This perspective is why the reforms just described are mainly incentives and requirements for people on welfare to search for and take jobs. The emphasis in public policy has been on the *supply side* of the labor market, focusing on enticing people into work and off welfare. Less attention has been paid to the *demand side* of the labor market. Under what conditions will employers hire people on welfare? What are employers' requirements and expectations? What types of jobs are available to people on welfare?

Of course, some state and federal efforts have focused on the demand side of the labor market. The past three decades of debate and experimentation on welfare reform include examples of public service employment programs—for example, Supported Work and the Community Work Experience Program. Other federal initiatives geared to the demand side include federal tax credits for employers who hire disadvantaged workers (the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit and, more recently, the Work Opportunity Tax Credit and the Welfare-to-Work Tax Credit). These programs were designed to create jobs for disadvantaged people, including welfare recipients, and to create incentives for companies to hire them. Such programs reflect the need to complement the carrots and sticks used to encourage welfare recipients to search for jobs with demand-side strategies.

As a result of federal as well as state-initiated welfare reforms, states have moved away from a human capital model focused on education and training to a work-first model in which recipients are encouraged or required to get *any* job quickly.

If millions of people on welfare are to make the transition to jobs in the private sector, however, it is not enough to require them to seek jobs. Someone must be willing to hire them. The purpose of this project is to understand the attitudes of those who are in a position to do so.

The Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) conducted a survey of employers' requirements for entry-level jobs and their views on hiring people who have ever been on welfare. ESRI conducted this survey as a part of the Urban Institute's *Assessing the New Federalism* project, which is tracking developments related to the devolution of authority from the federal government to states across a broad range of social programs. The ESRI survey is predicated on the idea that if states understand employers' thinking on these issues, states will be better equipped to design successful approaches to move people into the labor market and help them succeed in their jobs.

During summer and fall 1997, ESRI conducted a small exploratory telephone survey of selected businesses around the country to collect information about attitudes and hiring practices in the entry-level labor market. In fall 1997, ESRI conducted a national survey of 500 employers in industries likely to have higher-than-average numbers of entry-level workers. The businesses were surveyed at

the level of their establishments—offices, plants, factories, stores—rather than at their headquarters. Researchers asked a series of questions about the employers' entry-level jobs and workers, what they look for in new hires, whether they ever hired welfare recipients, and what their perceptions are of people on welfare and how well they perform in the workplace.¹ Like the population of employers at the establishment level nationwide, the ESRI sample consists mostly of small employers with fewer than 50 workers. Most of the employers surveyed indicate that they employ one or more entry-level workers, and nearly two-thirds report that their business has hired someone on welfare.

Both surveys uncover important findings. Perhaps because of the strong U.S. economy and low unemployment rate, many employers are actively looking for workers to fill entry-level positions, and most anticipate hiring one or more entry-level workers in a six-month period. Employers appear to be willing and sometimes even eager to fill these positions with people who are or have been on welfare—if the applicant exhibits a positive attitude and can be a reliable worker. Specific skill levels and education seem to be far less important at this end of the job market.

On average, however, the jobs these employers offer pay an hourly wage that is only marginally higher than the required minimum and provide a very limited set of employee benefits. Because of the wage and benefit structure of these jobs, many of these workers will continue to require public supports such as Medicaid and subsidized child care over an extended transitional period to sustain employment and move into higher paying jobs over the longer term. These findings are presented in detail in the next sections and are analyzed in the final section of the report.



Overview and Methodology

The findings in this report are the result of efforts to identify employer attitudes toward hiring welfare recipients and their likely integration into the private sector workforce. ESRI conducted a small exploratory telephone survey of selected businesses around the country to collect information about attitudes and hiring practices in the entry-level labor market. This survey was designed both to inform the larger national survey, discussed below, and to explain some of the inconsistencies and ambiguities that inevitably arise from a set of standardized questions. Through these targeted interviews, employers could expound on the issues most important to them, thereby providing insights into the reasoning and experiences that underlie their attitudes and responses.

For the exploratory survey, ESRI contacted 25 companies in different regions of the country and interviewed representatives of 23 of these companies.² Industries offering low-skill manufacturing and service jobs were of particular interest, as were companies in or near urban centers. ESRI selected a mix of small, medium, and large companies to identify differences in company policies and employer attitudes with respect to hiring welfare recipients. (Researchers specifically targeted some larger companies that had established programs to hire welfare recipients.) The responses of the 23 companies were similar to those in the national sample and are therefore not reported separately. Some of these comments are included in the Analysis and Discussion section.

Most of the findings in this report come from a national survey, commissioned by ESRI and conducted by Mathew Greenwald & Associates, Inc., to investigate employers' views of entry-level jobs available in their businesses and the employers' attitudes toward hiring individuals who have received welfare. Specifically, the survey addressed the following issues:

- the types of qualifications and skills employers look for when hiring entry-level workers;
- the types of professional characteristics most important to employers when hiring workers;
- compensation packages for entry-level employees;
- opinions about welfare recipients in general and specific perceptions about their performance in the workplace; and
- familiarity with and use of government incentive programs for hiring current and former welfare recipients.

Interviews were conducted in October 1997. The sample came from Survey Sampling, Inc., a leading provider of business samples. In order to target businesses with entry-level jobs, researchers drew the sample from industries with the highest proportions of workers without a college education (derived through data from the March 1996 Current Population Survey of the U.S. Census Bureau). To maximize the chances of identifying businesses that either had hired or were likely to hire welfare recipients, the sample drew from the 25 states with the highest proportions or absolute numbers of adults receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Finally, to avoid interviewing numerous individuals operating businesses largely on their own or with just one or two workers, researchers limited the sample to establishments with five or more employees. The complete survey instrument and aggregate responses are included in appendix I; a list of the states and industries sampled appears in appendix II.

Researchers selected businesses based on the size of the *establishment* rather than the size of the *company*. It was assumed that while personnel policies and procedures are often determined at the company level (at the company headquarters, for example), most hiring actually takes place at the establishment level. Many of the employers in the sample, therefore, represent establishments that are part of much larger companies.

For the national sample, 500 interviews were conducted with businesses that meet these criteria. To gain insight into any potential differences in attitudes among establishments of different sizes, researchers oversampled establishments with 100 or more employees; 108 of the 500 interviews are with these larger establishments.³

In the national sample, the number of interviews was weighted by establishment size to reflect the national distribution of businesses in these categories. For example, while 21.6 percent of the interviews were with businesses of 100 or more employees, these establishments make up only about 4.2 percent of the total population of establishments in the country. Thus, these values were weighted to reflect their real distribution in the country.

The ESRI survey was one of *employer* attitudes and carefully targeted employers at the establishment level who were likely to hire entry-level workers. The sample was designed to be representative of the population of employ-

ers, not employees; however, these employers hire a significant portion of employees in this country. According to data from the Bureau of the Census,⁴ nearly half (47 percent) of all workers in this country are employed in establishments with fewer than 250 workers. The national sample reflected this segment of the population. Also, the survey findings are relevant because the survey targeted employers who were likely to hire (and indeed have hired) welfare recipients.

Still, by weighting employers proportionally according to the number of *establishments* they represent, the data in one sense undervalued the attitudes of larger businesses that employ more than half of the total workforce. Consequently, the survey team also weighted the data to reflect the distribution of *employees* in the workforce. Key findings from this analysis are presented in appendix III.

An additional 200 interviews—100 each in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Los Angeles, California—were conducted to see how two cities might reflect or differ from national responses concerning the entry-level job market and welfare reform.⁵ Both cities have large welfare populations, and they are at different stages in their welfare reform activities. Wisconsin is considered a national leader in innovative welfare-to-work initiatives, and there was a presumption that Milwaukee employers' attitudes about hiring welfare recipients might differ from those of Los Angeles employers, who may be less familiar with welfare-to-work programs. Significant differences between these city case studies and the national sample, as well as major findings for these cities, are noted throughout this report. (The case study responses are included in appendix I.)

In the national and city surveys, interviewers asked to speak to the person in charge of hiring. Most respondents were members of the establishment's management; fewer than 10 percent of the national sample were in human resources, although 72 percent of respondents in larger establishments were in human resources.

For certain questions, the team divided the national sample into two groups: employers who indicate that they have "ever" hired someone on welfare and employers who say they have not hired former welfare recipients, are unaware of whether former or current employees have ever received welfare, or refuse to answer the question. When possible, various responses between these two groups are compared.

At times, however, comparisons between these two groups are inappropriate, because a large number of employers who have not hired welfare recipients choose not to respond to certain questions or else indicate that they do not know the answer. This comparison is particularly inappropriate in assessing employer attitudes toward welfare recipients in general or as workers. In some cases, close to half of respondents who do not indicate they have hired someone on welfare can be categorized as "don't know or refused to answer." Recalculating percentages with these nonresponses factored out can create a



biased sample. Totally ignoring these questions, however, may cause the researcher to miss certain interesting variations in responses between employers who have direct experience working with persons who previously were on welfare and employers who lack this direct experience. These nonresponses will serve not as findings but as indicators of attitudes, and they will be interpreted with certain caveats and in the appropriate context.

Findings: The Entry-Level Job Market

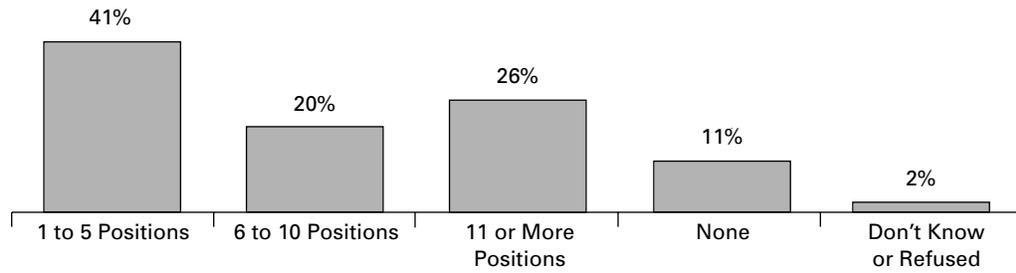
Most of the interviews were conducted with employers in the retail trade industry, including a third (33 percent) in the restaurant industry and a quarter (24 percent) in other retail businesses. Fifteen percent of the interviews were conducted with companies in business services; 15 percent in construction; 7 percent in manufacturing; 4 percent in transportation, communication, or utilities; and 3 percent in agriculture.

Nearly half of the employers (48 percent) have 5 to 10 employees, 26 percent have between 11 and 20 employees, and 26 percent have 21 or more employees. A majority of the businesses with 100 or more employees have between 101 and 249 workers.

Employers were asked several questions about their entry-level workforce—for example, the number of entry-level workers employed and their average wages, benefits, and training opportunities. *By far, most of the employers indicate that they currently employ one or more entry-level workers.* As figure 1 demonstrates, only 11 percent of employers in the national survey report that they do not have any positions for entry-level employees. This proportion is similar for employers in Los Angeles and Milwaukee. Not surprisingly, there is a direct relationship between the size of the business and the number of entry-level positions, with larger establishments employing more entry-level workers.

Few of the employers report that any of their entry-level employees are union members (3 percent) or temporary workers (7 percent). About 13 percent indicate

Figure 1 *Percentage of Employers with Entry-Level Positions, by Number of Positions Reported*

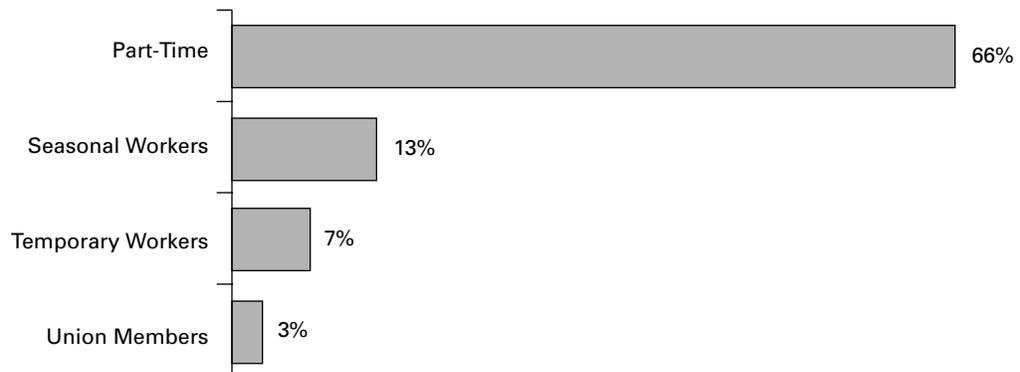


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

that they have one or more seasonal employees. *Two-thirds of employers surveyed report that they employ one or more part-time workers to fill entry-level jobs (see figure 2). In Milwaukee, three-quarters of employers surveyed report that one or more of their workers are employed on a part-time basis.*

Los Angeles employers do not indicate that they hire more seasonal or temporary workers than employers in the national sample. About 7 percent employ at least one seasonal employee, and 8 percent employ at least one temporary worker.

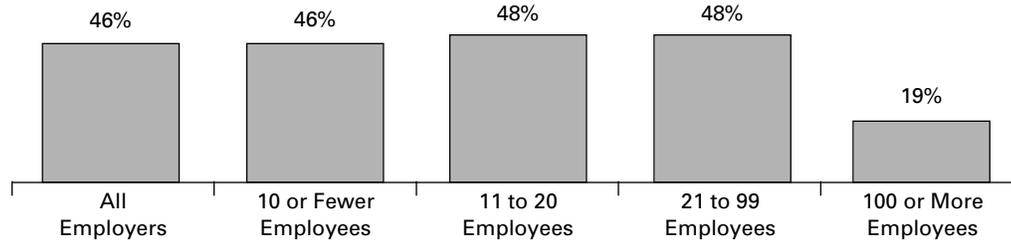
Figure 2 *Percentage of Employers with at Least One Part-Time, Seasonal, Temporary, or Union Employee in Entry-Level Positions*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Employers who have entry-level positions rely heavily on part-time employees to fill these jobs. *Employers report that nearly half (46 percent) of their entry-level positions are filled by part-time workers.* Part-time workers fill a smaller proportion (19 percent) of entry-level positions in larger establishments (see figure 3). Across the national sample, employers characterize about one-third of all positions as entry-level and part-time. In larger establishments, however, part-time, entry-level jobs make up only 12 percent of all positions.

Figure 3 Percentage of Entry-Level Jobs That Employers Fill with Part-Time Workers by Employer Size



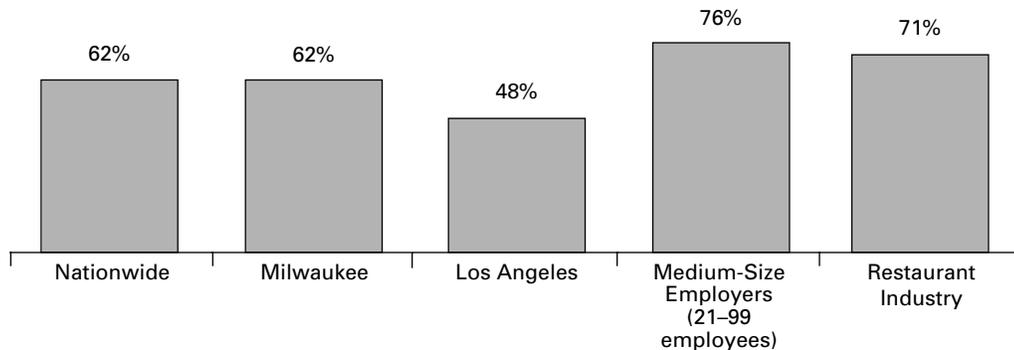
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Hiring Former Welfare Recipients

A majority of employers (62 percent) answer “yes” when asked if their business has “ever” hired someone who has been on welfare. About one-quarter (23 percent) of those surveyed say their business has never hired someone on welfare. The remainder (15 percent) indicate that they do not know, or else refuse to answer the question. In medium-sized establishments (21 to 99 employees) or in establishments with 15 or more entry-level jobs, about three-quarters of employers surveyed report that they have hired welfare recipients (76 percent and 78 percent, respectively). Although the percentage of larger employers who report ever having hired someone on welfare is about the same as in the national survey (66 percent versus 62 percent), larger employers are twice as likely to refuse to answer the question or report that they do not know if the establishment has hired welfare recipients (30 percent).

A larger percentage of employers in the restaurant industry (71 percent) than in other industries report hiring welfare recipients. Only 48 percent of employers in Los Angeles indicate that they have hired welfare recipients, compared with 62 percent in Milwaukee (see figure 4).

Figure 4 Percentage of Employers Who Have Hired Welfare Recipients

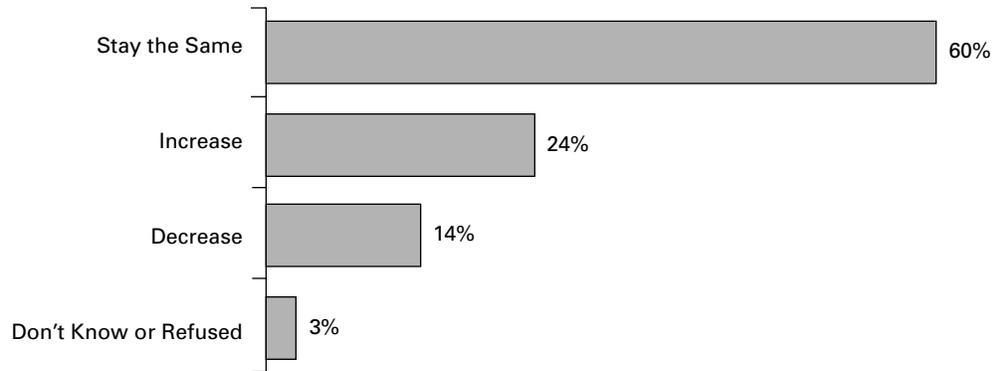


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.



In fall 1997, 60 percent of employers in the national survey predicted that over the next six months the number of entry-level positions in their establishment would stay the same; only 49 percent in Los Angeles agreed. Nearly one-quarter of the employers surveyed were expecting to increase the number of entry-level positions. Only 14 percent of employers expected the number of entry-level positions to decrease over the following six months (see figure 5).

Figure 5 *Employers' Expectation of Changes in Their Number of Entry-Level Positions*



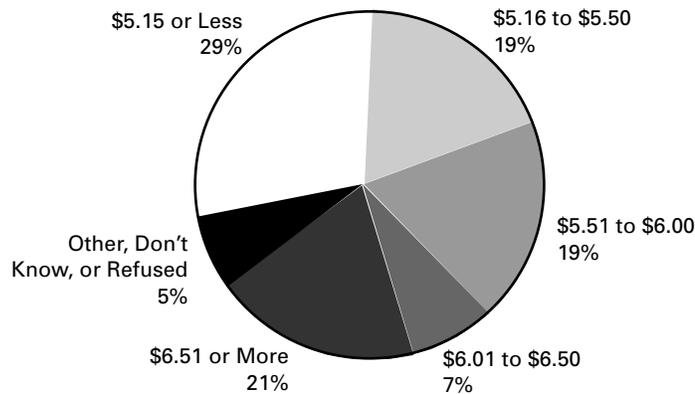
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: Most of the employers reporting that they do not have entry-level workers (11 percent of the national sample) indicated that this situation would "stay the same" over the next six months.

Wages⁶

Figure 6 illustrates wage rates for entry-level workers in these establishments. *Two-thirds of employers in the national survey report that their entry-level employees earn on average \$6.00 an hour or less.*⁷ In nearly three out of

Figure 6 *Percentage of Employers by Hourly Wages Paid to Entry-Level Workers (includes tips, commissions, and bonuses)*

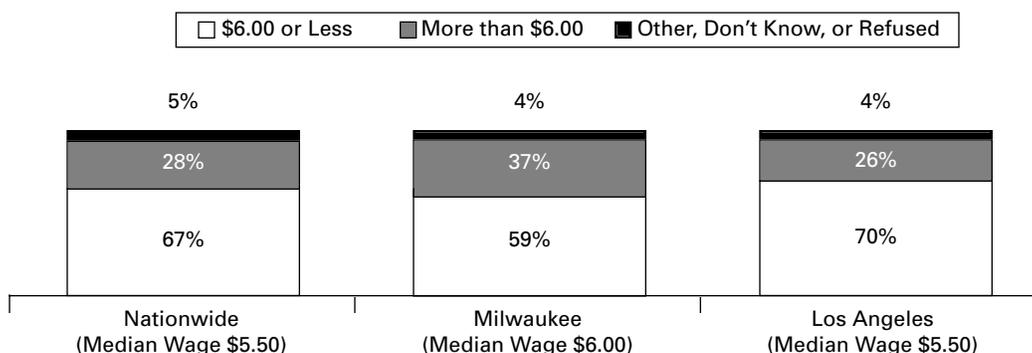


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

ten businesses surveyed, entry-level employees earn \$5.15 or less. About 19 percent of employers say their average wage for entry level is between \$5.16 and \$5.50, and another 19 percent pay between \$5.51 and \$6.00. The median wage reported by employers for entry-level workers is \$5.50 per hour.⁸ Larger businesses are more likely to pay entry-level workers more than \$6.00 an hour (55 percent); the median wage among large employers is \$6.50 an hour.

A larger proportion of employers in Los Angeles (35 percent) than in the national sample (29 percent) or in Milwaukee (12 percent) report average wages of \$5.15 or less. Milwaukee employers report a median wage of \$6.00 an hour for entry-level workers; Los Angeles employers report a median hourly wage of \$5.50 (see figure 7).

Figure 7 Percentage of Employers by Hourly Wages Paid to Entry-Level Workers in the United States, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles.



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes Toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Wages differ significantly by industry as well. Employers in the restaurant and wholesale/retail trade industries are more likely to report average hourly wages of \$6.00 or less (79 percent in restaurants and 84 percent in other retail trade), while 60 percent of employers in construction, manufacturing, transportation, communication, and utilities report wages of more than \$6.00 per hour.

Benefits⁹

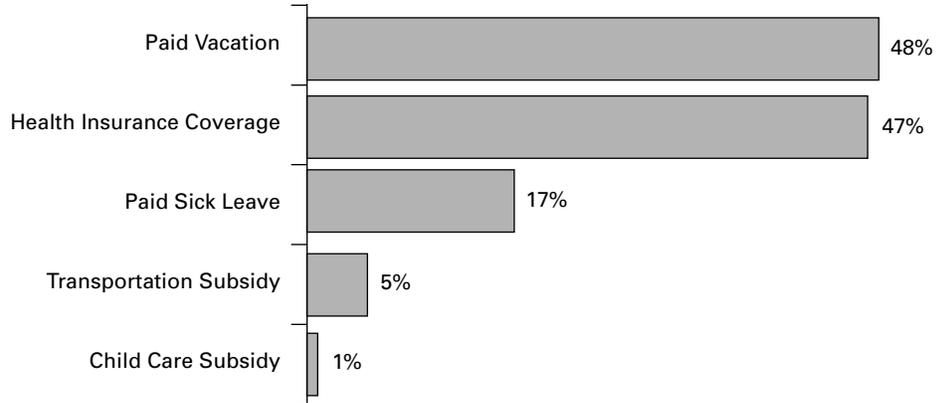
Nearly half of the employers surveyed (47 percent) report that they offer health insurance to entry-level workers; however, *coverage begins immediately in only 6 percent of establishments*. A significant proportion of employers who offer benefits (46 percent) report that they require four or more months of employment before the employee is eligible for health insurance and other benefits.

While 48 percent of employers provide paid vacation to entry-level workers, only 17 percent provide paid sick leave for these employees.¹⁰ Very few provide transportation subsidies (5 percent) or child care assistance (1 percent). One-quarter of the employers surveyed (26 percent) do not provide any benefits to



entry-level employees (see figure 8). These low rates of benefits are consistent with the fact that many of these positions are filled by part-time workers.

Figure 8 *Percentage of Employers Offering Selected Benefits to Entry-Level Workers (multiple responses allowed)*

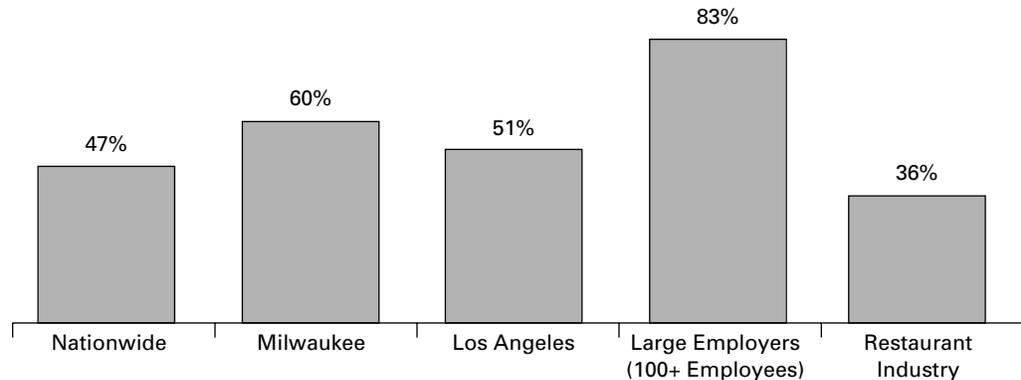


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

It is much more common for larger employers to provide benefits: 83 percent provide health insurance and paid vacation, and 37 percent provide paid sick leave.¹¹ Even among these larger employers, nearly two-thirds do not provide paid sick leave to entry-level employees (although the 83 percent providing paid vacation may use that benefit to compensate employees for sick days). Businesses with higher average wages for entry-level workers are also more likely to provide these benefits. In contrast, businesses that pay \$5.15 or less an hour to such workers are more likely not to offer any benefits, with 39 percent saying they do not provide benefits to entry-level workers.

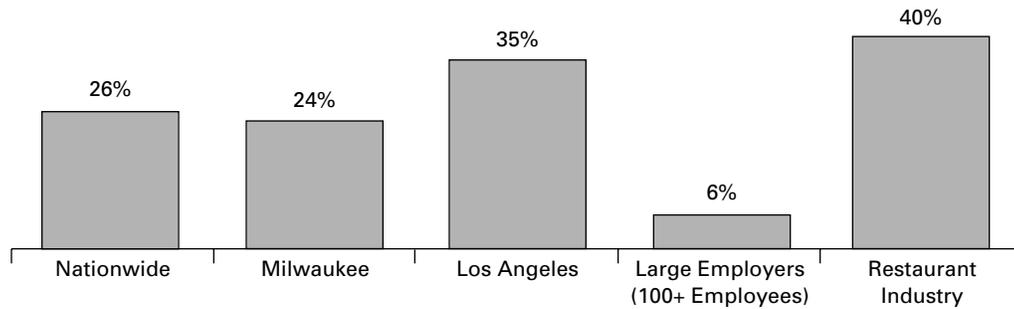
Employers in wholesale and retail trade industries, particularly restaurants, are significantly less likely to offer health insurance (36 percent) than employers in other industries. Employers in restaurants are also more likely to report they do not offer employees any of these benefits (40 percent). (See figures 9 and 10.)

Figure 9 *Percentage of Employers Who Offer Health Insurance to Entry-Level Workers*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

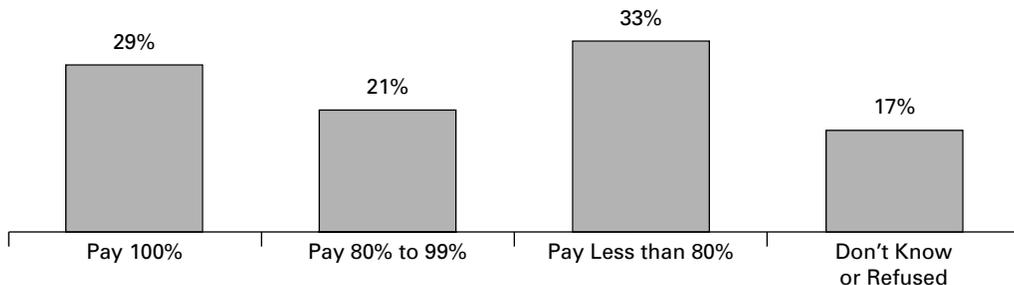
Figure 10 Percentage of Employers Who Do Not Offer Any Benefits to Entry-Level Workers



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Of the 47 percent of establishments that provide health coverage, 29 percent pay 100 percent, and 21 percent pay 80 percent to 99 percent of the employee's health plan costs (see figure 11). One-third of employers contribute less than 80 percent of the costs of health coverage. *In the national sample as a whole, about 24 percent of employers offer insurance and cover at least 80 percent of the entry-level worker's health insurance premium.* In the Milwaukee sample, 60 percent of employers offer health insurance. Milwaukee employers (35 percent) and larger companies (39 percent) are more likely than the nationwide sample to pay between 80 and 99 percent toward health coverage.

Figure 11 Employer Coverage of Health Insurance Cost for Entry-Level Workers (of employers offering health benefits)

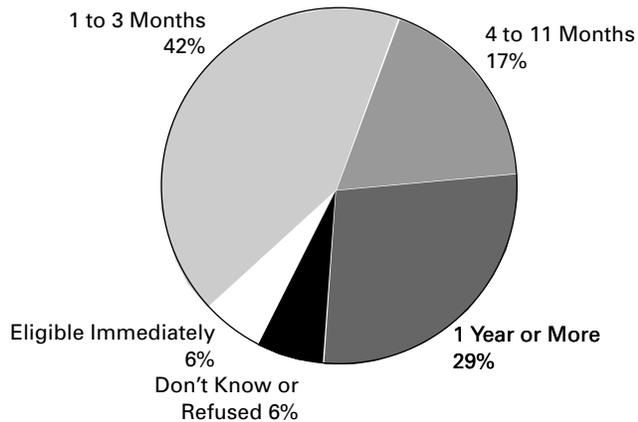


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Employers that offer benefits often have waiting periods before employees are entitled to receive these benefits. As shown in figure 12, the most common waiting period (cited by 42 percent of employers) is between one and three months. *More than one-quarter of employers, however, report that new entry-level employees must wait 12 months or longer to be eligible for benefits.* Businesses that pay \$5.15 or less per hour are more likely to have lengthy waiting periods for eligibility. Larger employers and those that pay over \$6.00 an hour are more likely to report that employees become eligible for benefits



Figure 12 *Percentage of Employers by Reported Length of Time Entry-Level Employees Must Work to Be Eligible for Benefits*



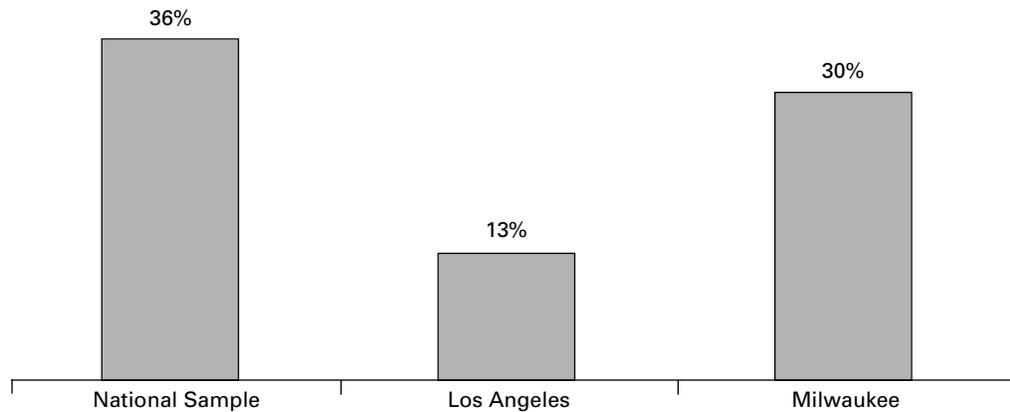
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

between the first and third months of employment. In Milwaukee, of the 76 percent of employers who indicate that they provide benefits, only 7 percent say these benefits are available immediately. Fifty-one percent of employers in Milwaukee indicate employees are eligible for benefits within one to three months. In Los Angeles, among the 65 percent of employers who offer benefits, only 28 percent report that entry-level employees are eligible that quickly.

Accessibility of Entry-Level Jobs

Geographic access to jobs may present a significant impediment for employers trying to fill positions and job-seekers, as illustrated in figure 13. Thirty-six

Figure 13 *Percentage of Employers Indicating That Entry-Level Jobs Are Not Accessible by Public Transportation*



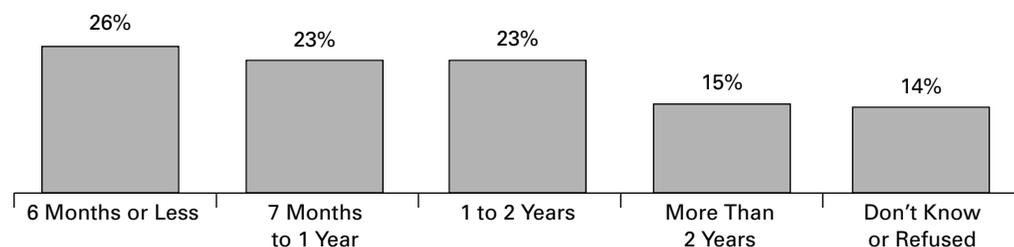
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

percent of employers in the national sample indicate that their entry-level positions are not accessible by public transportation. In Los Angeles, only one-third of that percentage (13 percent) believe this to be the case.

Job Turnover

As shown in figure 14, the entry-level job market appears to be characterized by considerable turnover. *About half the employers surveyed indicate that, on average, entry-level employees remain with the business for one year or less.* About half of this group of employers (26 percent of the total) indicate that these employees remain with the business for six months or less, and the others (23 percent of the total) indicate seven months to one year. Another 23 percent report that entry-level employees stay with the employer between 13 months and two years. The numbers are similar for Los Angeles and Milwaukee employers. Because of the combination of high turnover and waiting periods for benefits, many entry-level employees never become eligible for their employers' health and other benefits.

Figure 14 Percentage of Employers Reporting Average Length of Time Entry-Level Employees Stay with Business



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

There is less turnover in businesses that pay higher wages (\$6.00 or more); nearly half of these employers (48 percent) report that employees remain with their businesses for more than a year. Employers whose entry-level employees stay for an average of two years are also more likely to report that the establishment provides health insurance, paid sick leave, and paid vacation. Employers in wholesale and retail trade industries are more likely to indicate that the average length of service is one year or less—particularly in the restaurant industry (60 percent).

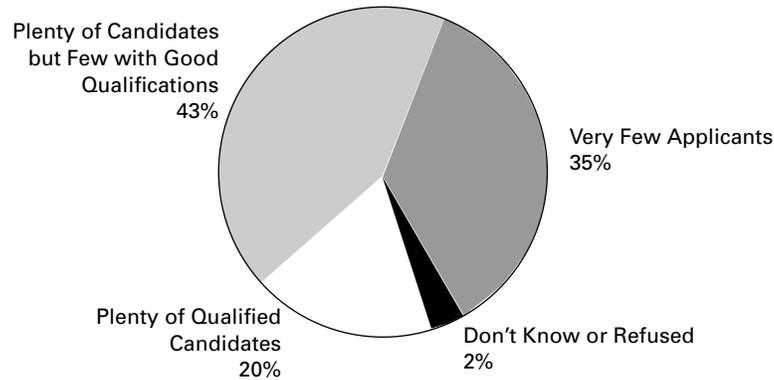
Employer Views of the Availability of Jobs

Employers seem to have a difficult time finding qualified candidates for job openings. As Figure 15 indicates, *about three-quarters of employers report that they have a shortage of qualified applicants for available positions.* Many employers (63 percent) indicate that they see plenty of applicants, but most of these employers say there are very few qualified



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Figure 15 *Employers' Views of the Quantity and Quality of Job Candidates*



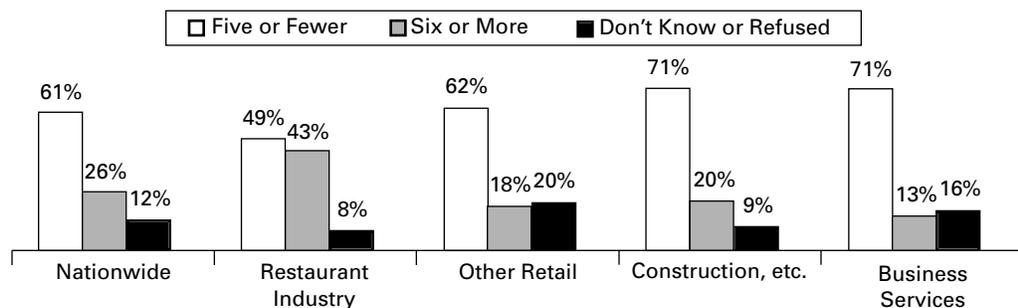
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

individuals in the applicant pool. An additional 35 percent say they have an overall shortage of applicants.

Only 20 percent feel they have plenty of qualified applicants from whom to choose when filling a job opening. Los Angeles employers are a bit more satisfied with their applicants, with 31 percent indicating that they have plenty of qualified applicants. Also, businesses with jobs that are accessible by public transportation (24 percent) and those with 100 or more employees (31 percent) are more likely to say they have plenty of qualified applicants.

On average, most employers (61 percent) hire fewer than six workers over a six-month period. Larger establishments usually hire more, with 51 percent hiring 16 or more employees in a six-month time period. As figure 16 shows, the restaurant industry hires more employees in a six-month period than other industries in the survey—43 percent hire six or more employees.¹² Construction, manufacturing, and transportation industries and business services do the least hiring in a six-month period.

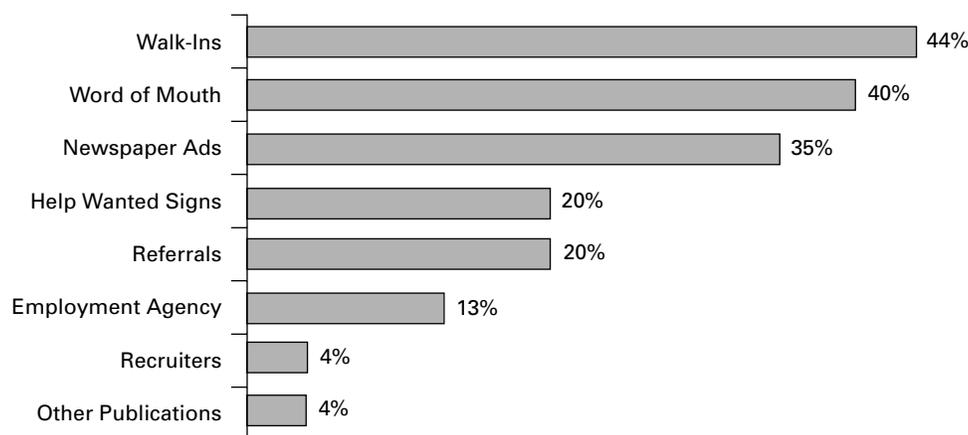
Figure 16 *Number of New Hires in a Six-Month Period Reported by Employers, Nationwide and by Industry*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

As shown in figure 17, more employers report that they find entry-level employees from walk-ins (44 percent) and word of mouth (40 percent) than from newspaper ads (35 percent). Few employers use employment agencies (13 percent) and only a handful use recruiters or publications other than newspapers ads (4 percent). One-fifth use referrals or “help wanted” signs to attract potential employees. Larger employers are more likely to use most of these methods to find employees. Employers with a high number of entry-level jobs (six or more) and those where employees earn an average of \$5.15 or less are more likely to hang “help wanted” signs.

Figure 17 *Employer Sources for Finding Entry-Level Workers*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers’ Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Impact of the Federal Minimum Wage Increase on Hiring

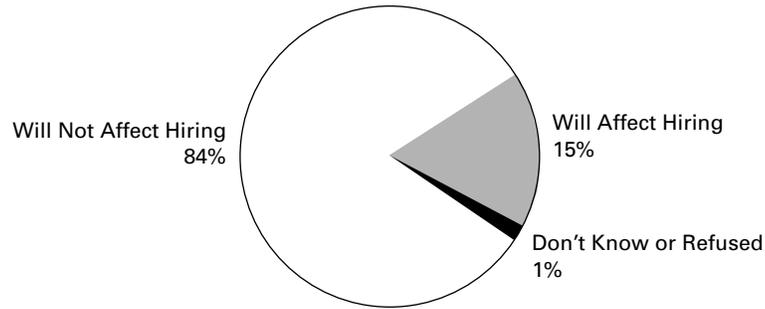
The majority of employers surveyed in the national sample (84 percent), in Los Angeles (78 percent), and in Milwaukee (84 percent) indicate that the increase in the minimum wage (to \$5.15 an hour) will not affect the number of employees they plan to hire. Nearly all larger establishments (97 percent) report that the increase will not affect hiring. Among the 15 percent of employers in the national survey who say that the increase will affect hiring (see figure 18), most report that they will either hire fewer entry-level employees or will substitute part-time for some full-time workers. Employers whose hourly rates at the time of the survey were at or below the minimum wage are most likely to report that the wage increase will affect them.

What Employers Look for When Hiring Entry-Level Employees

Employers were asked what they require from applicants for entry-level positions. They were also asked about the qualities they valued most in workers. Sixty percent of employers in the national sample require references from previous employers (see table 1). In Los Angeles 52 percent require references, and in Milwaukee the figure is 54 percent. Forty percent of employers also require prior work experience or the applicant’s reason for leaving a prior job.



Figure 18 *Employers' Views of the Impact of the Federal Minimum Wage Increase on Hiring*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Only 25 percent of the employers surveyed require a high school diploma or a General Educational Development certificate (GED), and even fewer require industry-specific trade skills (14 percent) or computer skills (10 percent). Employers surveyed in the Los Angeles area are twice as likely to require industry-specific trade skills (28 percent).

Larger employers are more likely to have multiple requirements for their entry-level positions; they are also more likely to require a reason for leaving the last job (55 percent). Employers that pay a wage just slightly above the federal minimum (\$5.16 to \$6.00) are more inclined to require prior work experience.

Requirement	Percent National	Percent Los Angeles	Percent Milwaukee
References from previous employers	60	52	54
Prior work experience	40	47	39
Reason for leaving last job	40	40	33
High school degree or GED	25	19	24
Industry-specific trade skills	14	28	13
Computer skills	10	9	5
Other	10	5	9
None	12	17	11

Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers and employees at the establishment level nationwide.

Qualities Employers Feel Are Important in Entry-Level Job Applicants

Employers were asked to select from a list of 12 positive attributes the three that they consider most important in a job applicant. Employers say they are looking for employees who have a positive attitude and are reliable. Two-thirds of

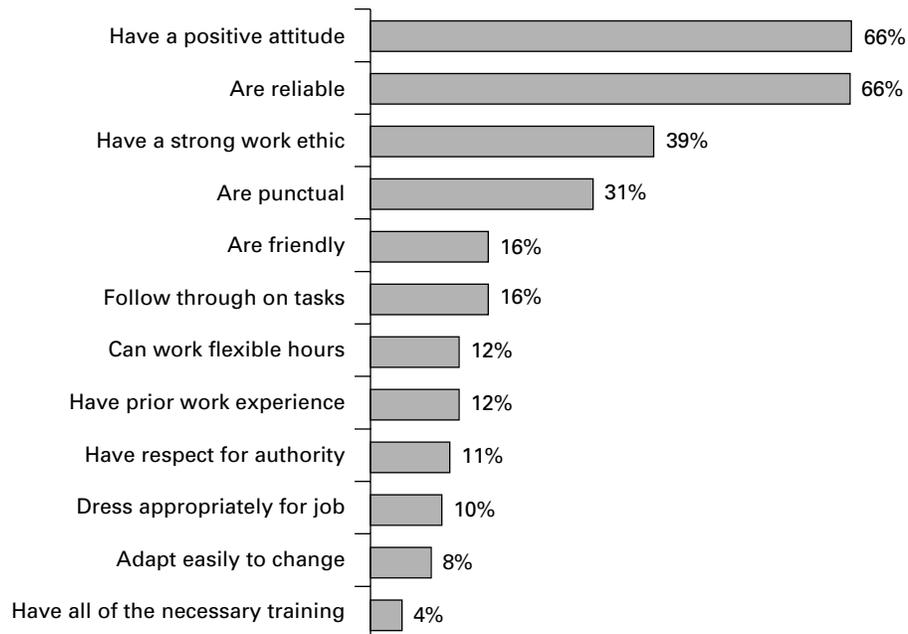
employers surveyed select these attributes as among the three most important characteristics in a worker. About half as many employers select “strong work ethic” (39 percent) or “punctual” (31 percent) as one of the top three qualities.

Despite a significant proportion of employers stating that they require prior work experience from prospective job applicants, only 12 percent consider prior work experience among the three most important assets for prospective employees. Figure 19 ranks the frequency with which employers identified each of the qualities as one of the three most important. Only 4 percent of employers surveyed place a high priority on previous training when considering entry-level applicants. There are no significant differences in the importance of these qualities for employers who have and who have not hired welfare recipients. Employers that pay entry-level workers relatively higher salaries (more than \$6.00 an hour) are more likely to look for prior work experience (19 percent).

Most employers surveyed state that they provide on-the-job training, external training, or licensing (most commonly for motor vehicle operation) opportunities to new workers. Almost all employers say they provide some training, although the questionnaire did not elicit information about the scope or nature of the training. Only 3 percent of employers indicate that they do not provide training or licensing opportunities for new entry-level workers.

Employers in Los Angeles also value an employee’s reliability and attitude toward the job, with 63 percent and 59 percent, respectively, selecting these two

Figure 19 *Job Candidate Qualities Rated as Most Important by Employers (top three choices combined)*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers’ Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.



qualities among their top three in a prospective employee. About half as many say that having a strong work ethic and being punctual are among the three most important qualities.

The three qualities that are most important to Milwaukee employers are reliability (cited by 70 percent as being among the top three qualities in a worker), a positive attitude toward the job (66 percent), and a strong work ethic (53 percent). Only 1 percent of Milwaukee respondents feel that having all the necessary training is among the three most important qualities in a worker.

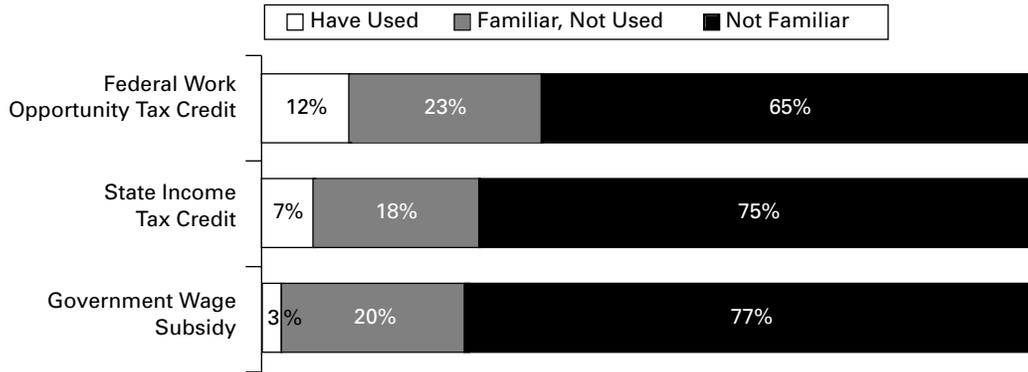
Familiarity with and Use of Government Incentive Programs

Employers were asked about six government-sponsored programs designed to encourage the employment of entry-level workers and how these incentives might affect their decisions regarding hiring former welfare recipients. These programs are the Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit, state income tax credits, government wage subsidies, government-sponsored employee training programs, government-sponsored employee candidate screening, and government-sponsored training in work readiness. Each of these programs exists in some form in at least some parts of the country. The Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit is for employers hiring disadvantaged workers and is the successor to the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC). State income tax credits, available in some but not all states, also provide tax subsidies to employers for hiring lower wage workers. Government wage subsidies include initiatives of Private Industry Councils (PICs) established under the Job Training Partnership Act to link disadvantaged workers with jobs. Under on-the-job training contracts, the PICs may promote this linkage by financing a portion of employers' wage costs for up to a few months. In the past, federal programs have also paid for classroom training aimed at improving the education and skills of disadvantaged workers.

The survey also asked employers to consider the availability of three additional programs designed to facilitate hiring entry-level employees. Over the years, various government-sponsored training programs have provided short- and longer term training opportunities to unemployed and underemployed individuals through a variety of public, nonprofit, and (more recently) for-profit initiatives. Government-sponsored programs that screen candidates and prepare them for work programs generally provide targeted skills classes and can facilitate the job search process by matching applicants with local job openings. Some of these programs are geared specifically toward helping individuals make the transition from welfare to work.

The survey indicates that these incentive programs have very little influence over employers' decisions about hiring welfare recipients. The majority of employers surveyed (at the establishment level) are not even aware of the existence of these programs. As shown in figure 20, only 12 percent of employers report having used the Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit, while 7 percent have used a state income tax credit program. Figure 21 shows that 5 percent have used government-sponsored training programs, and even fewer employers have used the other incentives for hiring welfare recipients or other entry-level employees.

Figure 20 *Employers' Familiarity with and Use of Tax Credit and Wage Subsidy Programs*

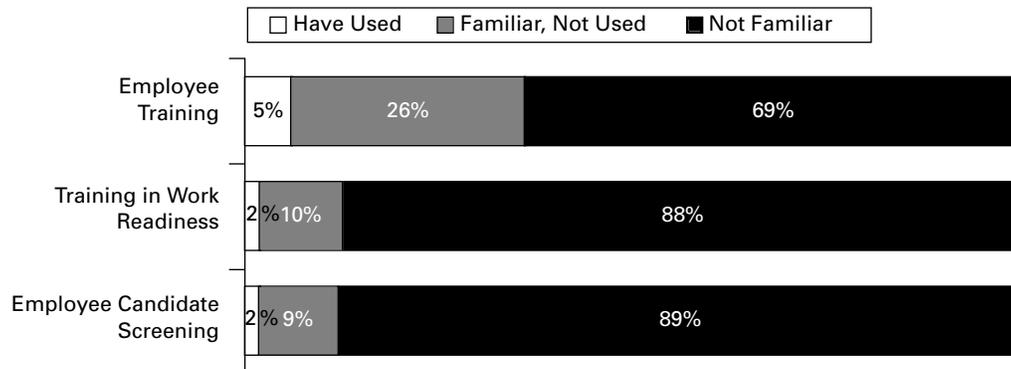


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

All employers who indicated that they were familiar with an incentive program were asked whether that program would be likely to influence their decision to hire former welfare recipients. The responses, shown in figure 22, are split along program lines. A majority of employers familiar with the programs indicate that the Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit, the state income tax credit, and the government wage subsidy are not likely to influence hiring. Some employers, however, indicate that eligibility for employee training programs, candidate screening, or work readiness training would influence their hiring practices.

Like employers in the national sample, Los Angeles and Milwaukee employers are not very familiar with government-sponsored incentives for hiring entry-level workers or welfare recipients, and few who are familiar with these programs actually take advantage of them. Compared with the national or Los Angeles samples, more employers in Milwaukee are familiar with the

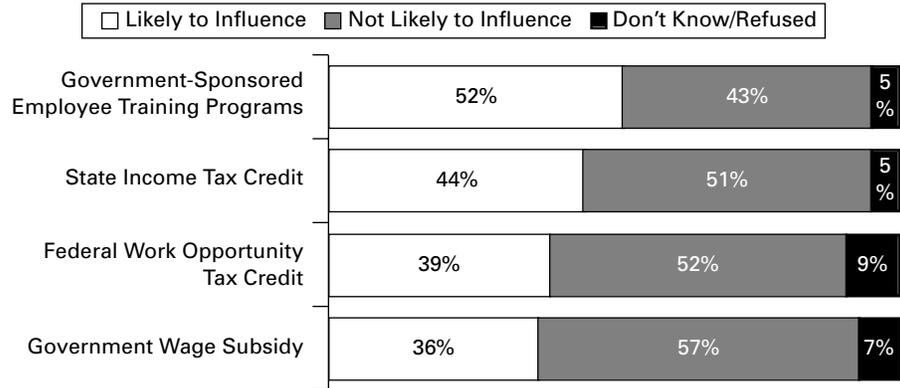
Figure 21 *Employers' Familiarity with and Use of Government-Sponsored Training and Screening Programs*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.



Figure 22 *Likelihood That Incentive Programs Will Influence Hiring among Employers Familiar with Programs*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: The other programs tested in the survey are not included in this analysis because only a small number of respondents were familiar with them.

Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit (44 percent), but only about the same proportion of this group have used the credit.

Findings: Employer Attitudes toward Welfare Recipients

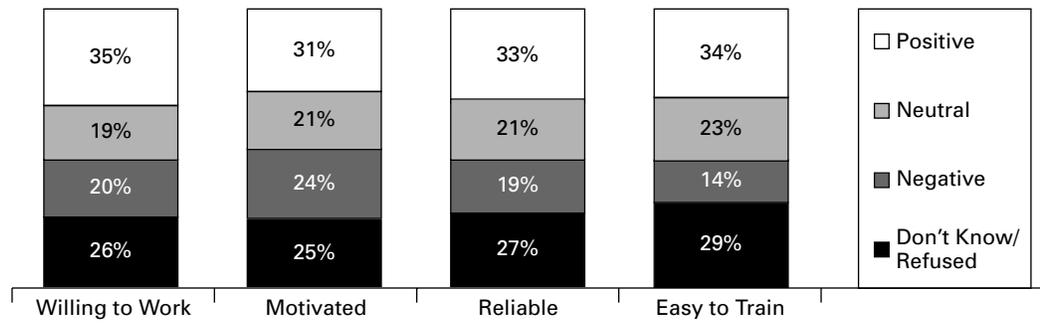
Researchers asked employers to describe their attitudes toward welfare recipients in general and specifically toward former welfare recipients who are currently employed by the company. Even the general questions, however, asked employers to provide their opinions on work-relevant characteristics of welfare recipients such as their willingness to work, motivation, reliability, and ability to be trained.

Respondents used a 1 to 10 scale, in which 1 means that the characteristic does not describe the individual at all and 10 means that it describes the person extremely well. The ratings are similar for all characteristics, with no single attribute standing out as a better (or worse) descriptor of welfare recipients (see figure 23). No more than one employer in nine rates welfare recipients as a 10 on any of the attributes. About one-third give welfare recipients positive ratings (defined as a 6 or higher). Another fifth have a more neutral view, rating welfare recipients as a 5 on these attributes.

About a quarter of respondents do not rate welfare recipients according to the above characteristics, either because they say that they do not know or because they refuse to respond. Businesses more inclined not to give a rating include those who state that they have not hired welfare recipients and those who do not employ entry-level workers.

Employers who report having hired welfare recipients appear to have a more positive perception of them, although because of high nonresponse rates (mostly

Figure 23 *Employers' Perceptions of Welfare Recipients*

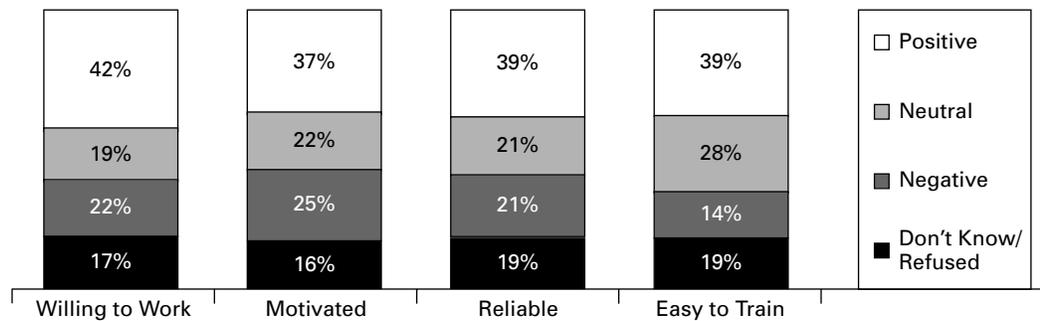


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: These ratings are based on a 10-point scale in which 1 does not describe welfare recipients at all and 10 describes them extremely well. Positive indicates ratings of 6 to 10, neutral is a 5 rating, negative indicates a rating of 1 to 4.

from those who have not hired welfare recipients), this finding is inconclusive. As can be seen in figure 24, approximately 40 percent of these employers give a positive rating of 6 or higher. Also, fewer of these employers indicate that they do not know or refuse to respond to this series of questions.

Figure 24 *Perceptions of Welfare Recipients among Employers Who Have Hired Them (n=309)*

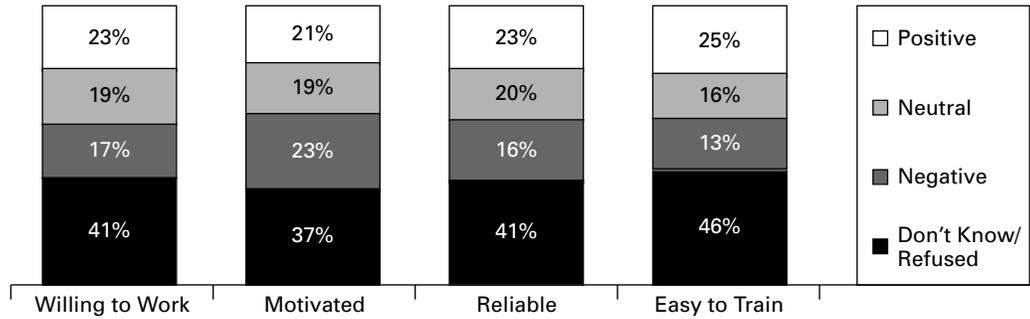


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: These ratings are based on a 10-point scale in which 1 does not describe welfare recipients at all and 10 describes them extremely well. Positive indicates ratings of 6 to 10, neutral is a 5 rating, negative indicates a rating of 1 to 4.

Employers surveyed who have not hired welfare recipients are less likely to voice an opinion about welfare beneficiaries, making it difficult to compare their responses with those of employers who have hired welfare recipients. Depending on the characteristic, between one-fifth and one-quarter of employers who have not hired welfare recipients indicate positive perceptions of welfare recipients. Similar percentages to those who have hired welfare recipients give a negative rating, but a very large segment either does not know about the employees' characteristics or does not wish to respond to these questions (see figure 25).

Figure 25 *Perceptions of Welfare Recipients among Employers Who Have Not Hired Them or Don't Know/Refused (n=191)*

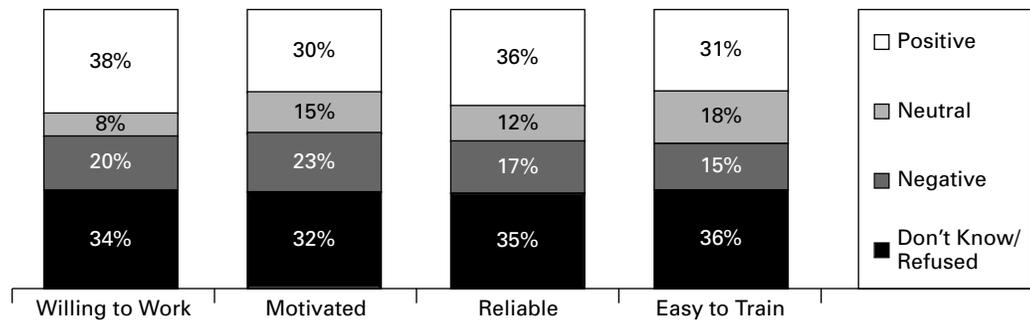


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: These ratings are based on a 10-point scale in which 1 does not describe welfare recipients at all and 10 describes them extremely well. Positive indicates ratings of 6 to 10, neutral is a 5 rating, negative indicates a rating of 1 to 4.

Figure 26 summarizes these employer attitudes in Los Angeles. In general, Los Angeles employers give welfare recipients similar ratings on each characteristic, with about one-third giving positive ratings (6 or higher) on each attribute. A smaller proportion give negative ratings of 4 or lower; about a third of employers, however, do not respond to the question.

Figure 26 *Los Angeles Employers' Perceptions of Welfare Recipients*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: These ratings are based on a 10-point scale in which 1 does not describe welfare recipients at all and 10 describes them extremely well. Positive indicates ratings of 6 to 10, neutral is a 5 rating, negative indicates a rating of 1 to 4.

In Milwaukee, employers rate welfare recipients similarly on each of several characteristics, with about one-third indicating a positive (6 or higher) rating. Again, approximately one-third of employers surveyed do not respond to the questions (see figure 27).

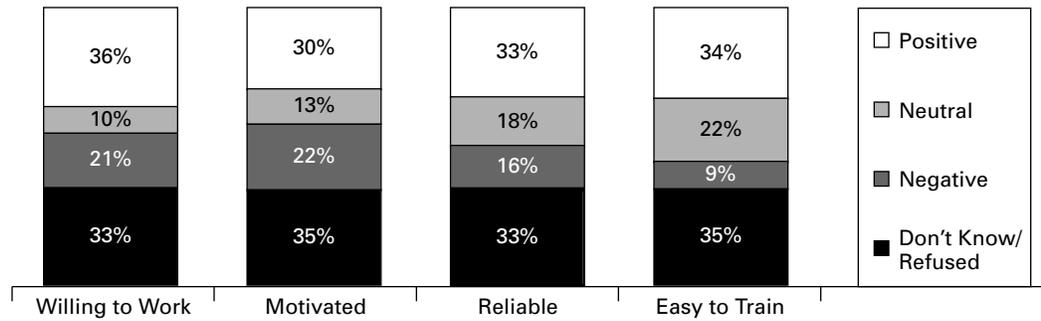
Employer Attitudes toward Former Welfare Recipients in the Workplace

Employers were asked how well the qualities they value most in workers describe welfare recipients in the workplace. Employers were asked to indicate the extent to which each of these qualities describes workers who have previously been on welfare. The 309 employers who have hired someone on welfare



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Figure 27 Milwaukee Employers' Perceptions of Welfare Recipients



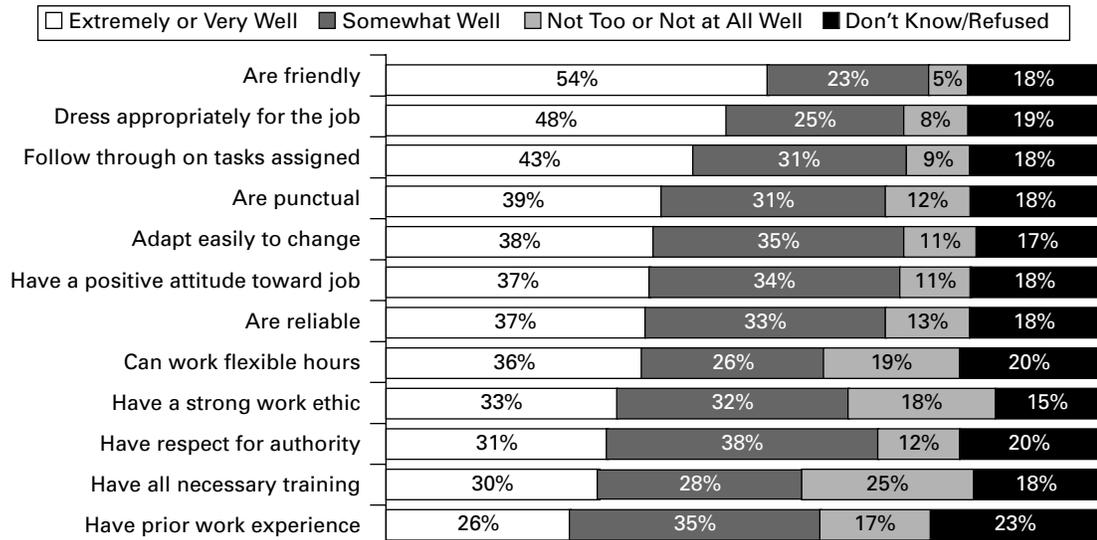
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Note: These ratings are based on a 10-point scale in which 1 does not describe welfare recipients at all and 10 describes them extremely well. Positive indicates ratings of 6 to 10, neutral is a 5 rating, negative indicates a rating of 1 to 4.

were asked to base their ratings on their experiences with former welfare recipients; the 191 employers who have not hired welfare recipients were asked how they believe the statements would describe welfare recipients in the workplace.

The results of the total responses are included in figure 28.

Figure 28 Employer Descriptions of Welfare Recipients as Employees

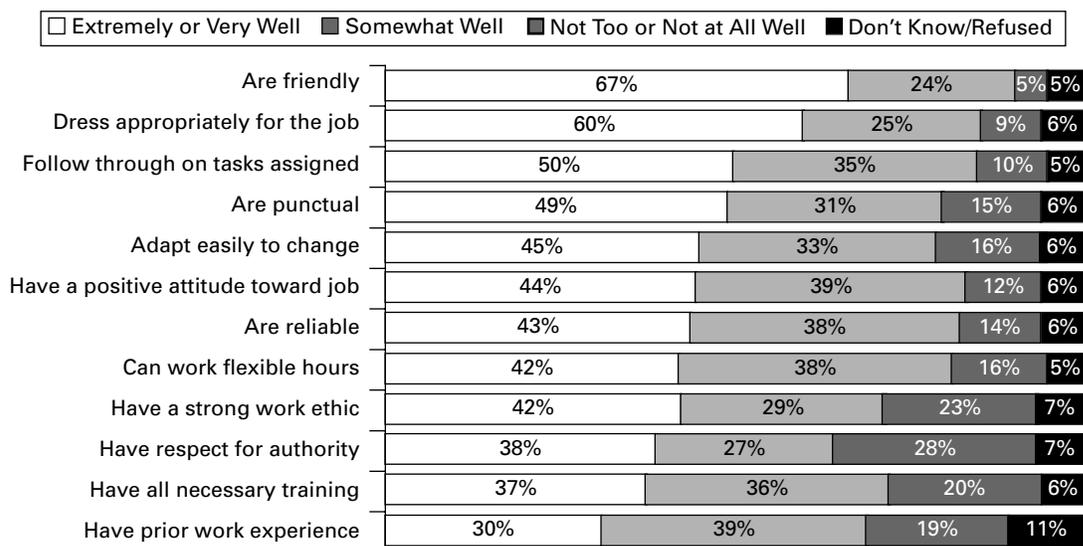


Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Interestingly, the two qualities that employers identify as most important when hiring someone—a positive attitude and reliability—are each considered to describe welfare recipients in the workplace extremely or very well by 37 percent of employers. When the response “somewhat well” is added to these positive responses, the proportion of employers with a positive view of welfare recipients increases to at least 70 percent.

The ratings of employers who have hired someone on welfare appear in figure 29. Two-thirds or more of these employers indicate that the statements describe former welfare recipients in the workplace extremely well, very well, or somewhat well. These employers rate former welfare recipients highest for their friendliness in the workplace, with two-thirds indicating that the phrase “are friendly” describes their employees who are former welfare recipients extremely well (18 percent) or very well (49 percent). Six out of 10 believe that “dress appropriately for the job” describes these employees extremely well (16 percent) or very well (44 percent).

Figure 29 Descriptions of Welfare Recipients as Employees by Employers Who Have Hired Them (n=309)



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

About half indicate that former welfare recipients are described extremely or very well as workers who follow through on tasks assigned to them (11 percent extremely, 39 percent very well) or have respect for authority (11 percent extremely, 38 percent very well). More than two in five say being punctual, adaptable, reliable, and able to work flexible hours and having a positive attitude describe these employees extremely or very well.

Few respondents who have hired welfare recipients indicate that these terms are not too or not at all descriptive of these employees, with a couple of important exceptions. About 28 percent indicate that the phrase “have all the necessary training” is not descriptive of welfare recipients. Likewise, around one respondent in five indicates that former welfare recipients lack prior work experience or a strong work ethic, or cannot necessarily work flexible hours. Still, even these categories reflect overwhelmingly positive responses when the three categories of extremely, very, or somewhat well are combined.

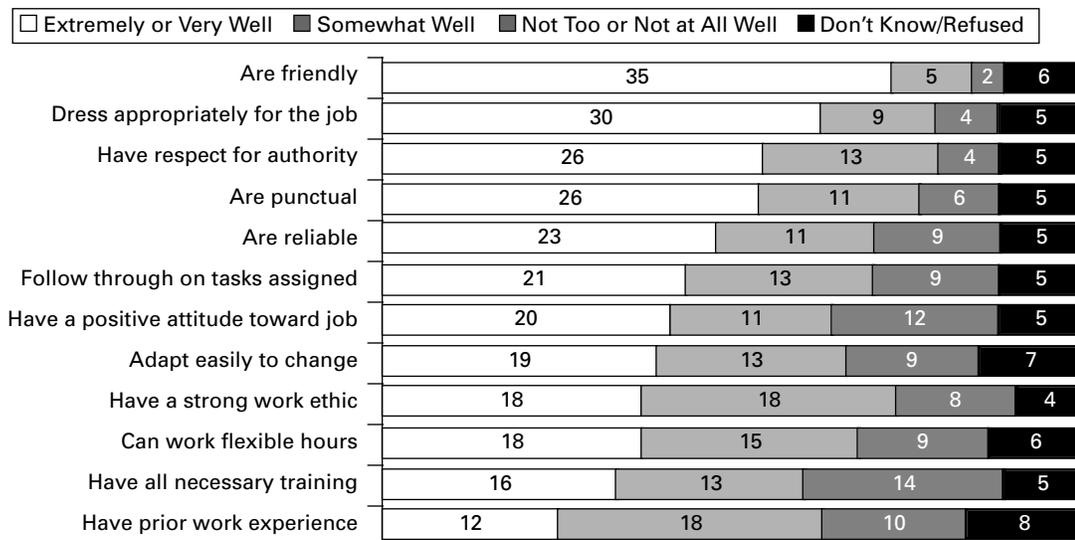
These attitudes seem to vary by establishment size. Establishments with 11 to 20 employees that have hired someone on welfare have a higher number of respondents who believe the statements “follows through on tasks,” “has a

strong work ethic,” and “has prior work experience” describe welfare recipients extremely or very well. In contrast, establishments with 5 to 10 employees are more inclined to report that some of these characteristics, such as having a positive attitude, necessary training, strong work ethic, being friendly, and being punctual, do not describe former welfare recipients well. Establishments with more than 20 employees are more likely not to answer the question.

Among employers who have not hired someone on welfare, the proportion of respondents who indicate that the statements describe these workers extremely or very well is much lower, ranging from a high of about one-third (for being friendly and following through on tasks assigned) to a low of about one-fifth (for having the necessary training and prior work experience). A large percentage in this category, however, either indicate that they do not know how well the characteristics describe former aid recipients in the workplace or refuse to answer. Again, such large numbers of nonresponses can create a bias in the sample, and any findings from these responses should be interpreted cautiously.

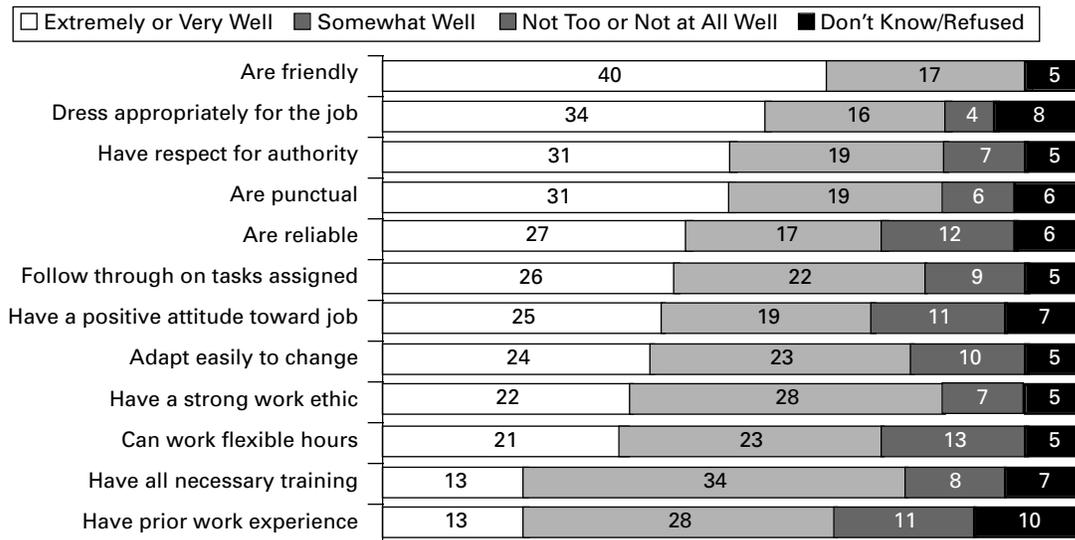
Employers in Los Angeles also were asked how well these 12 statements describe welfare recipients in the workplace. As is shown in figure 30, the 48 employers who have hired someone on welfare hold generally favorable impressions of these employees, with the majority indicating that these positive characteristics are at least somewhat descriptive of their employees. These employers are especially positive when asked about former welfare recipients’ friendliness and ability to dress appropriately for a job. Fewer of these employers are especially positive about former welfare recipients’ prior work experience, training, and work ethic.

Figure 30 *Descriptions of Welfare Recipients as Employees by Los Angeles Employers Who Have Hired Them (n=48), in Number of Respondents*



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers’ Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Figure 31 Descriptions of Welfare Recipients as Employees by Milwaukee Employers Who Have Hired Them (n=62), in Number of Respondents



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

As can be seen in figure 31, the 62 employers in Milwaukee who have hired welfare recipients have generally favorable impressions of them. The majority indicate that the 12 characteristics describe former welfare recipients at least somewhat well. These employers rate the employees highest on their friendliness, ability to dress appropriately for a job, respect for authority, and ability to follow through on tasks. They are less impressed with their prior training, work experience, and work ethic.

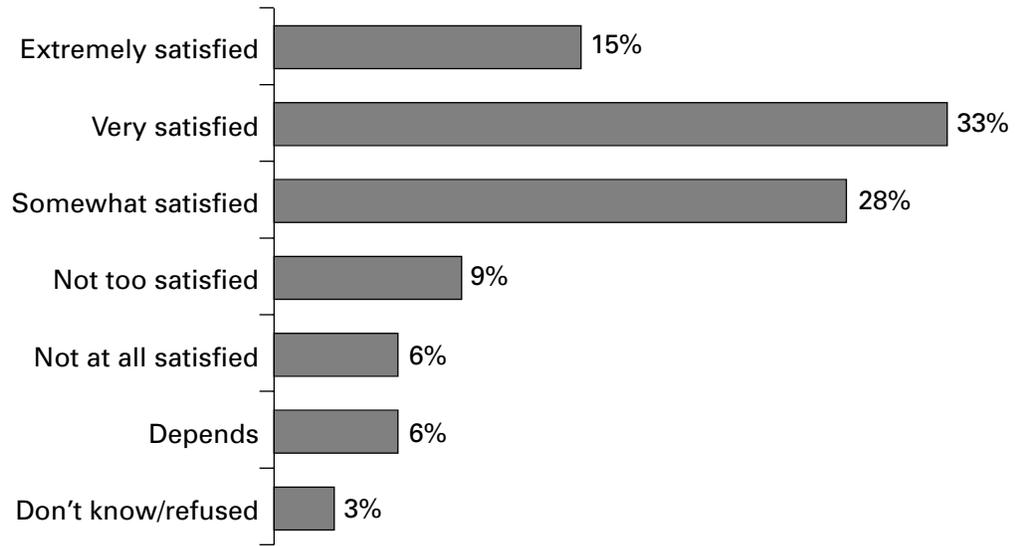
Satisfaction with Former Welfare Recipients in the Workplace

Employers who have hired welfare recipients were asked about their levels of satisfaction with former welfare recipients as employees and whether they would be likely to hire former welfare recipients again in the future. *More than half of the employers who have hired someone on welfare currently have at least one person on their payroll who they believe has previously received welfare.* About 21 percent indicate that they currently do not employ anyone who previously received welfare, and 26 percent either do not know or refuse to answer questions about current employment of welfare recipients. Larger businesses are much more likely than other businesses to indicate that they do not know if they currently employ former welfare recipients or to refuse to answer (59 percent).

As figure 32 illustrates, 15 percent of employers who have hired welfare recipients are extremely satisfied and 33 percent are very satisfied with the performance of these employees. Another 28 percent are somewhat satisfied with the performance of these employees. A total of 15 percent indicate they are not too or not all satisfied with former welfare recipients' performance. Larger



Figure 32 Satisfaction with the Performance of Welfare Recipients among Employers Who Have Hired Them (n=309)



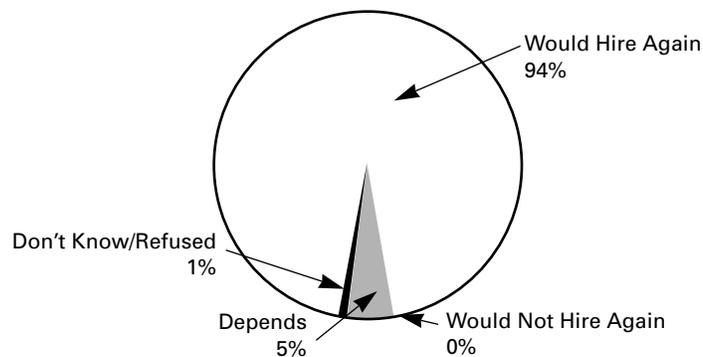
Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

establishments are more likely to indicate that they are somewhat satisfied and less likely to say they are extremely satisfied, although their combined positive ratings (81 percent) do not differ significantly from the national survey results. Establishments with 10 or fewer employees are more likely than others to report not being satisfied (20 percent).

Willingness to Hire Someone on Welfare in the Future

Nearly all employers who have hired someone on welfare (94 percent) report that they would be willing to hire another welfare recipient (see figure 33).

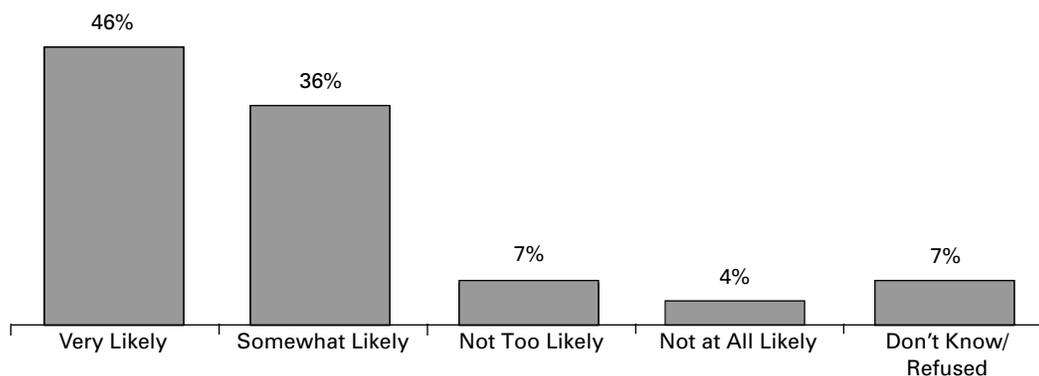
Figure 33 Willingness to Hire Welfare Recipients in the Future among Employers Who Have Hired Welfare Recipients in the Past (n=309)



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

More than four out of five employers who have not hired welfare recipients say that they are likely to hire a current or former welfare recipient in the next year, provided they have a job opening. As can be seen in figure 34, nearly half (46 percent) say they are very likely to hire a former welfare recipient in the next year, and 36 percent report that they are somewhat likely. Only 11 percent indicate that they are unlikely to hire a former welfare recipient, even if they have a job available.

Figure 34 Likelihood of Hiring a Former Welfare Recipient in the Next Year among Employers Who Have Not Hired Any Previously (n=191)



Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers at the establishment level nationwide.

Most of the 48 Los Angeles respondents who have hired welfare recipients indicate that they are satisfied with the performance of these employees. While only 2 employers say they are extremely satisfied, 17 are very satisfied and 16 are somewhat satisfied. Just 6 employers are not satisfied with former welfare recipients' job performance.

Almost all (42 of 48) Los Angeles employers who have hired welfare recipients say they would hire welfare recipients again. Also, the majority of employers who have not hired someone on welfare believe they are likely to hire a person on welfare in the next year.

Likewise, most of the 62 Milwaukee employers who have hired welfare recipients are satisfied with their performance on the job, and most currently have at least one employee who is a former welfare recipient. Almost all (58 out of 62) say they would hire welfare recipients again. Most employers who have not hired welfare recipients say they are likely to hire a former welfare recipient in the next year. In Los Angeles, employers indicate that they are significantly less likely than the national sample to hire a welfare recipient in the next year (63 percent versus 82 percent).



Analysis and Discussion

The findings in this survey present a classic “good news/bad news” story for federal and state policymakers who are eager to move millions more welfare recipients off public assistance and into private sector employment. The survey indicates that employers generally have positive attitudes about people on welfare. The majority of employers surveyed have first-hand experience with at least one employee who previously was on welfare. Nearly all of these employers say they would hire former welfare recipients again. The positions they offer, however, often provide very low wages and a minimal benefit package that promises little support to working mothers.

The survey findings do not portray employers as a group that harbors negative opinions of people who have been on welfare. Of course, employers may hold these opinions in check—choosing either to respond more positively than their true feelings would dictate or to refuse to respond to the questions at all. In fact, large numbers of employers who indicate that they had not employed former welfare recipients or were unaware whether their workers had ever been on welfare did not respond to the questions. This nonresponse may reflect these employers’ lack of knowledge about former welfare recipients among their employees. Or these nonresponses may mask attitudes and opinions that, if reported, would alter the findings. In light of the high non-response rates within this employer category, employers’ attitudes must be interpreted cautiously.

With these caveats in mind, the survey clearly demonstrates that employers are interested in hiring workers who are reliable and have a positive attitude—and they believe these attributes describe welfare recipients. Employers seem to care relatively little about previous training and technical skills when filling entry-level positions. Many employers have trouble finding candidates

for job openings—some see enough applicants but few qualified candidates, while others point to a relatively shallow applicant pool.

These findings are similar across the various groups surveyed, including those varying in establishment size and type of industry, and are also quite similar when weighted to reflect the distribution of employees in the workplace. Employers in Los Angeles and Milwaukee seem to have similar attitudes toward welfare recipients and their ability to perform in private sector positions. Los Angeles employers describe a marginally more severe working climate—lower wages, fewer benefits, and more “hard skill” requirements than employers in Milwaukee. But employers in each of these cities and employers in the national sample paint a relatively optimistic picture of the likelihood of welfare recipients moving into private sector jobs. And despite Milwaukee’s experiences with welfare-to-work initiatives, employers in Milwaukee are only slightly more likely to have hired welfare workers in the past or to hire someone on welfare in the future than employers in the national sample.

Employers may be the short-term beneficiaries of the nation’s welfare reform policies. Prospective employees looking for entry-level, private sector jobs are likely to find many interested employers, partly because of the strong economy. Currently, the country is enjoying extremely low unemployment levels—in some areas, large numbers of vacancies for entry-level workers have caused wages and benefits to increase as businesses compete for scarce help. A downturn in the economy could change this picture for welfare recipients trying to secure a private sector position. With fewer positions available and more unskilled labor out of work, employers might become a bit more selective, even at the lower end of the wage scale.

Even with the country’s rosy economic conditions, the survey’s findings also illustrate some of the obstacles to sustained employment and the difficulties that former welfare recipients will face in meeting their ultimate goal—to move from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency. Employers report that average wage rates for entry-level jobs are low, benefits are limited or nonexistent (in part because so many of these positions are part time), and many jobs are inaccessible by public transportation. Others who have looked at the employability of people leaving welfare have reached these same conclusions.¹³ Researchers at the University of Texas recently studied the prospects of women in Texas who left welfare for work; they conclude that the “vast majority of such jobs are low-wage . . . , less than full-time/full-year, are in occupations that have very high rates of turnover, and do not offer medical, dental or sick leave benefits.”¹⁴

The Entry-Level Job Market

Some proponents of welfare-to-work strategies contend that virtually all welfare recipients are better off when they leave welfare for work, since “total compensation” includes not just wages and benefits but also the experience of working, which in the longer term can lead to higher paying jobs.

But it appears that the majority of the entry-level workforce operates in a precarious environment that lends few supports beyond a minimum hourly wage. In large part because of this precariousness, the government continues to offer access to Medicaid for at least one year after someone leaves welfare for work, and at least a dozen states have extended transitional Medicaid for two years or longer. The federal government and the states are also beginning to devote more resources to child care services and to extend eligibility for child care programs, recognizing that safe, high-quality, affordable child care is perhaps the most important support for mothers entering the workforce. The Earned Income Tax Credit can supplement the relatively low wages received by most people leaving welfare. Former welfare recipients, however, need to be made aware of transitional benefits related to health and child care so that they can take advantage of these important work supports.

The findings in this survey underscore the importance of public programs to supplement private sector earnings for individuals leaving welfare for work. Despite the prevalence of low initial wages, some research suggests that over time, even young women previously on welfare can make the transition from bad jobs to good jobs (defined as paying at least \$8.00 per hour and providing a minimum of 35 hours of work per week), although their success rates are not nearly as high as those of young women never on welfare.¹⁵ Given the bare-bones nature of the entry-level job market, merely finding private sector employment may not be sufficient to lift former welfare recipients out of poverty.

What Employers Are Looking for in Prospective Workers

This survey provides some interesting information about what qualities employers value most in their entry-level employees. Employers seem to want, first and foremost, a reliable worker with a positive attitude. In the informal survey, employers said repeatedly that they could teach a worker how to carry out a set of job-related tasks, but that it was much more difficult to teach a person how to be a good worker. Education, technical training, and even prior work experience do not appear as important as a good attitude, responsible work habits, and good references.

Employers indicate that they often require references from previous employers, prior work experience, or explanations about previous employment separation as a condition of employment. It seems that employers are looking for evidence about the quality of a potential employee but not necessarily about how prepared that person is for a specific job. In this case, previous employers can vouch for an employee's attitude or reliability.

Government-Supported Incentive Programs

The responses concerning government-supported incentives reinforce the findings regarding the qualities employers feel are important in entry-level job applicants. Among the relatively small group of employers who are familiar



with these programs, the majority clearly indicate that such incentives are unlikely to influence hiring decisions. This sentiment is consistent with the findings of evaluations of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit and also was supported by the informal survey. Several employers said that they “could not be paid enough” to hire “problem” workers, irrespective of the person’s welfare status or the availability of government supports. These employers and those in the national survey were much more interested in government programs that included job training, job readiness, and employee screening opportunities. Like a reference from a previous employer, training and screening programs could identify potentially successful job applicants.

Some of these findings may appear inconsistent with research concerning the demand for labor—especially at the lower end of the pay scale. For example, Holzer contends that skill requirements of even low-wage jobs often exceed the skills brought to the market by welfare recipients.¹⁶ Most jobs require one or more of the following skills: reading and writing paragraph-length material, doing arithmetic, using computers, and dealing directly with customers. Holzer concludes that, on the basis of reading, writing, and math skill requirements alone, “the vast majority of the available jobs for unskilled workers . . . would likely be out of reach for most long-term recipients of AFDC.”¹⁷ Holzer and others also note the importance of other barriers to employment for welfare recipients, including disabilities, substance abuse and domestic violence problems, unmet child care needs, inadequate transportation, and discrimination by employers.¹⁸

Employers may well require a baseline skill level, consisting of reading, writing, and computational ability, that they do not state as a requirement because it is presumed to exist, even for candidates without a diploma or GED. Employers may have selected “positive attitude” and “reliability” as their most highly valued qualities in workers, all the while presuming that applicants would have at least some basic level of academic preparation. This interpretation may be consistent with Holzer’s assessment of the mismatch between welfare recipients and available entry-level positions.

The strong and consistent selection of attitude and reliability, however—especially among employers who are very familiar with at least some workers who have been on welfare—suggests that employers are willing to be flexible in their other requirements for workers upon whom they believe they can depend.

This finding certainly can be interpreted as positive for less educated or experienced welfare recipients who are determined to find and retain employment. It also presents an interesting dilemma for individuals whose personal and professional characteristics may conflict with these requirements.

In the informal survey, several employers mentioned a preference for individuals whose schedules could accommodate off-hours (including nights and weekends) or rotating shifts. These employers were frank in admitting that they preferred applicants with no “outside” responsibilities such as child care or

other family obligations. Many of the employers in the national and informal surveys also indicated a preference for hiring part-time employees to fill entry-level positions.

While an emphasis on attitude and reliability is good news for those who lack education and job skills, it still presents certain impediments, especially to people whose family responsibilities keep them from working “flexible” schedules, who rely on public transportation, or who may not be able to survive financially without at least full-time employment. Even standard work hours present challenges for workers with difficulties in obtaining child care and transportation. These needs can create enormous barriers to fitting the definition of a “reliable” worker.



Notes

1. The survey asked employers about low-wage and entry-level workers and did not distinguish between these two groups of workers. The survey instrument did not define these terms. The findings in this report describe employer attitudes toward “entry-level” workers, a term that for the purposes of this study includes low-wage workers.
2. We used a variety of sources to develop our list of 25 companies, including the *American Business Directories*, the *State Industrial Directory*, and various articles highlighting corporate involvement in welfare-to-work programs.
3. These are referred to as larger establishments or businesses throughout the report to distinguish them from the rest of the sample. These are not necessarily “large” businesses as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics or other sources.
4. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *1992 Enterprise Statistics Company Summary Report* (Washington, DC: August 1997).
5. Throughout the report, results are presented for the national sample (*exclusive* of the additional city interviews) and for the Los Angeles and Milwaukee samples separately. The margin of error (at the 95 percent confidence level) for the national sample is ± 4.5 percent. For the case studies, the margin of error (also at 95 percent confidence) is ± 10 percent. When comparing the case studies to the total sample, the margin of error (95 percent confidence) is ± 11 percent; when comparing case study to case study, the margin of error is ± 14 percent.
6. The wages reported are representative of what employers pay entry-level workers. Because of the distribution of employees across establishments, however, these wages are not representative of average entry-level employee wages. For example, about half of employers report that they pay entry-level workers, on average, \$5.50 or less. However, only one-third of workers work for employers who pay entry-level workers on average less than \$5.50.
7. Wage rates include tips, commissions, and bonuses.
8. This median wage refers to the median response provided by employers when answering the question, “On average, what is the hourly wage for entry level employees at your company (including tips, commissions, and bonuses).” These responses were not weighted by the number of entry-level employees who are affected by these rates and therefore more accurately reflect median wages *offered* than median wages *earned*.
9. The benefits reported are representative of the benefits employers offer their entry-level employees. Because of the distribution of employees across establishments, however, these benefits are not representative of the benefits received by entry-level employees across the country. For example, nearly half of employers report that they offer health insurance to their employees. However, according to the findings weighted to reflect the distribution of employees in the workforce, two-thirds of employees work for employers that offer health benefits to entry-level employees.
10. In some of these cases, employees without paid sick leave use paid vacation when they are out of work because of illness. In other cases, employees must take leave without pay for an unscheduled sick day.
11. It is important to note that these “larger” employers primarily represent establishments with 100 to 250 workers. Employers with 500 or more employees are more likely to provide health coverage, vacation and sick leave, and other benefits.
12. This rate of hiring may signify higher job turnover within the restaurant industry than in the other industries surveyed.
13. See, for example, S. Henry and S. Fuller, *Making Connections: Employers in the Washington Labor Market* (Washington, DC: Wider Opportunities for Women, 1998).
14. L.O. Lawson and C.T. King. *The Reality of Welfare-to-Work: Employment Opportunities for Women Affected by Welfare Time Limits in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, September 1997).
15. L. Pavetti and G. Acs. *Moving Up, Moving Out or Going Nowhere? A Study of the Employment Patterns of Young Women and the Implications for Welfare Mothers* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, July 1997).
16. H.J. Holzer. *What Employers Want: Job Prospects for Less-Educated Workers* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996).
17. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
18. *Ibid.* See also Pavetti, 1996.

APPENDIX I:

Survey Instrument and Aggregate Responses

The Urban Institute and the Economic and Social Research Institute Employer Survey on Hiring Welfare Recipients

Hello, my name is _____ from National Research, Inc., an independent research firm located in Washington, DC. I am interested in talking with the person in your company who is in charge of hiring.

[WHEN SPEAKING WITH APPROPRIATE PERSON]

INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm from National Research, Inc., an independent research firm located in Washington, DC. We are interested in asking you a few questions about the number and type of low-skilled jobs you have in your company and to discuss your thoughts about hiring people who have received government aid. This is not a sales call, your responses will be confidential, and the results will be reported purely for research purposes.

(ONLY IF ASKED) The survey will take approximately 15 minutes.

S1. Am I speaking to the person who is in charge of hiring?

1. Yes **(CONTINUE)**
2. No **(ASK TO SPEAK TO THE APPROPRIATE PERSON AND THEN REPEAT INTRODUCTION)**

S2. First, I would like to confirm the number of people who are employed by your company. How many people are currently employed, both full time and part time, by your company?

(CHECK RESPONSE WITH SAMPLE LIST)

(IF UNDER 5 EMPLOYEES, THANK AND TERMINATE)

	Total n=500	LA n=100	Mil n=100	100+ n=108
10 or fewer	48	26	32	—
11–20	26	23	32	—
21–49	15	31	19	—
50–99	7	12	11	—
100 or more	4	7	6	100

1. Of your entire labor force, approximately how many of the jobs are low wage or entry level?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	11	8	11	5
1 to 2	19	14	20	4
3 to 5	22	23	12	5
6 to 10	20	13	24	6
11 to 14	6	2	9	5
15 to 24	7	18	12	5
25 or more	13	19	4	73
(Don't know/Refused)	2	3	—	4

2. Approximately how many of those employees are . . .
(PROBE TO GET RESPONSES)

a. Members of a union	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	96	95	96	80
1 or more	3	5	4	18
(Don't know/Refused)	1	—	—	2
b. Seasonal	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	87	92	89	81
1 or more	13	7	11	19
(Don't know/Refused)	1	1	—	1
c. Part-time workers	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	33	33	24	49
1 to 4	29	24	25	11
5 to 9	16	11	20	6
10 or more	21	32	30	33
(Don't know/Refused)	1	—	1	1

d. Temporary workers	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	93	92	92	81
1 or more	7	8	8	17
(Don't know/Refused)	1	—	—	2

3. Approximately how many entry-level/low-wage workers do you hire in a six-month period?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
None	20	18	21	6
1 to 2	26	31	23	11
3 to 5	15	21	13	6
6 to 15	15	15	19	13
16 or more	11	4	12	51
(Don't know/Refused)	12	11	12	14

4. Do you expect the number of entry-level/low-wage jobs to increase or decrease over the next six months?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Increase	24	29	29	18
Decrease	14	15	14	12
Stay the same	60	49	57	68
(Don't know/Refused)	3	7	—	2

5. Will the recent federal increase in the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 per hour affect the number of entry-level/low-wage employees you hire in the next year?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Yes (ASK Q5A)	15	18	13	3
No (GO TO Q6)	84	78	84	97
(Don't know/Refused) (GO TO Q6)	*	4	3	—

*less than 1 percent.



5a. How will this increase affect the hiring practices of entry-level/low-wage employees within the next year?
(READ AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	Total n=78	LA n=18	Mil n=13	100+ n=3
Hire fewer full-time entry-level/low-wage employees	31	33	23	33
Hire entry-level/low-wage employees as part-time workers instead of full-time workers	25	22	46	33
Pay higher wages to entry-level/low-wage workers	14	6	15	—
(Other, specify)	12	11	8	33
(Don't know)	13	28	—	—
(Refused)	—	—	—	—
(Will not affect hiring practices)	5	—	8	—

6. Are your entry-level/low-wage jobs accessible by public transportation?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Yes	61	81	66	57
No	36	13	30	35
(Some are, some are not)	1	4	3	7
(Don't know/Refused)	2	2	1	1

7. When hiring individuals for entry-level/low-wage positions, which of the following do you require?
(READ AND ROTATE 1-6, READ 7, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
High school degree or GED	25	19	24	34
Prior work experience	40	47	39	49
References from previous employers	60	52	54	66
Reason for leaving last job	40	40	33	55
Computer skills	10	9	5	13
Industry specific trade skills	14	28	13	19
(Other, specify)	10	5	9	11
(Don't know/Refused)	—	—	—	1
(None)	12	17	11	12

8. When you have a job opening, would you say you have . . .
(CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER)

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Plenty of qualified candidates to choose from	20	31	20	31
Plenty of applicants, but very few with good qualifications	43	41	42	47
Very few applicants	35	25	35	18
(Don't know/Refused)	2	3	3	5

9. From which of the following sources do you find entry-level/low-wage employees?
(READ AND ROTATE 1–8, READ 9, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Newspaper ads	35	30	43	53
Word of mouth	40	31	40	55
Employment agency	13	11	15	34
Other publications	4	4	8	7
Walk-ins	44	44	39	56
Recruiter	4	—	6	6
Help wanted sign	20	13	27	12
Referrals	20	20	25	37
Other (general), specify	7	10	10	11
(Don't know/Refused)	*	—	—	—

10. On average, what is the hourly wage for entry level employees at your company (including tips, commissions, and bonuses)?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
\$5.15 or less	29	35	12	16
\$5.16 to \$5.50	19	15	24	10
\$5.51 to \$6.00	19	20	23	16
\$6.01 to \$6.50	7	6	5	14
\$6.51 to \$9.99	18	16	29	34
\$10.00 or more	3	5	3	7
(It varies)	1	—	—	1
(Commission only)	*	—	—	—
(They are not paid by the hour)	*	1	—	1
(Don't know/Refused)	3	2	4	2

11. Which of the following benefits do you offer your entry-level/low-wage employees?
(READ AND ROTATE 1–5, READ 6, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Health insurance coverage (IF CIRCLED, ASK Q11A)	47	51	60	83
Child care assistance (such as on-site child care, dependent care spending accounts, or assistance in locating affordable child care)	1	2	4	3
Subsidized or free transportation to and from work	5	2	5	3
Paid sick leave	17	23	13	37
Paid vacation	48	37	50	83
Other (specify)	5	1	4	2
(None)	26	35	24	7
(Don't know/Refused)	3	1	3	2



[ASK ONLY IF COMPANY PROVIDES HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE]

11a. Approximately how much of your employees' health plan costs does the company cover? **(READ LIST, CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE)**

	Total n=233	LA n=51	Mil n=60	100+ n=90
100%	29	24	18	21
80%	21	24	35	32
51% to 79%	9	14	7	13
50%	17	6	13	10
Less than 50%	7	8	5	3
(Don't know)	12	24	13	4
(Refused)	5	2	8	—

[AMONG EMPLOYERS WHO OFFER BENEFITS IN Q11]

12. How long does an entry-level/low-wage employee need to work for the company to be eligible to receive benefits?

	Total n=389	LA n=65	Mil n=76	100+ n=101
Immediately	6	6	7	4
1 to 3 months	42	43	67	61
4 to 11 months	17	22	12	21
1 year or more	29	22	12	13
(Don't know/Refused)	6	8	3	1

13. Does your company provide on-the-job training to new workers or support external training or licensing opportunities for its entry-level/low-wage employees?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Yes	97	90	97	98
No	3	10	3	2
(Don't know)	*	—	—	—
(Refused)	—	—	—	—

14. What is the average length of time that an entry-level/low-wage employee remains with your company?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
6 months or less	26	23	28	20
7 months to 1 year	23	19	27	15
13 months to 2 years	23	23	26	16
More than 2 years	15	21	16	21
(Don't know/Refused)	14	14	3	28

15. Now I am going to read you several qualities that employers sometimes look for when hiring entry-level/low-wage employees. Please tell me which **three** are the **most** important to you, and rank them in order of importance.

		First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
1. Has a positive attitude toward his or her job.		39	14	14
	LA	32	15	14
	Mil	38	16	13
	100+	38	14	14
2. Is reliable.		27	32	8
	LA	18	34	14
	Mil	27	33	11
	100+	30	33	8
3. Has a strong work ethic.		9	13	18
	LA	6	13	17
	Mil	16	11	27
	100+	16	18	24
4. Has all of the necessary training.		1	1	3
	LA	3	1	4
	Mil	—	1	—
	100+	3	1	7
5. Has prior work experience.		3	4	6
	LA	7	4	6
	Mil	1	3	5
	100+	2	5	4
6. Follows through on tasks assigned to him or her.		1	6	10
	LA	4	5	6
	Mil	—	5	16
	100+	—	5	7
7. Has respect for authority.		1	4	6
	LA	1	3	11
	Mil	1	4	7
	100+	1	4	4
8. Is punctual.		7	13	11
	LA	9	9	10
	Mil	6	9	5
	100+	4	13	14
9. Is friendly.		4	5	7
	LA	6	4	3
	Mil	3	7	5
	100+	2	3	5
10. Dresses appropriately for the job.		1	3	6
	LA	4	5	2
	Mil	1	4	1
	100+	1	2	—
11. Can work flexible hours.		2	3	7
	LA	3	5	6
	Mil	3	3	6
	100+	4	3	7
12. Adapts easily to changes.		2	1	5
	LA	1	1	5
	Mil	1	3	3
	100+	2	1	6
Voluntary response (do not read)		2	1	2
Don't know/Refused	LA	6	—	1
	Mil	3	3	3
	100+	6	—	1



16. In your opinion, how well do the following characteristics describe welfare recipients? Let's start with . . . **(READ AND ROTATE A–D, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)**. On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 does not describe a welfare recipient at all and 10 describes a welfare recipient extremely well, how well does this characteristic describe welfare recipients?

		1 to 4	5	6 to 9	10	Don't Know/ Refused
a. Easy to train		14	23	26	8	29
	LA	15	18	24	7	36
	Mil	9	22	24	10	35
	100+	3	26	37	6	29
b. Willing to work		20	19	24	11	26
	LA	20	8	24	14	34
	Mil	21	10	24	12	33
	100+	18	23	29	6	26
c. Motivated		24	21	23	8	25
	LA	23	15	24	6	32
	Mil	22	13	20	10	35
	100+	14	24	32	5	25
d. Reliable		19	21	25	8	27
	LA	17	12	26	10	35
	Mil	16	18	24	9	33
	100+	7	31	28	7	27

17. Has your company ever hired someone who was on welfare?

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Yes (GO TO Q21)	62	48	62	66
No (GO TO Q18)	23	28	26	5
(Don't know/Refused) (GO TO Q18)	15	24	12	30

[ASK Q18–20 ONLY TO THOSE WHO SAID 'NO' OR 'DK' ON Q17]

18. Under what circumstances would you be willing to hire welfare recipients?

	Total n=191	LA n=52	Mil n=38	100+ n=37
If willing to work	23	17	8	22
Depends on the person	5	—	—	3
If meet qualifications	36	33	21	30
If have good attitude	1	—	—	—
It depends on the kind of work	2	—	—	—
If reliable/dependable	8	4	11	3
Would hire them like anyone else	9	29	24	14
If have good work ethic	2	—	5	—
If experienced	2	2	3	14
Only in emergency cases	1	—	—	—
If recommended by someone	*	—	3	3
Prefer younger people	1	—	—	—
If had position available	5	4	16	5
If work full-time	—	2	—	—
If show initiative	—	—	3	—
Based on the need	—	—	3	—
If had paperwork	—	—	3	—
(Don't know/Refused)	7	10	3	8



19. Based on your **perceptions** of people who have been on welfare and are now working, please tell me how you think the following would describe them. Would you say that **(READ AND ROTATE A-L)** would describe this employee extremely well, very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not at all well?

Total (n=191) LA (n=52) Mil (n=38) 100+ (n=35)	Extremely Well	Very Well	Some- what Well	Not Too Well	Not at All Well	(Vol.) Don't Know/ Refused
a. Have a positive attitude toward their job.	9	19	27	5	1	39
LA	8	23	17	2	—	50
Mil	8	11	21	3	8	50
100+	3	30	22	—	—	46
b. Are reliable.	8	21	25	5	2	39
LA	8	23	15	2	—	52
Mil	5	16	18	5	—	55
100+	3	19	32	—	—	46
c. Have a strong work ethic.	6	20	25	10	2	37
LA	4	19	17	10	—	50
Mil	8	11	21	8	5	47
100+	3	14	30	3	—	51
d. Have all of the necessary training.	6	11	28	14	4	37
LA	4	17	19	12	—	48
Mil	—	8	26	8	8	50
100+	3	5	32	11	3	46
e. Have prior work experience.	4	13	27	12	3	41
LA	4	12	25	4	2	54
Mil	—	5	32	8	—	55
100+	5	5	32	11	—	26
f. Follow through on tasks assigned to them.	4	28	23	6	2	38
LA	4	23	15	4	2	52
Mil	8	16	21	3	—	53
100+	3	16	30	—	—	51
g. Have respect for authority.	6	23	24	4	2	42
LA	4	25	19	2	—	50
Mil	11	13	24	—	—	53
100+	3	24	22	—	—	51
h. Are punctual.	7	22	28	4	2	38
LA	4	17	23	2	—	54
Mil	11	21	16	5	—	48
100+	14	8	30	—	—	49
i. Are friendly.	8	27	22	3	1	39
LA	8	19	25	—	—	48
Mil	11	21	16	—	3	50
100+	8	22	22	—	—	49
j. Dress appropriately for the job.	5	23	25	6	1	41
LA	2	25	21	—	—	52
Mil	8	16	18	3	3	53
100+	3	22	27	3	—	46

[continues]

[Q19, continued]

Total (n=191)						(Vol.)	
LA (n=52)		Extremely	Very	Some-	Not	Not	
Mil (n=38)		Well	Well	what	Too	at All	
100+ (n=35)		Well	Well	Well	Well	Well	
						Don't	
						Know/	
						Refused	
k. Can work flexible hours.		5	23	20	8	4	41
	LA	2	25	19	2	—	52
	Mil	3	11	21	5	—	61
	100+	5	32	3	—	—	59
i. Adapt easily to changes.		6	23	28	6	2	35
	LA	4	19	17	4	—	56
	Mil	5	24	21	5	3	42
	100+	8	38	5	3	—	46

20. If you had a job opening in the next year, how likely would you be to hire a welfare recipient?

	Total n=191	LA n=52	Mil n=38	100+ n=37
Very likely	46	25	24	32
Somewhat likely	36	39	50	38
Not too likely	7	19	5	16
Not at all likely	4	—	3	—
(Don't know/Refused)	7	17	18	14

(ALL RESPONDENTS HERE GO TO Q25)

[ASK Q21–Q24 IF ANSWERED ‘YES’ TO Q17]

21. How many people on your current payroll were receiving welfare prior to joining the company?
(IF DON'T KNOW, PROBE FOR AN ESTIMATE)

	Total n=309	LA n=48	Mil n=62	100+ n=71
None	21	27	19	1
1 to 3	40	38	40	7
4 or more	13	17	16	32
(Don't know/Refused)	27	19	24	59



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22. How satisfied are you with former welfare recipients' performance on the job?

	Total n=309	LA n=48	Mil n=62	100+ n=71
Extremely satisfied	15	4	13	6
Very satisfied	33	35	40	31
Somewhat satisfied	28	33	23	44
Not too satisfied	9	8	10	6
Not at all satisfied	6	4	8	1
(Depends upon the individual's performance)	6	6	3	4
(Don't know/Refused)	3	8	3	8

23. Would you be willing to hire welfare recipients again, sometime in the future?

	Total n=309	LA n=48	Mil n=62	100+ n=71
Yes	94	88	94	99
No	*	2	—	—
(Depends)	5	10	6	1
(Don't know)	1	—	—	—
(Refused)	—	—	—	—

24. Please tell me how well the following describes your employees who were welfare recipients. Would you say that **(READ AND ROTATE A-L)** describes your employees extremely well, very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not at all well?

	Total (n=309)	LA (n=48)	Mil (n=62)	100+ (n=73)	Extremely Well	Very Well	Some-what Well	Not Too Well	Not at All Well	(Vol.) Don't Know/Refused
a. Have a positive attitude toward their job.					11	32	38	10	5	6
		LA	Mil	100+	8	33	23	19	6	10
		Mil	100+	5	31	45	8	3	8	
		100+		3	34	39	7	—	17	
b. Are reliable.					12	30	38	10	6	5
		LA	Mil	100+	13	35	23	10	8	10
		Mil	100+	8	31	37	11	5	8	
		100+		6	24	47	6	3	15	
c. Have a strong work ethic.					8	29	36	13	8	6
		LA	Mil	100+	8	29	38	8	8	8
		Mil	100+	10	24	37	11	10	8	
		100+		4	15	48	15	—	17	
d. Have all of the necessary training.					8	30	27	18	10	7
		LA	Mil	100+	6	27	27	19	10	10
		Mil	100+	5	16	55	10	3	11	
		100+		6	16	45	18	1	14	

[continues]

[Q24, continued]

		Extremely Well	Very Well	Some- what Well	Not Too Well	Not at All Well	(Vol.) Don't Know/ Refused
Total (n=309)							
LA (n=48)							
Mil (n=62)							
100+ (n=73)							
e. Have prior work experience.		5	25	39	15	4	12
	LA	4	21	38	13	8	17
	Mil	2	19	45	16	16	16
	100+	6	25	42	11	1	14
f. Follow through on tasks assigned to them.		11	39	35	7	3	5
	LA	6	38	27	10	8	10
	Mil	10	40	31	8	2	10
	100+	4	39	34	4	—	18
g. Have respect for authority.		11	38	31	8	7	6
	LA	13	42	27	2	6	10
	Mil	10	40	31	5	7	8
	100+	13	24	41	3	1	18
h. Are punctual.		10	35	33	11	5	6
	LA	8	46	23	8	4	10
	Mil	8	10	32	36	13	2
	100+	10	30	34	8	1	17
i. Are friendly.		18	49	24	4	1	5
	LA	10	63	10	2	2	13
	Mil	15	50	27	—	—	8
	100+	9	44	30	—	1	17
j. Dress appropriately for the job.		16	44	25	7	3	6
	LA	13	50	19	4	4	10
	Mil	15	40	26	5	2	13
	100+	13	45	24	4	—	14
k. Can work flexible hours.		10	32	29	18	5	7
	LA	8	29	31	10	8	13
	Mil	8	32	31	15	3	11
	100+	4	24	34	7	6	18
l. Adapt easily to changes.		10	33	39	8	4	6
	LA	10	29	27	10	8	15
	Mil	8	36	27	15	5	10
	100+	6	25	41	7	1	20

25. Are you familiar with the following incentives offered or proposed by the government for hiring welfare recipients? Let's start with . . .
(READ LIST)

[ASK Q26–27 IF FAMILIAR WITH PROGRAM]

26. Has your company used this incentive?



27. How likely is it that **(READ NAME FROM LIST)** will influence your company's decision to hire former welfare recipients? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely to influence your company's hiring practices?

	Q25/26					Q27				
	Familiar Used	Fam. Not Used	Not Familiar	N=	Very Likely	Some-what Likely	Not Too Likely	Not at All Likely	Don't Know/Ref.	
a. Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit										
	12	23	65	173	15	24	26	26	9	
LA	13	18	69	31	13	45	23	19	—	
Mil	15	29	56	44	11	25	34	21	9	
100+	24	27	49	55	7	35	24	27	7	
b. State income tax credit										
	7	18	75	127	13	31	18	33	5	
LA	7	17	76	24	8	42	21	25	4	
Mil	6	18	76	24	25	29	21	25	—	
100+	14	19	68	35	4	10	11	6	2	
c. Government wage subsidy										
	3	20	77	114	9	27	29	29	7	
LA	4	12	84	16	25	38	19	19	—	
Mil	6	17	77	23	13	35	30	22	—	
100+	11	15	74	28	5	6	8	3	5	
d. Government-sponsored employee training programs										
	5	26	70	153	19	33	24	19	5	
LA	5	20	75	25	16	44	20	16	4	
Mil	4	26	70	30	13	37	20	30	—	
100+	11	29	60	43	14	30	21	28	7	
e. Government-sponsored employee candidate screening										
	2	9	89	54	14	32	24	24	6	
LA	1	7	92	8	38	25	13	25	—	
Mil	1	8	91	9	11	11	33	44	—	
100+	4	6	90	11	18	9	45	18	9	
f. Government-sponsored training in work readiness										
	2	11	88	60	8	39	21	25	7	
LA	—	7	93	7	14	57	29	—	—	
Mil	—	5	95	5	40	20	20	20	—	
100+	4	13	83	18	11	39	11	39	—	
g. Other (e.g., state-specific plan, specify)										
	7	46	47	60	45	19	—	34	2	
LA	—	1	99	1	100	—	—	—	—	
Mil	—	—	100	0	—	—	—	—	—	
100+	50	50	99	6	68	—	—	18	18	

These last questions I have are for classification purposes only.

28. In what department do you work? **[DO NOT READ RESPONSES]**

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Human resources	8	10	8	72
Management	61	64	64	19
Owner	19	7	16	—
Other	11	17	12	17
(Don't know/Refused)	1	2	—	7

29. What is your job title? _____

	Total	LA	Mil	100+
Type of industry				
Agriculture	3	6	5	6
Construction	15	5	10	13
Manufacturing	7	16	12	41
Transportation, communication, and utilities	4	6	3	4
Wholesale/retail trade	57	53	55	25
Business services	15	14	15	12
Region				
West	24	100	—	17
South	26	—	—	31
Northeast	21	—	—	24
Central	29	—	100	29

Those are all the questions I have for you today. Thank you for helping us better understand how your business handles hiring people who have received government assistance. Your time and participation are greatly appreciated.

19/24. (Descriptions/Perceptions) of employees who were welfare recipients (total respondents). Would you say that (READ AND ROTATE A–L) describes (your/this) employee(s) extremely well, very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not at all well?

		Extreme-ly Well	Very Well	Some-what Well	Not Too Well	Not at All Well	(Vol.) DK/Ref
a. Have a positive attitude toward their job.		10	27	34	8	3	18
	LA	8	28	20	9	4	31
	Mil	6	23	36	6	5	24
	100+	3	32	33	5	—	27
b. Are reliable.		10	27	33	8	5	18
	LA	10	29	19	6	4	32
	Mil	7	25	30	9	3	26
	100+	5	22	21	4	2	26
c. Have a strong work ethic.		7	26	32	12	6	18
	LA	6	24	27	9	4	30
	Mil	9	19	31	10	8	23
	100+	4	15	42	11	—	29

[continues]



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[Q19/24, continued]

		Extreme-ly Well	Very Well	Some-what Well	Not Too Well	Not at All Well	(Vol.) DK/Ref
d. Have all of the necessary training.		7	23	28	17	8	18
	LA	5	22	23	15	5	30
	Mil	3	13	44	9	5	26
	100+	5	12	41	16	2	25
e. Have prior work experience.		5	21	35	14	3	23
	LA	4	16	31	8	5	36
	Mil	1	14	40	13	1	31
	100+	6	19	39	11	1	25
f. Follow through on tasks assigned to them.		8	35	31	7	2	18
	LA	5	30	21	7	5	32
	Mil	9	31	27	6	1	26
	100+	4	32	32	3	—	30
g. Have respect for authority.		9	32	38	7	5	20
	LA	8	33	23	2	3	31
	Mil	10	30	28	3	4	25
	100+	9	24	34	2	1	30
h. Are punctual.		9	30	31	8	4	18
	LA	6	31	23	5	2	33
	Mil	10	28	28	10	1	23
	100+	11	22	33	6	1	28
i. Are friendly.		14	40	23	4	1	18
	LA	9	40	18	1	1	31
	Mil	13	39	23	—	1	24
	100+	8	36	27	—	1	28
j. Dress appropriately for the job.		12	36	25	6	2	19
	LA	7	37	20	2	2	32
	Mil	12	31	23	4	2	28
	100+	9	37	25	4	—	25
k. Can work flexible hours.		8	28	26	14	5	20
	LA	5	27	25	6	4	33
	Mil	6	24	27	11	2	30
	100+	3	18	33	10	4	32
l. Adapt easily to changes.		9	29	35	8	3	17
	LA	7	24	22	7	4	36
	Mil	7	31	25	11	4	22
	100+	4	19	40	7	2	29

APPENDIX II:

Sample Design

A random sample was drawn from among businesses with five or more employees in the 25 states (including the District of Columbia) with the highest proportions of adults receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and in industries with the highest proportion of workers without a college education.

California	Indiana	Massachusetts	New Mexico	Tennessee
District of Columbia	Kentucky	Michigan	New York	Texas
Florida	Louisiana	Mississippi	North Carolina	Washington
Georgia	Maine	Missouri	Ohio	West Virginia
Illinois	Maryland	New Jersey	Pennsylvania	Wisconsin

SIC Code	Industry
01	Agricultural production, crops
02	Agricultural production, livestock
0781	Landscape and horticultural services
07	Agricultural services, not elsewhere classified (n.e.c.)
12	Coal mining
1481	Nonmetallic mining and quarrying, except fuel
15-19	Construction
5147	Meat products
2033, 2037	Canned, frozen, and preserved fruits and vegetables
5149-0701	Bakery products
2064	Sugar and confectionery products
2099	Miscellaneous food preparations and kindred products
2259	Knitting mills
2269-0202	Dyeing and finishing textiles, except wool and knit goods
2273	Carpets and rugs
2281, 2282, 2284	Yarn, thread, and fabric mills
23	Apparel and accessories, except knit
2399-99	Miscellaneous fabricated textile products
5113	Miscellaneous paper and pulp products
5113-9904	Paperboard containers and boxes
3089	Plastics, synthetics, and resins
5191-0101	Agricultural chemicals
29	Miscellaneous petroleum and coal products
30	Other rubber products, and plastic footwear and belting
30	Miscellaneous plastic products
3111	Leather tanning and finishing
3149	Footwear, except rubber and plastic
2411	Logging
2421	Sawmills, planing, mills, and millwork
2452	Wood buildings and mobile homes
2499	Miscellaneous wood products
25	Furniture and fixtures
3231	Glass and glass products

[continues]

SIC Code	Industry
3272-99, 3275, 5032-9904	Cement, concrete, gypsum, and plaster products
3299, 3281	Miscellaneous nonmetallic mineral and stone products
3312	Blast furnaces, steelworks, and rolling and finishing mills
3334	Primary aluminum industries
33	Other primary metal industries
3421	Cutlery, handtools, and general hardware
3441	Fabricated structural metal products
3451	Screw machine products
3462, 3463, 3469	Metal forgings and stampings
34	Miscellaneous fabricated metal products
3523	Farm machinery and equipment
3743	Railroad locomotives and equipment
37	Cycles and miscellaneous transportation equipment
4121	Taxicab service
42	Trucking service
4225	Warehousing and storage
44	Water transportation
4959	Sanitary services
5074	Plumbing hardware
5093	Scrap and waste materials
5149	Groceries and related products
5261-03	Retail nurseries and garden stores
5331	Variety stores
5411	Grocery store
5451	Dairy products stores
5461	Retail bakeries
5499-99	Food stores, n.e.c.
5531	Auto and home supply stores
5541	Gasoline service stations
5722	Household appliance stores
58	Eating and drinking places
75	Automotive repair services and parking
7629-99	Electrical repair shops
76	Miscellaneous repair services
7011	Hotels and motels
7021	Lodging places, except hotels and motels
7219	Laundry, cleaning, and garment services
7231	Beauty shops
7241	Barber shops
7251	Shoe repair shops
5699-0403, 7219-0101	Dressmaking shops
7933	Bowling centers

APPENDIX III:

Findings Weighted by Employee Distribution in the Workplace

The findings in this report reflect the views and experiences of employers at the establishment level. The study seeks to develop an understanding of employers' views of people on welfare and tries to determine the likelihood that welfare recipients would be considered for entry-level positions in the private sector. Researchers selected the sample with two goals in mind: to reflect the distribution of *employers* across the country and to increase the chances of interviewing employers who employed entry-level workers and who had ever hired someone on welfare. The findings from the survey are presented in the body of this report.

Because the distribution of employers does not match the distribution of employees across the country, the study team also weighted the survey findings to reflect the distribution of *employees* across the country. (This exercise made it possible to weight the attitudes of employers in proportion to the number of workers they employ.) Larger employers, while fewer in number, employ a disproportionate share of American workers. For example, employers with 100 or more workers make up about 4 percent of the total number of employers in the country but employ about 66 percent of all workers. For this reason, their attitudes may affect welfare recipients looking for private-sector jobs more than the attitudes of other employers.

The following analysis describes the ESRI national survey with small, medium-sized, and large employer responses weighted to reflect the distribution of employees across the country.

Key Findings of the Survey Weighted to Reflect Employees in the Workforce

Types of Jobs, Wages, and Benefits

- Ninety-five percent of employees work in businesses that hire entry-level workers, and 63 percent of employees work in businesses that have employed someone who has been on welfare.

- The wage and benefit profiles in the employee-weighted sample differ from the employer-weighted sample, reflecting the higher compensation, on average, paid by larger employers.
- About one-third of employees work for employers that pay, on average, \$5.50 per hour or less to entry-level workers. One-quarter of employees work for employers paying between \$5.51 and \$6.60, and about 44 percent work for employers paying in excess of \$6.50 to entry-level workers.
- More than two-thirds of employees work in establishments that offer health benefits to entry-level workers, and 61 percent of employees work in establishments that pay 80 percent or more of employee health plan costs. Two-thirds of employees work in businesses that provide paid vacation, and 34 percent work for employers that provide paid sick leave to entry-level workers. However, only 9 percent of employees work for businesses where entry-level workers are immediately eligible for these benefits. More than half (56 percent) work in businesses that impose waiting periods of one to three months, though one-third wait four months to over one year before becoming eligible for benefits.

Filling Entry-Level Positions

- The majority of workers are employed in establishments that require references from former employers (68 percent) and a reason for leaving prior employment (52 percent). Only about one worker in five (22 percent) works in a business that requires industry-specific trade skills for entry-level positions. These percentages appear in table A1 and are compared to the survey results weighted by employers in the workforce.
- Nearly three-quarters of employees are in establishments that consider reliability one of the top three characteristics necessary for hiring entry-level workers. Two-thirds work for establishments that place a high value on a positive attitude.
- Most employees work for employers who are unfamiliar with incentives such as the Federal Work Opportunity Tax Credit, state income tax credits, and government-sponsored training.

Table A1 <i>Requirements for Entry-Level Positions (multiple responses allowed)</i>		
	Percent Employers with Requirement	Percent Employees Working in Businesses with Requirement
References from previous employers	60	68
Reason for leaving last job	40	52
Prior work experience	40	49
High school degree or GED	25	34
Industry-specific trade skills	14	22
Computer skills	10	15
Other	10	14
None	12	10

Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers and employees at the establishment level nationwide.

Employer Attitudes toward Former Welfare Recipients

- Responses concerning welfare recipients' reliability, level of motivation, and ability to work and be trained are similar whether results are weighted by the number of employers in the sample or by the number of workers. The majority of employees work for employers who give positive or neutral ratings to welfare recipients when asked about their reliability, level of motivation, ability to work, and ability to be trained. Nearly 7 out of 10 employees work for employers who give such ratings on ability to be trained, and about two-thirds provide such ratings on welfare recipients' reliability. The ratings apply to businesses that report having hired someone who was on welfare.
- Survey responses weighted by employers and employees in the workforce are shown in table A2. The responses are very similar and demonstrate that the majority of employers hold neutral or positive views of welfare recipients and that the majority of employees work for employers who hold these neutral or positive views.
- Most employees work for employers who say they are extremely, very, or somewhat satisfied with former welfare recipients' performance on the job, and 98 percent of employees are employed in businesses that would hire welfare recipients again.

Characteristic	Employers Rating Welfare Recipients as Positive or Neutral on Characteristic	Employees Working for Employers who Rate Welfare Recipients as Positive or Neutral
Have a positive attitude	81	76
Are reliable	80	72
Have strong work ethic	73	63
Have all necessary training	65	65
Have prior work experience	69	70
Follow through on tasks	85	69
Have respect for authority	80	70
Are punctual	78	67
Are friendly	91	82
Dress appropriately for job	85	82
Can work flexible hours	71	57
Adapt easily to change	82	71

Source: ESRI Survey of Employers' Attitudes toward Hiring Welfare Recipients, weighted by employers and employees at the establishment level nationwide.



About the Authors

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