Department of Industrial Engineering and Management

The Bridge Program - Participant Perspectives

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Abstract

The Nokia Bridge Program was established in summer 2011 in order to "make the best of the restructuring: create meaningful opportunities for individuals and local economies impacted by workforce reductions" and to "assist individuals in re-employment". This document reports whether and how the program helped individuals avoid the known negative effects of job loss and find meaningful re-employment. The document also reports how affected employees formed perceptions about Nokia's fairness and responsibility.

It was found that the Bridge Program served as a source of social support for many individuals. The program induced positive mental resources, diminished feelings of uncertainty and insecurity and thus helped participants to cope better with the transition. In addition, the program facilitated re-employment e.g. by supporting job-search-related learning and employees' self-esteem as job-applicants. It was also found that the Bridge provided resources that enabled participants to make positive career changes. These positive effects were shown in three distinct psychological and behavioral phases identified in the experiences of individuals who actively utilized the program: (1) recovery, (2) opening oneself up to new stimuli and directing one's thoughts to previously unexplored career possibilities, and (3) taking concrete steps toward new, meaningful opportunities. It was also investigated why some employees did not actively utilize the program.

More than two thirds of all survey respondents agreed with the statement: "The Bridge Program positions Nokia as fair and responsible employer". The factors underlying these appraisals were investigated and as a result, three distinct social positions were identified. (1) "Targets" often emphasized that Nokia was making its decisions to reduce the workforce without legitimate reasons. Nokia was responsible for mitigating any harmful consequences on its employees. (2) "Compliant partners" viewed that Nokia had a legitimate right to reorganize even though it would lead to workforce reductions. Compliant partners were sensitive both to the company's needs and to their own needs and emphasized the importance of implementing difficult decisions in as considerate a manner as possible. (3) "Independents" emphasized that the company's legitimate goal was to maximize its capacity to succeed in future endeavors. They as employees had no rights to Nokia's resources beyond an effectual work contract. Thus, Nokia's business-oriented motivations were seen as acceptable whereas employee-oriented motivations for providing Bridge assistance were criticized. All in all, the study suggests that companies and affected employees benefit from transparency concerning both business- and employee-oriented reasons for decision making and the sources of funds for the offered support.

Based on the study, the researchers recommend the use of similar type of employee assistance programs as part of future workforce reductions.

Tekijä
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Tiivistelmä

Bridge-ohjelma perustettiin kesällä 2011 tukemaan Nokian henkilöstövähennysten kohteeksi joutuneita henkilöitä ja paikkakuntia merkityksellisten, uusien mahdollisuuksien löytämisessä sekä uudelleentyöllistymisessä. Tässä tutkimusdokumentissa raportoidaan ohjelmaan osallistuneiden näkemyksiä sen vaikutuksista.

Tutkimuksen tulosten mukaan Bridge-ohjelmalla oli myönteisiä vaikutuksia sitä hyödyntäneiden henkilöiden hyvinvoinnille ja uudelleentyöllistymisen edellytyksille. Tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että ohjelma toimi sosiaalisen tuen lähteenä: se lisäsi myönteisiä voimavaroja, vähensi epävarmuuden ja turvattomuuden tunteita ja näin auttoi osallistujia selviytymään muutoksesta paremmin. Bridge-ohjelma edesauttoi uudelleentyöllistymistä mm. tukemalla työnhakuun liittyvää oppimista sekä työntekijän itsetuntoa työnhakijana. Sen koettiin lisäksi tarjoavan resursseja, jotka auttoivat osallistujia tekemään myönteisiä uramuutoksia. Nämä positiiviset vaikutukset tulivat esiin kolmessa psykologisessa ja toiminnallisessa vaiheessa jotka havaittiin Bridge-ohjelmaa aktiivisesti käyttävien yksilöiden kokemuksissa: (1) toipuminen, (2) avautuminen uusille virikkeille ja ajatusten suuntaaminen aiemmin tuntemattomiin mahdollisuuksiin sekä (3) konkreettisten askeleiden ottaminen uuteen, merkitykselliseen suuntaan. Tutkimuksessa selvitettiin myös, miksi kaikki eivät hyödyntäneet ohjelmaa aktiivisesti.

Kyselyyn vastanneista 67% piti Nokiaa Bridge-ohjelman ansiosta oikeudenmukaisena ja vastuullisena työnantajana. Tähän näkemykseen vaikutti kolme erilaista käsitystä työsuhteen osapuolen oikeuksista ja velvollisuuksista. (1) Nokian vastuun "kohteet" katsoivat, että Nokialla ei ollut legitiimiä perustetta henkilöstövähennyksille. Nokia oli siten vastuussa työntekijöille koituneista negatiivisista seurauksista. Bridge ohjelman toteutus nähtiin perusteltuna. (2) "Kumppaneiksi" itsensä mieltävät ilmaisivat, että Nokialla oli legitiimi oikeus käyttää resurssejaan haluamallaan tavalla. Heidän mielestään oli kuitenkin ymmärrettävää, että Nokia käytti resurssejaan työntekijöiden tarpeiden huomioimiseen taloudellisten mahdollisuuksiensa puitteissa. (3) "Itsenäiset" eivät katsoneet olevansa oikeutettuja Nokian resursseihin, ellei niitä oltu erikseen määritelty työsopimuksessa. Itsenäiset suhtautuivat kriittisesti työntekijöiden tarpeiden huomioimiseen vaikeassa taloudellisessa tilanteessa. Tutkimus osoittaa, että yritykset ja henkilöstövähennysten kohteiksi joutuvat työntekijät hyötyvät sekä liiketoimintaan että työntekijöiden hyvinvointiin liittyvien perusteluiden avoimesta kommunikoimisesta sekä läpinäkyvyydestä suhteessa tarjotun avun rahoittamiseen.

Raportissa esitettyjen tulosten perusteella voidaan suositella vastaavanlaisten tukiohjelmien hyödyntämistä myös osana tulevaisuuden henkilöstövähennyksiä.

Foreword

This report is an outcome of the Sustainable Transformation Research Programme that was initiated in fall 2010 when Juha Äkräs (Executive Vice President, Human Resources) visited our research unit at the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management. During this visit, we discussed a joint research project that could support the development of leadership and collaboration activities within the company. It was well known that Nokia was headed for new business challenges due to increasing competition, and the company had also experienced difficulties in the recent past. For example, in 2008, Nokia had closed its mobile phone factory in Bochum, Germany, resulting in the loss of approximately 4,300 jobs. The closure of the Bochum factory stimulated a heated discussion in Europe about firms' responsibilities when they downsize. Nokia's plan was to proactively develop its human resources and to transform firm capabilities in a sustainable manner.

The scope of the research project was broadly defined to include the description and analysis of the progress of Nokia's transformation during 2010-2013. In summer 2011, the following two major research themes were selected: the Nokia Bridge Program and the Nokia organizational transformation.

This report concerns sub-study 1, the Bridge program, and reports the central individual-level findings of the study. The data were collected through participant surveys and interviews that were conducted at three points in time: before participants entered the program; at the time they exited the program; and six months after they exited the program. The results presented in this report are mainly descriptive and are based on both survey and interview data collected from Bridge participants at eight Nokia locations around the world. Overall, very rich material was collected regarding Nokia's transformation. We hope that the lessons learned will help both companies and people cope with and manage changes in a sustainable manner in the future.

We warmly thank the Nokia Steering Group of this study (Juha Äkräs, Robert Anderson, Matti Vänskä and Pekka Pesonen) for their valuable support. In addition, we are truly grateful to all Bridge participants, HR personnel and other Nokia representatives who provided us with important insights, information and assistance during the research process. We also thank the entire Nokia-Aalto research group, especially our valuable Research Assistant, M.Soc.Sci Marika Malmström and University Lecturer, PhD Jukka Lipponen for sharing their input and expertise during the research project. We are grateful to Nokia and the Finnish Work Environment Fund for financing our work.

Acknowledgements

I had the privilege of interviewing Nokia´s Bridge participants and HR personnel in San Diego, Copenhagen, Southwood, Oulu, Tampere, Salo and Bangalore as part of my PhD studies. Although some time has passed since I encountered the interviewees face-to-face, I still carry with me the vivid pictures of the personal meanings, emotions and narratives that were reflected in each unique story. Gratitude, bitterness, humor, worry, pride, anger, sorrow, excitement and hope; these are just some of the feelings and attributes demonstrated in the more open accounts of interviewed individuals. Other participants were reserved, cynical and economical with words. During the process of data analysis, I noticed that the scarce comments from the latter group proved especially valuable to the study of fairness and responsibility attributions during CSR-assisted employee reductions.

I would like to thank all of you for giving your time to the purpose of this study. I am still digesting the insights that you provided about the fundamental questions of responsibility and fairness inherent in the employment relationship. I have kept in touch with some of you even after the data collection phase was completed, and I look forward to continuing to hear from you.

I would also want to thank my valued colleagues: PhD Anu Hakonen, PhD Niina Nurmi, MA (Eng) Jouni Virtaharju and PhD Tuomas Kuronen for travelling with me to several locations for data collection and for sharing their appreciated, personal insights on field research.

March 3rd, 2015
Yours sincerely,
Riitta

Executive Summary

The Bridge Program was established to "make the best of the restructuring: create meaningful opportunities for individuals and local economies impacted by work-force reductions" and to "assist individuals in re-employment".

Sub-study 1 is one of four sub-studies of the Sustainable Transformation Research Initiative, which investigated whether and how the Bridge Program could help individuals avoid the known negative effects of job loss and find meaningful re-employment as they became the targets of workforce reductions during 2011 and 2012. It was found that the Bridge served as a positive intervention for many individuals facing workforce reductions. The key findings are as follows:

Finding 1: The Bridge as a well-being intervention. The interviewees emphasized the roles of social, time-related (Grace Period), financial and professional support in maintaining their personal well-being. In addition, six months after completing the Bridge Program, five out of ten survey respondents stated that the Bridge was useful in supporting their well-being, and more than one-half of the respondents agreed that the Bridge diminished feelings of uncertainty and helped them cope with the transition.

Finding 2: The Bridge re-employment support and career intervention. It was found that the Bridge facilitated re-employment by supporting both job-search-related learning and employees´ self-esteem as job-applicants. The Bridge also provided practical assistance to participants in finding new employment. In addition, it was found that the Bridge provided resources that enabled participants to make positive career changes.

Finding 3: Nokia as a fair and responsible employer. Seven out of ten survey respondents perceived that implementation of the Bridge Program positioned Nokia as a fair and responsible employer. The factors underlying these appraisals were investigated and as a result, three distinct social positions were identified. (1) "Targets" often emphasized that Nokia was making its decisions to reduce the workforce without any legitimate reason. They perceived that Nokia was responsible for mitigating any harmful consequences of workforce reductions on its employees. (2) "Compliant partners" perceived that Nokia had a legitimate right to reorganize its operations even though such reorganization would lead to workforce reductions. Compliant partners were sensitive both to the company´s needs and to their own needs in this situation and emphasized the importance of implementing difficult decisions in as considerate a manner as possible. (3) "Independents" emphasized that the company´s legitimate goal in the difficult situation was to maximize its capacity to succeed

in future endeavors. They as employees had no rights to Nokia´s resources beyond an effectual work contract. Thus, Nokia´s business-oriented motivations were seen as acceptable but employee-oriented motivations for providing Bridge assistance were criticized. All in all, the study suggests that companies and affected employees benefit from transparency concerning both business- and employee-oriented reasons for decision making and the sources of funds for the offered support.

Central practical recommendation for future development: Teams as participating units. During the course of the study, concerns about withdrawal and passiveness among certain employees were articulated by a number of local Bridge operatives and participants. This study investigated the reasons for withdrawal and conceived a practical suggestion for further development of the Bridge concept and other assistance programs. Organizing individual utilization of the program via existing team units (rather than requiring employees to initiate utilization individually) is likely to ensure higher levels of participation because the use of teams may (1) provide an environment that supports emotional resolution, which in turn enhances re-employment capacity, (2) ensure a better flow of information relevant to re-employment, (3) offer networking benefits, and (4) provide a broader range of opportunities whereby the Bridge can even better meet the needs of its participants.

Contents

1. Introduction

The launch of the Nokia-Microsoft strategy in early 2011 led to significant work-force reductions within Nokia. The Bridge Program was implemented by Nokia to support the re-employment of its employees affected by the reductions. To study the effects of the program, Nokia established the Sustainable Transformation Research Project in cooperation with Aalto University during fall 2011. This document is the final report of Sub-study 1, which examined individual perceptions of and experiences with the Bridge Program among employees of six R&D centers (San Diego, Copenhagen, Southwood, Oulu, Tampere and Bangalore) and the Salo factory. In this document, we report the central individual-level findings and, based on these findings, we provide practical recommendations for the future development of the Bridge Program and similar transition concepts.

1.1   The Bridge Program

The launch of the joint Nokia-Microsoft strategy in spring 2011 entailed difficult decisions regarding wide-scale workforce reductions. Several months prior to the implementation of these decisions, Nokia leadership resolved to adopt a proactive role in diminishing the negative impacts of workforce reductions on its employees. To accomplish this, the Bridge Program was established (Nokia, 2011).

The Bridge was introduced through five paths (Figure 1), which allowed individuals to utilize the program in combination with their own unique approaches to finding new and meaningful opportunities after their employment at Nokia concluded. These paths are the following:

• Job inside Nokia – The Bridge seeks opportunities to acquire jobs within Nokia by offering career counseling and identifying available positions.
• Job outside Nokia – The Bridge offers career counseling, helps identify work opportunities and interacts with its wide network of contacts to facilitate introductions between job seekers and potential employers.
• Start a new business – The Bridge assists individuals who are interested in founding their own businesses by offering training and financial support and helping identify business opportunities and partnerships.

• Learn something new – The Bridge provides training that supports instantaneous re-employment. The Bridge also offers counseling and information on opportunities for further education.

• Create your own path – This lane was established in case meaningful solutions could not be found via first four paths, but it has rarely been used in practice. Within this path, the Bridge supports re-employment in non-profit organizations or the pursuit of other unique opportunities that are identified by the employees themselves.

Figure 1. Five lanes of the Bridge Program (Nokia, 2011b).

Affected employees were able to utilize the program within a specified timeframe called the Grace Period, which typically lasted between 2 and 6 months[1]. During this time, employees remained in employment relationships with Nokia but were released from their work obligations, thereby allowing the complete dedication of their time to the job search. In addition, all employees who opted to leave Nokia within their respective Grace Periods received a financial severance package.

1.2   Sustainable Transformation Research Initiative

Following the decisions related to the establishment of the Bridge Program, it was determined that research on the impact of the program on participants was also needed. As a result, the Sustainable Transformation Research Project was established in cooperation with the Department of Industrial Engineering and Management at Aalto University. Researchers from Aalto University and Nokia would study selected themes (Sub-studies 1-4) related to Nokia´s transformation.

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[1] In so-called Bridge 2, which followed the announcements of June 2012, it was agreed that due to the financial challenges faced by Nokia, no Grace Period would be applied.

This document reports the findings of the survey and interview studies included in sub-study 1, which investigated individual reactions to the Bridge Program among affected employees. By the end of 2012, 17,000 employees world-wide had entered the program. Sub-study 1 concentrated primarily on the effects of the Bridge Program at seven sites: San Diego, Copenhagen, Southwood, Oulu, Tampere, Salo (factory) and Bangalore. After the establishment of Bridge 2, all Finnish sites were included in the collection of survey data. Data for the research were collected through longitudinal surveys (N1= 1199, N2= 795, N3= 702) and in-depth longitudinal interviews with Bridge participants (N1=106, N2= 24) and with Bridge operatives and well-being professionals (N = 38) between summer 2011 and spring 2013.

In this document, we report the central findings of Sub-study 1 and, based on these findings, we provide practical recommendations for the development of the Bridge Program concept.

1.3   Research topics and the structure of this report

Prior research suggests that employee assistance programs enhance the likelihood of re-employment of affected individuals (Eby & Buch, 1998; Latack & Dozier, 1986), although some contradictory findings have been reported with respect to government-led programs (Bennet, Martin, Bies, & Brockner, 1995) and financial corporate assistance (Leana & Feldman, 1998). The aim of this study is to describe participants' perceptions, participation activities and participants' experiences with the Bridge Program, as well as the well-being and re-employment outcomes of the program. This report focuses on the following themes, which are illustrated in Figure 2:

1.   Participant orientation toward the Bridge Program. Perceptions of the reasons why Nokia adopted the Bridge Program are presented. In addition, participant expectations regarding Nokia´s social responsibility for the results of its restructuring are reported (Chapter 3).

2.   Participation activity (Chapter 4). This chapter describes individuals' participation in Bridge events, attendance at the local Bridge facilities (face-to-face activity) and Bridge-related net activity, including visits to Bridge internet pages and reading Bridge-related emails. In addition, reasons for the non-utilization of Bridge services are reported.

3.   Perceptions of the Bridge Program are described in Chapter 5. Several themes are reported in this chapter, including participant satisfaction and the perceived usefulness of the Bridge, as well as the perceived fairness and social responsibility of Nokia.

4.   Chapter 6 describes the logics underlying various individual approaches to attributions of responsibility and fairness in the context of workforce reductions.

5.   In Chapter 7, the well-being outcomes of the Bridge are presented. The role of the Bridge in supporting re-employment and career development is also reported. Moreover, attention was given to developments in Bridge partici-

pants´ psychological contracts, which related to individuals' active participation in efforts to achieve successful Bridge outcomes.
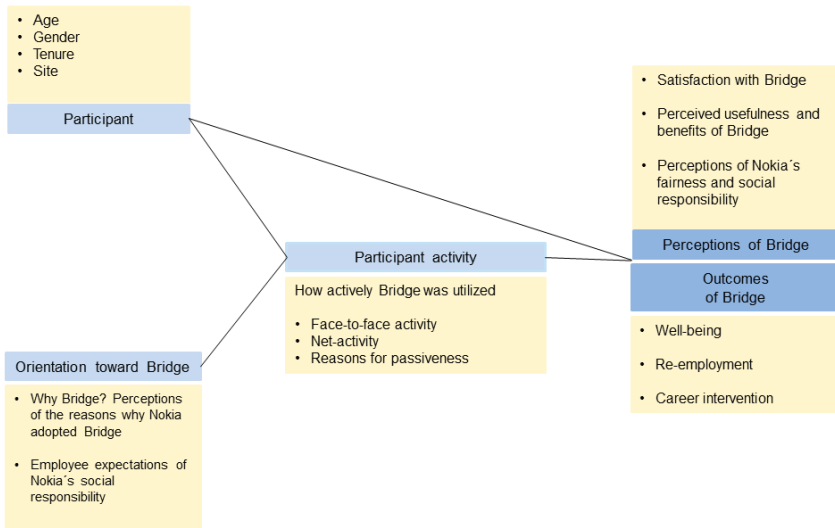
Figure 2. The research design of this study.

2. Data and analysis

This longitudinal follow-up study applies multiple methods (surveys and interviews) with the objective of capturing the subtleties of individual-level perceptions of and reactions to workforce reductions and the offered Bridge support. As described below in chapters 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, the findings of this report are based on the first rounds of analysis of an extensive body of data collected during two years of field work. The data of this study were collected between August 2011 and June 2013. The data collection timeline is presented in Appendix 1.

2.1 Survey data

Questionnaires were sent to Bridge participants at three points in time: (1) before the participant entered the program (T1), (2) immediately after the program concluded (T2) and (3) six to eight months after the program concluded (T3). The operatives of the local Bridge sent participants invitations to participate the survey, and two reminder letters were sent to each participant to prompt him/her to answer the questionnaire. The first survey was sent to a total of 3850 Bridge participants.

The final data shown in Table 1 comprises 1199 individuals in T1, 795 individuals in T2 and 702 individuals in T3. The response rate varies between sites and time periods, ranging from a low of 9 % to a high of 59 %.

Because the response rates were quite low, the respondents were compared to the target population (individuals exiting the Bridge between 11 / 2011 and 9 / 2013) in terms of gender, age and tenure. The respondents were not significantly different from non-respondents in terms of gender or age; only respondents aged 31-40 were slightly overrepresented in the final data. However, the data were slightly biased in terms of organizational tenure; specifically, Bridge participants whose tenure was 5-10 years were underrepresented in the final sample, which means that the populations with the shortest tenure and tenure over 10 years were slightly overrepresented in the final sample. Age, gender and tenure of the respondents are reported in Appendix 2. For survey measures, see Appendix 4.

Table 1. The number of survey respondents and response rates.

site	Number of respondents				Response rates %		
	T1: entering Bridge	T2: exiting Bridge	T3: 6 months after B	Target population	T1	T2	T3
Bangalore	72	54	50	156	46,2	34,6	32,1
Copenhagen	72	124	149	513	14	24,2	29,0
Oulu	60	40	27	291	20,6	13,7	9,3
San Diego	16	28	29	112	14,2	25,0	25,9
Southwood	84	32	33	300	28	10,7	11,0
Tampere	54	77	51	252	21,4	30,6	20,2
Finland B2*	222	107	68	1180 / 210***	19	51*	32*
Salo B1 & B2**	619	333	259	1046	59,2	31,8	24,8
Total	**1199**	**795**	**702**	**3850 / 2880******	**31,1**	**27,6**	**24,4**

* Finland, R/D-sites, second wave (B2)

**Salo, first (B1) and second (B2) wave

*** questionnaire was sent to 210 participants

****T2 & T3: questionnaire was sent to 2880 participants

2.2 Analysis of the survey data

The data were analyzed with the SPSS-program. The results are mainly descriptive and are presented in figures and tables. The differences between subgroups (such as the participants at various sites) were tested with analysis of variance and t-tests. In addition, linear regression analysis was used. Only statistically significant results are reported.

2.3 Interview data

Interview material in this study was collected from 101 Bridge participants who were randomly selected by the researcher from employees who participated in the Bridge Program in San Diego, Southwood, Copenhagen, Oulu, Tampere, Bangalore and Salo. In certain cases, interviewees were also invited by local Bridge operatives. In particular, because the level of participation in Bridge services was likely to have been slightly higher among interviewees than among all Bridge participants, passive individuals were purposefully sought to be interviewed. In addition, 30 individuals involved in the operation of the Bridge program and three well-being professionals were interviewed.

  The group of interviewees comprised 80 men and 21 women. Their tenures ranged from one to 32 years, with an average of 12 years. The educational backgrounds of the interviewees ranged from vocational courses to doctoral-level studies. In San Diego, Southwood, Copenhagen, Oulu, Tampere and Ban-

galore, the interviewees' organizational positions were most often related to research and development, and their organizational levels ranged from assistant to middle manager. At the Salo factory, positions ranged from factory line worker to operations manager.

By the time this study commenced, all Bridge interviewees had received notice from their employer that their current employment was ending. After this notice was given, employees automatically entered the Grace Period and were eligible for the services of the Bridge Program (see chapter 1.1). Interviewees spent an average of 3 months in the Bridge program.

Interviews were conducted at three points in time relative to interviewees' participation in the program: when they entered the Bridge, when they exited the Bridge and approximately 6 months after they exited the Bridge. Table 2 shows the number of interviewees and the timing of interviews. Twenty-three interviewees were interviewed in a longitudinal setting and 78 were interviewed once. Thirteen participants were interviewed approximately 6 months after their utilization of the Bridge program concluded.

Table 2. Number of interviews per time related to Bridge utilization.

	Enter interview	Exit interview	Follow up interview	All interviews
N = 9	X			
N = 69		X		
N = 10	X	X		
N = 10		X	X	
N = 2	X		X	
N = 1	X	X	X	
N = 101	**22**	**90**	**13**	**125**

With the exception of three spontaneous interviews, all interviews were semistructured. Specifically, the same outline of topics was followed in each interview, but there was also leeway for participants to pursue particular themes that they regarded as central. The interview protocol covered themes similar to those covered by the questionnaire and was refined during the research process based on the themes that were emphasized most often by the interviewees. During the process, some topics were ultimately omitted as irrelevant whereas others were added. The central questions in the final interview protocol related to the following topics: employment history and relationship with Nokia; perceived reasons for transition events; interviewee orientations toward the Bridge Program; experiences in the Bridge program; perceived fairness during the transition process; well-being; and future expectations.

Interviews lasted from one to more than two hours. In addition, three spontaneous exit interviews lasted from 10 to 15 minutes. All interviews were recorded with the approval of the interviewees, with two exceptions. For the two exceptions, the interviewer made detailed notes during and after the interviews. The majority of the interviews were transcribed verbatim; the transcription process is ongoing.

Table 3. Number of interviews conducted.

Site	Bridge Participant Interviews	Local Bridge Operative Interviews	All
San Diego	23	4	27
Southwood	10	2	12
Copenhagen	29	7	36
Oulu	20	4	24
Tampere	21	4	25
Salo	10	2	12
Bangalore	12	7	19
Total	**125** (incl. 24 follow-ups)	**30**	**155**

Other interviewees			
Bridge global			5
Well-being professionals			3

All			163

2.4 Analysis of the interview data

In this study, a dialogue between two data sets – interview data and survey data – was central to the data analysis process. Furthermore, data analysis that related specifically to the logics underlying fairness and responsibility attributions (discussed in Chapter 6) followed the prescriptions for analytic induction (Hammersley, 2010a, 2010b).

Dialogue between data sets
The analysis of both interview and survey data was an iterative process that began immediately after the first rounds of interviews and survey data collection were completed. The specific steps of this process were the following: (1) interview data informed the design of the survey questions to provide an instrument that was better suited to developing and studying the research topics; (2) when a preliminary result for one data set was obtained for a given research topic, additional data were brought in for testing and for complimentary insights; (3) the comparison of the two data sources generated further questions on a given research topic; and (4) emergent questions were in turn addressed by another round of analysis and - when necessary - additional data collection.

Analytic induction
Analytic induction is an analytical approach whereby one examines a rough research question and its hypothetical explanation based on distinct cases in the data. The information provided by the data cases is used to refine the hypothesis, which is repeatedly reexamined and reformulated until a satisfactory form of explanation that is consistent with all individual cases is attained (Hammersley, 2010b). In this research, analytic induction was used to study the logics underlying participants´ perceptions concerning their employer´s fairness and responsibility related to workforce reductions (see Chapter 6).

Micro-narrative
To manage a large set of interview data (N=101 + 24 follow-up interviews), cases in the data were constructed as micro-narratives. The narratives were constructed out of interview transcriptions and researcher notes that were written shortly after each interview. In cases where transcriptions were not available, original audio recordings were revisited. Each micro-narrative represented the account of one layoff victim. The micro-narratives provided concrete passages of text - including both direct quotes of the interviewee and text produced by the researcher - related to aspects that were relevant to the topic. As the data analysis proceeded, new elements relevant to the attribution process were discovered and incorporated into the narratives.

Attributions of fairness and responsibility are known to be influenced by experienced benefit and harm (Hamilton, 1978; Heider, 1958; Lange & Washburn, 2012). The interview accounts were operationalized in a way that allowed the examination of this aspect as part of the attribution process. Often,

the interview accounts included descriptions of periods of personal satisfaction – either low, neutral or high – during which the participant experienced a relatively stable level of contentment from a personally significant resource perspective. Employment with Nokia and Nokia´s actions were described as being linked to these levels of contentment. For example, contentment was linked to passion for one's work, career development, job security, etc. These periods were labeled as perceived personal resource statuses. Highly satisfactory periods were labelled as fulfilled resource statuses, moderately (dis)satisfactory periods were labelled as open resource statuses, and highly dissatisfactory periods were labelled as crisis resource statuses. The chain of these statuses formed a framework for the micro-narratives and was labeled as the perceived personal resource process.

Table 4 presents the criteria by which the three types of perceived personal resource statuses – fulfilled, open and crisis - were identified in the interview data. Examples of the data are provided to illustrate the presence of criteria in direct data quotations.

Table 4. Criteria for identifying perceived personal resource statuses (fulfilled, open and crisis) in the interview data. Data examples.

Resource status	Criteria for resource status	Data examples
Fulfilled	A particular resource dimension (e.g., work-related passion) cannot possibly be increased	"Until recent announcements, I couldn't be more passionate about Nokia"
	Receiving resources beyond one´s expectations at a highly satisfactory level	"We were amazed about how good the system is" (orig. quote "Oltiin hämmästyneitä että näin hyvät systeemit ")
	Unexpectedly ample resources, resources are more than sufficient, high satisfaction	" Nokia has paid my salary for doing whatever I wanted for an unbelievably long time. It´s been more than sufficient, at least to me" (orig. quote "tämähän on ollu aivan käsittämättömän pitkä aika millon Nokia on maksanu mulle palkkaa siitä että meikä on tehnyt ihan mitä on ite halunnu, on ollu enemmän kun riittävä ainakin itelle")
Open	Sufficient resources accompanied by (indirect) references that things could also be better, moderate (dis)satisfaction	"I´ll get along" (orig. quote "kyl mä pärjään")

	Temporarily sufficient resources, expectation of more resources after a period of time	"Don't have [a job] at this moment but I have savings. I'm all right. I get to receive unemployment allowance for some time" (orig. quote "ei oo [työtä] täll hetkellä mutta mulla on säästöjä, ei mulla oo mitään hätää, mä saan sit työttymyysrahaa vähän aikaa")
	Decline from earlier, satisfactory level of resources (e.g., freedom at work)	"One didn't have as much freedom to do those things in the same way, compared with earlier" (orig. quote "ei ollu niin paljon vapauksia tehä niitä asioita samalla tavalla kun aikasemmin ")
Crisis	Lack of critical resources, negative emotions, high dissatisfaction	"I am so old that I will remain unemployed, and I have my mortgage and all. That's why I'm bitter"
	Lack of critical resources after being in need them for a significantly long time	"I still don't have a job" (follow-up interview six months after leaving the Bridge)
	Lack of preconditional resources, i.e., the lack of resources (e.g., well-being) that would enable one to acquire critical resources (e.g., a job)	"I have been trying to [conduct a job search, but] I had a doctor's appointment because I have a neck injury, so I've been trying to do a physical therapy almost every day of the week so that's keeping me kind of busy "

As depicted in Figure 3, the narratives included a specific structure that tracked interviewees' timeline with Nokia in terms of the following: (1) employment history with Nokia; (2) resource status prior to the announcement of workforce reductions; (3) resource status at the beginning of one's Bridge period; (4) Bridge experiences; (5) resource status at the end of one´s Bridge period; and (6) resource status six months after the end of one's Bridge period (only for those interviewed at this time). In addition, other elements, such as perceived future prospects for both oneself and Nokia, as well as perceptions of Nokia´s fairness, responsibility and motivation, were incorporated into the narratives.

For example, consider a participant who indicated that although his employment history with Nokia was initially satisfactory, he had been looking for new work challenges for the past several years without success (employment history resource status: open). In the months prior to the announcement of workforce reductions, the situation in his organization had gradually deteriorated to the point where he suffered from severe motivational challenges (prelayoff resource status: crisis). After hearing about Nokia´s decisions to reduce its workforce and to establish the Bridge program, he appraised his new situation in light of this information and concluded that he could potentially benefit from the transition with assistance from the Bridge (initial Bridge resource status: open). During the process of utilizing the Bridge, he decided to start his own company. Nearing the end of his grace period, he felt satisfaction and re-

garded his new professional prospects as more motivating than his previous prospects within Nokia (final Bridge resource status: fulfilled).
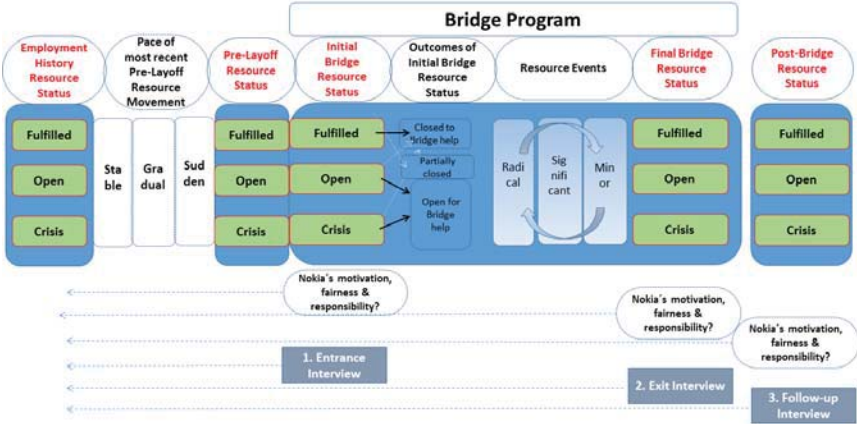
Figure 3. The framework for the Perceived Personal Resource Process and related timeline of interviews tracking cues of Nokia´s perceived motivation, fairness and responsibility

A summary of 101 micro-narratives is presented in Table 5. The summary highlights the frequency among interviewee cases of, e.g., particular perceived resource statuses (fulfilled – open - crisis); final impressions of one's personal transition process (improved – sustained - degraded); or the overall tone of individual fairness and responsibility assessments of Nokia (positive – ambivalent - negative).

Roughly one-third of the interviewees (27%) indicated at the end of their respective Bridge periods that their overall personal resource processes had experienced a trend of improvement. A slightly larger group of interviewees (31.5%) indicated a declining trend in their perceived personal resource processes. The largest group (41.5%) of participants described their resource process as remaining relatively stable.

Positive fairness and responsibility appraisals were often related to positive resource trends during the transition (i.e., a final impression that the resource process "improved"). However, contrary to expectations, negative experiences were occasionally associated with positive appraisals.

Table 5. Summary of 101 micro-narratives by resource status, final impression of personal resource process during the transition and general tone of fairness & responsibility appraisal.

Employment History Resource Status	Pre-Layoff Resource Status	Initial Bridge Resource Status	Final /Post-Bridge Resource Status	Final impression of resource process	Does Bridge position Nokia as a fair & responsible company?	N = 101
Fulfilled	Open		Fulfilled		Positive	N = 15
Fulfilled		Crisis	Fulfilled		Positive	N = 6
Crisis Fulfilled	- Crisis		Fulfilled		Positive	N = 3
-	Crisis		Open		Positive	N = 2
Open	Fulfilled		Fulfilled		Positive	N = 1
				Improved	**Positive**	**N = 27 (27%)**
Fulfilled			Fulfilled		Positive	N = 25
Open			Open		Positive	N = 11
Open			Open		Ambivalent	N = 3
Fulfilled	Open	Open	Fulfilled		Ambivalent	N = 1
Fulfilled	Fulfilled	Open	Fulfilled		Ambivalent	N = 1
				Sustained	**Positive/ Ambivalent**	**N = 42 (41.5 %)**
Fulfilled			Open		Positive	N = 23
Fulfilled	Open		Open		Positive	N = 4
Fulfilled			Crisis		Negative	N = 3
Fulfilled			Crisis		Positive	N = 2
				Degraded	**Positive/ Negative**	**N = 32 (31.5 %)**

Micro-narratives served as units of data cases that allowed the examination of one of the central research questions of this study: "How do Bridge participants construct perceptions of Nokia´s fairness and responsibility related to the transition and the Bridge program?" The micro-narratives eventually included the following descriptive elements:

1. Perceived personal resource process, which illustrates experienced personal benefit and harm, as well as future anticipated benefit and harm.

2. A person´s adopted social role in relation to Nokia and the consequent responsibility expectations (see Chapter 3.2).

3. Perceptions concerning the environment in which Nokia´s decisions were made and the consequences of those decisions for Nokia.

4. Interpretations of Nokia´s motivations for its decisions.

5. Fairness and responsibility attributions.

3. Individual orientations toward the Bridge Program

Employee perceptions of management's motivations for implementing the Bridge program and employee expectations regarding Nokia´s social responsibility are discussed in this chapter.

The study of these psychological aspects is important because they may predict an individual's experiences, attitudes and behavior (such as satisfaction with the offered assistance program and utilization of the program's services). Previous research has shown that perceptions of management's reasons for adopting certain HR practices influence employees' attitudes and behavior. For example, the belief that HR systems are based on management's employee-oriented philosophy is shown to be associated with higher commitment and satisfaction (Nishii, Lepak, & Schneider, 2008).

Moreover, analysis of the survey data revealed that the employees who interpreted Nokia´s motivations for establishing the Bridge program as employee-oriented were more willing to receive Bridge support.
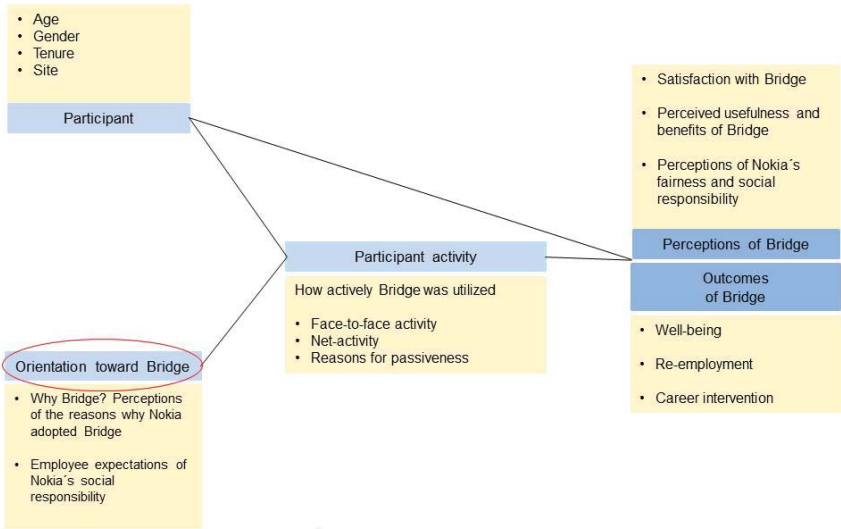
Figure 4. Orientation toward the Bridge Program is the focus of this chapter.

3.1 Why Bridge – participants' perceptions

Participants´ perceptions of the reasons why Nokia adopted the Bridge were solicited in the questionnaire with statements that included the original and official reasons for the Bridge program. One statement ("The Bridge program was set up because Nokia wants to polish its public image") was added based on beliefs identified in participant interviews.

Summary of key findings:

> Over 80 % of the respondents perceived that the Bridge program was established because Nokia wants to polish its corporate image. However, 68% agreed that Nokia wants to assist individuals to obtain re-employment, and 63% agreed that Nokia is concerned about the effects of layoffs on local communities.
>
> Although the majority of interviewees perceived both business- and employee-oriented motivations in a positive light, employees who believed that Nokia bore primary responsibility for mitigating the negative effects of workforce reductions on its employees perceived business-oriented motivations as negative. Employees who believed that the employees themselves were responsible for overcoming challenges created by workforce reductions were most critical of employee-oriented motivations.
>
> The longer the participant had worked for Nokia, the more she/he interpreted Nokia's reasons for implementing the Bridge as business-oriented. In addition, participants outside of Finland exhibited more employee-oriented interpretations of Nokia's reasons for adopting the Bridge than participants at Finnish sites did.

The statement with which participants agreed most often (82 %) was "The Bridge program was set up because Nokia wants to polish its public image" (Figure 5). Nonetheless, 68% of respondents also agreed that Nokia wants to assist individuals in finding re-employment through the Bridge program.

The Bridge program was set up because Nokia …
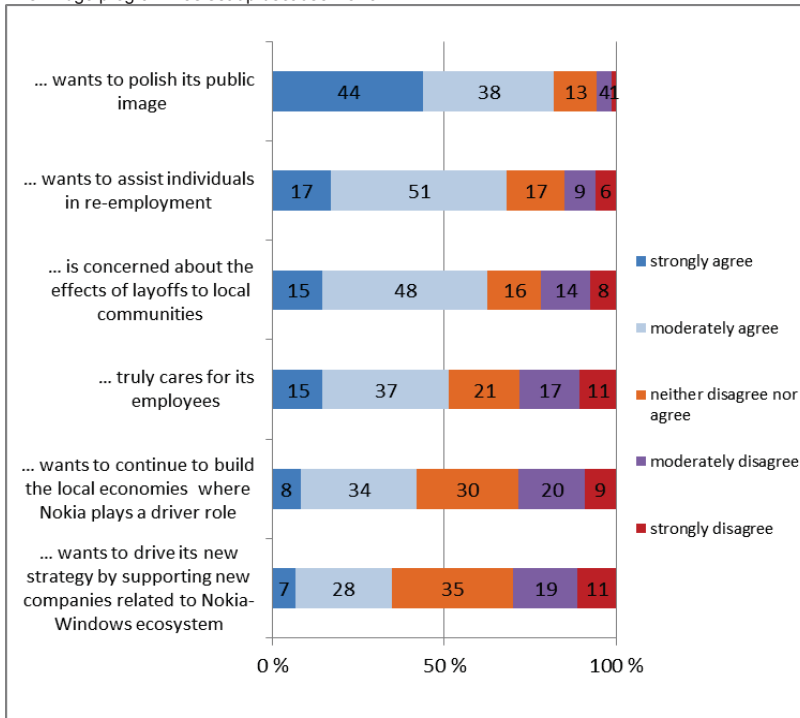
Figure 5. Perceptions of Nokia's reasons for implementing the Bridge program.

Respondents' age and gender were not related to perceptions of Nokia's reasons for adopting the Bridge program. However, tenure was significantly related to these perceptions. Specifically, the duration of one's employment at Nokia was negatively related to perceptions that Nokia wanted to assist individuals in finding re-employment and that Nokia truly cared about its employees. In other words, as the length of person´s tenure increased, his/her perceptions of employee-oriented reasons for the Bridge program decreased. In addition, the longer the respondent's tenure, the more strongly she/he believed that the Bridge program was implemented for business-oriented reasons.

The site of the respondent was also related to perceptions of management's reasons for implementing the Bridge program. In particular, respondents at Finnish sites agreed significantly more often with the 'polishing public image' statement than other respondents did, especially respondents in San Diego and Bangalore (Figure 6). In addition, the respondents in Bangalore and Copenhagen agreed more often than other respondents that the Bridge was established because Nokia truly cares about its employees and wants to assist individuals in finding re-employment.
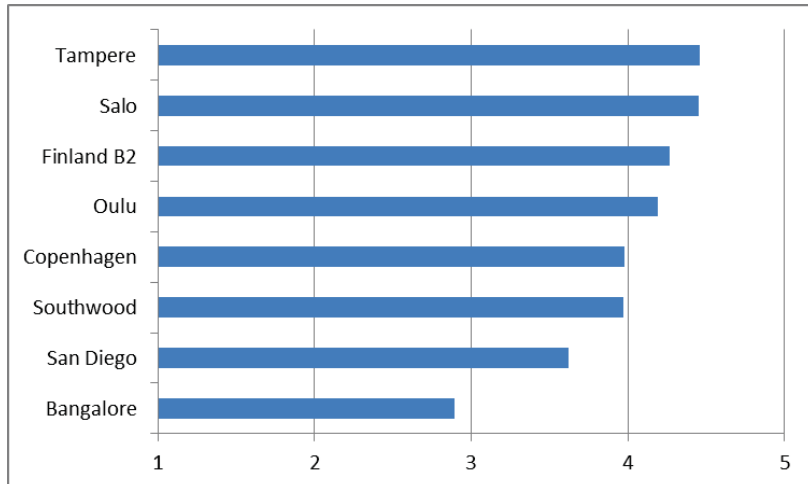
Figure 6. "The Bridge program was set up because Nokia wants to polish its public image" (scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = strongly agree).

3.2   Responsibility expectations towards Nokia

Bridge participants varied significantly in their assumptions about the respective rights and responsibilities of Nokia and themselves in the restructuring process. Analysis of the interview data revealed three distinct social positions among participants that represented these underlying assumptions.

Table 6 illustrates how Nokia´s perceived motivations (employee-oriented and business-oriented) were viewed through the lenses of identified social positions. For example, individuals belonging to the group labeled as "targets" - who perceived that the workforce reductions were motivated by Nokia´s self-interest – criticized Nokia, whereas another group ("independents") perceived this motivation in a positive light. The vast majority of interviewed Bridge participants belonged to the "compliant partner" category. The next-largest group comprised "targets", and "independents" constituted the smallest group of interviewees. These positions are discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

Table 6. Bridge participants´ adopted social positions, responsibility expectations and views of Nokia´s perceived motivations.

Adopted social position	Nokia´s motivation employee-oriented	Nokia´s motivation business-oriented
"Target" of Nokia´s responsibility	Positive	Negative
"Compliant partner" in Nokia´s responsibility	Positive	Neutral
"Independent" responsibility	Negative	Positive

Of the survey respondents, 67% agreed that the Bridge Program positioned Nokia as a fair and responsible employer (Chapter 5.4, Figure 22). Analysis of the interview data explains why other respondents (16%) criticized the company´s actions as morally unfair and irresponsible. The social positions described in this chapter are one factor affecting these characterizations, and chapter 6 highlights additional factors that affected employee attributions of fairness and responsibility to Nokia´s decisions related to workforce reductions and the Bridge program.

4. Participant activity

Inducing redundant employees to search for re-employment and developmental opportunities constituted the original and primary objective of the Bridge Program. However, during the implementation of local Bridge Programs, concerns about withdrawal and passiveness among some affected employees were articulated by a number of local and global Bridge operatives, as well as by Bridge participants themselves.
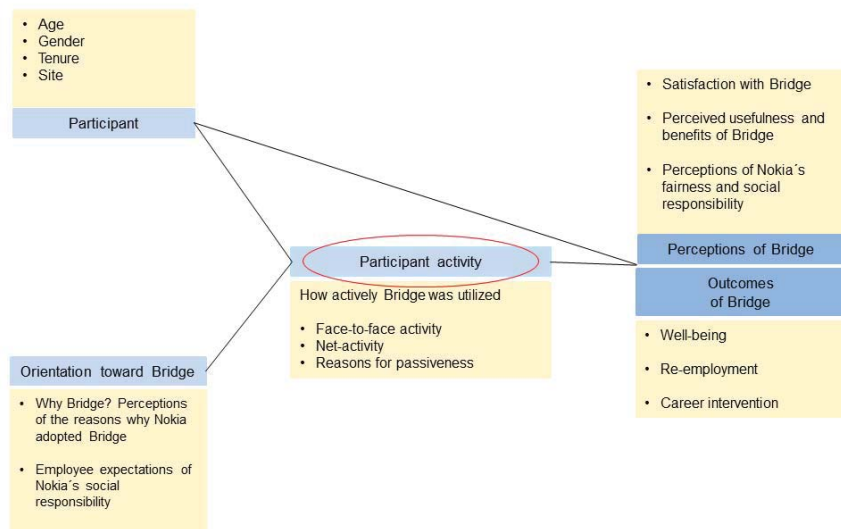
Figure 7. Participant activity is the focus of this chapter.

In this chapter, the topic of participant activity is considered from several perspectives. First, the methods used to measure Bridge participation are described, and the activity of different groups is compared. Second, face-to-face and net activity are defined to clarify the meaning of "active participation" in the Bridge Program. Third, the characteristics of active individuals are examined. Finally, causes of passiveness are investigated. What can be done to avoid passiveness during assisted workforce reductions is addressed further in Chapter 8.

Summary of key findings:

> The longer a person's tenure at Nokia, the more active she/he was in utilizing Bridge services.
>
> Individuals who believed that the Bridge Program was established because Nokia truly cares about its employees and wants to assist individuals in finding reemployment were more active than other individuals were.
>
> Participants in Southwood and Copenhagen were most active, and participants in San Diego were most passive.
>
> The most common self-reported reasons for negative non-utilization of the Bridge were related to psychological issues and a lack of information.

4.1 Participant activity – survey measures and group comparisons

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had been in contact with the Bridge through the following channels: reading Bridge-related emails, visiting Bridge internet pages, visiting the local Bridge center and participating in Bridge-related events.

The most frequent Bridge-related activity among respondents was reading Bridge-related emails; 48 % of respondents had read such emails more than 10 times, whereas only 3 % had not read any emails (Figure 8). Among R&D participants (participants at sites other than Salo), participation in reading Bridge-related emails was significantly higher: 54% of this group had read Bridge-related emails more than 10 times compared with 42 % in Salo.
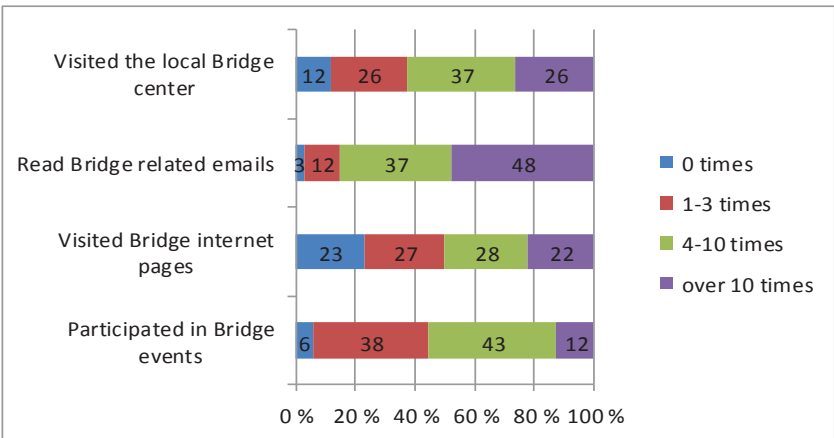

Figure 8. Participation in Bridge services at all sites.

Visiting the local Bridge center was also popular, and 26 % of respondents had visited their respective Bridge centers more than 10 times. On average, the R&D participants were more passive about visiting their local Bridge centers than participants in Salo were (18 % vs. 35 %, respectively, visited local Bridge centers more than 10 times).

Survey data showed that 22 % of the respondents had visited Bridge internet pages more than 10 times. The R&D participants visited Bridge internet pages more often than participants in Salo did (35 % vs. 9 %, respectively, visited Bridge internet pages more than 10 times).

Respondents participated in Bridge events significantly fewer times than they read emails, visited the Bridge center or visited Bridge internet pages. R&D participants participated less often in Bridge events than participants at Salo did (9 % vs. 16 %, respectively, participated in Bridge events more than 10 times).

4.2 Net activity vs. face-to-face activity

The level of participant activity by the channel of contact was studied further by combining two activities, reading Bridge-related emails and visiting Bridge internet pages, into a category labeled as net activity. Visiting local Bridge centers and participating in Bridge events were combined into a single category labeled as face-to-face activity.

Among the R&D participants, net activity was significantly higher than face-to-face activity. Conversely, participants in Salo engaged more often in face-to-face activity than in net activity.

Respondents' ages were negatively related to face-to-face activity and positively related to net activity. In addition, the longer a person's tenure at Nokia, the greater his/her participation in both face-to-face and virtual Bridge activity.

As noted later in this report, face-to-face activity was found to be related to the highest probability of re-employment and the greatest level of Bridge satisfaction (Chapter 5.1). One must acknowledge the positive effects of social interaction on individuals affected by workforce reductions when considering the benefits of face-to-face activity. Thus, face-to-face activity is the most useful type of activity for Bridge participants.

4.3 Antecedents of activity: tenure and motivation interpretations

The effects of age, gender and tenure (duration of employment at Nokia) on Bridge utilization were studied in more detail. In addition, the effects of participants´ perceptions of why the Bridge was established (e.g., because Nokia truly cares about its employees or because Nokia wants to polish its corporate image) were studied because previous research (Nishii et al., 2008) indicates that these types of attributions may influence a person's behavior and attitude.

The results indicate that the longer a person's tenure, the greater his/her utilization of Bridge services. The explanation for these results may lie in the

unique re-employment challenges faced by individuals with long employment relationships. Job search activities may feel more foreign to long-term employees than to individuals who changed jobs more recently. In addition, concerns about highly specialized but narrow professional profiles may have motivated long-term employees to utilize Bridge services to a greater extent than those with shorter job tenures did. Age was not related to a person's activity level. Among R&D employees, men were more active than women were.

Individuals who believed that the Bridge Program was established because Nokia truly cares about its employees and wants to assist individuals in finding re-employment were more active than others were. The belief that the Bridge was established for strategic reasons (i.e., because Nokia wants to support new companies or wants to build local economies where Nokia plays a driver role), was not related to the level of Bridge activity. In addition, the belief that the Bridge was implemented solely to polish Nokia's corporate image was not related to Bridge activity.

4.4 Activity and employment status post-Bridge

It may be unsurprising that people who found new jobs within Nokia were the most passive in terms of utilizing Bridge services (Table 7). There were only small differences in activity between the other groups. Those who started their own businesses or continued their job searches were the most active groups, whereas people who decided to start studying something new were slightly more passive than others (except for those who found new jobs within Nokia) in terms of Bridge participation.

Among R&D participants in particular, people who started studying something new were significantly more passive than other participants, especially with respect to face-to-face Bridge activity.

Table 7. Respondents' employment statuses post-Bridge and utilization of Bridge services (scale: 1 = 0 times, 2 = 1-3 times, 3 = 4-10 times, 4 = more than 10 times).

Status after Bridge	F2F activity	Net activity	All Bridge activity
New job at Nokia	1.9	2.10	2.00
New job outside Nokia	2.47	2.99	2.73
Own business	2.72	3.29	3.00
Searching for job	2.60	3.24	2.92
Will start studying	2.77	2.63	2.68
Have other plans	2.68	2.97	2.83
Total	**2.61**	**3.03**	**2.82**

4.5 Varying levels of activity per site

There were significant differences in participation activity between sites (Table 8). These differences may indicate potential reasons for both active and passive participation.

Participants in Southwood and Copenhagen were more active in face-to-face activity compared to participants at other locations. One explanation for this differences may be that both the Southwood and Copenhagen facilities were shut down, whereas divisions between leavers and stayers created tensions at other sites. Interview accounts suggest that feelings of being stigmatized by former colleagues was a common reason for the infrequency of participants' visits to Nokia facilities. In addition, layoff survivors reported feeling awkward when they encountered leavers, e.g., in the office cafeteria, especially during the early phases of layoffs. This divide between "the ones excluded" and "the ones included" was non-existent at sites that were closed. Thus, the Southwood and Copenhagen sites had a strong social advantage in terms of building an open and attractive atmosphere around their Bridge activities.

Participants in Bangalore and San Diego were significantly more passive in utilizing face-to-face Bridge services than participants at other sites. Explanations for the low numbers can be inferred based on interviews and the research team's observations in these locations. For example, San Diego was one of the first sites to launch the Bridge Program in May 2011; thus, the Bridge concept in practice had not yet been experienced at any other site. In addition, the team implementing the Bridge Program in San Diego was small, comprising one to two people who had regular HR duties in addition to Bridge duties. Accordingly, the scale of services that were ramped up from scratch in San Diego was not as comprehensive as the scale of services at other sites later on, when the company had more resources and cumulated experience available.

In contrast, the job market situation in Bangalore was excellent during the latter part of 2011, which is when the majority of Bridge activities were conducted at that site. Individuals were quickly re-employed and thus did not need Bridge activities to the same extent as employees at other sites did. Several individuals did not utilize their grace period at all because they found new jobs while they still were actively finishing projects for Nokia. However, around the spring of 2012, the job market in Bangalore declined and individuals at the Bangalore Bridge Program faced a new challenge; specifically, the majority of Bridge activities at that location had been ramped down when the number of Bridge participants had substantially declined. Re-employment became difficult when the job market became dormant.

Table 8. Overall participation in Bridge services: reading emails, visiting internet pages, visiting Bridge centers and participating in Bridge-related events (scale: 1 = 0, 2 = 1-3, 3 = 4-10, 4 = over 10 times).

Site	Mean	N
Bangalore	2.15	18
Copenhagen	3.19	100
Oulu	2.74	25
San Diego	1.92	25
Southwood	3.47	24
Tampere	2.84	39
Finland B2	2.68	106
Salo	2.72	191
Salo B2	2.82	118
Total	**2.79**	**646**

4.6 Self-reported explanations for passiveness

In addition to the site-specific reasons for different levels of activity, passive individuals themselves reported explanations for their behavior. These comments were collected from open fields in questionnaires and from one-on-one in-depth interviews with Bridge participants. In addition, local Bridge operatives and colleagues of the withdrawn individuals respectfully shared their personal insights on the issue.

The primary data used to analyze reasons for passiveness comprise a body of 85 qualitative citations of self-reported explanations for why certain affected employees did not utilize Bridge services. These reasons can be divided into two main categories: "positive" reasons and reasons that must be considered when further developing the Bridge Program.
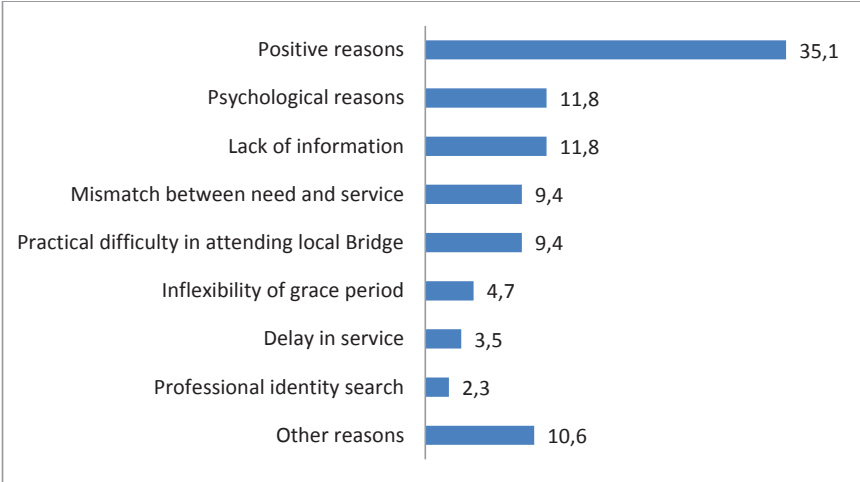

Figure 9. Self-reported reasons for non-utilization of Bridge services.

Roughly one-third of the reported reasons for passiveness are "positive" ones. Individuals whose reasons for non-utilization fall into this category did not need Bridge services due to their personal networks and opportunities; clear plans related to a new job, place of study or other meaningful engagements were already in place. Individuals expecting to become pensioners or to stay on family leave also belong to this group. A small group of individuals in this category did not have exact plans but were confident that they would attain their goals independently of Bridge support.

Positive reasons 35.1 %

- New job, 15.2%
- Own clear plans, 15.2%
    o Place of study
    o Family leave
    o Volunteer work
    o Pension
- No need for help, other reasons 4.7%

As shown in Figure 9, 74.9% of the reported reasons for passiveness pertain to categories that were experienced more or less as negative by the respondents. Negative reported reasons for passiveness were most often psychological in nature (11.8%) or related to a lack of sufficient information (11.8%). Although psychological reasons emerged most often during one-on-one interviews, they were also vividly described in open field survey responses.

These accounts include general descriptions of fatigue and frustration due in large part to the respondent's exclusion from her former work community and to the lack of certainty about the future. Being inside Nokia facilities reportedly caused feelings of anxiety for respondents, especially during the early waves of layoffs, when "being on the Bridge" was still a new phenomenon and employees that remained with the organization were unsure how to relate to redundant employees. Avoiding unpleasant social encounters with one´s former work colleagues was one reason why individuals chose to spend their grace periods in more soothing surroundings. Staying at home, being with family and travelling were the activities reported most often by individuals who spent their grace periods without utilizing local Bridge services.

In addition to the tendency to look for emotionally safe locations, reported psychological reasons for the non-utilization of Bridge services included references to depression. These citations included descriptions of periods during which depression paralyzed an individual, rendering them incapable of utilizing the Bridge and occasionally resulting in a complete absence of contact with the Bridge during the grace period. Belief that one´s age was an obstacle to re-employment was yet another reason for non-utilization; rationalization that one had poor re-employment prospects and inadequate emotional coping mechanisms resulted in a lack of initiative to participate in re-employment

activities. Another reported reason for non-utilization of the Bridge program was the radical change in self-image - from being an independent and capable professional to being the one "receiving help", which is how Bridge utilization was interpreted.

Psychological reasons 11.8%

- Fatigue and frustration caused by losing one´s job
- Nokia facilities evoke unpleasant thoughts and anxiety
- Wish to avoid ex-colleagues with positions in the new organization
- Wish to have time of one´s own in stress-free surroundings
- Depression, e.g., no energy to pursue Bridge services
- Identity conflict, e.g., do not want to be the one "helped"
- Pessimism about re-employment prospects due to one´s age

Another category of reasons for passiveness encompasses a range of misconceptions about the purpose of the Bridge Program and a lack of information about local Bridge activities; these types of reasons were reported as often as psychological reasons (11.8%). The largest group of reasons for non-utilization in this category relates to the misconception that the Bridge Program was mainly targeted at individuals who were interested in founding their own companies. This sub-category of reasons accounted for 7% of *all* reasons, both positive and negative, for passiveness. Primarily in survey responses, individuals explained that they were unwilling to consider the start-up option in the near future and thus found it pointless to take part in any Bridge activities.

Lack of information 11.8%

- Perception that the Bridge was mainly for start-up activities, 7.0 %
- Lack of information about specific Bridge activities
- Lack of understanding about the limited time available for utilizing Bridge services
- Not invited to participate in any Bridge activities

In addition, participants reported e.g., that sometimes the services provided by the program did not address one´s own needs, that it was practically difficult to attend the local Bridge, that the timing of one´s Grace Period was unsuitable or that the offered Bridge services were not timely to one´s needs.

Mismatch between needs and services   9.4%
- Lack of services for one´s skill set/profile
- Lack of interesting topics
- Not interested in the five paths
- Repetition of same information
- Narrow training options

Practical difficulty in attending local Bridge   9.4%
- Geographical distance
- Family arrangements
- Physical injury

Inflexibility of GP   4.7%
- Could not utilize services due to illness during GP
- GP during vacation period – quiet in local Bridge

Delay in services   3.5%
- GP during local Bridge´s ramp-up, services not yet active
- Delay in response to personal job-search request

Professional identity search   2.3%
- Uncertainty regarding personal professional direction

Other   10.6%
- E.g., pre-existing engagements and language problems

5. Perceptions of Bridge – satisfaction, usefulness, fairness and responsibility

Participant experiences and consequent perceptions of the Bridge Program were studied from a number of perspectives. These included (1) satisfaction with the Bridge; (2) perceived usefulness and benefits of the Bridge program; (3) perceived fairness of Bridge elements (severance package, grace period and local Bridge services); and (4) perception of the Bridge as emblematic of Nokia's fairness and social responsibility. Additionally, chapter 6 highlights factors that affected the fairness and responsibility perceptions adopted by participants.
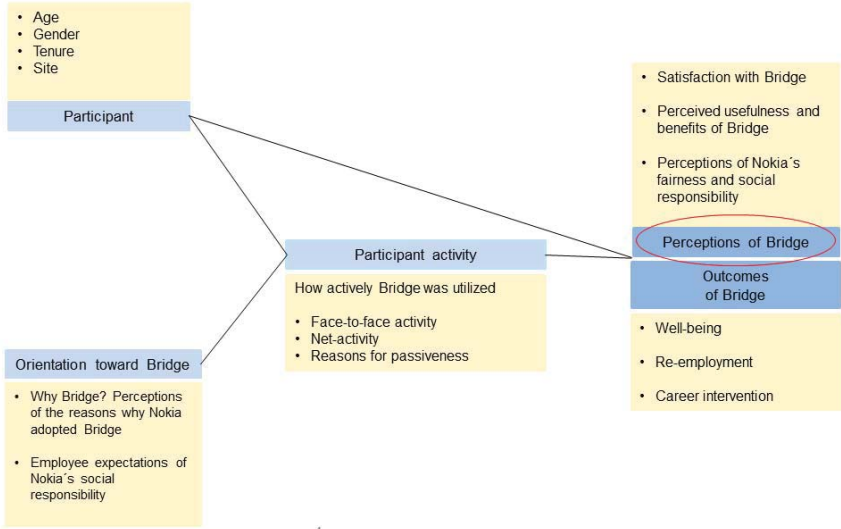
Figure 10. Perceptions of the Bridge are the focus of this chapter.

Summary of key findings:

Overall, participants were quite satisfied with the Bridge Program, although satisfaction was generally higher at non-Finnish sites.

Satisfaction with each Bridge element was related to tenure; the longer a person's tenure at Nokia, the less satisfied he or she was with each element of the Bridge Program. Face-to-face activity was positively related to satisfaction with the grace period and with the local Bridge.

Activities within the five Bridge paths were mainly perceived as useful. The paths that were perceived as most useful were Learn something new (83%), Find a job outside Nokia (73%) and Start your own business (60%).

Eighty percent of respondents felt that the Bridge helped them to learn how to find a new job. Over 60% of respondents stated that the Bridge provided valuable support to their self-esteem as job applicants.

Sixty-five percent of respondents stated that interactions with other Bridge participants provided them with positive mental resources, and 56% agreed that the Bridge diminished feelings of uncertainty and insecurity and thus helped them to cope better with the transition.

All three elements of the Bridge Program, i.e., local Bridge services, the Grace Period and severance packages, were perceived as quite fair by the respondents, except for the severance package as perceived by participants at the Salo factory.

More than two-thirds of respondents agreed that the Bridge positioned Nokia as a fair and responsible employer (67% of respondents). Respondents in Bangalore and Copenhagen agreed with this statement significantly more often than respondents at Finnish sites did.

5.1   Satisfaction with Bridge

Participants' level of satisfaction with the Bridge Program was elicited in a questionnaire administered after participants' utilization of the Bridge Program concluded. Satisfaction was assessed through nine statements, such as "I am satisfied with the length of my grace period" or "I am satisfied with the information that the local Bridge has provided about the Bridge program". These nine statements focused on the three elements of the Bridge: the local Bridge, the severance package and the Grace Period.

Over 70 % of the respondents were satisfied with the information they had received from the local Bridge (Figure 11), and respondents overall were very satisfied with the local Bridge.
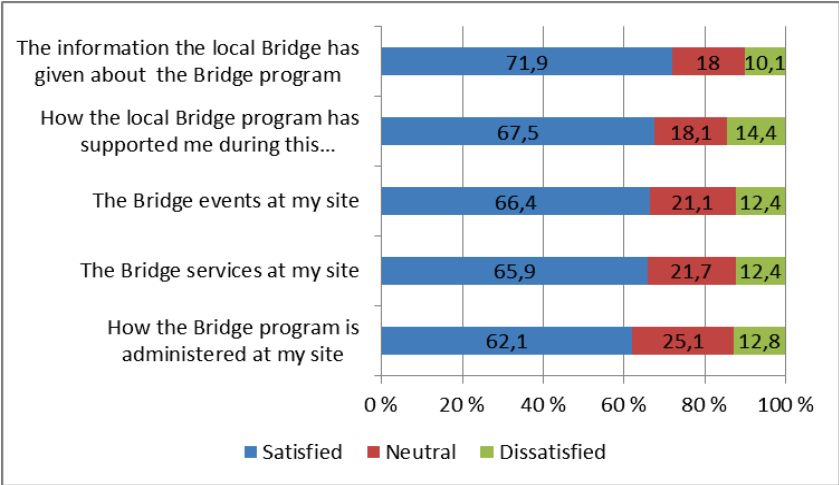
Figure 11. Satisfaction with the local Bridge.

Bridge participants were also satisfied with their severance packages (Figure 12) and were especially satisfied with the information provided by Nokia about the determination of severance packages.
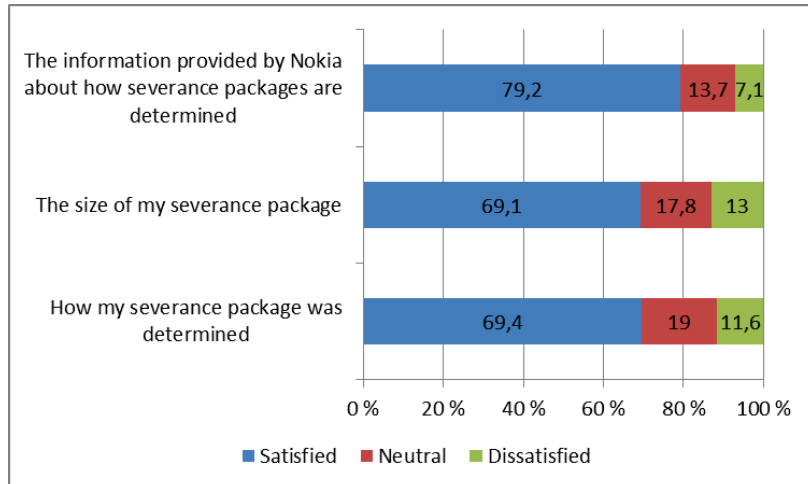
Figure 12. Satisfaction with the severance package.

Almost 70 % of respondents were satisfied with the length of their respective grace periods (Figure 13).
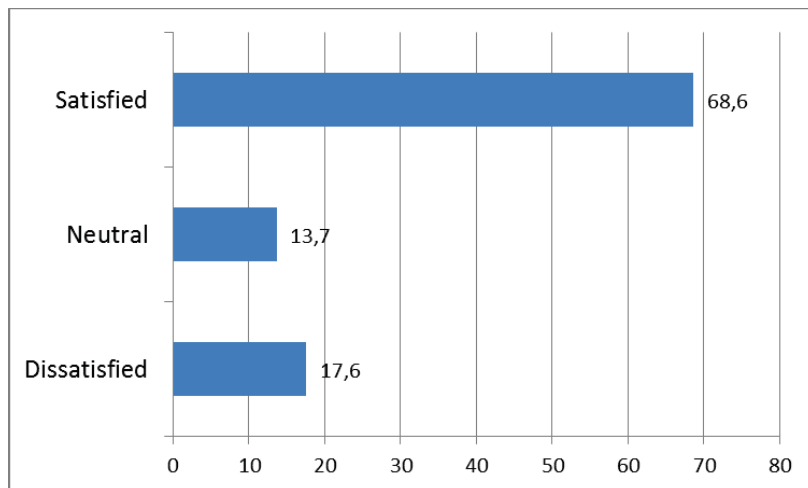
Figure 13. Satisfaction with the length of one's grace period.

Although there were no differences in satisfaction between age groups, men were more satisfied than women with the local Bridge. Satisfaction with each Bridge element was related to tenure; the longer a person's tenure, the less satisfied he or she was with each element of the Bridge Program.

Satisfaction with the Bridge was also significantly related to the site of the respondent. Participants in Bangalore were the most satisfied with each Bridge element (Figure 14). As could be expected, satisfaction with the length of time within which a person could utilize Bridge services was lowest among participants in Bridge 2 in Tampere, Oulu and the capital region due to the absence of a Grace Period. In addition, satisfaction with the severance package was lowest at the Salo factory, especially among participants of Bridge 2. Satisfac-

tion with the local Bridge was lowest in San Diego. Explanations for the low numbers can be inferred based on interviews and the research team's observations in the location. San Diego was one of the first sites to launch the Bridge Program in May 2011; thus, the local Bridge team begun their work with scarce support from the wider Bridge community. In addition, the team implementing the Bridge Program in San Diego was small, comprising one to two people who had regular HR duties in addition to Bridge duties. Accordingly, the scale of services that were ramped up from scratch in San Diego was more limited than the scale of services at other sites later on, when the company had more resources and cumulated experience available.
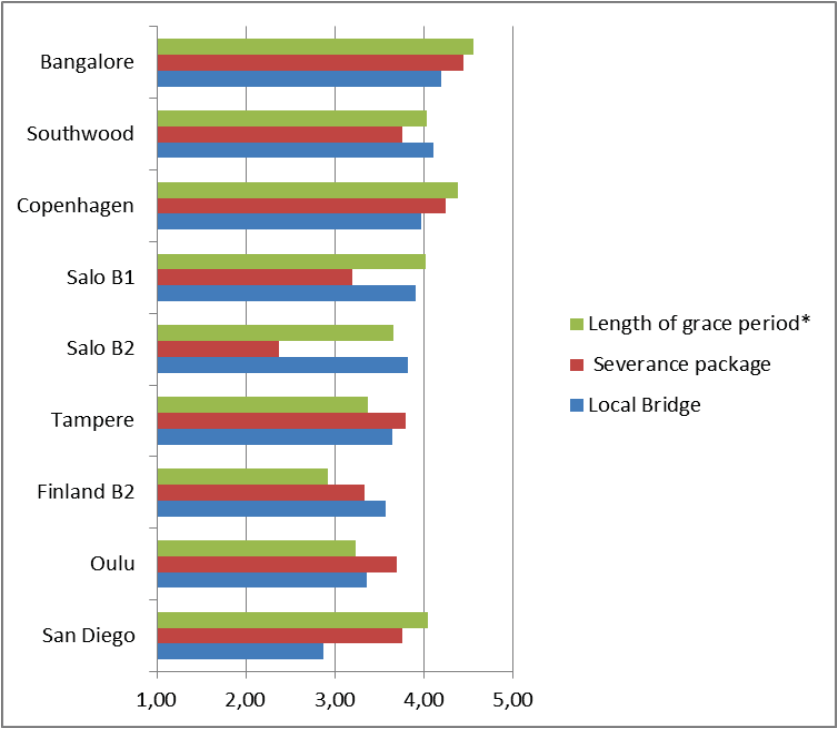
Figure 14. Satisfaction with the three elements of the Bridge Program per site (scale: 1 = Strongly disagree, 3 = Neither disagree nor agree, 5 = Strongly agree). * Satisfaction with the length of the grace period or with the length of time within which a person could utilize Bridge services.

Face-to-face or net activity – which is more important for Bridge satisfaction?

Whether face-to-face or net activity led to greater satisfaction with the length of the grace period, the local Bridge and the severance package was also considered.

Face-to-face activity was positively related to satisfaction with the grace period and with the local Bridge. The greater one's utilization of face-to-face services, the more satisfied one was with the Bridge. Moreover, face-to-face ac-

tivity had a more significant effect on satisfaction with the local Bridge than net activity did. However, face-to-face activity was not related to satisfaction with the severance package.

In addition, participation in virtual Bridge services (net activity) was related to satisfaction with the local Bridge and with the severance package.

5.2 Perceived usefulness of Bridge

Perceived usefulness and benefits of the Bridge program were studied from several perspectives. The usefulness of the five Bridge paths was addressed in the survey administered immediately after the individual exited the Bridge program, through questions including "How useful were activities related to the following Bridge paths to you?" The five response options were as follows: 1= very useful, 2= useful, 3= not at all useful, 4=did not participate, and 5= do not know. In addition, the perceived usefulness of the Bridge in finding a new job, learning how to find a new job, supporting one's self-esteem as a job applicant and supporting one's well-being was solicited in the surveys administered six to eight months after the program concluded; benefits of the Bridge were also addressed in the follow-up questionnaire. Possible benefits, such as "the Bridge helped me renew my career", were first mentioned by the interviewees and later included in the follow-up survey.

Usefulness of the Bridge paths – evaluated at the time of exit from the program

Immediately after exiting the program, the activities of the five Bridge paths were mainly perceived as useful. Over 80 % of the respondents who participated in the 'learn something new' path perceived the activities as useful (Figure 15). In addition, activities aimed at finding new jobs outside Nokia were considered useful by most (75 %) respondents. Only activities related to the 'find a new job within Nokia' path were perceived as not at all useful by more than one-half of the respondents.
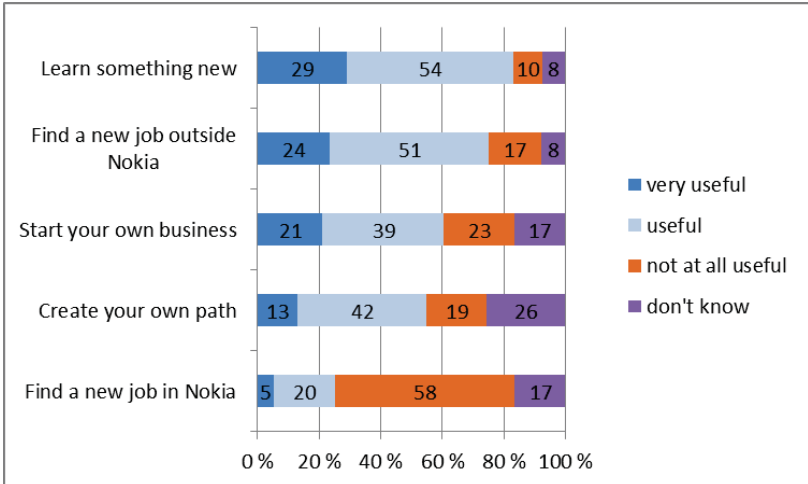
Figure 15. Usefulness of the Bridge paths. Percentages of those respondents who participated in the activities of the evaluated paths (Find a new job within Nokia N = 478, Find a new job outside Nokia N = 677, Start your own business N = 439, Learn something new N = 654, Create your own path N = 506).

Usefulness and benefits of the program – evaluated six months after the program

Six to eight months after exiting the program, survey respondents were asked to evaluate the usefulness of the Bridge program in, e.g., finding a new job and supporting one's well-being. The Bridge was most often (80 % of respondents) considered useful in learning how to find a new job (Figure 16). Over 60 % of respondents also stated that the Bridge was useful in helping support their self-esteem as job applicants.
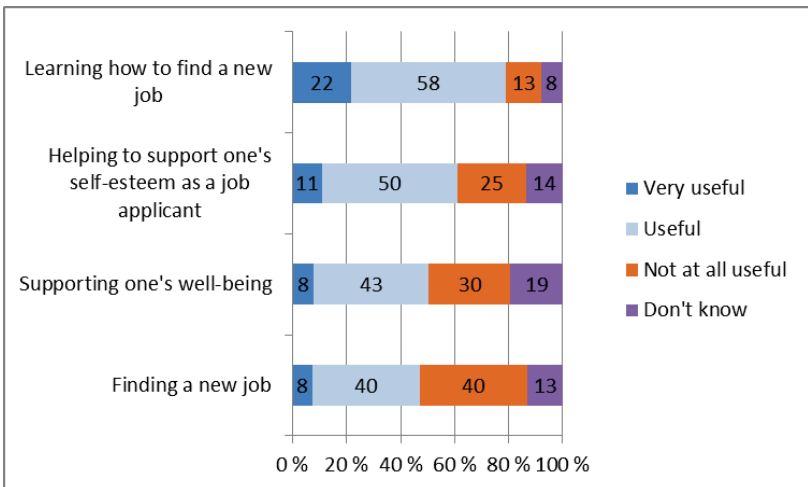
Figure 16. Usefulness of the Bridge program. Evaluated six months after exit from the program.

In the follow-up survey (six months after participants exited the program), respondents were asked to describe their perceptions of the Bridge program and its benefits by rating some of the benefits that interviewees had mentioned. 60 % of the respondents agreed with the statement that "the interaction I had with other Bridge participants provided me with positive mental resources" (Figure 17). In addition, more than one-half (56 %) of respondents considered the Bridge useful in diminishing feelings of uncertainty and insecurity.
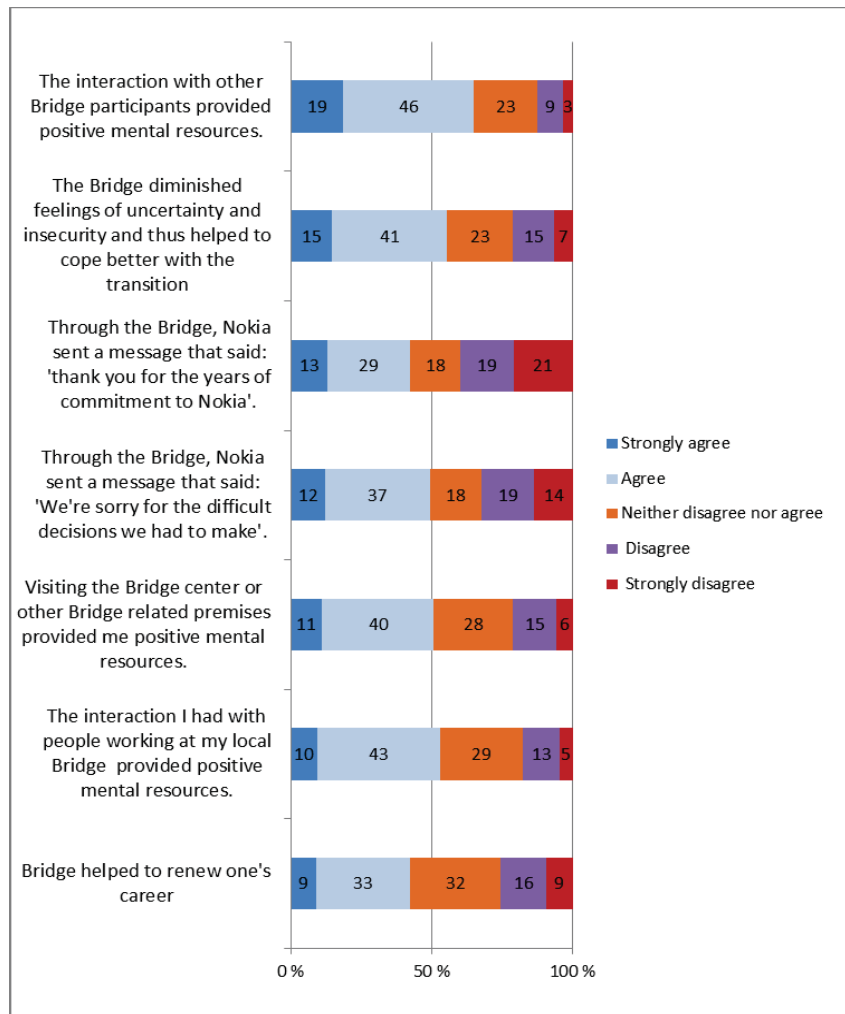
Figure 17. Benefits of the Bridge. Evaluated six months after exiting the program.

5.3 Perceived fairness of the Bridge elements: severance package, Grace Period and local Bridge services

The perceived fairness of the three Bridge elements was elicited in the questionnaire administered immediately after exiting the program. A total of nine

questions, such as "How fair do you think your severance package is, considering the length of your employment at Nokia?", were presented to the respondents, who were asked to select one of the following answers: 1=very unfair, 2=quite unfair, 3=neither unfair nor fair, 4=quite fair, 5=very fair.

The size of person's severance package was in general perceived as fair; 55 % of respondents perceived it as fair considering the severance packages offered by other companies and considering the length of respondent's employment at Nokia (Figure 18). However, 39 % of respondents perceived the package as unfair in light of the amount of effort expended by them during their employment.
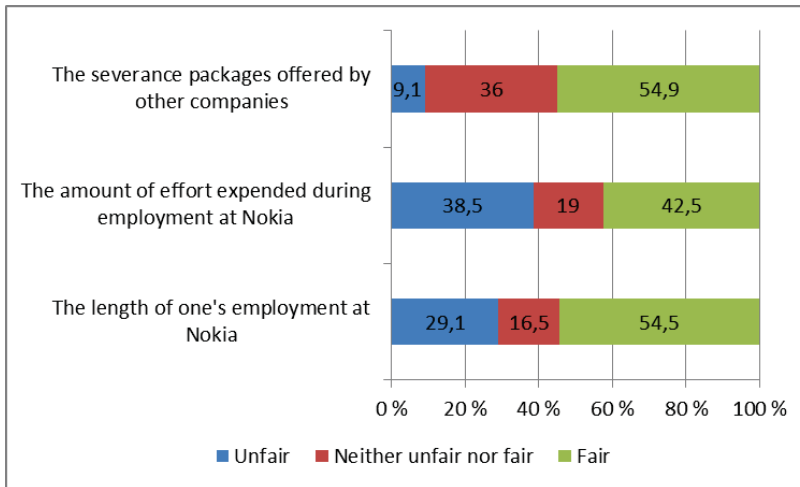
Figure 18. Fairness of one's own severance package considering, e.g., the packages offered by other companies.

More than one-half of respondents perceived the length of their respective grace periods as fair in light of local business customs, the extent of their own efforts during employment and the length of their employment at Nokia (Figure 19).
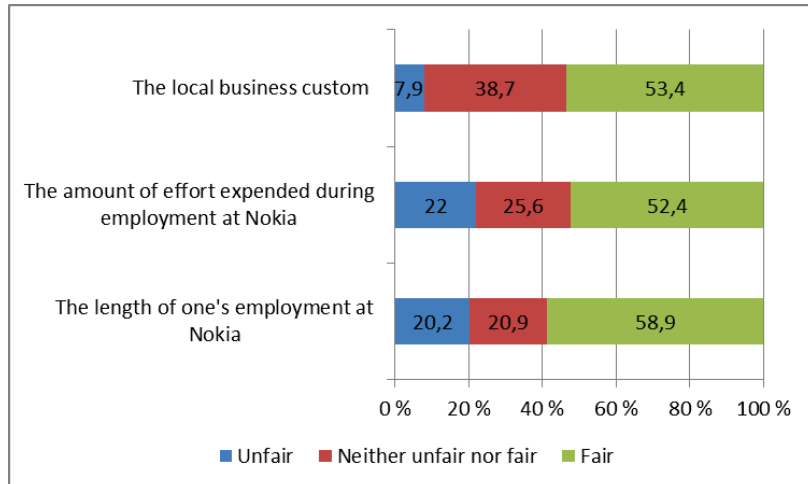
Figure 19. Fairness of the length of one's own grace period considering, e.g., local business customs.

Perceptions of the fairness of Bridge services were even more positive. In particular, 60 % or more of respondents perceived Bridge services as fair considering local business customs, the extent of their own efforts during employment and the length of their employment (Figure 20).
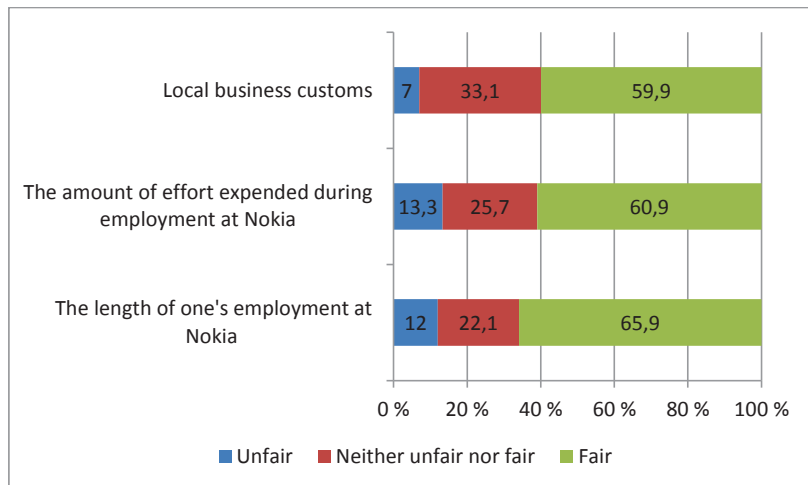
Figure 20. Fairness of the Bridge services considering, e.g., local business customs.

All three elements of the Bridge Program (i.e., local Bridge services, the Grace Period and the severance package) were perceived as quite fair by respondents (Figure 21). Respondents' age, gender and tenure had no significant effects on perceptions of fairness. Among the R&D participants, all elements were perceived as equally fair, but among the participants at Salo, the fairness of the severance package was evaluated significantly more critically than the other

elements were. Moreover, Salo respondents perceived the fairness of their severance package more critically compared with respondents at R&D sites.
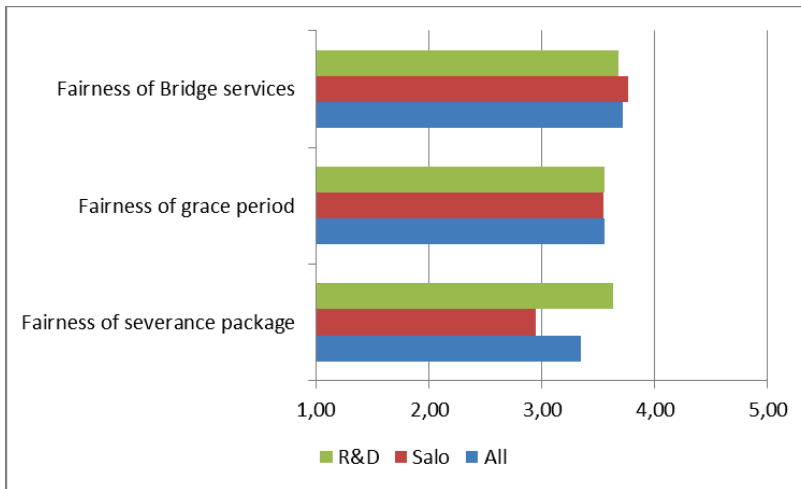
Figure 21. Fairness of various elements of the Bridge (scale: 1 = Very unfair, 3 = Neither unfair nor fair, 5 = Very fair).

5.4 Perception of the Bridge as a symbol of Nokia's fairness and responsibility

More than two thirds of all survey respondents agreed with the following statement: "The Bridge Program positions Nokia as fair and responsible employer" (Figure 22). Men agreed with the statement more than women did, but neither age nor tenure at Nokia affected the answers.
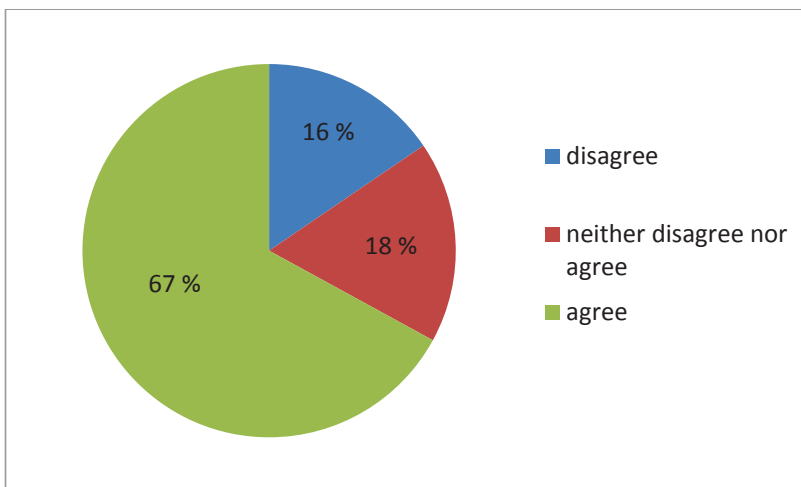
Figure 22. Distribution of answers to the following statement: "In my opinion, the Bridge Program positions Nokia as fair and responsible employer".

Respondents in Bangalore and Copenhagen agreed with the statement significantly more often than respondents at Finnish sites did (Figure 23). In addition, the answers from participants in San Diego, Southwood and Tampere were more positive than the answers from Oulu, the Salo factory and Bridge 2 participants at Finnish sites other than the Salo factory. Salo factory employees who participated in Bridge 2 had the most negative appraisal of Nokia's fairness and responsibility, whereas R&D participants had a significantly more positive appraisal of Nokia's fairness and responsibility than participants at the Salo factory did.
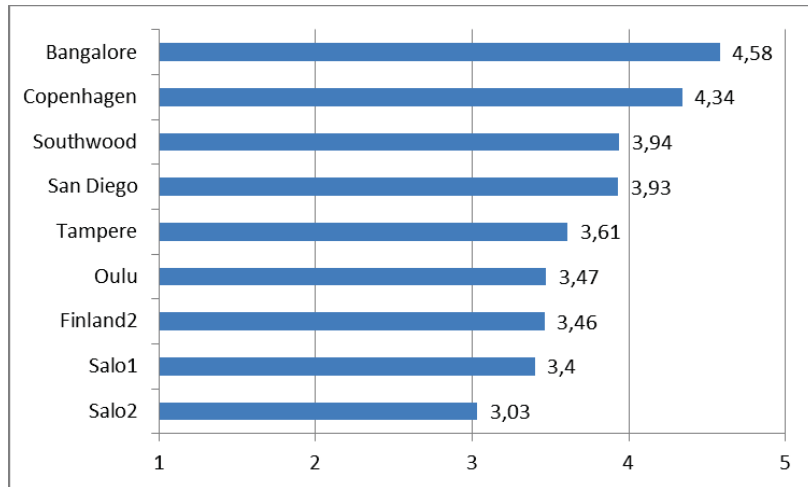
Figure 23. The Bridge positions Nokia as fair and responsible employer (T2) (scale: 1 = Strongly disagree, 3 = Neither disagree nor agree, 5 = Strongly agree).

The levels of Nokia´s perceived fairness and responsibility increased over time among all Bridge participants except among participants in Bangalore and at the Salo factory.

Table 9. The Bridge positions Nokia as fair and responsible employer. T2 = exiting Bridge, T3 = 6-8 months after the Bridge (scale: 1 = Strongly disagree, 3 = Neither disagree nor agree, 5 = Strongly agree).

"In my opinion, the Bridge Program positions Nokia as a fair and responsible employer"		
	T2	T3
Bangalore	4.58	4.26
Copenhagen	4.34	4.48
Oulu	3.47	3.70
San Diego	3.93	4.00
Southwood	3.94	4.33
Tampere	3.61	3.61
Finland B2	3.46	3.50
Salo B1 & B2	3.22	2.94

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Decreased perceptions of Nokia´s fairness and responsibility may reflect the general local environments in both Bangalore and Salo, where workforce reductions typically led to decreases in the quality of work conditions and opportunities, even when re-employment was found.

In Bangalore and Salo, Nokia´s position as an employer was considered exclusive in the local setting. According to interviewees working in Bangalore, Nokia´s company culture – wherein employees were valued as individuals – constituted the most important factor in their work satisfaction. Although Bridge participants valued Bridge support, they were often worried that other potential employers would not have similarly flexible cultures that would allow them to enjoy independence and a good work-life balance.

By contrast, in Salo, it would be difficult to compensate for Nokia´s role as a provider of employment and of competitive income levels to moderately or non-educated employees. Nokia's inability to keep its initial promise to continue factory operations in Salo is notably reflected in the fairness appraisals by Salo factory workers during Bridge 2.

6. Logics underlying fairness and responsibility attributions

The individual-level consequences of workforce reductions are known to potentially devastate the lives of both affected employees and their loved ones (Platt, 1984; Vinokur, Price, & Caplan, 1996). Effects on personal finances and on well-being may be long term and may pose a particularly significant threat to those individuals whose re-employment prospects are weakest. It is to be expected that fairness and responsibility appraisals among these individuals would be the most critical in the event of workforce reductions. Although the data of this study indicate that participants who experienced difficult consequences as a result of Nokia´s decisions were the most critical of Nokia's fairness and responsibility, analysis of the interview data shows that the opposite attitudes were also occasionally seen among employees experiencing hardship.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, although two-thirds of survey respondents viewed Nokia as a fair and responsible employer due to the establishment of the Bridge Program, one out of six survey participants disagreed with this statement (Chapter 5.4, Figure 22). This chapter highlights the various logics that led to positive and negative fairness and responsibility attributions among Bridge participants.

Analysis of the interview data yielded the identification of five factors that contribute to attributions of fairness and responsibility among Bridge participants. These factors are (1) one's individually adopted social position, (2) the expectations of Nokia's responsibility based on one's social position (see Chapter 3.2.), (3) perceptions of the environment in which Nokia´s decisions were made, (4) perceived balance of consequences between oneself and Nokia, and (5) perceived legitimacy of the (im)balance of consequences. The following chapter provides a brief overview of the relevant literature on attributions of responsibility, describes the five identified elements and discusses how the effects of these elements on positive and negative fairness and responsibility appraisals were exhibited in the interview accounts of Bridge participants.
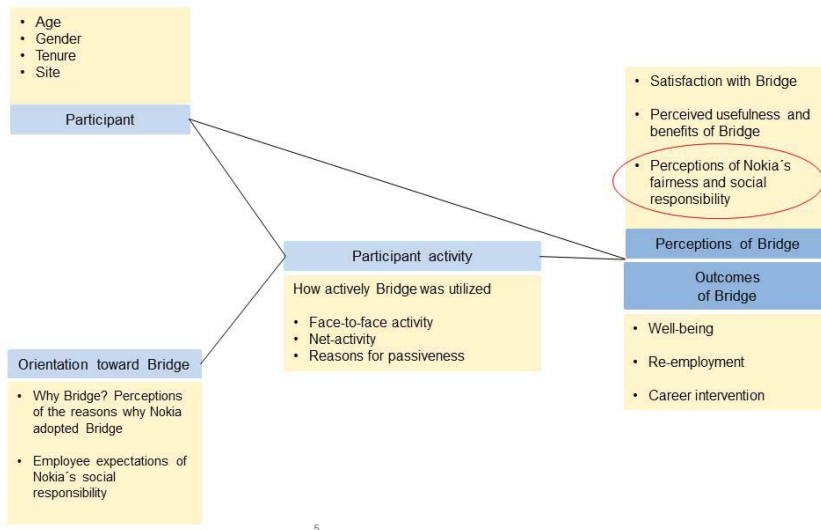
Figure 24. Perceptions of fairness and social responsibility are the focus of this chapter.

Summary of key findings:

> More than two thirds of participants perceived that Nokia´s decision to adopt the Bridge Program positioned the company as fair and responsible. However, there were two groups of participants that characterized Nokia's behavior as irresponsible. One of these groups felt that Nokia´s decisions were not adequately employee-oriented, whereas the other group believed that Nokia´s decisions were not sufficiently business-oriented.
>
> Three distinct social positions that reflected the participants´ subjective understanding of the rights and responsibilities inherent in the employment relationship were identified. These positions were labeled as "target", "compliant partner" and "independent".
>
> Positive fairness and responsibility appraisals were most often related to (1) "compliant partner" social position, (2) awareness of Nokia´s strategic and financial challenges, (3) the perception of Nokia´s Bridge Program as generous in one´s local context, (4) early appraisal of one's own situation as non-threatening due to the establishment of the Bridge Program, and (5) the perception of relative balance in restructuring consequences between oneself and Nokia.
>
> Both companies and affected employees benefit from transparency concerning employer´s business- and employee-oriented reasons for their decisions and the sources of funds for the offered support.

6.1 Attribution of fairness and responsibility

Although it has been shown that workforce reductions are likely to stimulate justice perceptions among employees (Brockner, Grover, Reed, DeWitt, & O´Malley, 1987), few studies explore perceptions of fairness among layoff victims (Van Dierendonck & Jacobs, 2012). It is known that explanations of why and how termination decisions were made positively impact victims´ perceptions of the fairness of layoffs (Wanberg, Gavin, & Bunce, 1999) and that employees perceived a lower level of risk related to impending layoffs when they perceived a higher degree of distributive justice. A lower level of perceived risk led to greater commitments to their respective organizations (Chang, 2002). It has also been found that distributive and procedural justice associated with the implementation of downsizing was positively associated with victims' perceptions of fairness and that internal attributions of responsibility (e.g., leadership of the organization was to blame for the economic difficulties that led to layoffs) were negatively associated with perceptions of fairness (Lakshman, Ramaswami, Alas, Kabongo, & Pandian, 2014). Although prior research provides several contributions to the subject of layoff victims´ attributions of fairness and responsibility, comprehensive insight on the topic remains lacking.

The term "attribution" refers to people´s spontaneous everyday explanations or judgments about perceived behavior and events. People interpret what they see or experience based on assumed causes, and these interpretations play a central role in people's behavioral reactions to the observed actions. (Hamilton, 1978, Hamilton 1980; Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley & Michela, 1980) For example, employees may explain firm behavior and its outcomes by assigning certain explanatory roles to the characteristics of the firm and to the firm´s situation (Heider, 1958; Lange & Washburn, 2012). Workforce reductions create an environment in which attribution processes are likely to take place because attribution processes are activated in situations that are unexpected, socially undesirable, cognitively challenging, characterized by unique consequences and likely to have a positive or negative impact on the perceiver. As such, attribution processes satisfy people´s underlying need to make one´s environment more predictable (Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley & Michela, 1980; Moss & Martinko, 1998; Wong & Weiner, 1981).

When people assign responsibility for behavior and its consequences, they do so through sanctioning attributions (Hamilton, 1980; Lange & Washburn, 2012). The central rule of inference in this type of attribution process is the idea of "could have done otherwise". When assigning responsibility, individuals take into account the mitigating roles of situational factors, role requirements and social conventions that create pressure for the actor to behave in certain manner. If the perceiver concludes that (regardless of external factors) the actor had the freedom to act otherwise, responsibility remains with the actor. (Hamilton, 1980)

The perceived role of the actor is especially important in the process because individuals attributing responsibility think along the following lines: "it's not what you did, but what you did given who you are" (Hamilton, 1978: 321). One of the central arguments of the present study is that employees formed perceptions of "who Nokia is" through their fundamental understandings of the rights and liabilities encompassed by the employment contract.[2] They also formed perceptions of Nokia´s resource status, process and prospects,[3] and these perceptions contributed to employees´ understanding of "who Nokia is" in the context of its transition. Another important factor in the attribution of responsibility was the manner in which the targets of Nokia´s actions perceived themselves. Based on the interview data, this chapter highlights how perceptions of "who Nokia is" varied significantly among Bridge participants and how participants' perceptions of their own positions in relation to Nokia in the context of workforce reductions affected their attributions of fairness and responsibility.

6.2 Factors affecting attributions of fairness and responsibility

The interview data of this study were constructed into micro-narratives and analyzed according to the prescriptions for analytic induction (Chapters 2.3 & 2.4). The early phases of analysis indicated that Bridge participants constructed perceptions of Nokia´s fairness and responsibility based on (1) their adopted social positions and (2) the resultant expectations of Nokia's responsibility based these social positions. Employees also (3) considered the environment in which Nokia´s decisions were made and (4) weighed the balance of consequences between the two parties of the employment relationship. Finally, employees (5) considered the legitimacy of the perceived (im)balance. These considerations of legitimacy ultimately led to fairness and responsibility attributions. Below, a summary of the relevant factors is presented along with direct quotes from the interviews of Bridge participants.

(1) Adopted social positions and (2) related responsibility expectations.

Bridge participants varied in their assumptions about the general nature of employment relationships and the consequent employee-employer rights and liabilities. These subjective positions were characterized by distinct assumptions about employment parties´ moral rights to existing resources and different expectations of the parties' respective responsibilities for potential hardships following separation.

Three social positions, labeled as "target", "compliant partner" and "independent", were reflected in participants´ interview statements. It is suggested that these positions formed the foundations for participants´ appraisals of fairness and responsibility in the context of workforce reductions because

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[2] See Table 10 for adopted social positions.

[3] See Chapter 2.4. for resource statuses and resource processes. Resource prospects refer to anticipated and speculated future resource processes.

these social positions embodied subjective assumptions about the implicit rules that govern the termination of employment contracts.

Targets. Targets often emphasized that Nokia was making its decisions to reduce the workforce without any legitimate reason. They perceived that Nokia was responsible for mitigating any harmful consequences of workforce reductions on its employees. The underlying assumption was that employees had, to some extent, a legitimate right to the organization´s resources; by terminating the employment relationship, their employer – the decision maker – did not respect this right.

Targets often referred positively to perceived employee-oriented motivations for the Bridge Program during interviews. Conversely, business-oriented motivations for Nokia's decisions were mentioned by targets in a negative sense. Targets often possessed a lower level of personal resources than other Bridge participants.

> Q 1: *"Nokia is two-faced, simultaneously laying off people in Salo while they transfer jobs to China... ...I am so old that I will remain unemployed, and I have my mortgage and all. That´s why I´m bitter."* (Bridge Participant, Salo Factory)

Compliant partners. Most of the interviewees perceived that Nokia had a legitimate right to reorganize its operations even though such reorganization would lead to workforce reductions. Compliant partners were sensitive both to the company´s needs and to their own needs in this situation and emphasized the importance of implementing difficult decisions in as considerate a manner as possible. Nokia´s employee-oriented motivations were generally referred to in a positive tone and its business-oriented motivations were referred to in a neutral tone.

> Q 2: *" I don't think it has any responsibility from a legal perspective but from an ethical perspective and sort of a moral perspective I think it does... ... we have responsibilities for ourselves, it's not all Nokia."* (Bridge Participant, Southwood)

> Q 3: *"To be very frank I did feel very bad, but then, that was based on my employee viewpoint. I did feel bad saying that it´s five and a half years and I´m almost coming to an end with the journey with Nokia, and I couldn´t do much more beyond this point. But at the same time I was also happy that the decision was made by the higher management. So I also - from the management point – viewed [that] there was no products left and it did make sense to get rid of employees in the product management role."* (Bridge Participant, Bangalore)

Independents. Independents did not believe that they had any rights to their employer´s resources beyond an effectual work contract. The organization´s decisions were described as rightly concentrating exclusively on the compa-

ny´s needs. The company´s legitimate goal in this difficult situation was to maximize its capacity to succeed in future endeavors. Independents referred to themselves as being responsible for helping themselves in this situation. Nokia´s perceived employee-oriented motivations for providing assistance prompted criticism. Conversely, independents consistently discussed the organization´s business-oriented motivations in a manner that conveyed acceptance.

> *Q 4: "It is stupid to say that this is wasteful, give me more money, money´s never useless, but if I was running the business, my primary objective would be to make money, so I would definitely put a little bit more thought into how I would use that money. It is a difficult situation for many people and a big change, but does it help you at all that [Nokia] tells you to take a half-year of vacation, and [the company] will pay your salary?" (Bridge Participant, San Diego. Translation by author)[4]*

Table 10 depicts the relationships among Bridge participants´ adopted social positions, assumptions regarding employer resources, responsibility expectations and characterizations of Nokia's perceived motivations. In particular, Table 10 shows the following: (1) Employees who positioned themselves as targets of Nokia´s responsibility assumed that they had legitimate rights to Nokia´s resources. References to perceived employee-oriented motivations were often positive, whereas references to business-oriented motivations were negative. (2) Individuals who positioned themselves as partners in Nokia´s social responsibility indicated that Nokia had a legitimate right to its resources but that it was appropriate for Nokia to use its resources to serve the needs of employees, within reasonable business limits. Perceived employee-oriented motivations were referenced in a positive tone, and perceived business-oriented motivations were referenced in a neutral tone. (3) Independents, who distanced themselves from Nokia´s social responsibility, believed that they had no rights to their employer´s resources beyond an effectual work contract and referred to Nokia´s business-oriented motivations as acceptable but considered employee-oriented motivations to be morally questionable.

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[4] Q 4 (original quote in Finnish): "Tyhmäähän on sanoo et tää on turhaa, antakaa mulle lisää rahaa, eihän se raha koskaan oo turhasta, mutta jos mä pyörittäsin bisnestä ja mun niinkun primääri tarkotus olis tehä rahaa, niin kyl mä kattosin vähän tarkemmin et miten mä sitä käyttäisin sitä rahaa, et se on monille ihmisille, se on vaikea paikka ja iso muutos, mutta auttaaks se sua yhtään että sanotaan että pidä puol vuotta lomaa me maksetaan sulle liksaa." (Bridge Participant, San Diego)

Table 10. Bridge participants´ adopted social positions, assumptions regarding Nokia´s resources, responsibility expectations, and characterizations of Nokia´s perceived motivations.

Adopted social position	Assumptions concerning resources at Nokia´s disposal	Corporate social responsibility expectations	Nokia´s motivation employee-oriented	Nokia´s motivation business-oriented
"Target" of Nokia´s responsibility	Employees have a legitimate right to Nokia´s resources.	Nokia is morally responsible for providing solutions to employee problems caused by its decisions.	positive	negative
"Compliant partner" in Nokia´s responsibility	Employer has the predominant right to its resources. Attendance to employees´ needs is expected, within reasonable business limits.	Nokia is expected both to tend to its own needs and to mitigate damages caused to employees, within reasonable business limits.	positive	neutral
"Independent" responsibility	Employer has the exclusive rights to its resources.	Nokia has no responsibility to mitigate damage caused to employees by its decisions. Nokia´s responsibility is to protect the future welfare of its business.	negative	positive

Subjective understandings of employment relationships that affect employees´ expectations of their employers is not a new theme in the sphere of organizational research. For example, Schein (1971) argued that fundamental conceptions about the employer-employee relationship vary significantly among individuals. Some individuals are characterized by a need for autonomy in relation to their employers, whereas others seek a mutual dependence with their organization. Moreover, individuals have been found to differ with respect to the level of trust that they place in their employers, which affects individuals' moral expectations towards their employers (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). The social role of the actor has also been identified as a central determining factor in the process of responsibility attribution (Hamilton, 1980). The present study reveals that variations in the perceived social role of the employer leads to variations in the perceived roles of the employees themselves and that these variations in self-understandings affect how responsibility and fairness are attributed by employees in the context of workforce reductions.

Individuals affected by Nokia´s workforce reductions varied significantly in their subjective orientations toward Nokia´s decisions, and these orientations constituted the context in which Nokia´s actions were evaluated. Participants held assumptions about the rights and responsibilities of Nokia and of themselves. Furthermore, assumptions were made about the motivations that drove Nokia's decisions. The light under which Nokia´s perceived motivations were viewed varied according to participants' subjective considerations about both parties' 1) rights to existing resources and 2) responsibility for ameliorating the harmful consequences of the parties' separation on the other party.

(3) Environment in which Nokia´s decisions were made

Attributions of responsibility are affected by considerations of situational factors that affect the actor´s deeds. Individuals form perceptions of the actor's environment to determine whether the actor could have acted differently. (Hamilton, 1980; Heider, 1958; Lange & Washburn, 2012)

  The interviews indicate that Bridge participants possessed various perceptions of the financial constraints and enablers that influenced Nokia´s decisions regarding the transition. For example, the majority of affected individuals perceived that Nokia was experiencing a severe financial crisis and thus faced heavy pressure to reduce the size of its workforce. These perceptions supported the legitimacy of the reductions in the minds of participants. However, the same perceptions also puzzled many participants: how could Nokia afford to implement the Bridge Program in the midst of such a financial struggle? This paradox led some individuals to question Nokia´s role as a responsible steward for the company´s financial resources.

> *Q 5: "…didn´t they just have a 1.5 billion operating loss? How can they afford to pay and how can people receive salaries and be on some grace period, can go to work? These are so great things to us, soon-to-be ex-Nokians…" (Bridge Participant 15, Oulu. Translation by author)[5]*

In contrast, some employees perceived that Nokia was making decisions on workforce reductions without any significant financial or business constraints. For example, a common perception among employees at the Salo factory was that although Nokia was struggling financially, outside circumstances were insufficiently dire to force Nokia to close the factory; thus, these employees condemned Nokia´s actions. The interpretation was that workforce reductions in Salo were conducted to increase Nokia´s profits when there were no obvious threats to Nokia´s future welfare. Accordingly, Nokia´s actions were interpreted as greedy and dismissive of employees´ rights to employment. These interpretations led participants to perceive Nokia´s decisions as illegitimate.

> *Q 6: Operating losses are not behind the decisions, but decreased profit is… …In reality, there would be a need for a factory worker´s contribution, but the work is just not given… (Bridge participant, Salo factory)*

Moreover, certain individuals in Salo did not perceive any financial constraints on the operation of the Bridge Program. For example, these individuals openly questioned why Nokia declined to maintain the Bridge program for a full year. In the minds of these individuals, Nokia´s resources were limitless.

  Comparison of Nokia´s Bridge offer with local legislation and industrial standards. Bridge participants often compared Nokia´s Bridge program with

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[5] Q 5 (original quote in Finnish): "...eikö ne tehny 1,5 miljardia tappiota, miten niillä on varaa maksaa ja miten ihmiset saavat palkkaa ja saavat olla jollain grace periodilla, saavat käydä töissä? Nää on niin mahtavia juttuja meille, kohta ex-nokialaisille..." (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

local legislation and industry policies. The most common conclusion based on this comparison was that Nokia was doing "more good" than was required or expected by the surrounding community. These perceptions were most common among R&D employees, especially in Bangalore and San Diego. However, they were also indicated in Southwood, Copenhagen, Oulu, Tampere and Salo.

> *Q 7: "Nokia takes care of the people who are laid off with a good package. Usually, companies give you two weeks´ notice and two weeks´ extra payment to find another job. Nokia made the decision to give more months…in addition to that apply you for the years of service and whatever bonuses were left." (Bridge Participant, San Diego)*

Another participant commented that Nokia´s Bridge program was so extraordinary that it had acquired humorous features in the eyes of both Bridge participants and outsiders:

> *Q 8: "We were wondering about this Bridge… …I guess the final conclusion was that if like in the world you need to be fired, here´s a pretty good way to be fired, so like, I don´t know of anybody in Finland that could offer much better layoffs than Nokia. So, if you need to leave, this is pretty good way… …I discussed it with my wife… …and my wife shook her head a little bit, as if to say what a system you have, like "we receive pink slips with bonus holiday pay and that´s it."" (Bridge Participant, Tampere. Translation by author)[6]*

Another interviewee, who was originally from France, compared Nokia´s Bridge offer to the local standards in France. In her view, Nokia´s grace period and severance package were not exceptional at all because similar arrangements were required by law in France.

In summary, participants perceived constraints on and enablers for Nokia´s decisions regarding workforce reductions and the Bridge Program, and these perceptions affected how Nokia´s actions were evaluated by participants. Whereas perceived financial constraints contributed to positive fairness and responsibility attributions, perceived leeway in Nokia´s resources had the opposite effect.

(4) Perceived balance of consequences between oneself and Nokia and (5) perceived legitimacy of the (im)balance

Employees formed perceptions about the costs and benefits of Nokia´s decisions, both to themselves and to the organization. The overall tone of employees' considerations, anticipations and speculations regarding the consequences

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[6] Q 8 (original quote in Finnish): "Ihmeteltiin sitä Bridgeä... ...kai se niinku se loppupäätelmä oli siitä et jos niinkun maailmassa pitää potkut saada niin tässä on aika hyvä tapa saada potkut, et tota niin, en mä tiedä Suomessa et kukaan paljon parempia potkuja tarjois kun Nokia. Et tota jos pitää lähteä niin tää on hirveen hyvä tapa... tota niin siis silleen... niin rouvan kanssa tietysti keskustellaan koska niinkun monestakin syystä, mutta niin kyllä rouva vähän pudisteli päätään, että on teill syteemit, et "meillä tulee tosiaan lopputili ja lomaraha ja se on siinä."" (Bridge Participant, Tampere)

to themselves and to the company varied significantly among employees. The perceived consequences to oneself and to the employer were often contrasted in the accounts of Bridge participants.

Following Nokia's announcement of strategic changes, some individuals appraised their personal situation as highly threatening. For these employees, awareness that Nokia would engage in special supportive arrangements through the Bridge did not alleviate their pessimistic expectations for the future. The determining factor for the situational appraisal of these individuals was often the loss of livelihood or the loss of expected professional breakthroughs due to cancelled projects.

Employees' situations were experienced as especially challenging in locations where substitutive employers were difficult to find. Concerns about supporting oneself and one´s family generated acute worry. Sometimes employees who could not move to another city following Nokia´s changed local strategies, felt they were put in unequal position with individuals who didn´t have e.g. family constraints. To these individuals, it felt unreasonable that they should choose between being with their family or keeping their job.

In contrast, some interviewees described their appraisals as highly optimistic. Reasons cited for such optimism included the financial security and the extra time for transition provided by the Bridge Program. Some participants had been struggling with their work motivation for a long time, and to them, the transition appeared as a long-desired opportunity for radical personal change.

Participants' accounts also included assumptions regarding the impact of Nokia's decisions on the organization´s future. Interviewees speculated on what would have happened if their employer had made different decisions. Given the decisions that were made, some individuals considered the organization´s future to be optimistic, whereas others were more pessimistic about whether the restructuring would be successful from the company´s perspective.

There is evidence that Bridge participants compared the consequences to themselves with the consequences to Nokia following the company's decisions and that these comparisons led to perceptions of a balance or an imbalance of consequences.

Some participants perceived that Nokia would have had a strong future without employee reductions and considered the effects of Nokia´s decisions as highly threatening to them personally. Challenges in finding re-employment and consequent financial difficulties felt devastating to some of these employees. Based on the perceived imbalance of prospects between themselves and Nokia, the speculated balance that would have resulted from an alternative decision, and the impression that Nokia willingly – without coercion or significant external pressure - chose "to do wrong", they concluded that Nokia acted irresponsibly. Because a legitimate explanation for Nokia´s behavior could not be found in the company´s situation, an explanation was found in the undesirable traits that Nokia itself possessed.

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In contrast, some Bridge participants came to the opposite conclusion after comparing the consequences. For example, certain interviewees indicated that they perceived Nokia´s situation as threatening, both before and after the company's decisions, whereas their own situation was optimistic as a result of the Bridge.

All in all, comparison of the employees' own prospects with those of Nokia in light of the workforce reductions and the establishment of the Bridge Program contributed to both positive and negative appraisals. In addition, individuals arrived at appraisals of either balance or imbalance after comparing the consequences between themselves and Nokia. These appraisals were evaluated in the light of employees' underlying expectations of responsibility.

Subjective beliefs regarding the rights and responsibilities embodied in the employment relationship with Nokia influenced employees' assessments of the balance of consequences as well as their perceptions of Nokia´s motivations for its decisions. Thus, two individuals with similar personal consequences and similar consequence comparisons occasionally arrived at opposite conclusions with respect to Nokia´s responsibility and fairness. Likewise, two individuals who interpreted Nokia´s motives for its decisions as primarily selfish could arrive at opposite appraisals of Nokia´s ethicality when the underlying social positions of the individuals differed.

6.3   Conclusions

The results show that employees vary significantly in how they view Nokia's moral responsibility in the context of workforce reductions. Nokia as an employer was considered both fair and unfair and both responsible and irresponsible by the affected employees, and perceptions of both employee- and business-oriented motivations were the basis of both positive and negative appraisals. With regard to Nokia´s restructuring, the majority of Bridge participants adopted the compliant partner position in relation to the organization and appraised Nokia´s conduct as fair and responsible. This appraisal was likely affected by Nokia´s effort to show solidarity by implementing the Bridge Program.

The results also indicate that the company itself may influence how its conduct is evaluated. Company leadership should recognize that particularly blue-collar employees may not be aware of the severity of the strategic challenges and financial constraints faced by the organization. Furthermore, scarcity of personal coping resources may lead employees to feel personally threatened regardless of the re-employment support offered by the company, and their interpretation of the company's situation as non-threatening fosters perceptions of unfairness. Sufficient support must be available to the most vulnerable employees, and the challenges faced by the company must be clearly communicated. Taken together, these actions are likely to increase perceptions of fairness and to support the well-being, coping ability and re-employment of employees who experience the greatest personal threat during employee reductions.

The data show that particularly blue-collar employees varied significantly in their perceptions regarding the source of funds invested in the employee assistance program. Uncertainty regarding the funding sometimes prompted cynicism. Although companies that have previously invested in employee-oriented cultures may benefit the most from being open and candid about significant financial investments in employee assistance programs during workforce reductions, all openness is likely to increase the probability that employees will utilize the offered support, which in turn will enhance both their coping abilities and their opportunities for re-employment.

It is vital that companies understand attributions of fairness and responsibility during workforce reductions because these attributions have behavioral consequences and are thus likely to affect the well-being, participation and re-employment of affected employees. The process by which individuals arrived at their respective attributions of Nokia´s fairness and responsibility was highly subjective. Specifically, these attributions were shaped by employees' evaluations of the fairness of the consequences of the dissolution of the employment contract in light of the employees' assumptions about the rights and liabilities that bind the two parties to the employment relationship. Therefore, in addition to adopting employee-oriented policies, companies must effectively communicate both business- and employee-oriented reasons for their decisions and as much as possible, pursue transparency concerning the sources of funds for the offered support.

7. Outcomes of the Bridge Program

7.1 Well-being outcomes

The individual-level negative effects of job loss have been widely acknowledged (e.g., Hanisch, 1999; Latack, Kinicki, & Prussia, 1995; Leana & Feldman, 1992; Leana & Feldman, 1994; Platt, 1984; Wanberg, Kammeyer-Mueller, & Shi, 2001; Winefield, 1995, McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Warr, 1987; Vinokur et al., 1996). One of the most significant threats related to job loss is the stress caused to redundant individuals (Kasl & Cobb, 1979; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Leana & Feldman, 1988). Stress related to uncertainty – e.g., the possibility of losing control over one´s financial situation – consumes an individual's energy at a time when it would be critical to direct energy toward finding a future direction (Latack & Dozier, 1986).

Moreover, the loss of one's job may threaten an individual's sense of identity, self-worth and social contacts, which creates emotional load (Amundson & Borgen, 1982; Beehr, 1995). Involuntary job loss may evoke emotions including hostility, depression, frustration, anger, guilt, worry, anxiety and even suicidal inclinations (Platt, 1984). Changes in emotional state, life satisfaction and career satisfaction have also been reported (Latack et al., 1995; DeFrank & Ivancevich, 1986; Hanisch, 1999). Furthermore, job loss has been related to physical health effects (Cobb, 1974), such as harmful increases in cortisol levels (Grossi, Ahs, & Lundberg, 1998). Negative effects on general perceived physical health, the level of health complaints and levels of physical functioning have also been reported (Gallo, Bradley, Siegel, & Kasl, 2000; Schwarzer, Jerusalem, & Hahn, 1994).

Psychological well-being has been found to relate positively to the probability of re-employment, whereas low levels of self-esteem have a negative impact on re-employment outcomes (Schaufeli & Vanyperen, 1993). Another study found that mental health – operationalized as depression and self-esteem and according to Goldberg´s (1972) General Health Questionnaire – increased the likelihood of employment (Taris, 2002).

However, contradictory results have also been reported. Crossley and Stanton (2005) found a positive relation between depression, distress and anxiety and higher levels of re-employment (although the researchers questioned the quality and length of these re-employment relationships). Another study found a negative relation between depressive symptoms and the extent and quality of re-employment (Vinokur & Schul, 2002). A more recent study supported the notion that general psychological distress was related to a lower probability of

re-employment. Specific social and economic factors, such as age, an immigrant background and a lack of control over one´s financial situation, among other factors, were found to mediate this relationship (Skärlund, Åhs & Westerling, 2012).

Psychological stress can be defined as "a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangers his or her well-being" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In this study, workforce reductions were examined as a potentially stressful event that was likely to trigger an individual-level appraisal of one´s personal situation in light of a changed environment. Based on prior research, this study assumed the possibility that workforce reductions exert a damaging impact on an individual's well-being through, e.g., subjective pessimistic appraisals of the adequacy of one´s personal resources.

The study focused on how the offered Bridge Program could help prevent some of the most negative known consequences of layoffs. In particular, the study investigated whether and how the Bridge Program affected stress-related situational appraisals and whether the program was able to increase crucial personal resources for the individual employees who were affected by the reductions.

Because well-being is considered to be a valuable entity that can be threatened by excessive stress, well-being itself is characterized as a particular form of personal resource. Well-being is understood holistically as a concept that encompasses psychological, social and physiological aspects that contribute to the overall re-employment capacity of individuals. In this study, well-being was studied 1) with a follow-up survey conducted six months after the individual's participation in the Bridge concluded, 2) longitudinally, with a limited sample from the Salo factory and the Bridge2 population, 3) with interview data.
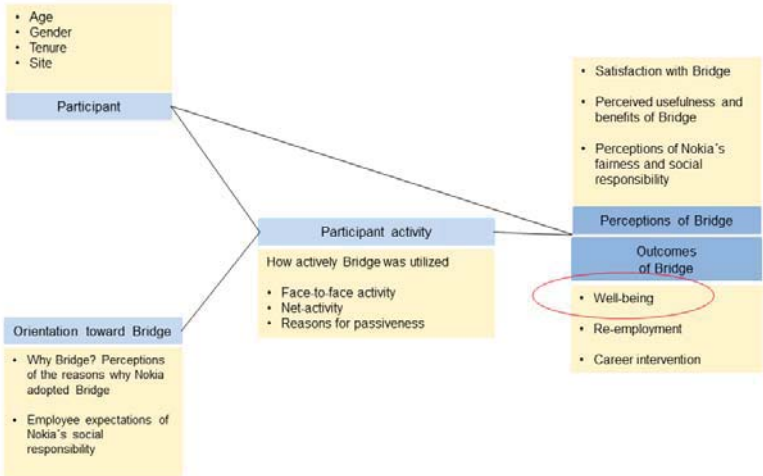
Figure 25. Well-being outcomes are the focus of this chapter.

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Summary of key findings:

Interview accounts across all sites highlight the Bridge´s role as a source of social and financial support that "changed the game" in participants' personal emotional landscapes. The program induced positive mental resources and thus helped participants to cope better with the transition.

Six months after participating in the Bridge Program, more than half of the respondents indicated that the Bridge was a useful means of supporting one's well-being. In addition, they agreed that that the Bridge diminished feelings of uncertainty and insecurity.

The study longitudinally followed a limited sample of respondents from Salo and Bridge2 in Finland. The affective well-being of these respondents improved during the time when they were able to utilize the Bridge program.

Positive changes in physical well-being that increased re-employment capacity were identified among interviewees, especially at Salo factory.

The following chapter describes how the Bridge affected participants´ well-being. The findings draw on both survey and interview data.

Results from the follow-up survey conducted six months after the Bridge

Survey data, which were also reported in chapter 5.2, showed that 51% of follow-up survey respondents felt that the Bridge program was useful in supporting their well-being (figure 26). In addition, 61% stated that the Bridge provided support to their self-esteem as job applicants.
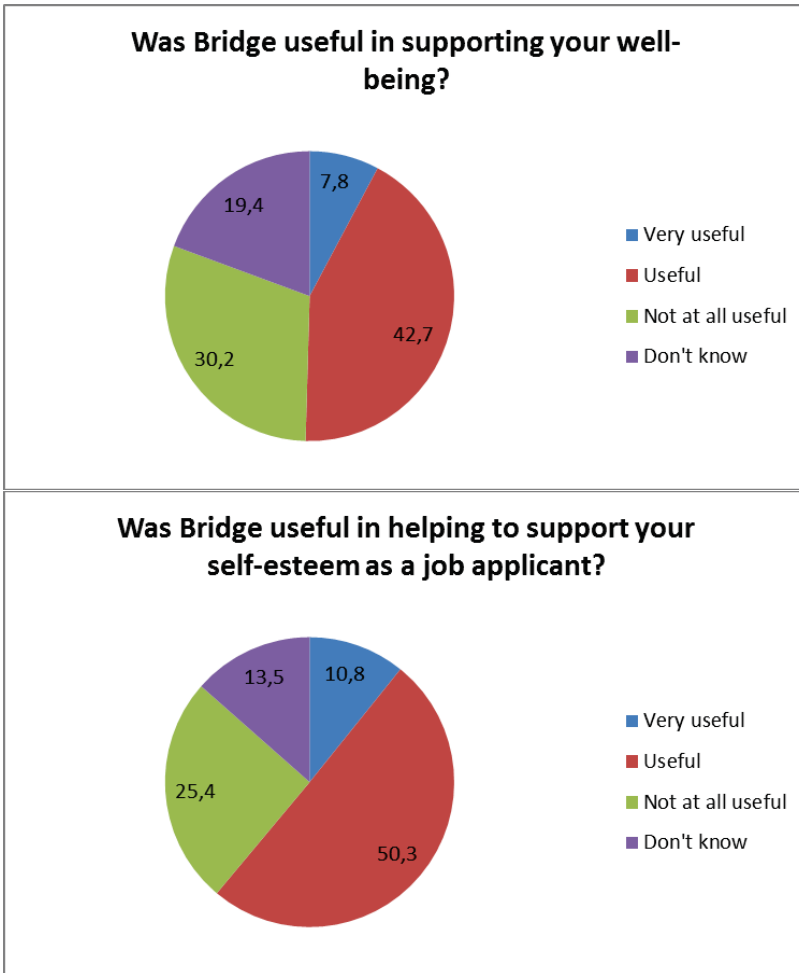
Figure 26. Usefulness of the Bridge in supporting the well-being of participants. Evaluated six months after Bridge participation concluded.

Six months after their participation in the Bridge Program, survey respondents were asked to evaluate the benefits of the Bridge. The responses indicated that 65 % of respondents agreed that interactions with other Bridge participants yielded positive mental resources. Additionally, 56% of respondents agreed that the Bridge had diminished feelings of uncertainty and insecurity and had helped them cope with the transition (for more details, see chapter 5.2.).

Affective well-being – findings from a limited sample of survey respondents

Affective well-being was measured in the surveys based on the presence of positive affections and the absence of negative affections. The respondents were asked how often during the past weeks they felt relaxed, worried, depressed, calm, contented, gloomy, optimistic, tense, enthusiastic, cheerful, miserable and uneasy.

Following the same respondents from the Salo factory and R&D participants in Bridge2 in Tampere, Oulu and the capital region supports the finding that

the Bridge served as a positive well-being intervention. The affective well-being of the above-mentioned respondents improved during the time that they were able to utilize Bridge services (Figure 27). Based on these data, we do not know whether the slight improvement in well-being originated from the Bridge program or whether this improvement would have occurred over time regardless of the program. However, the results from the follow-up data and the interview data indicate that the Bridge had a significant role in supporting the well-being of its participants.
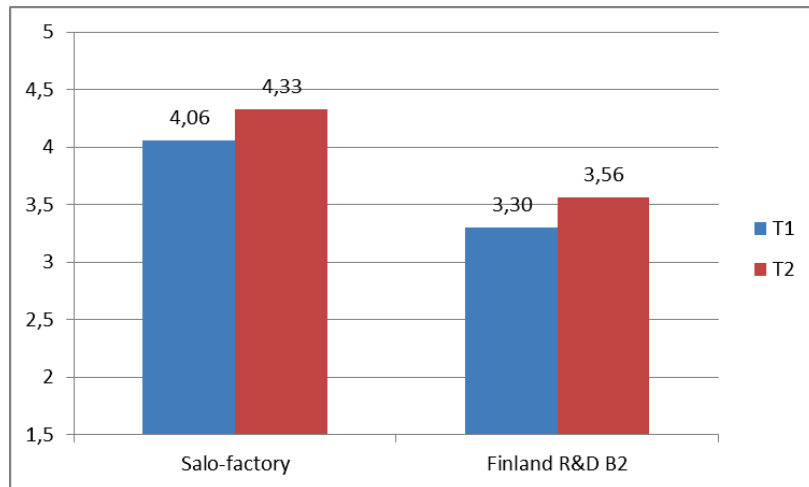
Figure 27. Affective well-being – following the participants at the Salo factory and participants in Finland Bridge 2 (Tampere, Oulu and the capital region). The change from time 1 (entering the Bridge) to time 2 (exiting the Bridge) is statistically significant in both groups.

Well-being – findings from the interview data

The interview data provided subtle material for studying how the program affected its participants´ emotional states during the workforce reductions. Interview accounts across all sites highlight the Bridge´s role as a source of social and financial support that "changed the game" in participants' personal emotional landscapes. The program induced positive mental resources, diminished feelings of uncertainty and insecurity and thus helped participants to cope better with the transition.

Increase in positive emotions
Accounts of positive emotional impacts include descriptions of increases in favorable feelings, such as security. This feeling was often reported in association with the financial severance package, social networks and professional re-employment help. Comments that the Bridge supported or increased feelings of calmness, strength, empowerment, belonging and autonomy were also common. Similarly, the feeling of optimism was highlighted, especially in relation to increased self-knowledge and career development opportunities.

Security:

> Q 9: "I'm not just on my own. I get to talk with experts. They know how to move forward with job hunting." (Bridge Participant, San Diego)

Calmness and optimism:

> Q 10: "On a personal level, I´ve been pretty happy that I´ve had a lot of time, so I´ve been able to be at peace with the salary still running. I´ve been able to get to know myself and search my own values and motivations, so that it´s not just... And maybe especially because I´m in this life situation in the middle of the transition to middle age so this has like been pretty spot-on to me with timing." (Bridge Participant, Oulu. Translation by author)[7]

Belonging:

> Q 11: "In Tampere at least there was this Bridge space, a sort of Bridge lounge, where they organized meetings once a week, so that one could talk with others and exchange thoughts and that sort of thing. So, this kind of pure peer support was really important and nice so that you talk about all sorts of things, and you sort out very practical things with the others." (Bridge Participant, Tampere. Translation by author)[8]

Empowerment:

> Q 12: "I think there were about 15 people in that session... I felt there were people facing the same issues. There were people talking about good things so I got encouraged in that meeting." (Bridge Participant, San Diego)

Decrease in negative emotions

Decrease in and prevention of negative affections, such as stress, anxiety, bitterness, depression, despair, and psychological ups and downs were also commonly reported by Bridge participants across all research sites.

Psychological ups and downs:

> Q 13: "There's so many up and downs emotionally. Like when you get a call from interview, you feel cheered up and after two weeks there's no response... There's a lot of up and downs. To me it's a good practice I could

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[7] Q 10 (original quote in Finnish): "Henkilökohtasella tasolla on ollu kyllä tähän ihan tyytyväinen, että mulla on ollu pitkä aika, ni on voinu rauhassa sillä tavalla että palkkakin juoksee, voinu tutustua itteensä ja ettii niitä omia arvoja ja motivaatiota, ettei vaan... Ja varsinkin ehkä kun mulla on tässä elämänvaiheessa se tämä keski-ikään siirtymisprosessi käynnissä niin tää on niinku ollu mulle aika nappi ajotusten kanssa." (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

[8] Q 11 (original quote in Finnish): "Tampereella oli ainakin semmonen Bridge tila, sellanen Bridge lounge missä järjestettiin tämmösiä kokoontumisia kerran viikossa, että sai muiden kanssa jutella ja vaihtaa ajatuksia ja muuta. Niin kyllähän tää tämmönen ihan vertaistuki oli ihan tärkeää ja mukavaa että ihan niin laidasta laitaan puhuu asioita, ja selvitellä ihan käytännön asioita muiden kanssa." (Bridge Participant, Tampere)

talk with this outplacement consultant, and they also support you if you're upset, you can also talk with a consultant. That's great." (Bridge Participant, San Diego)

Depression and passiveness:

Q 14: "I do think the Bridge offers me a great opportunity to get rid of this like my own psychological sickness to this working life. It heals... It requires it´s time, I think. If you had to do this in a hurry, it could go wrong, but in such a way that like it´s not meant that you should stay passive in any way. That was my own fear, and that´s why I went to this start-up factory right at the beginning of my grace period, so that I wouldn´t be displaced. So that I wouldn´t become one more displaced young person in this country. But I mean mental tone...depression...that´s pretty dangerous in this situation." (Bridge Participant, age plus 40, Oulu. Translation by author)[9]

Stress:

Q 15: "The package makes it possible to avoid panic mode because you have the mortgage." (Bridge Participant, Tampere. Translation by author)[10]

Bitterness:

Q 16: "I would be angrier and more bitter toward Nokia [if there was no Bridge]. Now I´m not bitter at all. Instead, I think that a good thing is happening." (Bridge Participant, Tampere. Translation by author)[11]

Q 17: "I don´t have any bitterness or feelings like that. I might well have [those feelings] like if it was a cold displacement and 'have a nice journey, so then it could be like that a bit... ... what I hope they think is that this person has been doing hard work, let´s give them a little bit." (Bridge Participant, Oulu. Translation by author)[12]

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[9] Q 14 (original quote in Finnish): "Kyllähän tää Bridge tarjoo mulle loistavan tilaisuuden päästä tästä niinkun omasta henkisestä sairaudesta tähän työelämään. Se parantaa... Se vaatii minusta sitä aikaa. Jos sä joutusit kiireellä niinku tämän tekemään niin se vois mennä pieleen, mut sen verran että siis ei oo tarkotus jäähä mitenkään pasiiviseks. Sehän tässä itelläkin oli pelkona ja siksi mä tonne yritystakomoon sitten lähdinkin sinne heti grace periodin alussa mukaan, ettei niinku syrjäydy. Ettei minusta tule uusi syrjäytynyt nuori tähän maahan. Mut se että henkinen vire, masennus, se on aika vaarallista tässä tilanteessa." (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

[10] Q 15 (original quote in Finnish): "paketti mahdollistaa sen että ei ole paniikkimoodia koska on talolainat" (Bridge Participant, Tampere)

[11] Q 16 (original quote in Finnish): "Olisin vihaisempi ja katkerampi suhteessa Nokiaan. Nyt en ole lainkaan katkera vaan mietin että on ihan hyvä asia tapahtumassa" (Bridge Participant, Tampere)

[12] Q 17 (original quote in Finnish): "Mulla ei oo mitään katkeruutta tai semmosta fiilistä. Saattas olla et jos ois semmonen kylmä sivuun ja ´tervemenoa´, ni sitte saattais olla vähän semmosta... ...niinku et mitä määkin toivon et ne ajattelee, et toi on painanu nyt tuolla lujaa päivää, pannaampa niille vähän" (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

Q 18: "Without the package I would be more bitter. I can study with the help of the package. I have that as one option." (Bridge Participant, Salo. Translation by author)[13]

Q 19: "I think for sure that the Bridge and the package together has wiped bitterness away from me. If I had that feeling at all that ´let´s see what happens to me when Nokia kicks me out' – it has all been wiped away right because you get the help and the knowledge and the support. In a way, you don´t even have the right to be bitter because now it´s just a question of your own activeness, because if you don´t know or understand something, then ask..." (Bridge Participant, Oulu. Translation by author).[14]

Interpreting survey results with the interview data

As depicted in Figure 26, the levels of positive emotions experienced by R&D employees were in general substantially lower relative to those experienced by Salo factory employees. The interview data suggest that the reasons for this difference may be found in part by examining the period preceding workforce reductions.

Identification with Nokia´s difficulties. When comparing the interview accounts of the R&D population with those of the Salo factory, the difficulties experienced by the company were reflected more in the accounts of the R&D employees. Generally, R&D employees´ accounts suggest that they have positioned themselves in closer proximity to Nokia´s strategic scene and to innovation-related prestige. External pressure and strain on Nokia's strategic scene and prestige were thus experienced more immediately as strain on the R&D professionals, whereas the same experience did not occur among factory employees.

Long periods of uncertainty. R&D employees´ accounts of long periods of uncertainty, which had continued for several months or even years, may partly explain the overall lower-key emotional landscape of R&D employees. Recurring, unpredictable organizational changes, which in several instances interrupted projects, caused frustration to professionally ambitious employees. Moreover, news relating to Nokia´s declining position in the market contributed to their insecurity.

Cynicism. Over time, project cuts and sudden changes created a feeling of inability to contribute to Nokia´s success. By the time workforce reductions were announced and the Bridge Program, with all its possibilities, was intro-

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[13] Q 18 (original quote in Finnish): "Ilman pakettia olisin katkerampi. Voin opiskella paketin turvin. Mulla on se yhtenä vaihtoehtona." (Bridge Participant, Salo)

[14] Q 19 (original quote in Finnish): "Varmasti Bridge ja paketti yhdessä on pyyhkiny multa sen katkeruuden pois. Jos mulla vähääkään oli semmonen olo että ´saapa nähä miten mun käy kun Nokia pistää mut pihalle´, niin kyllä ne kaikki on pyyhkiytyny pois just siitä ansiosta että saa sen avun ja sen tiedon ja niinkun tuen. Ei tavallaan oo oikeutta ees olla katkera koska sit se on vaan omasta aktiivisuudesta kiinni, koska jos et sä jotain tiedä tai ymmärrä, niin kysy..." (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

duced, cynicism had grown with many employees and prevented the emergence and growth of positive emotions.

Disappointment. For many, the announcement of workforce reductions meant that the dream of success with Nokia had finally died. The psychological contracts of many were violated.[15] For employees who were most profoundly engaged in the cause of "fighting" for Nokia, it took time to resolve this disappointment. Many employees entered the Bridge Program when they were still struggling with contradictory feelings towards Nokia. The combination of these factors meant that the professional prestige of R&D employees had suffered. Nevertheless, blame for the company´s failure to win back its leading position in the market was rarely shared – at least not openly. Instead, Nokia's difficulties were most often attributed to bad decisions by company leadership. Nonetheless, some leavers compared their own "value" as professionals to those of the layoff survivors and this may have affected the level of their professional self-esteem. As illustrated in the following direct quote, project failures were referenced by some R&D professionals when they described their personal contributions as employees to the company as null.

> *Q 20: "Elop attacked Symbian a little bit too publicly, and then you heard these volume estimates that indicated these products may not necessarily have demand. The predictions went downhill... ...one couldn´t believe that this would be important or that anything would come out of it. One started to believe the scenarios being discussed at the coffee table, that well this will be killed then and then...that this thing can´t possibly continue when all you have is delay and delay, that there´s no sense in this. ...for five years, all of the projects that I´ve been involved in, all of them have been killed, so that also means that I haven´t given Nokia a thing..." (Bridge Participant, Oulu. Translation by author)[16]*

Salo factory. The shared reality of factory workers was somewhat different during the period preceding workforce reductions. Everyday work and discussions were mostly detached from Nokia´s strategic challenges and its battles for a piece of the increasingly demanding market. Instead, discussions revolved around promises that factory operations would be continued in Salo and concerns related to Nokia´s role as the exclusive provider of employment in the area.

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[15] Psychological contract refers to the often unspoken "individual's beliefs concerning the mutual obligations that exist between him/herself and the employer" (Rousseau, 1989). Violation of a psychological contract is "an emotional and affective state" that is likely to stem from a belief that one's organization has failed to play its part in a mutual, implicit contract (Morrison & Robinson, 1997).

[16] Q 20 (original quote in Finnish): "Elop haukku tän symbianin turhankin julkisesti ja sit kantautu korviin näitä volyymiestimaatteja että näillä tuotteilla ei välttämättä oo kysyntää. Ne ennusteet meni alaspäin... ...ei uskonu siihen että tämä on tärkeetä tai tästä tulee mitään. Alko uskomaan siihen skenaarioon että mitä kahvipöydässä keskusteltiin että no tämä tapetaan sillon ja sillon…että eihän tämä homma voi näin jatkua ku tulee vaan viivettä ja viivettä, että eihän tässä oo mitään järkeä. ...näitten viiden vuoden aikana nää projektit missä mä oon ollu, ne on kaikki tapettu, niin sekin aiheuttaa sen että mä en oo antanut Nokialle mitään..." (Bridge Participant, Oulu)

Overall, the results suggest that the Bridge played a positive role in supporting the well-being of its participants. The survey data indicate a positive change in the overall emotional well-being of Bridge participants. Although the survey data do not explain whether this development would have occurred in the absence of the Bridge, the interview data provide strong evidence that the Bridge increased positive emotions and decreased negative emotions among participants. The program decreased feelings of bitterness and stress among affected employees. With the support of the Bridge program, participants gained access to financial, social and psychological resources that enhanced their overall capacity for re-employment. It is also suggested that the strong identification of some individuals with the challenges faced by Nokia contributed to the overall emotional landscape of R&D employees. Psychological contracts of some of Nokia´s most committed employees were violated during the transition process. This study however shows based on several participant accounts that indicate a positive relation between the Bridge Program, absence of bitterness and the presence of strong positive emotions that the Bridge Program prevented violations of psychological contracts with many employees.

Physical well-being and reflection - the gift of the Grace Period

Interview accounts describing the impact of the Bridge Program on physical well-being are linked to the physical and mental rest that the Grace Period allowed to Bridge participants. A period without normal work duties provided a long-desired break for many, and both physical and psychological recovery and rejuvenation were experienced. This recovery enhanced Bridge participants' capacity to cope with job loss because the energy required to consider and plan new options for the future was restored.

> *Q 21: "Now that work has ended, you have long periods when you´re not tired – like once at work you fell asleep with the morning paper because you were so tired." (Bridge Participant 28, Salo. Translation by author)[17]*

> *Q 22: "Now that you don't have the normal rhythm of shiftwork, you have the chance to take a breather. You get to think about what you want to do in the long run. I´ve jumped from one job to another since I was young, and now I have a good opportunity to start studying, for example." (Bridge Participant, Salo. Translation by author)[18]*

> *Q 23: "I had some time to think what I want to do in the future, reading about how humans make choices and how the market economy is not so good. When you have stressful job you cannot read. I have free*

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[17] Q 21 (original quote in Finnish): "Nyt kun työt on loppunut niin on pitkä aika ettei ole väsynyt - kun silloin töiden aikana nukahti aamun sanomalehden ääreen kun oli niin väsynyt." (BP 28, Salo)

[18] Q 22 (original quote in Finnish): "Nyt kun ei ole ollut normaalia vuorotyön rytmiä niin on saanut hengähtää. Pääsee funtsimaan pidemmällä tähtäimellä mitä haluaa tehdä. Olen nuoresta saakka hypännyt työstä työhön ja nyt on hyvä mahdollisuus esim lähteä opiskelemaan." (BP, Salo)

time to read and sleep... ...I don´t have to drive car to work, no late
night calls, no boss etc. This kind of relaxation is different from holiday.
Mainly I´m thinking now what is in the future next." (Bridge Partici-
pant, Bangalore)

7.2   Re-employment and career intervention

Re-employment

Among survey respondents that participated in the follow-up survey conduct-
ed six months after they exited the Bridge program, 80% agreed that the
Bridge Program had helped them learn how to find a new job, 61 % agreed that
the Bridge had helped support their self-esteem as job applicants, and 48%
agreed that the Bridge had helped them find new jobs after their employment
with Nokia ended (see Chapter 5.2. Figure 16). It can be rightly argued that the
Bridge Program played a significant role in supporting both re-employment
capacity and the actual re-employment of participants.

Career intervention

Job loss has occasionally been described as an opportunity for a career change
and personal growth (Eby & Buch, 1995; Latack & Dozier, 1986; Zikic & Klehe,
2006; Zikic & Richardson, 2007). Interview and survey data in this study sug-
gest that this was the case for numerous individuals who utilized the Bridge
Program. Six months after their Bridge period concluded, 42% of survey re-
spondents agreed with the following statement: "The Bridge helped me to re-
new my career" (See Chapter 5.2. Figure 17). The following chapter draws
mainly on interview accounts to explore these experiences in more detail with-
in a timeline framework that begins with the workforce reduction announce-
ments and ends with the conclusion of the individual´s Grace period (Figure
29).
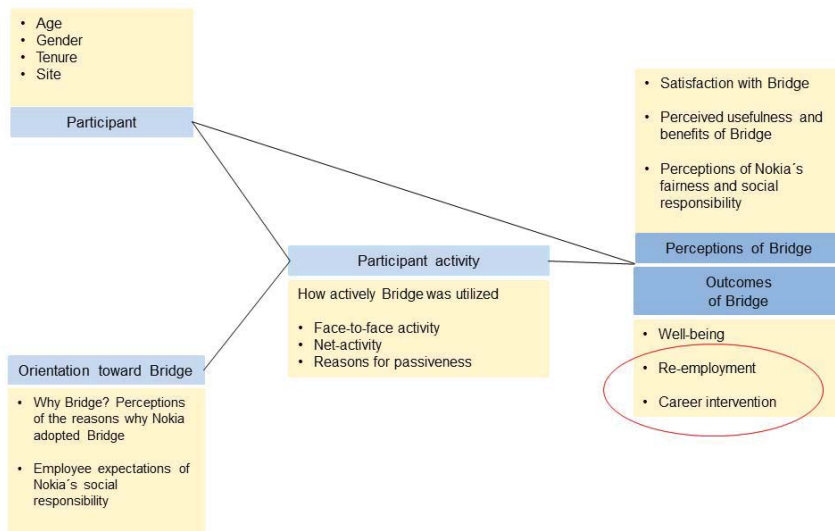
Figure 28. Re-employment and career outcomes are the focus of this chapter.

Summary of key findings:

Bridge participants perceived that the program played a significant role in their re-employment process. Specifically, 80% of survey respondents agreed that the Bridge Program had helped them to learn how to find a new job, 61 % of the respondents agreed that the Bridge had helped to support their self-esteem as job applicants, and 48% agreed that the Bridge had helped them to find a new job after their employment with Nokia ended.

In addition, 42% of survey respondents agreed that the Bridge had helped them to renew their careers.

With the support of the Bridge, participants experienced three distinct phases that helped them to pursue new directions: (1) recovery, (2) opening up to new stimuli and redirecting thoughts, (3) taking concrete steps toward new opportunities.

Workforce reduction announcement.

Nokia´s announcements of far-reaching changes related to its restructuring came as a surprise to many employees. Although a number of employees had anticipated that the company would make some decisions that would affect the company´s future, the scale of the reorganization was unexpected. Figure 29

illustrates how these announcements violated the psychological contracts of many employees, i.e., employees felt that Nokia broke its promises to employees. Nokia's decisions would have radical impacts on many areas of individuals' lives, including their financial arrangements, professional careers, long-term commitments to Nokia, housing arrangements and families. This was especially true for employees working with device platforms and other projects that were displaced as a result of the new strategic direction, as well as employees working at the Salo factory. In contrast, individuals who had participated in the decision making did not report reactions indicating that their psychological contracts with Nokia had been violated.

Early appraisal of one´s situation and level of participation

Employees appraised their personal situations in light of the changes in their environment. In cases in which the future was seen as positively challenging, employees generally considered several potential paths to the next, meaningful step following their employment at Nokia, including the utilization of Bridge services. The majority of these individuals identified resources within the program that facilitated their coping. A natural exception to this group was formed by individuals who had already identified opportunities without Bridge assistance and thus did not need its support.

   Self-reported affective states (see. Chapter 7.1.), especially the absence of bitterness, indicate that the resources provided by the Bridge program positively contributed to psychological contracts of its participants. Prior research supports this interpretation; it has been found that corporate assistance programs intended to assist employees affected by layoffs can help restore the psychological contract (Parzefall, 2012). This is likely to have increased the participation of affected employees (Latack & Dozier, 1986). Employees who were highly pessimistic in the early phase of the transition tended to utilize the program´s services less than other employees. The results also showed that employees who believed that the Bridge Program was established because Nokia truly cares about its employees and wants to assist individuals in finding re-employment were more active in utilizing Bridge services than other employees (see Chapter 4.3.).

Recovery - letting go of the past

Bridge participants considered the Grace Period to be one of the most valuable elements of the offered support. Especially to employees affected by the first wave of workforce reductions, the Grace Period provided time for recovery from long periods of intense, task-filled work and from the psychological uncertainty that culminated in the company's unforeseen announcements of strategic changes and workforce reductions in April 2011. One participant described this period as involving important preparations for future "track changes" after employment with Nokia. Among highly engaged employees whose personal identities were closely intertwined with their professional identities, the announced strategic changes launched fundamental identity-

change processes. These changes demanded space and time, which in turn necessitated the restoration of employees´ mental capacity for re-direction.

Directing thoughts to new opportunities

Leaving Nokia often meant the end of a long-term work relationship. To many, this departure represented a significant change in the context of their entire biographies, which inspired employees to explore their values and identities. Financial resources, such as the severance package and the start-up grant, facilitated this valued opportunity for autonomous redirection. Participants felt that they had a unique chance to take charge of their own futures. Expertise gained during their former employment could now be transformed into something that would provide independence and challenge. Bridge-related events, encounters with other participants and peer examples encouraged many employees to open themselves up to new personal plans and dreams. A number of participants sought to realize their unique personal aspirations by selecting the start-up lane as their primary path forward.

Taking concrete steps to new, meaningful opportunities

Concrete services, networks of knowledge and contacts, and direct financial support contributed to many individuals´ assessments that their personal aspirations were not beyond reach. Various workshops, training sessions, events and individual counseling provided valuable support. This support comprised elements from small, concrete activities that ranged from working with CVs, Facebook and LinkedIn profiles to complimenting one´s professional skillset with targeted training. To many, these combined resources provided a structure of practical support that transformed ideas into new career opportunities. To others, the re-employment support provided valuable assistance to more traditional job seeking.

For many (42% of respondents surveyed six months after completion of the Bridge Program), the Bridge constituted a genuinely unique opportunity for career change, and it helped some employees find more fulfilling professional and personal directions than they previously possessed at Nokia.

Effective job search and career growth require that stress remain at a moderate level throughout the job termination process (Latack & Dozier 1986). When stress remains at a moderate level, one's energy can be channeled into self-assessment and re-direction (Eby & Buch, 1995). Figure 29 illustrates how the Bridge program facilitated this through three distinct psychological and behavioral phases identified in the transition process of individuals who actively utilized the program: (1) recovery, (2) opening oneself up to new stimuli and directing one's thoughts to previously unexplored career possibilities, and (3) taking concrete steps toward new, meaningful opportunities.

Individuals who appraised their situation as highly threatening early on and interpreted Nokia´s motivations for the Bridge program as negatively business-oriented (see Chapter 6.2., table 10), were more likely to distance them-

selves from the offered support and consequently more likely to experience negative effects on their well-being and lower probabilities of re-employment.
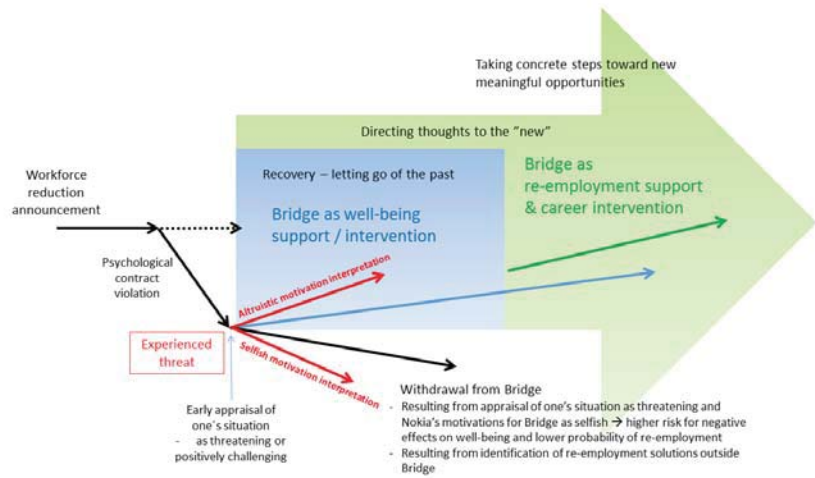
Figure 29. Most common individual-level psychological and behavioral phases related to the Bridge Program

8. Practical implications

The conclusions and practical recommendations reported in this chapter are based on data gathered from Bridge participants through questionnaires and interviews. In addition, numerous interviews and discussions with Bridge operatives, Nokia´s occupational health professionals and external well-being professionals contributed to these insights. Not all developmental topics outlined in this chapter were supported by all involved parties; rather, they represent the collective interpretations of the researchers conducting this study and should thus be evaluated critically in light of situation-specific limitations and requirements, such as the amount of resources available to an organization and organizational cultures.

Furthermore, the collective perception of the researchers studying the implementation of the Bridge program by Nokia is that the Bridge served its participants well. The concept of the Bridge described in Chapter 1 includes a formula for significant re-employment support for employees affected by workforce reductions. The topics addressed in this chapter should be read more as side notes than as critical issues that could radically alter the program´s success in future situations.

The Bridge Program involved its participants in the process of coping and re-employment in various ways, including by facilitating interactions among peers, Bridge operatives and professional consultants and by providing space, activities and resources that supported participants' daily routines and inspired personal redirection. Recommendations discussed in this chapter pertain to the theme of further strengthening individuals' participation in the program. Suggested means include the following: (1) communication, (2) additional investment in psychological support, (3) adequacy of human resources and (4) teams as participating units.

8.1   Communicating an invitation to activeness

Openness on the iterative process of the Bridge Program

The concept of the Bridge was well researched and prepared by a dedicated team of developers beginning in late February 2011 (Nokia, 2013). Towards May 2011, the program had been designed on a global level and its dissemination to local Bridge leaders and operative members commenced. At this point, the actual translation of the concept to various sites around the globe was be-

ginning and would soon be followed by communication of the Bridge offer to individuals affected by workforce reductions.

The scale of workforce reductions and its impact on affected sites was historical. Simultaneously, a genuine enthusiasm for a unique concept - the organization´s decision to implement reductions in the spirit of assisting individuals to an extent not previously witnessed - influenced the manner in which the Bridge was introduced to affected employees. The pressure to articulate the Bridge - unique as it was – as a program that would gather an unprecedented number of resources together to assist individuals in finding re-employment – led to the partial failure to emphasize employees´ own roles in the process as active co-creators of the program.

The outcome of this lack of emphasis was discovered later in the summer when the first local Bridges became active. Although the plan was to recruit affected local employees to join volunteer teams that would run the program together with nominated Bridge leaders and HR personnel, many employees approached the program with the expectation of "full service". During these early phases, the majority of local activities were still being designed or ramped up by the local core teams. A number of frustrating moments could have been avoided if employees had been made adequately aware that they were invited to construct the Bridge based on what they needed from it and that the Bridge was not intended to operate as a full-service program for employees.

"It´s what you make out of it"

Translating the idea and concept of a program that is meant both to prevent anxiety and to engender active participation is not an easy task. The first purpose, preventing anxiety, presents the organization as the subject and the employees as the objects of the program, whereas the latter goal, stimulating active participation, requires convincing employees to act as driving subjects. Early appraisal of one´s situation as threatening might hinder activation among employees in the most vulnerable and challenging personal situations (see Chapter 7.2. Figure 29). It is thus vital to prevent employees from being trapped by excessive anxiety and worry early in the process. Supportive qualities of the program should thus be emphasized when workforce reductions are first announced. However, subsequent communications should include increasingly concrete examples of the ways in which employees can participate in the implementation of the program to best serve their needs. This includes, e.g., making it easy and practical to become a volunteer for a local Bridge team. The local Bridge teams gathered rich descriptions of the various ways in which participants can adopt a driving role in directing existing resources to activities that best match their individual needs. Further developing and branding these activities as specific "active participation venues and modules" and presenting them as examples of co-creation is likely to inspire multi-faceted participation.

8.2 Communicating the organization´s decision environment, investments and motives

Organizations reducing workforce benefit from being transparent with employees regarding the challenges faced by the organization and the organization´s investments in employee assistance programs, although limitations on the disclosure of potentially sensitive information are appropriate. Although majority of the Bridge participants perceived that Nokia was in a difficult environment that required significant reorganization, employees at the Salo factory sometimes perceived that Nokia made its decisions on workforce reductions without any significant financial or business constraints.

An open communication policy should be considered also because employees may form inaccurate perceptions of the organization´s role in the establishment of employee assistance programs, especially in regions with strong public sectors, and interpretations of the organization´s motivation for offering support may determine how actively employees seek and utilize the offered support. Perception of the company´s motivation may be especially crucial to the successful coping of individuals in the most challenging personal situations. For example, some employees at the Salo factory believed that Nokia was paid by the public sector to adopt the Bridge Program and that the program was implemented by Nokia only because Nokia wished to polish its corporate image. Cynical views like these likely reduced employee participation in the program and may have prevented the full utilization of its support for re-employment.

Although the organization´s readiness to allocate funds to employee assistance programs despite its financially challenging circumstances was perceived as a genuine gesture of solidarity by most Bridge participants, companies should be aware that their previous employee policies also strongly influence employees´ perceptions of the authenticity of good will during workforce reductions. Organizations that have consistently established employee-oriented HR policies are thus more likely to succeed in assisting their employees during workforce reductions.

8.3 Psychological support

Chapter 7.1 discussed the Bridge´s positive effects on the psychological well-being of affected employees. In general, the Bridge Program enhanced participants´ ability to cope with workforce reductions by generating and supporting positive emotional feelings and diminishing negative feelings. However, during the implementation of local Bridges, concerns about the adequacy of the psychological support were articulated by various operatives, well-being professionals and certain Bridge participants. Psychological support could be improved by undertaking specific actions that 1) support early change recovery and 2) activate the process of professional self-awareness.

Change recovery. Resolution of anger and grief related to termination decisions is an important condition for successful recovery and re-employment (Eby & Buch, 1995; Latack & Dozier, 1986). Early recovery is vital because it

builds the psychological conditions required for activation after threatening changes are perceived and enhances individuals' ability to utilize support services that promote professional redirection. Targeted actions in the early phases of workforce reductions are necessary to diminish the potential negative effects of such reductions, such as passiveness and withdrawal from social interaction. Instantaneous interaction with peers or well-being professionals can serve to unload the emotional pressure created by newly communicated plans to change. This type of interaction is vital because it prevents the formation of difficult emotional blocks that could decrease a person´s ability to cope with the demands of a personal transition.

If early interaction and recovery is not promoted, emotional load may start to accumulate. If emotional load persists for a prolonged period of time, its origins may be difficult to trace. At this stage, emotional load can significantly limit an individual´s capacity to cope with transition, and the risk of developing harmful habits increases. As further discussed in Chapter 8.5, early interactions may occur effortlessly among teams of individuals who start their Bridge journey together. Alternatively, professional psychological support can be included in an organization´s initial communication of events and can be systematically incorporated into Bridge services that are designed to provide targeted early support for change recovery.

Support for professional self-awareness. Career counseling was at the core of the Bridge program´s "Find a job outside Nokia" path. This counseling provided valuable support for professional and personal self-reflection through team sessions and one-on-one meetings with professional career coaches. The re-ported experiences in these personal sessions were highly valued. At some sites, however, this service was implemented through online group sessions. When this was the case, the support was often experienced as insufficient.

Support for professional self-awareness is at the core of the individual transition needs of employees affected by workforce reductions. Following the recovery phase at the early stage of the transition journey, the need to redirect thoughts to the "unknown new" becomes actual (see. Chapter 7.2. Figure 29). At this stage, individuals are highly receptive to re-evaluating their professional identities and rediscovering their careers. Personal career counseling efficiently increases individual-level activation. Directing resources toward the stimulation of professional self-awareness at this highly motivated stage is likely to engender strong results in terms of professional redirection and successful re-employment.

8.4 Adequacy of human resources

The workload of HR personnel during the implementation of the Bridge was highlighted by local Bridge operatives and well-being professionals in several discussions. Issues identified at these discussions related to the challenges of human resource scarcity, especially in the ramp-up phase of the Bridge. At many locations, HR personnel took on Bridge-related tasks in addition to their existing HR support roles. In addition, the tasks customarily managed by HR

increased during the company's transition period. The period of Bridge implementation was particularly strenuous for HR employees because their motivational profile is highly employee-oriented. Thus, during the most congested periods, HR personnel sometimes compromised their own well-being rather than cut corners in employee-related matters.

Good leadership skills in HR become important when the local HR professionals tasked with running the assistance program are burdened with excessive workloads. Such leadership skills were not evident e.g. at one of the first sites in the US to implement the Bridge Program. Ensuring that external workforce is utilized to help HR personnel endure the most demanding periods must be high priority for the local HR managers. In addition, regularly expressing appreciation toward the grass-roots level of the Bridge program may significantly enhance the well-being of Bridge operatives. Unofficial local get-togethers among Bridge team members were experienced as crucial support for Bridge team spirit and were likely to diminish the negative effects of strenuous periods on the HR professionals tasked with managing the Bridge.

8.5   Teams as participating units

This study investigated the challenge of passiveness – defined as the lack of face-to-face utilization of the assistance program – among individuals targeted by workforce reductions (Chapter 4.2), and the reasons for withdrawal from active utilization of the program were reviewed (Chapters 4.3, 4.5 & 4.6). In this chapter, it is suggested that organizing individual utilization of the Bridge program via existing team units - especially in the early phases of individual transition - could help diminish the factors leading to passiveness.

During the course of gathering interview data at the research sites, it was observed that some Bridge participants had chosen to approach the Bridge Program as teams, as opposed to utilizing it independently. The teams met several times a week and its members were assigned small tasks, such as targeted information gathering and the systematic sharing of knowledge regarding various options and services available from the program. Bridge utilization was studied and partially planned as a group, and events and general courses were attended together. There was a sense of group effort and encouragement among team members as they worked. The first weeks of the Bridge period were managed in a systematic manner and everybody understood their respective roles during this period. The observed attributes of implementing the Bridge Program as a team prompted the question whether utilization of the Bridge Program as a team – especially in the early phases of the Bridge period - could offer a solution to some of the identified causes of passiveness.

The survey responses of Bridge participants six months after their Bridge periods emphasized the importance of close interactions with other Bridge participants during the transition. In particular, 65% of participants agreed that such interactions provided positive mental resources during their Bridge periods.[19] Although this type of interaction may be available to participants with-

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[19] Chapter 5.2., Figure 17.

out a formal team structure, the systematic implementation of a team structure may better ensure the positive effects of interaction for a wider group of participants. In addition, this study identified the importance of early recovery and interaction with others to the achievement of optimal psychological capacity during the change process.[20] Implementation of a team structure could provide a means by which the need for early social support and interaction could be provided systematically to a larger group of participants.

Psychological reasons represented one of the largest categories (11.8%) of the self-reported reasons for passiveness. Figure 30 summarizes how the establishment of teams as participating units could help mitigate these reported reasons. In addition, passiveness due to inadequate information (11.8%) may be avoided if teams of individuals work together to gather and share information on available options and services. Teams may also have a better capacity to impact the local implementation of the Bridge Program and thereby avoid mismatches between needs and services (9.4%). The practical difficulty of attending local Bridge Programs (9.4%) may also be mitigated by a larger network of individuals. Finally, individuals engaged in searches for their professional identities may benefit from discussing their strengths, areas of developments and future aspirations with other individuals with whom they share a common professional history.
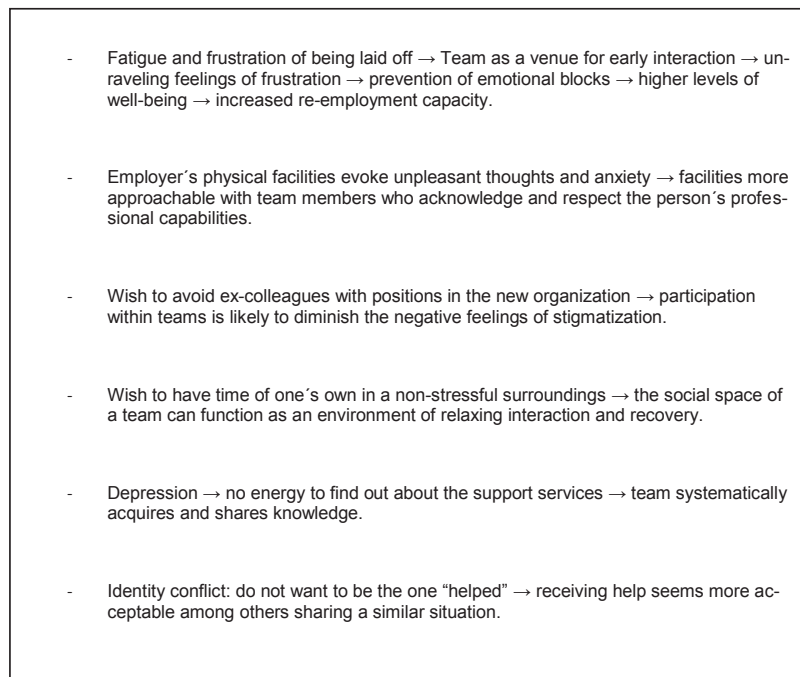
- Fatigue and frustration of being laid off → Team as a venue for early interaction → unraveling feelings of frustration → prevention of emotional blocks → higher levels of well-being → increased re-employment capacity.

- Employer´s physical facilities evoke unpleasant thoughts and anxiety → facilities more approachable with team members who acknowledge and respect the person´s professional capabilities.

- Wish to avoid ex-colleagues with positions in the new organization → participation within teams is likely to diminish the negative feelings of stigmatization.

- Wish to have time of one´s own in a non-stressful surroundings → the social space of a team can function as an environment of relaxing interaction and recovery.

- Depression → no energy to find out about the support services → team systematically acquires and shares knowledge.

- Identity conflict: do not want to be the one "helped" → receiving help seems more acceptable among others sharing a similar situation.

Figure 30. Self-reported psychological reasons (11.8%) for passiveness that could be resolved by establishing teams as participating units

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[20] Chapter 8.3.

During the study process, some members of the Bridge organization expressed concern that a team approach may not be suitable for all situations. Because different employees are likely to find re-employment within different time-frames, those who remain unemployed after their peers have moved forward might feel less successful and become discouraged. The team structure could thus be applied during the first two to three weeks of the initial phase of the program, when the most critical phases of recovery and activation are covered; after this point, individuals could continue utilizing the program independent-ly. The team structure could also be introduced to participants as an option that they may or may not choose to utilize.

Taken together, the feedback obtained from Bridge participants suggests that interactions with other Bridge participants were experienced as especially val-uable during their personal transition processes. Furthermore, the self-reported reasons for passiveness or non-utilization of the Bridge program comprise a group of challenges that the team structure could potentially miti-gate. The team that implements the Bridge concept would function as a small social unit that is likely to enhance the recovery and activation of its members (Figure 31). With the help of existing and natural social networks, established teams may facilitate more efficient use of the Bridge Program. A team is likely to provide support to individuals with lower levels of personal resources after they receive unexpected and potentially threatening notice of job termination. A team is likely to provide a surrounding wherein negative emotions may be resolved, thereby promoting self-esteem and self-assessment and diminishing feelings of exclusion, which may form critical barriers to the utilization of of-fered services. A team with a common purpose – to cope – is also likely to di-minish feelings of insecurity during the critical early phases of recovery. As such, implementing a team structure, especially during the early phases of the Bridge Program, is likely to ensure that the individuals at the greatest risk for passiveness are more effectively convinced to utilize the Bridge Program and thus to benefit from the program´s support for their well-being and re-employment.
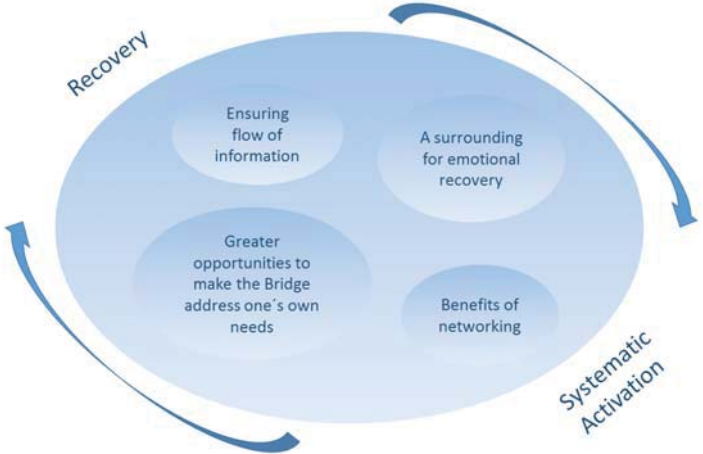
Figure 31. Teams as participating units.

9. Conclusions

The positive experiences of the Bridge program in terms of the support provided for the well-being, re-employment capacity and re-employment of its participants underscore the concept´s significance as a component of the process of workforce reduction.

Although the financial costs to implement the program were significant to the employer, so too were the benefits to employees and local regions affected by the restructuring. Many affected employees found new meaningful direction and employment by taking steps that were facilitated by local Bridge services, the Grace Period and by the financial support provided by the company. In addition, one thousand new businesses were established around the world as a result of the program´s support.

At the time of the Bridge´s implementation, Nokia underwent an unprecedentedly radical reorganization. With the support of the Bridge Program, the reorganization was managed without any production interruptions or decreases in production quality. As the company moves forward, higher levels of commitment and performance by the remaining employees can be expected (e.g., Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007). From the perspective of the surrounding communities, a significant amount of valuable resources and human capital was likely spared because the program likely prevented a number of disability pensions.

For the Bridge concept going forward, closer cooperation with various stakeholders in the community that share similar interests facilitate access to financial resources because the companies themselves may not always be able to afford the investments required for the Bridge Program.

The positive story of the Bridge Program is inspiring, and its implementation in similar future situations involving human vulnerability and need is advisable.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Data collection timeline

Data collection, 1.8.2011 - 31.8.2013

	2011					2012												2013							
Years	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bangalore																									
f2f interviews											■														
Other interviews				■						■										■					
Questionnaire1				■	■	■	■	■	■	■															
Questionnaire 2						■	■	■	■	■				■	■										
Questionnaire 3													■	■	■	■	■								
Copenhagen																									
f2f interviews	■		■			■		■			■														
Other interviews																									
Questionnaire1						■	■	■	■	■						■									
Questionnaire 2						■	■	■	■	■															
Questionnaire 3													■	■	■	■	■								
Oulu																									
f2f interviews						■				■					■										
Other interviews									■					■											
Questionnaire 1				■	■	■	■	■	■																
Questionnaire 2						■	■	■	■				■												
Questionnaire 3													■	■	■	■	■								
B2, Questionnaire 1															■										
B2, Questionnaire 2															■	■									
B2, Questionnaire 3																					■	■			
Tampere																									
f2f interviews					■			■			■			■											
Other interviews											■														
Questionnaire 1				■	■																				
Questionnaire 2						■	■																		
Questionnaire 3													■	■	■	■	■								
B2, Questionnaire 1													■												
B2, Questionnaire 2															■	■									
B2, Questionnaire 3																					■	■			
San Diego																									
f2f interviews				■																					
Other interviews											■														
Questionnaire1				■																					
Questionnaire 2									■	■															
Questionnaire 3													■		■	■	■								
Southwood																									
f2f interviews						■					■						■								
Other interviews											■														
Questionnaire1						■	■	■	■	■				■											
Questionnaire 2					■	■	■	■	■																
Questionnaire 3												■	■	■	■	■									
Salo factory																									
f2f interviews										■	■														
Other interviews											■														■
Questionnaire1									■	■															
Questionnaire 2										■	■										■	■			
Questionnaire 3																									
B2, Questionnaire 1													■	■											
B2, Questionnaire 2															■	■									
B2, Questionnaire 3																					■	■			
Capital region, Finland																									
Questionnaire1													■	■											
Questionnaire 2														■		■									
Questionnaire 3																					■	■			

Appendix 2: Demographic characteristics of the data

Survey: Entering Bridge

Site	Gender		Age					Organization Tenure				
	Female	Male	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	60+	< 1	1 - < 3	3 - < 6	6 - <10	10 +
Bangalore	11.1	88.9	22.9	70	5.7	1.4	0	2.8	40.3	47.2	8.3	1.4
Copenhagen	15.5	84.5	0	50	38.9	9.7	1.4	0	0	19.4	43.1	37.5
Oulu	36.7	63.3	0	32.2	45.8	20.3	1.7	0	0	3.4	8.8	87.9
San Diego	31.3	68.8	0	12.5	56.3	31.3	0	0	0	18.8	37.5	43.8
Southwood	25	75	0	38.6	35.4	22	6.1	1.2	3.6	16.7	16.7	61.9
Tampere	35.8	64.2	0	39.6	47.2	13.2	0	0	1.9	7.4	11.1	79.6
Finland B2	33	67	0	45.8	35.9	11.5	0.9	1.4	2.7	13.5	16.7	65.8
Salo - factory	69.3	30.7	16.1	33.8	32.1	17.6	0.4	2.6	1.5	21.8	14.9	59.1

Survey: Exiting Bridge

Site	Gender		Age					Organization Tenure				
	Female	Male	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	60+	< 1	1 - < 3	3 - < 6	6 - <10	10 +
Bangalore	28.3	71.7	47.2	50.9	1.9	0	0	11.5	44.2	40.4	3.8	0
Copenhagen	13.1	86.9	2.4	44.7	47.2	5.7	0	0	0.8	16.1	35.5	47.6
Oulu	32.5	67.5	0	44.7	44.7	5.3	5.3	2.5	0	5	10	82.5
San Diego	44.4	55.6	0	30.8	53.8	11.5	3.8	0	7.1	7.1	25	60.7
Southwood	9.4	90.6	0	18.8	34.4	40.6	6.3	0	12.9	16.1	9.7	61.3
Tampere	24.7	75.3	3.9	40.3	51.9	3.9	0	0	5.2	7.8	6.5	80.5
Finland B2	29.9	70.1	5.6	39.3	39.3	15.9	0	0.9	1.9	14	13.1	70.1
Salo - factory	54.5	43	9.9	32.2	31.6	23.4	2.9	0.3	1.8	17.4	15.3	65.1
All	37.1	62.9	8.6	38.4	37.8	13.6	1.6	1.1	5.3	16.3	18.4	60.8

Survey: Follow-up (6 months after)

Site	Gender		Age					Organization Tenure				
	Female	Male	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	60+	< 1	1 - < 3	3 - < 6	6 - <10	10 +
Bangalore	20.4	79.6	32	60	8	0	0	10	36	50	4	0
Copenhagen	14.2	85.8	1.3	40.9	50.3	7.4	0	0	2.7	11.5	35.8	50
Oulu	37	63	0	30.8	53.8	11.5	3.8	0	0	7.7	3.8	88.5
San Diego	44.8	55.2	7.1	42.9	35.7	14.3	0	0	3.4	24.1	27.6	44.8
Southwood	15.2	84.8	6.3	43.8	31.3	12.5	6.3	0	15.2	9.1	18.2	57.6
Tampere	19.6	80.4	4	38	56	2	0	0	2	3.9	15.7	78.4
Finland B2	31.1	68.9	3	42.6	40.6	12.9	1	1	0	13.5	17.3	67.3
Salo - factory	61	39	10.5	41.4	33.2	14.1	0.8	0.8	0.4	15.1	18.9	64.9
All	36.4	63.6	7.7	42.4	38.5	10.6	0.9	1.1	4.5	16.1	20.5	57.8

Interviews

Site	Gender	
	Female	Male
Bangalore	21	79
Copenhagen	17	83
Oulu	13	87
San Diego	38	62
Southwood	17	83
Tampere	0	100
Finland B2		
Salo - factory	50	50
All	20	80

Appendix 3: **Next step of data informants after Bridge (*percentage*)**

Blr = Bangalore, Cph = Copenhagen, SD = San Diego, SW = Southwood, Tre = Tampere, Fin B2 = Bridge 2 in Finland.

Next step / survey respondents	All	Blr	Cph	Oulu	SD	SW	Tre	Fin B2	Salo
Job inside	1	1.9	2.4	0	3.6	0	0	0	0.6 (0)
Job outside	31.3	84.9	47.6	10.5	35.7	6.3	24.7	34.3	12 (6)
Start-up	11.4	1.9	8.9	10.5	17.9	31.3	31.2	9.5	3.6 (2)
Continue job search	26.3	7.5	36.3	47.4	35.7	43.8	23.4	38.1	9 (55)
Learn something new	11.9	0	0.8	13.2	0	0	11.7	4.8	32.5 (16)
Other plans	18.1	3.8	4	18.4	7.1	18.8	9.1	13.3	42.2 (21)
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Next step / interviewees	**All**	**Blr**	**Cph**	**Oulu**	**SD**	**SW**	**Tre**	**Fin B2**	**Salo**
Job inside	5	0	17	0	10	0	0		0
Job outside	24	79	17	31	12	33	21		0
Start-up	23	7	8	23	12	67	64		0
Continue job search	35	14	50	30	69	17	14		50
Learn something new	10	0	8	31	5	0	14		17
Other plans / own path	3	0	0	7	0	0	0		33
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**		**100**

Appendix 4: Survey measures

The survey questions focus on variables suggested by prior research on layoffs, organizational restructuring and job loss.

(a) Procedural and interactional justice of the layoff process was measured with a six-item, five-point scale based on Mansour-Cole's and Scott's (1988) Fairness Perceptions Survey.

(b) *Situational appraisal of job loss* addressed whether an individual appraises the situation as threatening or challenging, i.e., potentially hindering or promoting their personal growth or future gains. This factorwas measured using a ten-item, five-point scale created by Bardi, Guerra & Ramdeny (2009).

(c) Self-esteem was measured by Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item, five-point scale.

(d) *Affective well-being* was assessed with 12 items based on Warr's (1990) scale.

(e) *Demographic control variables* included gender, age, education and employment position at Nokia.