

## REPORTS AND INQUIRIES

### Labour Mobility in the United States

*A recent article in the Review*<sup>1</sup> summarised the findings of an inquiry carried out by the European Coal and Steel Community concerning obstacles to labour mobility and social problems of resettlement in Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. The inquiry revealed that housing shortages, language problems and strong community ties were among the most serious obstacles to mobility in those countries. In view of the widely different conditions prevailing on the United States employment market, it appeared interesting to analyse present mobility trends in that country and to determine, in particular, what are the attitudes of workers when mobility seems the only alternative to unemployment, and what policies are adopted in such situations.

The willingness of the American worker to move from declining to expanding industries and occupations is one of the leading elements in the flexibility of productive activity which has characterised the American economy in the past. It has also helped to reduce unemployment where major changes have occurred in the local demand for labour.

Adaptation to changes in manpower requirements by occupations, industries and geographical regions is facilitated in the United States by the flexibility of arrangements under which people can work. In particular, informal methods of entry to occupations and relatively short training programmes are more frequently found in the United States than in European employment markets, where workers are generally less mobile. Long periods of apprenticeship are required in the United States for a far smaller number of occupations; moreover, in-plant and on-the-job training, shorter vocational training courses, and promotion from related occupations have increasingly replaced formal apprenticeship, even for recruitment to the skilled occupations, so that the immobilising effect of investment in time and effort to learn a trade is reduced to a minimum.<sup>2</sup>

This situation is certainly in part related to the evolution of mass production techniques in the United States. In addition vocational training and technical and regular university courses after working hours are widely available for workers who wish to prepare for a new occupation while earning their living. As regards geographic mobility United States workers find it easier to move since they can travel long

<sup>1</sup> "Obstacles to Labour Mobility and Social Problems of Resettlement. A Survey by the European Coal and Steel Community", Vol. LXXVI, No. 1, July 1957, pp. 72-83.

<sup>2</sup> Gladys L. PALMER: "Social Values in Labor Mobility", in *Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity* (Boston, The Technological Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1954), pp. 111-112; European Coal and Steel Community: *Re-adaptation and Re-employment of Workers. Report on the Visit to the United States by a Team of Trade Union Representatives from the Community* (Luxembourg, 1956), p. 83; and Howard D. MARSHALL: "Unions and Labor Mobility", in *Labor Law Journal* (Chicago), Feb. 1956, p. 83.

distances without crossing frontiers (or changing languages) and many of them have their own cars, school systems are similar in the various parts of the country, there are community facilities to assist family migration, and more residential houses are available in the United States than in many European countries.

Discord between natural population growth and economic opportunity has created broad areas of immigration and emigration. Although large-scale industrialisation of the south during the last fifteen years (the south offers an abundance of raw materials, lower labour costs, inexpensive power, markets and other inducements) tends to modify the line between the "industrial north" and the "agricultural south", high birth rates combined with low job opportunities have resulted in the past in heavy migration from that region to areas of industrial and commercial concentration, such as the north-east (the area with the lowest fertility rate), and more recently, the states of the Pacific region.

Besides voluntary job changing—e.g. for advancement, more interesting work, better wages, a more stable future, better benefits and living conditions, and a more pleasant climate (this factor is certainly important since Florida and California have set growth records)—and migration from highly populated agricultural areas in the south to industrialised urban centres, a substantial amount of labour mobility in the United States is involuntary and is caused by the displacement of workers from their jobs following technological change, shifts in demand, migration of industry, depletion of raw materials, etc. Economic change of this kind, combined with dependence upon one industry, has led to chronic unemployment and depression in many employment markets. In addition, some areas have never developed a sufficient economic base.

Many communities in the mining centres of Pennsylvania, southern Illinois, West Virginia and Kentucky, have witnessed rising local unemployment due in part to the replacement of miners by mechanical cutters. The shift from steam to diesel power, which has accelerated since the end of the Second World War, has changed the pattern of skills required by locomotive repairmen and eliminated or reduced employment in many railroad shops, some of which had formed the backbone of particular local economies, such as Erie and Altoona, Pennsylvania; the latter was until recently the largest steam locomotive repair centre in the United States.

Although technological change has contributed to the decline of employment in coal mining by reducing employment per ton of output, an even more important cause has been a shift in demand from coal to oil on the railroads, in industry, and in homes. The declining consumption of coal has had secondary effects on such communities as Cumberland, Maryland, for example, where railroad manpower requirements have been severely curtailed owing to the reduced shipments of coal. To some extent the migration of the textile industries from the north to the south has been the result of a shift in the demand for fabrics: the new synthetic fabrics which have appeared on the market since the end of the Second World War have been manufactured for the most part in the south, and competition of synthetic with natural fibres has been one of the causes of the decline of textiles in New England, New York and Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> National Planning Association: *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem. A Policy Statement by the NPA Special Committee on Depressed Areas*. Report by William H. MIERNYK. Planning Pamphlet No. 98 (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 5-7; Committee on Banking and Currency: *Federal Assistance to Labor Surplus Areas* (Washington, D.C.,

Many communities experience hard times today because one or more important firms have decided to move their business elsewhere. Such moves were relatively rare during the 1930s, when depression conditions existed everywhere, nor were they prevalent during the early post-war years, when practically all business could survive profitably in any location. But they have been on the increase during the last ten years, although the trend of industry away from older, industrial regions—such as the migration of industry from New England, with its high transportation costs and insufficiency of raw materials—started a long time ago.

As an example, the cotton textile industry of New England began its mass migration to the south during the short but sharp depression which followed the First World War. This migration continued for the next two decades but was halted by the Second World War, when the cotton mills of both the north and the south were operating at or close to capacity. Since the end of the war there has been a further substantial decline of the industry in New England. Moreover, the woollen and worsted industry, highly localised in that area, also began to move south. Mill after mill in New England was liquidated, while new and modern textile mills, in both the cotton-synthetic and woollen-worsted industries, were built in the south, whose share of the total number of textile jobs rose from 39 per cent. in 1947 to 48 per cent. in 1954.<sup>1</sup> Thousands of textile workers were left stranded in the textile cities of Lawrence, Lowell, Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts; Manchester, New Hampshire; and Providence, Rhode Island. Many liquidated mills employed 5,000 or more workers, and although these mills were not closed down overnight, reabsorption of the displaced workers was very difficult.

In many cases sound economic reasons—such as the access to raw materials and the desire to be near new markets (railroad freight rates have more than doubled since 1946), the lack of available expansion facilities, the need for change of equipment due to technological improvements, better transportation facilities, etc.—induce a firm to move to another community. In an increasing number of instances, however, special incentives offered by communities and areas endeavouring to attract new industry—such as important tax concessions (half a dozen states ask no taxes for five to ten years), the construction of new plants financed by municipal industrial bond issues and which are made available to manufacturers at a low or nominal rental, and free land—as well as favourable local conditions such as lower wage rates, “right-to-work” laws which have inhibited trade union organising activities<sup>2</sup>, etc., have led firms to move, leaving their workers behind as a general rule.<sup>3</sup> Such factors help to explain the rapid growth of industry in the south and west.

Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 5-6; MIERNYK: “Unemployment in New England Textile Communities”, in *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. 78, June 1955, pp. 645-648, and “Distressed Areas: A National Problem”, in *Economic Review* (Washington, D.C., A.F.L.-C.I.O.), Vol. 2, Apr. 1957.

<sup>1</sup> “Migratory Americans”, in *Industrial Bulletin* (New York, State of New York, Department of Labor), Vol. 37, No. 5, May 1958, pp. 13-17.

<sup>2</sup> Laws declaring that the right of persons to work may not be made dependent, as it is in fact under many collective agreements, on membership in labour organisations. See “The Controversy over Trade Union Membership in the United States”, in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXXVII, No. 2, Feb. 1958, pp. 113-131.

<sup>3</sup> “Migratory Americans”, op. cit., pp. 15-16; and American Federation of Labor: *Subsidized Industrial Migration* (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 6-7.

A few communities have become surplus labour areas because the basic resources which formerly supported employment in these areas have been depleted. This is the case, for instance, in sections of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. Several decades ago these areas accounted for a large proportion of the total lumber production and copper mining in the United States, but as their resources have been depleted and new industries have not been substituted, they have suffered economic decline in recent years.

Although mobility of labour is relatively high in the United States and there has been an important emigration from distressed areas, aggregate measures of the movement of people between jobs conceal a large degree of immobility which is characteristic of many kinds of displaced industrial workers. The displaced coal miner or textile worker, for example, does not easily migrate to other areas where there might be a better opportunity to find work.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the greatest barrier to inter-industry, occupational and geographic mobility of unemployed workers is the advanced age of many of them.

Practically all communities which recognise that old sources of employment have gone permanently have made serious efforts to provide jobs for the displaced workers. The typical approach is to bring jobs into the community and thus expand its economic base. In addition to industrial development committees formed for that purpose by local business leaders, a large number of states have established similar organisations in an effort to induce industry to establish itself in the state. Despite their best promotional and other efforts, however, they have seldom been able to provide sufficient employment opportunities for the workers who have lost their jobs. Experience, in particular in the textile industry, has shown that workers hired by new industries moving into depressed areas are often not those displaced by the decline of older industries, and that growing industries often prefer to employ new entrants to the labour force.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, depressed areas of the industrial north-east face considerable competition from other regions, notably the south and the west, which have developed programmes to encourage industrialisation and have experienced relatively more industrial growth than the older manufacturing regions of the United States.

In spite of their eligibility for special tax amortisation benefits, priority in the allocation of government contracts, and a variety of other measures designed to promote development, a majority of the 20-odd labour markets classified in 1957 by the United States Department of Labour as having substantial labour surplus have had 6 per cent. or more of the labour force unemployed for at least four years, while high levels of employment existed elsewhere in the country.

The following pages, after a short factual description of general trends in labour mobility in terms of actual job shifts, will examine the part played by migration in reducing localised unemployment, and the measures taken or envisaged to facilitate such movements and to counteract labour shortages.

<sup>1</sup> *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., pp. 8 and 13; *Subsidized Industrial Migration*, op. cit., p. 9; and MIERNYK: *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility* (Boston, Mass., Bureau of Business and Economic Research, North-eastern University, 1955), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., p. 151; *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., p. 51; and *Subsidized Industrial Migration*, op. cit., p. 50.

## PAST AND PRESENT TRENDS IN LABOUR MOBILITY

*Extent of Mobility*

The high rates of mobility which characterised the American employment market in the First World War and the prosperous 1920s do not appear to have been reached in subsequent decades. Rates of voluntary mobility were low in the 1930s, when there was a large volume of involuntary job separations. While it is estimated that in the 1920s voluntary separations in manufacturing industries amounted to about three-fourths of the total, the proportions of voluntary and involuntary separations were approximately reversed in the following decade; in certain years during the 1930s, voluntary separations—which are an indication of voluntary job shifting—were practically non-existent. Although mobility reached higher levels again during the following decades, in particular during the Second World War and the years immediately following the war, it did not rise again to the figures of the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> In 1955 and 1956 voluntary separations in manufacturing averaged only 48.5 per cent. of all separations in manufacturing.<sup>2</sup> While there is a widespread belief that mobility is declining as a result of the increasing importance of certain institutions—such as, for instance, the labour unions, which have experienced a tremendous growth in the past twenty years and are thought to have a restrictive effect on mobility (e.g. through seniority systems, pension, hospitalisation, and paid vacation schemes, the reduction of wage differentials, restrictive practices regarding access to certain jobs, etc.)—there does not appear to be any empirical evidence to prove such an assumption. Unions also engage in various activities which certainly tend to increase mobility, such as insistence on severance pay and the dissemination of job information.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding geographic mobility, there is no evidence that workers are less mobile than in the past.<sup>4</sup> There has been little variation in the mobility rates of intra-state and inter-state migrants in the nine annual surveys conducted between 1948 and 1957 by the United States Bureau of the Census; the last survey shows that 6 per cent. of the civilian male labour force moved from their county of residence between April 1956 and 1957, and that 48 per cent. of these changed states.<sup>5</sup>

*Characteristics of Workers Changing Jobs*

Every relevant study has produced evidence that a minority of highly mobile workers, who change jobs either by choice or by force of circumstance, account for a major portion of all movement.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph SHISTER: "Labor Mobility: Some Institutional Aspects", in Industrial Relations Research Association: *Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting*, Chicago, 28-29 December 1950, p. 53; "Social Values in Labor Mobility", op. cit., p. 114; Herman TRAVIS: "Job Changing in the United States", in *Occupational Outlook* (Washington, D.C., Bureau of Labor Statistics), Vol. 2, May 1958, p. 2; and Herbert S. PARNES: *Research on Labor Mobility* (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1954), pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Employment and Earnings* (Washington, D.C., Bureau of Labor Statistics), Aug. 1958, table B-1, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> "Unions and Labor Mobility", op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics. Mobility of the Population of the United States, 1956 to 1957* (Washington, D.C., Bureau of the Census), 21 July 1958, No. 82, p. 1 (Series P-20).

<sup>6</sup> *Research on Labor Mobility*, op. cit., p. 65.

Of 75.4 million persons over 14 years of age who were employed at some time in 1955, approximately 8.4 million (11 per cent.) changed jobs one or more times during the year. Young workers, however, particularly young men from 18 to 24 years of age, changed jobs more frequently than any other age group, as shown by the accompanying table.

RATE OF JOB CHANGING IN THE UNITED STATES DURING 1955,  
BY AGE AND SEX

Age and sex	Total number with work experience (thousands)	Workers who made one or more job changes	
		Number (thousands)	Percentage of total
<i>Male, 14 and over :</i>	47,624	5,940	12.5
14—17 . . . . .	2,541	328	12.9
18—24 . . . . .	5,127	1,420	27.7
25—54 . . . . .	30,524	3,730	12.2
55 and over . . . . .	9,432	462	4.9
<i>Female, 14 and over :</i>	27,729	2,426	8.7
14—17 . . . . .	1,663	179	10.8
18—24 . . . . .	4,875	815	16.7
25—54 . . . . .	16,932	1,278	7.5
55 and over . . . . .	4,259	154	3.6
Total . . . . .	75,353	8,366	11.1

Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

While women leave and re-enter the labour force much more frequently than men in the course of their working life, those who are working in any particular year are found to change jobs less frequently than men.

#### *Patterns of Geographic Mobility*

In the four general sections of the United States, i.e. the west, north central, north-east and south, the net civilian migration between 1950 and 1956 stood as follows :

West . . . . .	+ 2,215,000
North central . . . . .	+ 871,000
North-east . . . . .	— 148,000
South . . . . .	— 1,110,000

The state showing the largest net civilian migratory gain—far in excess of its net natural increase—was California, with 1,686,000 ; it is followed in order by Florida, 791,000 ; Michigan, 484,000 ; Ohio, 379,000 ; New Jersey, 325,000 ; Maryland, 222,000 ; and Arizona, 206,000. New York showed a small gain, 38,000, and Pennsylvania showed a clear loss of 279,000.<sup>1</sup> Between 1947 and 1954 the United States as a whole added 1,400,000 jobs or 9.5 per cent. to its total manufacturing employment. The west gained 46 per cent. ; the south 17 per cent ; the north central states 6 per cent ; the Middle Atlantic 4 per cent ; and the north-east gained 2 per cent. in spite of a 3 per cent. loss in the New England states.

<sup>1</sup> "Migratory Americans", op. cit., p. 14.

Geographic mobility is greater among farm labourers, sales personnel and professional and technical workers than in other major occupational groups. Whereas between March 1955 and March 1956, 5.4 per cent. of all employed male persons between 20 and 64 years in the United States were estimated to have changed their county of residence, the percentage of such migrants was considerably above this average among farm labourers (13.4 per cent.), sales workers (8.6 per cent.), and professional and semi-professional workers (6.5 per cent.). In none of the other occupational groups did more than 5.5 per cent. of the workers change their county of residence. The percentage of migrants among operatives and kindred workers was 5.5 and that of craftsmen and foremen 5.2.<sup>1</sup>

Unemployed workers make geographic moves more often than employed workers: 10 per cent. of the unemployed and 6 per cent. of the employed workers had moved from their county of residence between April 1956 and 1957.<sup>2</sup>

There is a tendency for workers to move from areas in which employment opportunities decline, although this classic process of adjustment is generally slow. While the average increase in population for all 171 Standard Metropolitan Areas of the Census Bureau classification was 22.1 per cent. between 1940 and 1950, the average population increase for 12 areas classified as labour surplus areas continuously for the years preceding November 1956 was only 7.2 per cent., less than one-third as great. The seven areas which might be described as constituting the "hard core" of chronic labour surplus areas averaged a population loss of 2.4 per cent. between 1940 and 1950.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the relative loss of depressed areas is substantial. In one depressed area—Southern Illinois—nearly 25,000 persons left in a period of five years.<sup>4</sup>

### *Obstacles to Geographic Mobility*

Although the way in which workers adjust themselves to possible or actual displacement from their jobs is found to depend to a large extent on the availability of job opportunities, preferences related to their personal, social, and economic circumstances have proved to be important, particularly in defining the geographic limits of the employment market in which they will offer their services.<sup>5</sup>

### *Attachment to the Community.*

Strong ties of family, environment, tradition, etc., tend to hold most workers—but particularly the middle-aged and older ones—to their home town even when job opportunities are declining. The depressed area is

<sup>1</sup> *Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics*, 12 Mar. 1957, p. 17. For geographic mobility in specific occupations see the following publications of the United States Bureau of the Census: *Occupational Mobility of Scientists*, Bulletin No. 1121 (1953), p. 48; *The Mobility of Electronic Technicians 1940-52*, Bulletin No. 1150 (1954), p. 9; *The Mobility of Tool and Die Makers 1940-1951*, Bulletin No. 1120 (1952), p. 43; and *Mobility of Molders and Coremakers 1940-1952*, Bulletin No. 1162 (1954), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Current Population Reports. Mobility of the Population of the United States, 1956 to 1957*, op. cit., table 5.

<sup>3</sup> Guy WATERMAN: *Adjustment to Localised Unemployment* (Washington, D.C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1956), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Howard D. MARSHALL: "The Problem of Depressed Areas", in *Labor Law Journal*, July 1957, p. 489.

<sup>5</sup> Leonard P. ADAMS and Robert L. ARONSON: *Workers and Industrial Change. A Case Study of Labor Mobility* (Ithaca, Cornell University, 1957), p. 154.

typically found in the oldest industrial regions of the country and has a long history in mining, textile, railroad or other employment.<sup>1</sup>

Textile workers show a particularly strong attachment to their trades and their communities. In New England, for example, such ties are not only solidified by family traditions—the great-grandfathers of many of these workers were already textile workers—but also by the fact that community life centres, to a large extent, on textile mill employment. In some towns the textile mill is the only source of jobs, while in larger communities with greater diversification, such as Fall River, New Bedford, and Lewiston, the mills nevertheless exert a dominant influence. In addition, the organisation and functioning of unions in these cities has increased the attachment of workers to their jobs and homes because they act not only as bargaining agents but are also the focus of much of the workers' social life.<sup>2</sup> Replying to a question about their willingness to move from the area, 580 out of one thousand workers who were displaced from their jobs through the liquidation of textile mills said that they would not want to leave even if they knew of a job (or a better job) elsewhere. While advanced age was decisive for many, others felt they could not move because some relatives (usually parents) were dependent upon them.<sup>3</sup>

Ties to the community are strong in other areas as well. When it was proposed to liquidate a large tube company in Ellwood City, Pennsylvania—the only industry in that town—and the company offered to transfer all displaced workers to a new location in Indiana, a large majority of the 110 workers interviewed preferred to take any job in the area, even if they had to forgo their existing living standards. Among the reasons given for this attitude attachment to Ellwood City (because of kinship, friendship, environment, or organisational bonds) rated second only to home ownership and supposed housing difficulties in the new location.<sup>4</sup> More than 50 per cent. of the workers stated that they would not move under any circumstances.

A survey carried out at Mt. Vernon, Illinois, at the beginning of the third year following the liquidation of a large freight-car manufacturing plant, showed that while one-third of the workers displaced had found jobs in other labour market areas, 43 per cent. of these still had their homes and families in the Mt. Vernon area, and endured the hardship of travelling long distances to and from work daily or at the week-ends. Most of the remaining 57 per cent. of the workers who had found employment outside the area and had moved with their families were willing to take jobs in Mt. Vernon if such were available, even at substantially lower wages. The diversity of employment which was accepted by the rest of the workers after the lay-off (83 per cent. of those who had jobs in the Mt. Vernon area were working in non-manufacturing industries) is an indication of their strong desire to remain in the community. Most of those who were seeking jobs were doing so only in the local area.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Adjustment to Localised Unemployment*, op. cit., p. 29; and "Distressed Areas: A National Problem", op. cit., pp. 28-29.

<sup>2</sup> "Work and Wage Experience of Skilled Cotton-Textile Workers", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 63, July 1946, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Charles R. WALKER: *Steeltown* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 175-176.

<sup>5</sup> Richard C. WILCOCK: "Employment Effects of a Plant Shutdown in a Depressed Area", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 80, Sep. 1957, pp. 1047-1051.



*Age.*

Chief among the factors working against both change in employment and change of residence is advancing age, which accounts to a large extent for the failure of dissatisfied or displaced workers to search actively for a new job. Age is, of course, closely related to community ties and to home ownership, which, as we have seen, are important obstacles to migration. In addition the older worker may realise that despite expanding employment elsewhere, jobs are not readily available to workers past middle age. Since the average age of the displaced workers who remain in the depressed communities is high, they are often also unable to obtain new employment even when new industry comes to these communities.<sup>1</sup>

A study of Harrison County, West Virginia, an area of general decline showing a continuing high level of unemployment, revealed that of the workers who had migrated in the two-year period 1953-55 (over 18 per cent. of the total) more than two-thirds of the men were under the age of 45 and about three-fourths of the women were under 35.<sup>2</sup>

To some extent the relative immobility of textile workers in New England may be related to age. The average textile worker is older than the average industrial worker, and often the textile worker has not had experience in other occupations. Having grown old in one kind of work he may have neither the inclination nor the ability to seek and find employment in another industry. Many of the older displaced workers who remained in the community and found non-manufacturing jobs are doing unskilled and relatively low-paying work as janitors, porters, hospital attendants, and so forth.<sup>3</sup> The continued loss of textile jobs and the relative immobility of the displaced workers have produced a high level of chronic unemployment in many New England textile towns since the end of the Second World War.

*Home Ownership and Lack of Housing Facilities.*

Apart from the attachment of people to private property acquired through long saving and planning and from all other related personal aspects, the ownership of a home imposes a serious financial handicap upon a potentially mobile worker. The burden is especially great in depressed areas because the sharp decline in real estate values in such areas means that the worker either is unable to dispose of his house or can do so only if he is willing to take a considerable loss. Property values have declined by a third, a half, or even more as a result of local depressions. The severity of the loss in a house sale is further emphasised by the high cost of housing and the crowded conditions frequently facing the worker who moves to an area with adequate job opportunities.<sup>4</sup> A similar situation existed during the 1930s, when families lived in absolute destitution in homes valued at thousands of dollars but on which it seemed to be impossible to realise anything. Upon the shut-down of a large firm in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1929, only four of

<sup>1</sup> *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., p. 13; and "The Problem of Depressed Areas", op. cit., p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Vincent F. GEGAN and Samuel H. THOMPSON: "Worker Mobility in a Labor Surplus Area", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 80, Dec. 1957, pp. 1453-1456.

<sup>3</sup> "Unemployment in New England Textile Communities", op. cit., p. 646; and *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> "The Problem of Depressed Areas", op. cit., pp. 489-490.

the 75 workers who were invited to transfer to another town expressed interest in the possibility; the prevailing reason was inability of the family to move, frequently because of home ownership.<sup>1</sup>

This factor stands out also as the preponderant reason why Ellwood City workers<sup>2</sup> were reluctant to consider moving, regardless of housing conditions in the new location. The percentage of persons owning their homes was high among the displaced workers in Mt. Vernon<sup>3</sup> who had shown reluctance to move to another district. It averaged more than 70 per cent. among all categories of non-migrants working in the Mt. Vernon area, while 76 per cent. of the out-of-town workers and 51 per cent. of the migrants still owned their homes in Mt. Vernon at the time of the survey.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that the larger number of workers who now own their homes as a result of relatively high wages, a flexible credit system, and the policy followed under the National Housing Act of 1934, which encourages the building of workers' homes, is a factor which reduces the mobility of workers in general.<sup>4</sup>

Home ownership seems to be a far more important factor in immobilising displaced workers than lack of housing in a new place with job opportunities. Although the normal movement of the population was restricted by the critical housing shortage that existed at the end of the Second World War and for some time thereafter, the margin between dwelling units added to the housing stock and the increase in households between 1950 and 1956, has substantially increased the stock of vacant units. It appears that, except possibly in a few areas, the population now has adequate freedom to move in so far as housing availability is concerned, and that no further significant increase in the over-all vacancy rate is required.<sup>5</sup>

### *Unjustified Optimism.*

In many cases residents of depressed areas are reluctant to admit that their communities will remain depressed. The unemployed coal miner continues to hope that his mine will be reopened, and that he will be called back to work. A displaced textile worker in the north is often convinced that the industry will again be revived in his community. Even in some of the communities most seriously affected by the southward migration of the textile industry, there remains some hope among the displaced workers that the mills will be opened again. This may happen even in cases where the mills have been stripped of their machinery and where vacant buildings offer mute testimony to the permanence of the shutdown. Often workers remain in the vicinity for long periods in the hope of regaining their old jobs and the advantages that went with them, such as seniority rights, pensions and other welfare benefits.<sup>6</sup> As a result many workers, rather than move away permanently, are travelling

<sup>1</sup> Ewan CLAGUE, Walter J. COUPER and E. Wight BAKKE: *After the Shutdown* (Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1934), pp. 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> "Employment Effects of a Plant Shutdown in a Depressed Area", op. cit., p. 1050.

<sup>4</sup> *Re-adaptation and Re-employment of Workers*, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> "Housing and Migration", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 81, Feb. 1958, pp. 142-145.

<sup>6</sup> *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., p. 13; "Distressed Areas: A National Problem", op. cit., p. 29; "The Problem of Depressed Areas", op. cit., p. 490; "Employment Effects of a Plant Shutdown in a Depressed Area", op. cit., pp. 1050-1051; and *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., p. 85.

50 to 75 miles to work every day. The resulting burden in the form of nervous strain and disorganised family life, as well as the expense involved, are difficult to compute.

## MEASURES TAKEN OR ADVOCATED TO FACILITATE LABOUR MOBILITY

### *Surveys and Studies*

Only in the past few decades has there been extensive interest in mobility. The regular collection of turnover figures by the Bureau of Labour Statistics did not begin until 1929<sup>1</sup>, while local labour market studies have mostly been undertaken within the past two decades. During the depression of the 1930s, a number of studies endeavoured to determine how displaced workers located new jobs during a period of high-level unemployment, and to point out the personal and social costs involved in the displacement of workers through the closing of factories. Later studies dealt with the voluntary movement of labour under conditions of relatively full employment and were primarily concerned with the operation of the labour market. All these studies were based upon empirical investigation, and their authors sought, among other things, to verify or disprove accepted notions based upon theoretical analysis of the influence of wage differentials upon labour mobility.<sup>2</sup>

The labour shortage during the Second World War and the realisation of the difficulty of persuading workers to change jobs, and more so, of inducing them to leave their home towns, led to a large amount of government-sponsored research and analysis of the factors influencing labour mobility.

Continuing labour scarcities after the war, the dispersion, decline, decentralisation and expansion of industries, changes in the occupational structure, etc., and the importance of worker adjustment to these changes, have all contributed to a continuance and expansion of empirical studies on labour market behaviour. Almost all of the later studies have been designed on the assumption that the labour market behaviour of workers is influenced not only by wage differentials but also by psychological and social forces.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the urgent need to find solutions to the problem of chronic labour surplus areas the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the United States Department of Labour has recently undertaken a programme to develop methods for the study of labour mobility on the basis of information obtained from the records of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance and the state unemployment insurance agencies. The object is to get concrete information on workers who have migrated and those who have stayed in a given area, and this is expected to be useful in shaping both public and private policy with regard to these areas. This procedure makes it possible to cover a large number of workers, in contrast with mobility studies based on personal interviews, the scope of which is limited by the considerable time and cost involved by such a method. The latter type of investigation, however, is the only one available for such important purposes as studies of attitudes and motivation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Unions and Labor Mobility", op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Richard C. Wilcock: *Small City Job Markets* (Urbana, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1958), pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> "Worker Mobility in a Labor Surplus Area", op. cit., p. 1451.

*Transfer of Workers to Re-located Plants*

Most of the time new or re-located industries draw their labour supply from local sources, although in many cases transfer of all or a part of the workers to the new location is offered by the moving firm. Often only a small percentage of workers take advantage of these offers. Key employees—managerial and professional personnel—are more inclined to follow the companies provided the new site offers good housing, schools, churches, climate and recreational and cultural opportunities.<sup>1</sup>

*Notice of Move.*

Most companies have found it advantageous to give employees ample notice of an impending move in order to stop disrupting rumours and allow the employees enough time to get accustomed to the idea and make plans of their own in connection with the move.<sup>2</sup> Depending on the distance involved, many companies allow at least one trip to the new community for the employees and their families, and possibly a second trip to look for living quarters. The policies followed by companies in such matters vary a great deal. Sometimes an information bureau is set up in the firm to provide full information on working and living conditions in the new location.<sup>3</sup>

*Housing and Resettlement Arrangements.*

In most cases companies assist employees in their search for new housing by having a qualified representative in the new community. This representative may be a real-estate broker or an employee assigned full time to give help and advice during the moving period. Some companies reimburse employees for losses incurred through unexpired leases or in selling their old homes. Others simply make a lump sum allowance to cover interim resettlement expenses.

*Trade Union Action*

Where employers have closed individual plants or a chain of plants, the unions have sought to charge the employer with the responsibility of moving employees to other sites. While, in the past, most unions have endeavoured to ease the effects of plant moves largely by meeting each situation as it arose and by attempting at the time to negotiate measures to minimise the blow to workers, the increased migration of industry in recent times is pushing this problem to the front of many bargaining tables. At present an increased effort is being made to write minimum protection into agreements long before any plant move may be contemplated. Unions are emphasising three types of measures in collective bargaining: (1) encouraging management to maintain some work at the existing plant, if the undertaking is to be

<sup>1</sup> "Migratory Americans", op. cit., p. 15; and *Workers and Industrial Change. A Case Study of Labor Mobility*, op. cit., pp. 29-30 and 160.

<sup>2</sup> Francis J. RODERICKS: "Advance Planning for Plant Re-location (excerpt of a paper presented at the Annual Mid-Winter Personnel Conference of the American Management Association in Chicago, 17-19 February 1958)", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 81, Apr. 1958, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Steeltown*, op. cit., p. 174.

moved ; (2) providing for the transfer of affected workers to the new location ; and (3) the grant of a financial cushion for displaced workers who do not choose to move or cannot be transferred to the new location. In the case of multi-plant companies, unions seek to obtain an understanding that where work is moved from one location to another the union shall be recognised in the new location, and the agreement will apply wherever the company's work is performed and will automatically be extended to any new plant acquired by the company.

#### *Advance Notification and Consultation of Unions.*

Unions are insisting that they be notified and consulted on any contemplated move as early as possible so that they can examine the reasons involved and join in exploring all possible means of minimising the effects on the workers. Advance notice of any plant transfer will also allow workers who are due to be displaced to seek and find jobs with a minimum loss of time.

#### *Transfer of Workers to New Jobs.*

When work is moved from one locality to another, unions want every effort made to help the workers affected. Although the steps stressed in negotiations by different unions vary on details, the following summarises broadly the views being expressed by various unions—and agreed to by many companies—in bargaining on this problem.

Workers should not be forced to bear the entire economic burden of readjustment during a period of plant re-location, but management must consider the cost of protecting displaced workers as one of the economic costs it must assume in the moving of work. The primary type of protection is to give the abandoned worker the right to follow his work.

#### *Wages.*

Workers should receive a pay comparable to their former wage. If only lower-paying jobs are available, the unions want the company to guarantee the transferring worker his old wage for at least an agreed period, making up the difference between the new job rate and the worker's former rate.

#### *Retraining.*

The unions stress that where the available new jobs may require somewhat different or additional skills which the normal worker could ordinarily master after a reasonable retraining period, the company should provide the necessary retraining to equip the worker for his new duties.

#### *Payment of Expenses of the Worker's Re-location.*

The unions consider that the company should pay all of the expenses involved in moving the worker and his family and possessions and resettling the family in the new community. A bargaining proposal on this point has been formulated, for example, by the Executive Board of the United Auto Workers, which has stressed that, in addition to the payment of all costs of economic losses incurred by the workers

because of the movement of the plant, the employer should be required to pay a re-location allowance to the worker to enable him to meet his added daily cost during the period of re-location and adjustment. In advancing a similar proposal, the International Union of Electrical Workers has pointed out that management usually now bears the cost of the family's moving expenses for executives and supervisory personnel.

### *Seniority.*

It is proposed that a transferred worker should retain all rights accumulated at the old plant. Whereas in the recent past the seniority clause has operated generally only within a plant and not among different plants of one company or in the industry as a whole, an increasing number of union contracts now provide for company-wide seniority rights for displaced workers.<sup>1</sup> As the seniority clause forms the basis of all the worker's conditions of employment in the American undertaking (apprenticeship, promotion, discharge and allowances) workers usually regard the maintenance of their rights in this respect as a *sine qua non* in any move they might agree to make.<sup>2</sup>

### *Examples of Agreements.*

The railroad unions and the leading railroads in the United States have long had special provisions to protect workers whose jobs are moved in any consolidation, merger, or pooling of different railroad lines. Protective features based on the above principles are provided by the Washington "Job Protection" Agreement negotiated in 1936, containing in particular the following points:

(1) At least 90 days' notice of a contemplated consolidation is to be given to the union and employees, with a statement of the proposed work moves and an estimate of the number of employees affected. Consultation with the union is to be arranged within 30 days after the notice.

(2) An affected worker has the right to exercise his seniority to claim another job with pay at least equal to that of the job he has held.

(3) He is guaranteed that for the next five years of employment he will not be in a worse position as to compensation and working conditions than at the time of the movement of work. If he is transferred to a lower-paid job, the company makes up the difference between his new pay and the former pay.

(4) A worker transferred to another location is entitled to reimbursement for all expenses of moving his household and personal possessions and for the travelling expenses, including living expenses for himself and his family, and his actual wage loss during the time of the transfer (plus up to two days' additional pay for the time used to find a new home). Workers are also protected against losses suffered from sale of their home, a contract to purchase a house, or an unexpired lease. If a worker is laid off within three years at the new location, he is to be reimbursed his expenses for the move back.

<sup>1</sup> Solomon BARKIN: "Problems of Industrial Migration", in *I.U.D. Digest* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. 3, Summer 1958, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Steeltown*, op. cit. p. 178.

An agreement concluded before the war between the Textile Workers Union of America (C.I.O.), and the American Viscose Company required employees displaced by technological changes to be placed on a preferential list for re-hiring when appropriate vacancies occurred in any of the plants of the corporation. As a result, hundreds of displaced workers in one plant were absorbed in new plants built by the company.<sup>1</sup>

A special agreement for the transfer of workers, negotiated in 1956 by the International Association of Machinists and the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation prior to the transfer between 1956 and 1957 of more than 1,800 employees from an old to a new plant of the Corporation's Missile Systems Division, provided for the transfer of workers at company expense. The workers had to move nearly 400 miles, from Los Angeles to Sunnyvale and Palto Alto, California. As work was transferred to the new location, the company asked the workers involved to transfer with it. Notice of this transfer opportunity was to be given as far in advance as was reasonably possible. Necessary selection of employees was carried out on the basis of seniority among those competent to perform the work involved. Transferred employees retained all seniority rights acquired at the old plant. The company paid the expense of moving and storing normal household belongings, and it handled also the moving arrangements of household goods. Workers were paid a mileage allowance (8 cents a mile) for driving their families to the new location, and provision was made for travel by air or rail if needed. A per diem allowance was provided for one day's travel and for a 30-day resettlement period after arriving. The allowance was \$10 per day for the worker, \$10 for his spouse, and \$5 for each dependant.<sup>2</sup>

The following collective bargaining demand for 1958, designed to protect displaced workers, was recently formulated by the United Automobile Workers: (1) displaced workers to be permitted to transfer to new locations with full seniority rights; (2) contract standards in effect in the old plant to be in effect in the new plant; (3) all expenses, including economic losses, incurred by the worker in moving himself and his family to be met by the employer; (4) a worker who for personal reasons elects not to transfer, to be paid a severance allowance; and (5) area-wide seniority agreements to be established in multi-plant operations.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The United States Employment Service and Geographic Mobility*

Geographic mobility is facilitated by the United States Employment Service, which assists workers in finding jobs, classifies areas according to the adequacy of labour supply, and handles work connected with inter-state agreements on social security in so far as unemployment insurance is concerned.

#### *Area Classification and Area Employment Information.*

Since the late 1940s the Department of Labour's Bureau of Employment Security has maintained a classification system in which major labour market areas are classified every two months according to

<sup>1</sup> Solomon BARKIN: "Human and Social Impact of Technical Changes", in Industrial Relations Research Association: *Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting*, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Collective Bargaining Report* (Washington, D.C., A.F.L.-C.I.O.), Vol. 2, No. 10, Oct. 1957.

<sup>3</sup> Harry P. COHANY: "The 16th Convention of the United Automobile Workers", in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 80, June 1957, p. 699.

the level of unemployment and the immediate outlook for changes in employment levels. This system, which permits labour markets throughout the country to be compared, is confined to 149 major areas containing cities with a population of 50,000 or more. The Bureau classifies also upon their request any smaller labour market areas in which unemployment is found to exceed 6 per cent. of the labour force and no immediate improvement is foreseeable.<sup>1</sup>

A recently published guidebook<sup>2</sup> is expected to be useful in counselling job applicants who are considering migrating to other areas. This publication, which will be periodically revised, contains information on area industrial characteristics, major sources of employment, skills of the work force, employment and unemployment data, wages and wage rates, occupational characteristics, long-term labour market trends, and related items which were previously available only in fragmentary form from widely scattered sources.

### *Clearance Operations.*

Clearance is a process of bringing workers in one area into contact with jobs in another. It is used by local employment service offices to fill non-agricultural job openings for which there is not an adequate supply of local workers and for which employers are willing to recruit applicants from other areas. Openings are put in clearance only if (1) wages are not substantially less favourable than prevailing rates for similar work; (2) working conditions are as favourable as the average for similar industries; and (3) minimum compensation is specified. In addition, the availability of housing is considered. Such openings are listed every two weeks by all state employment security agencies in the "Inventory of Job Openings"<sup>3</sup> which is distributed to all local employment offices within the state of origin and to all other state agencies.

In an effort to alleviate shortages of workers in professional and managerial occupations, an expanded inter-area placement service has been created for these occupations. Some 80 local and state employment offices are designated as special employment centres which have on file at all times a nation-wide list of job openings. Under the regular clearance procedure used for the purpose, job openings are then matched at the centres against the applications listed at any of the 1,750 local offices.<sup>4</sup>

### *Inter-state Agreements for the Payment of Benefits.*

The variations in the state unemployment insurance systems and the fact that they apply only to the employers and workers in each state have created many problems. In part these have been solved through voluntary inter-state agreements.

An Inter-state Benefit Plan was recently developed to make it possible for a worker who has accumulated benefit rights in any state to exercise these rights and obtain benefits when he is in another state.

<sup>1</sup> *Adjustment to Localised Unemployment*, op. cit., p. 25. The Labour Department's regular publication in this field is the *Bi-monthly Summary of Labor Market Developments in Major Areas* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security).

<sup>2</sup> *Area Manpower Guidebook* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1958).

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report of the U.S. Department of Labor for the Fiscal Year 1957*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> "Improved Placement Service for Professional Workers", in *The Labor Market and Employment Security* (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 1957, p. 6.



Under the plan a worker can file a claim for benefits in any state, such claims being forwarded each day to the liable state. In the same way an Inter-state Wage Combining Plan was adopted to overcome the problems of workers who move from state to state on short-time jobs and never earn enough in any one state to be eligible for benefits. Finally, Inter-state Reciprocal Coverage Agreements are intended to overcome the difficulties of employer liability for contributions.<sup>1</sup>

## THE PROBLEM OF DEPRESSED AREAS : ACTION BY COMMUNITIES, GOVERNMENT, AND TRADE UNIONS

### *Community Action*

Measures of economic readjustment in depressed areas have centred around redevelopment rather than on facilitating migration. Moreover, although an important emigration, mainly of young and unattached workers who move elsewhere in search of better opportunities, does take place from these areas, it is not considered desirable as it involves significant economic losses in addition to personal and social losses. In addition to the fact that homes are depreciated, communities have normally made a considerable economic investment in facilities such as public works, schools, churches, libraries, etc., which will be under-utilised or abandoned if the population moves out.

While local development organisations concentrate their efforts on attracting new business enterprise, little has been done to increase the occupational or geographic mobility of displaced workers. In at least two instances, however, additional steps were taken and specific programmes initiated to place unemployed workers in newly created jobs. One programme is known as the Rockeville Plan, under which the Connecticut Employment Service undertook, in 1951, the experiment of administering aptitude tests to a large number of displaced textile workers in Rockeville, Connecticut, and of bringing an inventory of their skills and aptitudes to the attention of prospective employers newly established in Rockeville; personal contacts were also made with employers within commuting distance. Following this programme, which attracted wide attention since substantial numbers of workers found employment in this way, the so-called Utica Experiment was undertaken in an effort to train displaced workers for new jobs. More than 1,000 textile workers in Utica, New York, took advantage of this opportunity, and most of them were successful in finding new employment.<sup>2</sup>

### *Government Action*

Until quite recently the redevelopment of depressed communities was considered to be essentially a local matter, and in practice depended upon local initiative and activity. In 1956, however, the Council of Economic Advisers recognised that the fate of distressed communities was a matter of national as well as local concern. Legislative proposals

<sup>1</sup> William F. LUSH: "Inter-state Agreements Help Claimants and Employers", in *Employment Security Review* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. 23, Apr. 1956, pp. 15-18; and Olga S. HALSEY: "Inter-state Claimants Receive \$77 million in Payments", in *The Labor Market and Employment Security*, Nov. 1957, pp. 13-17.

<sup>2</sup> Mary M. DEWEY and Joseph P. DYER: "The Rockeville Plan", in *Employment Security Review*, Vol. 19, July 1952, pp. 24-25. *Inter-Industry Labor Mobility*, op. cit., pp. 146-149; and *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

for federal assistance to depressed areas were introduced during the 84th Congress (1955-56). Three broad types of assistance are contemplated by the Bills in question: technical assistance to industrial development groups; financial aid for attracting industry; and relief of the unemployed.<sup>1</sup> No specific measures are envisaged regarding migration. Moreover, the policy statement of the National Planning Association's Special Committee on Depressed Areas indicates that increased migration from these areas, which would result in the further depreciation of economic and social values, should not be encouraged until all other measures have failed. Subsidised migration is considered to be a last resort, an acknowledgment that the unemployment problem cannot be solved locally.<sup>2</sup>

### *Trade Union Action*

A minimum programme of assistance by the federal Government, providing, *inter alia*, for retraining and transportation of workers to new locations, has been drawn up by trade unions. The programme stipulates that federal funds should be made available for retraining programmes. When jobs are not available for a displaced worker within his own labour market area but suitable employment, acceptable to him, can be obtained outside, funds should be provided to assist him to meet the cost of transporting his dependants and his household effects.

In order to prevent undue plant re-location, a Sub-Committee on Migration and Subsidisation of Industry was formed recently by the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labour, which advanced a series of recommendations for legislative action.<sup>3</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

The relative willingness of the American worker to move from job to job, from industry to industry and from one part of the country to another has greatly facilitated the adjustment of labour supply and demand in a dynamic and changing economy. However, relatively high average rates of mobility conceal the fact that most of the movement between jobs is confined to a small minority, and that many workers, in particular older workers, are reluctant to change their job or their place of employment. In this, mobility trends in the United States bear a striking, though not unexpected similarity, to those observed in Western Europe in the survey carried out by the European Coal and Steel Community.

The reluctance of many workers to accept employment outside their own area has brought about high rates of unemployment in some places where employment opportunities are declining. Confronted with such situations, official circles have emphasised the need for encouraging the development of new industries in the areas affected, in order both to bolster economic activity and to combat unemployment.

However, while the development of new industries has helped to prevent further economic decline in those areas, it appears to have been less successful in providing employment for all the displaced workers. Increasing attention has therefore been given recently to the

<sup>1</sup> Guy WATERMAN: "Federal Aid to Depressed Areas", in *American Economic Security* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. XIII, No. 2, Mar.-Apr. 1956, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Depressed Industrial Areas—A National Problem*, op. cit., pp. viii-ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Subsidized Industrial Migration*, op. cit.

special problems arising in the re-employment of displaced workers. Where displacement is the result of plant re-location, the trade unions have insisted that undertakings have a responsibility for helping workers to follow their employment. The measures advocated include, in particular, assistance to ease the financial burden involved in making the move, retraining to facilitate adaptation to a new job, and protection of wages and seniority rights. The fact that provisions of this kind have been incorporated in several recent collective agreements shows a recognition on the part of the companies concerned of their responsibility in ensuring security of employment under fair conditions. It must be stressed, moreover, that such protective measures have been introduced through the process of collective bargaining and not as a result of legislation, although there is now a demand on the part of the trade unions for federal action in this field.

Clearly, where workers lose their jobs because of the re-location of plants, the generalisation of arrangements such as those described above can, to some extent, prevent structural unemployment. It would not, however, affect situations where a reduction of employment opportunities is brought about by the decline of certain industries and where displaced workers, for the lack of the right qualifications, fail to be absorbed in other industries in their own area, and either fall victim to prolonged unemployment or have to content themselves with inferior jobs.

The question has recently been asked whether in such cases it is wiser public policy to abstain from any action which would specifically encourage migration, or rather to assist and guide such migration in the best interest of the individual's economic security and of proper utilisation of manpower. Unions in particular have made proposals for federal assistance in meeting the cost of transportation of workers to a new place of employment (it is of interest to note that such schemes are in force in a number of European countries). Until now, however, this has not been felt to be a proper responsibility of federal or of state or local authorities. Nevertheless, it is recognised that to the extent that the immobility of workers is due to misapprehensions regarding future employment prospects in their own area and insufficient knowledge of openings available elsewhere, the spread of reliable information on these points is a useful and necessary function, which the employment service must carry out. The area classification system introduced by the employment service a few years ago, and more particularly the recently published *Area Manpower Guidebook*, render great services in providing workers with accurate information which helps them in deciding whether or not they should move to another area. Improved vacancy clearance arrangements serve a similar purpose and contribute to better manpower distribution.

However, it seems that in any circumstances there will inevitably remain a "hard core" of displaced workers who cannot or do not want to leave their home town. For these people the Rockeville Plan and the Utica Experiment, described in the foregoing pages, prove particularly significant in that they show the results that can be obtained through systematic job prospection and retraining programmes designed to find jobs for displaced workers in their own area or within commuting distance of it. Indeed, it would seem that such programmes could usefully accompany any schemes for promoting the development of new industries to replace declining ones, which bring about far-reaching changes in the job structure of a community.