

INTER-PLANT TRANSFER: THE SIOUX CITY EXPERIENCE

by

Norman M. Bradburn
Graduate School of Business
University of Chicago

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Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers
and
Armour and Company

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

Summary

This report presents the results of a study of the operation of the inter-plant transfer plan when Armour and Company closed down its Sioux City plant and of the subsequent offer of jobs to Sioux City employees at two new Armour plants. The data for the study were obtained by means of interviews with a representative sample of 390 men displaced from the plant. Major conclusions are:

1. At the time the plant closed 80 per cent of the men would have been willing to transfer under certain conditions; 20 per cent would not transfer under any conditions. Forty per cent of the men initially chose transfer under the economic conditions in the packing plants at the time of their choice and in the framework for inter-plant transfer defined by the master agreement between the union and the company. The proportion who actually moved to new jobs, however, was 25 per cent. Six months after the transfer, 21 per cent of the men in the sample were still working for Armour.

2. The most important reason for choosing separation was the fear of insecurity in the jobs to which men might transfer. This apparent lack of security stemmed primarily from the low seniority, and consequent susceptibility to lay-off, with which one would enter a new plant. There was also concern about the prospects for continued operation of the plants to which transfer was possible. In addition, older workers who took separation did so in large part because of concern about the physical difficulty of jobs to which they might be assigned--a concern directly related to the low seniority they would take to the new plant.

3. For those choosing transfer, the poor outlook for jobs in the Sioux City area and an option enabling men to return to Sioux City within six months without loss of separation pay were important factors. The information campaign conducted by the union also appears to have played

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addition, a new option was provided for Sioux City workers that allowed them to return to Sioux City without loss of severance pay if within six months they became dissatisfied with the situation in the plant to which they transferred.

Subsequent to the completion of transfers to other plants, a new option was made available. In October, 1963, Armour and Company agreed to the preferential hiring of former Sioux City employees at their new plant in West Point, Nebraska, when it opened in early 1964, and, on a similar basis, to offer a selected number of jobs at its new plant in Sterling, Illinois. Men from the Sioux City plant, whether or not they had previously accepted a transfer, were offered the available jobs at the West Point and Sterling plants on the basis of their plant seniority in Sioux City. For those who had received separation pay, employment at West Point could be on a full seniority basis if separation pay were repaid or on a new-employee basis, if not repaid. For men who had transferred to other plants employment would be on a full seniority basis if any amount paid for moving expenses to the previous transfer were repaid, or if they now elected to take separation pay.

In previous experiences involving the transfer plan practically no workers had chosen the inter-plant transfer option. Because of the new option allowing return to Sioux City and the availability of transfer to other plants in the Middle West, circumstances in Sioux City appeared favorable to the successful working of the inter-plant transfer plan. The Automation Fund Committee felt that a study of the workers' decisions between transfer and separation from the company would aid in understanding the forces that affect the operation of the plan as well as contribute to our general knowledge of conditions that facilitate or inhibit labor mobility. Toward accomplishing these goals, the author, under

before offers for transfer to specific plants had been made by the company. We were thus interviewing the men during the initial adjustment period following the closing of the plant when, for all but the few who were still engaged in the shut-down of the plant, the ordinary work routine had been interrupted and the future was uncertain. By interviewing at this time we hoped to obtain the workers' reasons for making their particular choices before the consequences of their decisions were apparent and rationalizations brought into play.

In addition to the personal interviews conducted shortly after the plant closed, information was obtained from company records that allowed us to follow the men in our sample through the expiration of the six month grace period, during which they could change their minds about transferring, and through the staffing of the new plants.

For the most part the men in the sample had been employed at Armour for a considerable length of time, the modal length of service being between ten and fourteen years. More than one-quarter had never worked at any other place and most of those who had worked elsewhere agreed that their job at Armour was the best they had ever had. As one man put it, "They paid the right kind of money and had good fringe benefits. Like any job it was tough at times."

While one might expect that there would be considerable satisfaction with the pay scale at the plant, there is also considerable evidence that the men were strongly committed to their jobs. Nearly two out of every three said they "really enjoyed their work" and that it was not just a way to make a living. About two-thirds also indicated that they were

"very satisfied with their supervisors, the kind of work they did, and their jobs as a whole." In addition the majority of the men felt that the union was doing a good job in protecting their interests. It was clear that most of the men felt that both the company and the union were trying to help them work out the best possible adjustment to the plant shutdown.

The men for the most part were middle-aged and poorly educated. Nearly one-half were 45 or older; only seven per cent were younger than thirty. One-half of the men had an eighth grade education or less while only one in five was a high school graduate. Despite this lack of advantages the men had succeeded fairly well in life, having a median family income of \$6,000. Nearly three-quarters of the men owned their own homes and almost three-fifths reported that they could pay off their debts, other than mortgages, without borrowing any money.

Thus we have a group of men who have had a long-term positive commitment to their work and who do not possess many immediately transferable skills that would equip them for employment in other sectors of the economy. The inter-plant transfer plan, to the extent that it can be successfully implemented, offered one opportunity for the company to retain a portion of its committed work force and for many men to reduce the personal losses created by technological change.

Plan of the Report

In this report we shall first focus on the sequence of decisions concerning transfer. This sequence involves three crucial stages: 1) the choice between transfer and separation at the time the plant closed in

June, 1963; 2) the decision whether or not to accept a job at a different plant when it was offered in August, 1963; and 3) the decision whether or not to remain at a plant to which one had transferred after the expiration of the six month trial period. Each decision was contingent on the one made at the previous stage. Thus the decision whether or not to accept a transfer job was open only to those who had previously chosen transfer, and the decision whether or not to remain on the job after six months could be made only by those who accepted the jobs offered in August. After presenting the distribution of choices at each of the three stages, we shall discuss in more detail the reasons given for the initial choices and their implications for the subsequent decisions.

In addition to the sequence of decisions made under the conditions of the transfer plan that obtained at the time the plant closed, a new and independent set of alternatives was available to the men as a result of an agreement that the company would offer jobs in its new plants. The decision to apply for a job in one of the new plants and to accept one if offered was open to everyone, regardless of his previous choices. We shall analyze these decisions separately from the previous ones in order to see the effects of different kinds of conditions on the number of men choosing transfer. By comparing the behavior of the men under two different sets of conditions regarding transfer, we shall be able to gain some insights into the dynamics of the transfer decision.

Having examined the different decisions made by the men we shall turn in Part II to the characteristics of the men who transferred as compared with those who chose separation. We shall be particularly concerned with the relation of factors such as attachment to the community,

union participation, age, seniority, education, and skill level to the likelihood of taking transfer. Finally, in Part III we shall discuss some of the implications of this research project for future transfer opportunities.

PART I

THE SEQUENCE OF DECISIONS

At the time of the plant closing most of the men in our sample were faced with a choice between two alternatives: 1) transferring to another plant with approximately two years' seniority rights, or 2) accepting separation from the company and receiving a lump sum separation pay based on their current pay scale and length of service. For a few, those between 55 and 60 with 20 or more years of service with the company, a third alternative, that of an early pension, was open. Since there were only 13 men in our sample who were eligible for early pension, the analysis in this report will be devoted to the choice between transfer and severance pay.

The choice was one between two unpleasant alternatives. While a very small number of men who accepted transfer indicated that they were looking forward to leaving Sioux City, it is clear that the overwhelming proportion (87 per cent) of those who opted for transfer would have preferred to stay in Sioux City. Similarly, those who accepted severance pay were very unhappy that the plant was closing, although again there were a few who indicated that they really were glad to be forced to look for work elsewhere. One man said, "I'm tired of the packinghouse work. The money was okay but I want to be a chef or else go to school." Another said, "I've been waiting to get out of Armour's. I'm fed up with the packinghouse. It's a good living but not my idea of a good life.

I've been working towards getting out of the packinghouse work." But such men were few and far between.

The difficulty of the choice was further heightened by the uncertainty surrounding the transfer option. Men considering transfer appeared to have three sources of uncertainty uppermost in their minds: 1) security of employment; 2) type of job; and 3) plant location.

1. Security of employment. The most important area of uncertainty concerned the security of employment at the new plant. This uncertainty stemmed from two sources: first, the amount of time one would be laid off at the new plant; and second, the possibility that the plant to which one might transfer would also be closed down in the near future. In the words of the men:

"If we transferred, we'd have to move and would be sitting there without a job more times than we'd have a job. I figured we'd get laid off with our rights not counting."

"I didn't like the less than two years' rights that they would give us in another plant. That would mean a lot of unemployment at times."

"They haven't got any good jobs open. We'd be the youngest men on the seniority list and we'd probably be laid off half the time."

"You'd transfer to an older plant and then be out of work. Moving is a pain in the ass."

Those who expressed concern about the uncertain future of older plants said:

"I didn't care too much about moving. I think these older plants are going to go one by one. I don't think it will be a permanent thing myself."

"Well, I just figured I better take a chance of severance instead of any old plant and get kicked around for a year or two and lose the job again. I first thought of taking a transfer, then changed my mind."

More frequent, however, was worry about the amount of time one would be laid off.

2. Type of job. A second source of uncertainty concerned the type of job that would be available at the plant to which one transferred. Entering a new plant with only two years' seniority suggested to many men that the job they would be assigned would be either one of the more disagreeable jobs in the plant or one that required the heaviest physical labor. As one man put it:

"I definitely would have taken the transfer if I could have had a similar job, but I didn't want to go to the hide cellar and that's what we would get with only two years' rights at a new plant."

As we shall see later, this source of uncertainty was particularly important for older workers.

3. Plant location. A third area of uncertainty, but of considerably less importance than the other two, concerned the specific location of the plant to which one might be transferred. One man said he took severance "because I didn't know where they would transfer me. I don't think that's right." Another man who also took severance said, "I didn't know where I would be transferred to or how I would be received by the other workers."

Publication of the list of plants to which transfers would be available served to reduce somewhat the men's uncertainties about their

own future location if they transferred. Thus the men were able to make some calculation as to the probability of getting a plant that would be acceptable to them, based on their knowledge of the probable popularity of various plants and their own degree of seniority. Except for men with considerable seniority, however, such calculations were extremely difficult to make because of the uncertainties about other men's choices. That uncertainty of plant location was mentioned less frequently than was concern over job security or type of job was probably due more to the fact that the plants to which transfers were available were almost all in the Middle West than to the fact that plant location was an unimportant variable in their choice of transfer or separation.

The degree of security in new jobs and the type of work one would be doing in new plants were unknowns for which no information to assess the probabilities of the various alternatives was available. The choice for most men, then, was between an alternative involving many unknowns, but which, if it worked out, offered a reasonably good situation, and an alternative that offered an unpleasant certainty of immediate unemployment in the Sioux City area cushioned only by separation pay and unemployment compensation.

Initial Choices

Faced with making such a decision at the time of the plant closing, 58 per cent of the men in our sample chose immediate separation, 40 per cent chose transfer to another plant and two per cent chose pension (Table 1).

These figures, however, indicate only the gross choices made at the time the plant closed and not the degree of certainty with which the decision was made. While for those choosing separation the decision was of necessity a final one, we asked them further whether their decision was based on the particular conditions of the transfer plan or whether they were unlikely to transfer no matter what the conditions were. Answers to this question divided the 58 per cent who opted for separation into two groups: 40 per cent of the sample indicated that they would transfer under certain conditions, while 18 per cent indicated they would not transfer under any conditions, thus constituting a group of "hard core non-transferees."

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF INITIAL CHOICES
(June, 1963)

Choice	Number	Per cent	Expected Number of Eligible Men (Projected From Sample)	Actual Number of Eligible Men (from Company Records)
Would not transfer under any conditions	70	18		
Would transfer under some conditions but not those offered	156	40		
Total severance.	226	58	492	486
Initially chose transfer but rated as "not likely to transfer".	57	15		
Initially chose transfer and rated as "likely to transfer".	100	25		
Total transfer	157	40	339	345
Pension.	7	2	17	17
Total.	390	100	848	848

Similarly, those who opted for transfer at the time of the plant closing were not all equally certain that this was the decision they wished to abide by. Under the conditions of the master agreement, men who chose transfer could change their minds during the ensuing period. In order to distinguish between those who were more likely and those who were less likely to transfer, each of the men who initially chose transfer was rated on a six-point scale ranging from "will definitely transfer under any conditions" to "almost certainly will not transfer." Ratings were made on the basis of answers to questions regarding the reasons for choosing transfer, the number of plants to which a man was willing to accept transfer, and his response to the question, "How likely do you think it is that you will actually move?" as well as any incidental comments made during the interview that might indicate the degree of seriousness about transfer. The 40 per cent who opted for transfer were divided into 25 per cent who were definitely serious about transferring and 15 per cent who were less serious about transferring although they wished to keep the possibility of transfer open in order to reassess the situation when the actual offers of plants were made.

In round figures we can say that at the time of the plant closing, 80 per cent of the men were willing to transfer under at least some conditions. Somewhat over 50 per cent were not opposed to the idea of transfer but did not find the conditions for inter-plant transfer very attractive. Of this group, the majority were sufficiently certain that they did not want to transfer under these conditions to choose separation at the time the plant closed, while a minority, being somewhat less certain, chose

transfer initially with the indication that they probably would not actually move. About 25 per cent of the men were positively disposed to transfer under the conditions defined by the master agreement and the current situation. Only 20 per cent were so firmly rooted in Sioux City that no inter-plant transfer plan would induce them to move.

The Decision to Move

Within a month after the plant closed, Armour and Company made offers of specific jobs in other plants to those men who had chosen transfer. The men were given another month between the time of the specific job offer and the time they needed to report for work. The largest number of jobs was available in plants in Omaha and South St. Paul, but others were available in plants as far away as San Angelo, Texas, Denver, and Milwaukee.

By the middle of August the transfers had been completed. Data from company records indicate that of the 157 men in our sample who chose transfer at the time of the plant closing, 96 actually moved to new jobs, reducing the 40 per cent of the entire sample who initially chose transfer to 25 per cent.

The 25 per cent who actually moved are to a very large extent the same people who were rated on the basis of the interviews as "likely to transfer." As noted earlier, some of those who initially opted for transfer expressed serious doubts about moving but did not wish to foreclose the possibility of transfer until they had to.

While the reality of the phenomenon of "rootedness" in the community cannot be denied, its importance as a force in determining the choice of separation should not be overestimated. Indeed, as we shall try to show later, there is evidence that those who in an objective sense were most rooted in the community were somewhat more likely to take transfer.

Some men who chose transfer also cited the difficulty of leaving Sioux City and their attachment to the community. One said, "My wife doesn't like my choice. She'd rather stay in town than take a transfer. I've got kids in school--I hate to leave on account of them." Another man, in discussing how difficult it was for him to make up his mind, said, "When you live in one spot, it's hard to pull up roots. Particularly if you don't know if you'll be laid off in another plant." Despite such doubts, however, he chose transfer. What is important to note here is that being rooted does not present an insurmountable obstacle to the acceptance of transfer. It is a force that tends to hold people in their familiar environment but that can be overcome if there is considerable positive inducement to transfer.

The second most frequently stated reason for choosing separation centered on the types of uncertainties mentioned earlier, particularly the lack of security in the new job. Men feared that transferring with two years' seniority would result in considerable layoff. There was also some fear that the plant to which they might transfer would be an old one that might eventually close down, leaving them unemployed in a strange place.

to remaining in a city with one's friends and family even with a bleak probability of prolonged unemployment. It is as if they said to themselves, "It's better to be definitely unemployed where I know my way around and have friends than to be probably unemployed in a strange city." As one man expressed it, "I didn't think I'd be working enough time with two years' rights to take a chance. I can probably pick up enough to keep going here. Anyhow, I'd rather starve here than somewhere else."

In addition to these two main reasons for choosing separation there was a substantial group (approximately 15 per cent of those who took separation) who indicated that they did not understand the choice situation, either because they didn't understand what the transfer alternative was or because they believed they were not entitled to transfer. Some of the sources of confusion are indicated by comments such as these:

"I had no choice to go anywhere, for see, you have to have five years' rights and I only had three years and ten months. I couldn't transfer or anything."

"The company didn't give us enough time as they called us in and said severance pay or transfer. They did not say where or how to transfer. I was told by the company there were no jobs available for me. I would have liked to have the transfer explained and told how to transfer to another plant. Nothing was ever explained to me."

"I don't believe I was eligible for transfer. You need pull to transfer. You have to know someone important to transfer."

"I was given no choice and no interview. The big union officials held a meeting. The company said from the beginning I was out of a job."

Before making his initial choice, however, each of the men was interviewed by representatives of the union and the company who explained the different options open to him. The existence of this group indicates that to some degree there was a failure of communication between workers and those responsible for communicating information about the transfer plan which may have led some people who would have liked to transfer to take separation.

In addition to the above groups, there was a scattering of other reasons indicating that a person already had a new job lined up, that he wanted his severance pay for some specific purpose such as starting his own business, or that he wanted to start in a different type of work for a different company.

Reasons for Choosing Transfer

The reasons given for choosing transfer were more difficult to categorize. It is clear that a substantial group (about one-third of those who chose to transfer) was opting for transfer in order to have more time to see how the job situation in Sioux City actually shaped up and to get a better feel for what things would be like once the plant was closed. The feeling that there was "nothing to lose" by taking transfer was also a fairly frequently cited reason for accepting transfer.

This reason was epitomized by a man who said,

"Well, it gives you a chance to look around here and if you can't find anything, you can drop back on transfer to some place else. If you take transfer, you can carry insurance, severance pay rights, etc., with you. Then if in six months' trial you don't like your job, you can quit and still collect your severance pay."

The difficulty of finding jobs in Sioux City, the unlikelihood of getting as high pay even if they did find one, and a general liking for Armour, the UPWA or meat packing work were reasons cited for accepting transfer. As one man put it, "Well, I've been with the company for 25 years and I would like to stay with them, that's my job. I like the work benefits. I want to continue working for Armour's. My life has been with them, if I can make them some money, they can afford to pay me." As we have seen, there was, over-all, a very high degree of satisfaction with the jobs at Armour as well as with the pay scale, and it is clear that few men were taking separation because of any dislike of the work or the company.

Another common reason involved the maintenance of benefits such as medical plan and pension rights, which would be lost if one took separation. One man said, "I've got seven years to go before I get a pension. Where in the hell can I go and get a pension?"

Although the proportion of men actually transferring from Sioux City was small compared to the proportion who indicated that they would have transferred if conditions had been better, it was large compared with the proportion of men choosing transfer from plants in other cities where substantially the same plan was in operation. Lacking the necessary comparative data, we can only suggest factors that appear to have been operative in Sioux City but not in other closings. First, the added option of returning to Sioux City within six months and still receiving severance pay did affect the men's willingness to transfer, as is evident from the proportion of men citing this option as a reason for

choosing transfer. Second, the fact that most of the plants to which transfer was available were in the same part of the country as the plant that closed was probably a factor, although we have no evidence to support such an argument other than the fact that it was not true of the other plant closings. Third, the lack of employment opportunities in Sioux City may have made transfer appear more attractive, although we have little evidence that those who chose transfer had any dimmer view of employment prospects in Sioux City than did those who chose separation. Finally, there was considerable effort on the part of the union to inform the workers of the operation of the transfer plan and to point up its advantages.

Summary

The evidence from the interviews indicates that the largest single factor in keeping relatively low the number of men accepting transfer was the belief that the conditions of transfer as offered by the master agreement at the time of the plant closing, particularly the low seniority rights, did not offer sufficient job security to warrant leaving one's home and friends. While a few men were so rooted in Sioux City that nothing would have moved them, the great majority of those who chose separation indicated that they would have chosen transfer if there had been greater assurances of job security. Those who took transfer were motivated by a feeling that they had nothing to lose, since

they could return to Sioux City and get their severance pay if they did not like their new jobs, and by the difficulty of finding adequate work in the Sioux City area.

Subsequent Opportunities for Transfer

The conclusions reached thus far were based on interviews conducted during the first few weeks after the plant closed in June, and on the choices made by the men at the time specific transfer jobs were offered. Several months after the completion of the transfers, the men who had been employed in the Sioux City plant were given the opportunity to apply for a small number of jobs in two new plants--one in West Point, Nebraska, a town approximately sixty miles from Sioux City, and one in Sterling, Illinois, approximately 380 miles from Sioux City.

Under the new conditions many of the major objections to the previous conditions of transfer were reduced. For at least a limited number of people, transfers were available which would allow men to retain full seniority in plants that were new and, for West Point where the bulk of the jobs were, not far from Sioux City. These conditions are precisely those which, as pointed out earlier, were desired by the large majority of the men. We would expect, then, that under these conditions there would be a substantial increase in the number of men opting for transfer.

In order to assess the effects of the alteration in conditions of transfer, we must first look closely at the procedures for making the new choice. Following the decision to offer the jobs at West Point

and Sterling to the men from the Sioux City plant, letters were sent to all men on the master seniority list explaining the provisions of the new choices and asking each man to make a new decision between continuing in this present situation, whether separation or transfer, and applying for one of the new positions at West Point. All men who applied for West Point would also be eligible for the jobs at Sterling. The names of the men who applied in response to this letter were arranged in order of plant seniority. As the West Point plant became operational men were sent notices to report for a physical examination, if they had not previously had one, and then, if they passed the physical, to report for work at the new plant by a specified date. For those who had originally chosen transfer and were currently working at other Armour plants, letters were sent indicating the day that they were to report for work at West Point. As was the case with the transfer jobs offered in July after the plant initially closed, some men who applied for a job in the new plants decided not to take the job when it was actually offered. When a man failed to report for an offered job at West Point the next man on the seniority list who had applied was offered the job, and so on down the list until all the available jobs were filled.

After the plant was in operation some men who had started working there found the work unsatisfactory and either returned to the plant to which they had previously transferred or quit. When the available jobs at West Point had been filled the remaining men on the list of applicants were advised of the availability of jobs at the Sterling plant. To those who indicated a willingness to take a job in Sterling, jobs were offered on a seniority basis as at West Point.

Using the data on the men in our sample we can investigate the effects of the new conditions of transfer on the men's choices and compare them with the original choices in order to test the validity of our earlier conclusions. Table 2 presents the new distribution of choices. Under the new conditions 54 per cent of the men applied for transfer as compared with only 40 per cent under the conditions that obtained at the time the plant closed in June. While this figure represents a substantial rise in the per cent choosing transfer, it does not approach the 80 per cent figure that we estimated would have chosen transfer initially if conditions had been more similar to those that obtained later.

The 54 per cent figure, however, does not accurately reflect the per cent who would have chosen transfer in June if the new conditions had obtained because the remaining 46 per cent who did not apply for transfer to West Point includes a substantial number who had already transferred to other plants and elected to remain in those older plants. If we assume that everyone who applied for transfer in June would have done so if the transfer to West Point had been a possibility, then the relevant question is what proportion of those who chose separation in June would have been attracted to transfer if jobs at West Point and Sterling had been available at that time? In Table 1 we noted that there were 226 men in our sample who chose separation at the time the plant closed. In October, 107, or 47 per cent, of these 226 men applied for transfer to West Point. If we add those 107 to the 157 who initially chose transfer, we arrive

at the figure of 264 or 68 per cent of the 390 men in our sample who would have applied for transfer if the West Point and Sterling option had been available in June.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF CHOICES AS OF MARCH 24, 1964

Choice	Number	Per cent	Expected Number of Eligible Men (Projected from Sample)	Actual Number of Eligible Men (from Company Records)
Did not apply for West Point or Sterling	179	46	390	374
Applied but did not report . .	36	9 } 4 } 14 1 }	76 } 34 } 119 9 }	77 } 22 } 107 8 }
Quit or released	16			
Returned to original transfer.	5			
Currently on the roster at West Point or Sterling . . .	47	12	102	97
Applied but not yet called . .	105	27	229	265
Physical disqualification. . .	2	1	8	5
Total.	390	100	848	848

Even this 68 per cent figure, however, is probably a conservative estimate of the number who would have chosen to transfer in June, because of the requirement that separation pay be repaid for a man to

retain his seniority rights (workers were still eligible for the jobs if they did not repay the separation pay, but only on a new-employee basis). The attractiveness of transfer to a new plant under these conditions might not be as great as it would have been if separation pay had never been accepted. In addition, during the months intervening between the plant closing and the availability of the new choice, some men who had no job prospects in June may have secured alternate employment, some having moved from Sioux City on their own, and others having moved without leaving forwarding addresses and thus never receiving the letter informing them of their new options. On the other hand, the experiences between June and October with regard to finding new employment may have been more difficult than anticipated and disposed some of the men who chose separation in June to be more receptive to a chance to transfer in October. Putting together the data from our interviews in June and from the new choices, we would conclude that around 70 per cent of the eligible men would have applied for transfer in June if the currently available options had been offered them.

While not everyone who said in June that he would not transfer under any conditions stuck by his resolve when offered the opportunity to transfer to a new plant, only a small proportion of these men applied for a job at a new plant. If we combine those who did not apply with those who did not report or who quit after working a short time, we find that 82 per cent of those who indicated in June that they would not transfer under any conditions effectively refused employment at West Point or Sterling. Thus, the group referred to earlier as the "hard core

non-transferees" appears to be just that, with four out of five men in this group refusing a chance to transfer to new plants.

It is among those who transferred to another plant under the conditions obtaining at the time the plant closed that we find the greatest propensity to apply for transfer to West Point and the largest proportion currently working there or waiting to be called. A substantial majority (60 per cent) of those who transferred once were willing after six months to pick up and move again to plants that appeared to offer more attractive opportunities. One factor which might be important here is that these men have no separation pay to repay and could move to the new jobs with full company seniority, although a few men elected to take their separation pay and enter the new plant on a new employee basis. Even taking this factor into account, however, it is likely that this group is a much more psychologically mobile group than any of the others, more favorably disposed toward moving to places of greater employment opportunity, whether the inducements are great or not.

In summary, then, it appears that the opportunity for jobs in the new plants with full seniority has wide appeal not only to those who had chosen transfer in June but also to a substantial proportion of those who chose separation but indicated that they were not opposed to transfer in principle. Estimates based on the proportion applying for jobs at the new plants of the proportion who would have chosen transfer when the plant closed if the new conditions had prevailed, are approximately those

anticipated on the basis of the interviews conducted in June. Regardless of the difficulties the men must have experienced in finding adequate employment in Sioux City during the months since the plant closed, this high proportion of men applying for jobs at new Armour plants is perhaps in part a reflection of the commitment to their work noted earlier and the desirability to them of these jobs.

When we turn from those who applied for the new transfer to those who have actually taken jobs in the new plants, the situation is much more complicated. We assumed that the gap that existed between the 40 per cent who chose transfer in June and the 25 per cent who moved was due almost entirely to fears of job insecurity and would tend to disappear if conditions were improved. The gap continues to exist, however, in spite of the new conditions. If we limit our attention only to those who were actually offered jobs in the new plants, we find that of 106 such men in our sample, only 47, or 44 per cent, accepted jobs and are currently on the roster at the new plants.

There are several factors that help explain this relatively low proportion of acceptances to applications. The first is that this figure is an over-all figure and masks the fact that there are important differences between the West Point and Sterling plants and between the first jobs and the last jobs offered. While it took, on the average, about eight offers to fill five jobs at West Point, it took about 20 offers to fill five jobs at Sterling. Similarly, of the first 25 men offered jobs at West Point, three out of every four accepted, while for the last 25 only

two out of every five accepted jobs. Since the jobs open to those who are called last are the more physically taxing and less desirable ones, it is not surprising that they should be harder to fill. As we noted earlier, considerable concern was expressed in the interviews by older workers about their ability to do the more physically difficult jobs that might be open to them if they transferred to existing plants with low seniority. If we remember that the jobs at the new plants were offered in order of plant seniority at Sioux City, it is clear that older workers make up a large part of those being offered jobs at the new plants. It is likely that the physical difficulty of the last jobs to be filled imposes a burden on many of these older men.

Another factor of importance is that a high proportion of applications came from men who had already transferred to other plants in August. Although a large number of these men did accept transfer to the new plants, many apparently decided when the time came to go that they would rather stay put than move again. A few even went to the new plants for a while and decided to return to their original transfers.

In summary, we find that the offer of jobs in new plants did fulfill many of the conditions mentioned by the men as reasons for not choosing transfer at the time of the plant closing. The men responded accordingly with a large number of applications for the new jobs. The fact that there were only a limited number of jobs in relation to applications and that they were offered in order of seniority affected the job outlook of older workers who were not able to handle some of the less desirable jobs that were filled last.

The Total Picture

We have discussed the sequence of decisions following the closing of the Sioux City plant and the new set of decisions that were made when jobs became available in two new plants early in 1964. We can now integrate these two sets of decisions and trace the history of the men in our sample over the nine months between the plant closing and the completion of the staffing of the new plants. Table 3 shows in schematic form the distribution of decisions at three different points in time-- immediately after the closing of the plant, at the time of the completion of the original transfers, and after the completion of the staffing of the new plants and the expiration of the six-month grace period during which men who transferred could change their minds without losing their separation pay. At the time of the plant closing, 157 or 40 per cent of the men in our sample chose transfer. By August when the men reported for work at the transfer plants, 56 or 14 per cent had decided to take separation and five or one per cent who were eligible took an early pension. As seven men had taken pension in June, 12 out of the 13 men in the sample eligible for early pension had taken it by August.

By March, 1964, after the expiration of the six-month period, 16 of the men who had transferred in August had taken advantage of the grace period and separated from the company. Thirty-one of the men who had previously separated, however, moved to new plants together with 22 who had transferred earlier. Thus the final distribution shows that

68 per cent of our sample have received separation pay, 14 per cent are working in new plants, 15 per cent are at their original transfers and three per cent have taken early pensions. It should be noted, however, that a large proportion of those who have received separation pay applied for jobs at West Point but have not been called.

PART II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSFEREES

Having considered the decisions made by the men and their stated reasons for them, let us now look at some of the characteristics of men who chose transfer as compared with those who chose separation. In analyzing the characteristics of those who chose inter-plant transfer, we will be concerned not only with how those who initially chose transfer differ from those who initially chose separation, but also with differences between those who actually moved to another plant in August and those who at that time chose to take their separation pay.

Attachment to Community

We noted earlier that the most frequent reason given for choosing separation originally was attachment to the community. Since everyone in our sample was more or less "rooted" in Sioux City, an examination of some objective indicators of attachment to the community will enable us to assess more fully the role of this factor in influencing the decision to take separation.

When we look at such indicators as length of residence in Sioux City and the number of relatives and friends in the area, we find very little difference in propensity to transfer between those who have more ties to the community and those who have less. In fact, in so far as there is a difference, it is in the direction opposite to what we might

expect, namely that those with more ties to the community are slightly more inclined to transfer.

One of the reasons for choosing separation which was coded under the category "roots" was "I own my home here," a statement that was true for approximately three-quarters of our sample. There is practically no difference between home owners and non-home owners, however, in the proportion choosing transfer. In fact there is a slightly greater tendency for home owners to choose transfer, a finding which suggests that home ownership is not a dominant variable in preventing people from transferring.

Another important indicator of involvement in community life is membership in formal organizations. We would expect that those who belonged to and actively participated in a fairly large number of organizations would be more attached to the community and less likely to transfer. Just the reverse is true, however, as can be seen in Table 4. There is, in fact, a rather sizable relationship between organizational membership or participation and the likelihood of transferring. For instance, the more organizations a man belongs to and takes an active part in, the more likely he is to choose transfer in the first place and, although the relationship is attenuated, the more likely he is to move.

On the basis of these indicators, what, then, can be said about the importance of "roots" in influencing a person's choice of transfer as against separation? The evidence suggests that the more objectively "rooted" a person is in the community, the more likely he is to choose transfer initially and the more likely he is to move out of Sioux City. Such a conclusion is paradoxical in view of the fact that "roots" was the most commonly cited reason for taking separation. How can such seemingly contradictory findings be explained?

TABLE 4
 ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, ACTIVITY AND TRANSFER

a) Organizational Membership			
Indicator	Per cent Initially Choosing Transfer	Per cent Actually Moving	N
	Sample = 40% Total	Sample = 25% Total	Sample = 390 Total
None	17	9	23
One	30	20	118
Two	47	30	152
Three or more	49	26	96
N			= 389
No answer			= <u>1</u>
Total N			= 390
b) Number of Organizations Active in			
None	31	23	97
One	40	25	132
Two or more	51	29	136
N			= 365
Belongs to no organizations			= 23
No answer			= <u>2</u>
Total N			= 390

accustomed to a relatively high standard of living the chance to maintain that standard, at least partially, contributes to the attractiveness of transfer.

Also, while those with no debt are more likely to transfer than those with a relatively small debt, those who are quite heavily in debt (\$2,000 or more) are even more likely to transfer. Total debt also appears to play a role in influencing the final decision to move, but total family income has no consistent relationship with actually moving or not.

It may be noted here that there is a tendency for men whose separation pay was greater to choose transfer at the time the plant closed but there is no consistent relationship between separation pay and the probability of actually moving. The amount of separation pay a man was entitled to was largely a function of his plant seniority, and, as we shall see below, men with higher seniority (and thus entitled to higher separation pay) were more likely to choose transfer. Experiences of other plant closings suggested that the absolute size of the lump sum separation pay might play some role in affecting a person's choice of separation. If anything, however, men with higher separation pay were more likely to choose transfer. It is possible, of course, that the size of separation pay was of some importance to people with relatively small debts in that it enabled them to pay off their debts entirely. While some men mentioned this as a reason for taking separation, it was not by any means a major concern, however.

Age and Seniority

We have seen that men with grown children were less likely to take transfer than those with younger children. It was also noted earlier that older workers were wary of transferring because of the physical difficulty of the jobs to which they might be assigned in a new plant. Older men might thus be expected to be less likely to transfer.

In fact, age was given as a reason both for transferring and for taking separation. For instance, one man who chose transfer said, "Well, I'm 49, soon will be 50, and here in Sioux City what other job would I find at that age and make that much money? There are no factories here or anything like that." Similarly a man of 55 said he would transfer "On account of my age and no work here." On the other hand, a 58-year-old man chose separation because "My age was against me transferring. I would run into difficulties in the new plant. Run into trouble with employees already established in the plant." Another 56-year-old man gave as his reason for taking separation pay, "I was getting too old for new competition--to fight in the hide cellar." Another 57-year-old man who took separation said, "My age is getting up to where we shouldn't be roaming around too much."

Granted that there are valid reasons both for older men to choose transfer or to choose separation, what is the relationship between age and transfer? Table 6 a) indicates that in the aggregate age tends to work against taking transfer, except for those under 35

who presumably would have less difficulty in finding jobs in the Sioux City labor market. One reason, of course, that fewer men in the 55 or older group took transfer is that 13 of these 50 men were eligible for an early pension. Even eliminating those who are eligible for pension, however, the picture remains substantially the same: 30 per cent of those 55 or older initially chose transfer and only 13 per cent finally did transfer. On balance, then, for older workers the probability of assignment to the more difficult tasks at a new plant and the feeling that it is too late to begin life again in a different city appear to predominate over the concern about finding employment in Sioux City.

Closely associated with age is seniority. On one hand, men with greater seniority might find transfer attractive because of their investment in pension rights. Having worked so long at one job, they probably would also be reluctant to enter the job market again or have difficulty retraining for a different kind of job. On the other hand, given the relationship between age and transfer, one might expect those with higher seniority to be less likely to choose transfer. The former hypothesis, however--that of a positive association between seniority and transfer--appears to be confirmed by the per cent transferring within different seniority groups [Table 6 b)]. Moving from those with less than 10 years of service with the company to those who have 15 years or more of continuous service, we see a steady increase in the per cent initially choosing transfer. When it comes to the per cent who actually moved, however, the relationship between seniority and transfer almost

entirely disappears. Also, as was noted earlier, those with low seniority who did actually move were most likely to take separation during the six-month grace period.

TABLE 6
AGE, SENIORITY, AND TRANSFER

a) Age			
Age	Per cent Initially Choosing Transfer	Per cent Actually Moving	N
	Sample = 40% Total	Sample = 25% Total	Sample = 390 Total
Under 35	37	28	71
35 - 44	48	29	134
45 - 54	39	23	134
55 or older	26	10	50
N			= 389
No answer			= 1
Total N			= 390
b) Seniority			
Seniority			
Less than 10 years . . .	30	20	115
10 to 14 years	41	27	143
15 or more years	48	26	132
Total N			= 390

The low proportion taking transfer among those with less than 10 years' seniority is due to several factors, one of the most important being that many of the men with low seniority were on laid-off status during the three months between the announcement of the plant closing and the actual closing down of operations. Many of these men were able

to use this time to get another job and obtained an early release from the company. There is also some evidence, as was discussed earlier, that there was considerable misunderstanding on the part of the men with low seniority concerning their eligibility for transfer as well as their chances to transfer. Such misunderstandings appear to have been limited to men who were on laid-off status during the months preceding the closing and thus did not participate in the discussions that took place in the plant concerning the various options open to the employees.

The difference between the medium and high seniority men in initial choice of transfer, which disappeared when it came to actually moving, is probably due to the fact that at the time of interviewing there was still considerable hope that transfers would be available at the new plant. Since men with high seniority would have first chance at the new plant, many of these men chose transfer in case transfer to a new plant should be available. When such a transfer was not offered, however, they decided to take separation pay. Of those with 15 years or more seniority who chose transfer, 47 per cent, as compared with 30 per cent of those having 10 to 14 years' seniority who chose transfer, said that they would accept transfer only to a new plant. Thus while seniority appears to have played a role in the initial choice of transfer, it played a less important role in the final decision to move--given the fact that transfer opportunities to new plants were not available.

On the whole, then, younger workers and those with higher seniority tend to choose transfer. Since younger workers also tend to have low

Education, Skill Level, and Race

Another set of variables that might well influence a person's choice of transfer or separation involves other attributes that would affect an individual's "marketability" in the labor market, such as education, skill level, and race. In general (except at the highest level), higher educational attainment is associated with a greater probability of taking transfer. The drop at the top level is accounted for by the fact that a higher proportion of high school graduates than of men at any other educational level already had new jobs. Although older men are somewhat more likely to be found in the lower educational levels, the decreased likelihood of choosing transfer among those with less than eighth grade education is not due simply to the association between age and education. Such an association is certainly a factor, but within each age group, men with some high school education are more likely than those with no high school to choose transfer. We should note, however, that while education played some role in affecting initial choice, it had no significant effect on the final decision to move.

Most of the men employed at the Sioux City plant were relatively unskilled. It was possible to divide them into groups on the basis of the specificity of their jobs to the meat packing industry, distinguishing between maintenance and service workers, on the one hand, and meat packing workers on the other. Within the large group of meat packing workers, it was possible to separate three skill levels on the basis of pay brackets assigned to their usual jobs in the plant. Among meat packing workers there was no consistent relationship between skill level

and tendency to choose transfer. The men in higher skill levels were a little more likely to choose transfer than were those in the lower skill levels, but men in the intermediate skill level were the least likely to choose transfer. It should be noted, however, that the maintenance workers, who presumably would have the easiest time finding jobs in the Sioux City labor market, were even more likely to choose transfer than were the more highly skilled meat packing workers.

Thus education and skill level do not appear to be very important influences in choosing transfer. It is clear, however, that racial considerations were an important factor in influencing non-whites to transfer from the Sioux City labor market. Non-whites were much more likely than whites to choose transfer initially and twice as likely actually to move to a new plant. Racial barriers to jobs were apparently operative not only for Negroes but also for Indians. One man commented on the general employment picture in Sioux City, "It's not too good, not for Indians. There's no place to work where I can make any money like Armour's." It is clear that for most non-whites the meager possibilities of employment in Sioux City and the generally positive experiences with the union and the company were strong motivators to choose transfer.

Other Factors Related to Transfer

We have been considering factors associated with a person's attachment to the community, his degree of family and financial responsibility, and variables that might affect the ease with which he could find employment in Sioux City. Two other variables of a somewhat different nature were found to be related to the choice of transfer: previous travel

experience and religion.

Confronted with the prospect of moving from Sioux City, those who had considerable experience in traveling, particularly to cities to which transfer might be offered, would presumably be more receptive to the idea of transfer than would those who had traveled little. Such travel experience should serve to acquaint a person with life in other places and make more real the idea of living in another city. Each man was therefore asked how often he had visited a number of cities, and a "travel experience index" was constructed by giving a man one point for each of the following cities that he had visited: Des Moines (if visited more than once), Kansas City, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, and Chicago. Scores on the index ranged from 5 for those who had visited all five cities to 0 for those who had been to none of them (or to Des Moines only once). Men with scores of 4 or 5 were grouped together as having high travel experience, those scoring 2 were considered as having medium travel experience, and those scoring none or 1 were considered as having low travel experience. Scores on the index proved to be highly related to the tendency to choose transfer, men with high travel experience being much more likely to transfer than men with low travel experience, as shown in Table 8 a).

One reason for traveling is to visit relatives and friends. Although we have no direct evidence that such is the case, it is likely that those with high travel experience have a fairly wide network of relatives and friends, some of whom might live in a city to which transfer was offered. Knowing someone in another town would be a positive inducement to accept transfer to that town.

that their physical strength, which was adequate for handling the jobs their seniority in Sioux City entitled them to, would not be up to the type of jobs they would get if they entered a plant with two years' rights. This concern seems also to have been a factor in refusal of the last jobs at new plants. It is difficult to see what can be done to overcome this problem except to make some sort of adjustment for age in job assignments or to adjust seniority for age.

While such a solution would involve some inequities for younger men of longer seniority, the absence of any such adjustment effectively works against the taking of transfer by older men. Considering that these are by and large also the men who will have the greatest difficulty finding other employment if they do not transfer, the effective inability of older men to transfer will cause a substantial proportion of them to spend the last 10 years or so of their working lives as unemployed.

3. Location of plant. The importance of plant location is difficult to assess from the data available, but it is likely that the chance to go to plants in the Middle West was an important reason for the relatively high number of transfers compared with previous experiences. The fact that acceptance of jobs at West Point was higher than at Sterling supports the view that the closer the plant the better.

One latent function of plant location was noted in connection with those who transferred but then took separation pay before six months were up. When the plant that closes is in a relatively small labor market, transfer offers a halfway house, allowing a man to move

TABLE 8

TRAVEL EXPERIENCE AND TRANSFER

a) Index of Travel Experience			
Travel Index	Per cent Initially Choosing Transfer	Per cent Actually Moving	N
	Sample = 40% Total	Sample = 25% Total	Sample = 390 Total
High	50	31	153
Medium	41	27	96
Low	30	16	138
N			= 387
No answer			= <u>3</u>
Total N			= 390
b) Joint Effects of Travel Experience and Organizational Membership (Per cent Initially Choosing Transfer)			
Travel Index	Belongs to Less Than Two Organizations	Belongs to Two or More Organizations	
High	42 (53)	54 (100)	
Medium	23 (30)	48 (66)	
Low	17 (58)	38 (80)	
N			= 387
No answer			= <u>3</u>
Total N			= 390
c) Joint Effects of Travel Experience and Organizational Membership (Per cent Actually Moving)			
High	30 (53)	31 (100)	
Medium	20 (30)	30 (66)	
Low	7 (58)	22 (80)	
N			= 387
No answer			= <u>3</u>
Total N			= 390

To an extent, travel may be viewed as a functional substitute for organizational membership. While belonging to organizations gives one a broader experience with people and develops social skills that may make moving into a new community less threatening, travel also gives one a kind of broader experience that may serve the same function. If we look at the joint effects of travel and organizational membership [Table 8 b], we see that men who have not traveled but belong to two or more organizations are about as likely to choose transfer initially as those who have traveled widely but belong to few organizations, although travel appears to have the greater effect on final choice. Those who have neither attribute are extremely unlikely to choose transfer, suggesting that for men with a very narrow range of experience, the idea of living in another community is extremely difficult to imagine. In fact, practically no one in this group actually moved [Table 8 c]. Possessing both attributes, that is, belonging to two or more organizations and having traveled widely, does not, however, greatly increase the probability of choosing transfer at the time the plant closed.

The second variable that turned out to be related to the choice of transfer is that of religion. Catholics were more likely than Protestants to choose transfer, both at the time the plant closed (49 per cent compared with 36 per cent) and as a final choice (31 per cent as against 22 per cent). Such a difference came as a surprise and is a finding for which there is no obvious explanation. Considerable analysis has shown that although Catholics are more likely to belong to many organizations, are somewhat more likely to be high on the travel index, and

are somewhat more likely to have high incomes, the religious difference continues to exist even when such variables as these are controlled. Considering that almost all the non-whites are Protestant, the religious difference among whites is even greater than for the group as a whole. At present the only explanation that seems plausible is the greater universality of the Catholic Church. Possibly, although we have no direct evidence, Catholics are less apprehensive about moving into a new community because they feel they can depend on the Church to provide almost any kind of help they might need in an emergency and to provide some continuity from their old life to the new one.

Part III

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE TRANSFER SITUATIONS

The value of an intensive study of the operation of a transfer plan such as this one lies not only in finding out what happened to the men whose lives were disrupted by the closing of the plant, but also in the conclusions that can be drawn from it to help improve the effectiveness of transfer plans. While conclusions based on a single study must be viewed as tentative, the fact that in this situation there were essentially two independent sets of decisions made under two different sets of conditions adds to the confidence that may be placed in conclusions drawn from the data.

We feel that seven important conclusions may be drawn from this study that have relevance for the successful operation of future transfer plans:

1. Importance of job security. Throughout this report we have stressed the importance of job security to the men. In concrete terms this expresses itself in concern for the number of years' seniority that a man may carry with him to a transfer job. Over and over again men who were reluctant to transfer expressed the fear that their low seniority in the plants to which they might transfer would result in considerable lay-off periods with the attendant problems of unemployment in a strange city. While the solution suggested for the problem was usually phrased in terms of retention of seniority, other solutions such as specific guarantees against lay-off for a stated period of time

or supplementary unemployment benefits were suggested by the men. In this sense stability of income appeared to be more important than absolute level of income.

To a lesser extent there was concern about future closing of plants to which transfers were available. This concern appeared to be due as much to a fear that transfer plans would not be operative a second time as to reluctance to move again in a few years' time. It is worth recalling here that those who moved the first time were most likely to move again when the chance to work in a new plant with full seniority became available. While it would be overstating the case to say that those who transferred enjoyed moving, it is evident that they would be much more willing to move again if they were convinced that the move would provide reasonable job security. Throughout we have noted that there were few who were adamant against moving at all, although many had considerable reservations about the particular conditions under which moves were possible. We would conclude that whether the plant is new or not is less important than whether it offers good job security.

2. Type of job. An allied factor but one that should be viewed independently concerns the type of work a man might have to do at the plant to which he moves. Higher seniority insures not only steadier work, but also that one does not have to do the more disagreeable and physically taxing jobs in the plant. This concern was expressed by some of the more highly skilled butchers who were afraid that they might not get jobs that would use their skills. But most importantly it was a fear expressed by older workers, particularly those over 50, who felt

that their physical strength, which was adequate for handling the jobs their seniority in Sioux City entitled them to, would not be up to the type of jobs they would get if they entered a plant with two years' rights. This concern seems also to have been a factor in refusal of the last jobs at new plants. It is difficult to see what can be done to overcome this problem except to make some sort of adjustment for age in job assignments or to adjust seniority for age.

While such a solution would involve some inequities for younger men of longer seniority, the absence of any such adjustment effectively works against the taking of transfer by older men. Considering that these are by and large also the men who will have the greatest difficulty finding other employment if they do not transfer, the effective inability of older men to transfer will cause a substantial proportion of them to spend the last 10 years or so of their working lives as unemployed.

3. Location of plant. The importance of plant location is difficult to assess from the data available, but it is likely that the chance to go to plants in the Middle West was an important reason for the relatively high number of transfers compared with previous experiences. The fact that acceptance of jobs at West Point was higher than at Sterling supports the view that the closer the plant the better.

One latent function of plant location was noted in connection with those who transferred but then took separation pay before six months were up. When the plant that closes is in a relatively small labor market, transfer offers a halfway house, allowing a man to move

to a larger labor market with definite employment and then find other work in that area if he should be laid off or become dissatisfied with the job. People may be induced to make such a sheltered move to areas where job opportunities are better although they would not go without a definite job commitment. While such a function may not help the particular company providing the transfer opportunities, it does have a definite social utility.

4. Importance of chance to change mind. The innovation of allowing men to return to Sioux City after six months and still receive their separation pay undoubtedly contributed to the number of men choosing transfer and was specifically mentioned by a large number of them. Such a grace period takes much of the finality out of the decision to move and allows those who are fearful of life and work in another city to make a trial adjustment. The fact that relatively few of those who moved availed themselves of the opportunity indicates that it was a wise innovation because it allays fears without putting an undue burden on anyone, as might be the case if large numbers of those who moved then returned. The fact that few returned should also be a good talking point in future cases to encourage those who are reluctant to move.

5. Morale of the work force. While lack of comparable data makes it impossible to tell how important morale is, it should be noted that the men in Sioux City were very favorably disposed toward their work, the company, and the union. Such favorable attitudes would appear to be a factor in men's decisions about transfer because the transfer decision requires a considerable amount of trust that the company and

the union will make good on their promises. The lack of such trust was certainly a factor inducing a few men to take immediate separation, and it is likely that any widespread mistrust would have resulted in few taking transfer. In future cases the morale of the work force should be investigated if predictions are to be made concerning the proportion likely to transfer.

6. Personal characteristics of the men. While there were many characteristics that distinguished those who chose separation from those who transferred, it is difficult to know how many of them were unique to the Sioux City situation and how many were of a more general nature. In general the most important over-all characteristic associated with a high propensity to transfer is a "cosmopolitan" outlook as manifested by such things as broad social contacts and active participation in the community, travel experience, and involvement in union activities. Those who were most isolated from others, who had the least responsibilities toward others, and who had the least amount of experience with the world around them were the least likely to transfer. As noted earlier, those who were younger were also more likely to transfer, but this difference may have been due more to the problems discussed under (2) above than to age itself. Age may also be related to the size of financial obligations, which was also found to be a factor influencing the decision to take transfer. Home ownership is not in itself a deterrent to transferring.

7. Importance of accurate information. Although again we lack comparable data from other experiences with transfer plans, it is important to note that the men in Sioux City were for the most part very well informed about the provisions of the transfer plan and their rights

under it. Those who were out of the normal communication network because of early lay-off were less well-informed and more likely to take separation. The campaign on the part of the union to inform the workers of the pros and cons of transfer appears to have been quite successful and to have clarified for many individuals what was involved in the decision. While accurate information cannot in itself induce people to transfer, lack of it may greatly reduce the number of transfers simply because people don't know what they are getting into. In case of doubt separation appears to be the path of least resistance.

Even though only 25 per cent of the men in our sample actually moved to other jobs with Armour, the experience in Sioux City must be called at least a qualified success because the proportion transferring far exceeds that following any similar plant closing. The extent to which the provision enabling men to return to Sioux City within six months of transferring without loss of separation pay, and the location of transfer plants in the same general region as Sioux City, influenced the relative success of this experience, cannot be determined from the data at hand.

The burden of the evidence in this study, however, is that security of employment is the overwhelming requirement for a successful transfer plan. The number of applications for jobs at the new plants and the evidence from the interviews indicate that a much greater proportion of men would have transferred in June if they could have done so with full seniority or other assurance of job security.