

# Industrial relocation and blue collar workers

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INDUSTRIAL RELOCATION  
AND BLUE COLLAR WORKERS

Beth Ann Bornstein

SWRRI Paper #21

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The shift of employment opportunity from the central city to the suburbs has been a controversial issue for more than two decades. Some have discounted the move by claiming an abundance of inner city jobs in non-manufacturing concerns for those workers left behind in the city core. Others have conceded the loss of opportunity but feel that the problem can be solved by providing low cost public transportation to the suburbs and low income housing there. These are controversial solutions which have stimulated much debate. For the skilled and semi-skilled workers engaged in manufacturing operations, relocation after many years with the same firm and life in the same neighborhood involves potentially stressful changes and adjustments. While management utilizes services such as industrial real estate brokers and financial development corporations to advise and assist them in a company move, seldom is consideration other than advanced notice given their workers.

Plant relocation is less likely to be a hardship on management personnel, who typically reside in an outlying suburb already, or who can more easily afford a move once their company relocates. Companies even occasionally compensate management personnel for moving expenses. Census data indicate that blue collar workers are not likely to be geographically mobile.<sup>1</sup> These workers find the cost of suburban housing prohibitive and, more important, they place great value on neighborhood and employment stability.<sup>2</sup> Plant relocation is often resolved unsatisfactorily by workers bearing a long daily commute to work.

This study explores five plant relocations from the viewpoints of those workers who operate the machinery and produce and transport the goods. It details reactions of workers to plant relocation, what effect it had on them and their families and what effect it had on their attitudes toward work.

Workers and former workers of several companies which had left the Boston area for locations well beyond the reach of the MBTA were interviewed. Situations included those who commuted to work, those who left the firm after relocation, and a few who made a residential change to be closer to their company. The vast majority of the workers had retained their jobs and commuted up to an hour one way to the new location.

Much discussion has recently centered around the subject which has come to be known as "blue collar blues." Workers, it is said, are alienated from their work both because of the high degree of specialization imposed by advanced technology and the lack of job autonomy reflected both in the job itself and the restrictive environment in many plants. Workers in this country normally have little or no input into decisions which dictate how their jobs should be done. Especially for skilled and experienced workers, this greatly contributes to alienation from their place of livelihood.

When a factory is to be moved or the management or type of operation is to undergo change, workers are usually informed of the impending change. Only one of the firms pinpointed in this study compensates the workers for the extra cost and time involved in commuting. None arranged transportation or provided any assistance in finding new homes for those interested in changing their residence. The workers were offered the same job at the same salary and could follow the company if they so desired. Peripheral costs to the workers - fatigue, schedule disruptions, cutbacks in leisure activities, and

neglected family, friends, and chores - go beyond time and money. The gains made by a company when it moves to the suburbs are not generally shared by the workers.

During the Summer of 1974 interviews were conducted with workers and representatives of management from firms which had made a move outside the Boston area. The new locations were beyond the MBTA district, ranging in distances from 12 to 35 miles outside of Boston. Commuting time ranged from one half hour to one hour each way. The workers interviewed were in manual occupations: skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers all falling into the category often referred to as blue collar. Although there was an interview form, the discussions with workers were as informal and free flowing as possible.

The names of firms which had relocated from the central city were obtained from redevelopment authorities in the Greater Boston area, private industrial real estate brokers, and the assessor's offices in suburban towns known to have experienced intense industrial development according to information from the State Division of Employment Security. Another primary source was a representative of the Division of Employment Security who was located in Charlestown, a close-knit working class community in Boston. The names of four firms which had left Charlestown were obtained, and three of these were used as case studies. Also obtained were the names of workers who were currently employed with the original firm or who had chosen to leave these relocated companies.

Initially the list of firms totaled twenty, but many were eliminated for various reasons. The redevelopment authorities, for example, provided only the names of firms displaced by urban renewal projects, most of which were small operations involving only a few workers, many of them white collar.

Other firms had relocated within the MBTA area, making the commute irrelevant to this study.

Several firms were unwilling to cooperate, denying access to the names of workers or to the plant. In four of the cases included in the study, interviews were conducted with a representative of the company. In the fifth case, a former white collar who left the firm three years after relocation provided me with the management information.

The management interview was the initial contact with the firm. Its purpose was to obtain information concerning the history and details of the move and to obtain the names of workers who were still with the firm or who had left after relocation. Worker interviews were conducted by telephone in the evening; however, in two cases the interviews took place at the plant location. In the course of the interview, additional names of workers who left the company were requested. Many of the workers were unwilling to participate; others wanted to share their reactions. In a few instances, wives' responses to the relocation were sought.

The sample included in this study is small. In the companies, 28 worker interviews were conducted over a two month period. While it is difficult to generalize the views of the workers, the impact of industrial movement may be interpreted through the personalized approach attempted by this study.

The Appendix substantiation is given for the premise that there has been a recent national trend toward suburbanization of industry. Statistical evidence is given in this section for the trend in Massachusetts and the Boston metropolitan area. In Section II the specific industries from which the interviews came will be described, followed by reports of conversations with management personnel and conversations with the workers. An analysis in Section III discusses the differences between those workers who left the firm,

who commuted to remain with the firm, or who relocated to continue employment.

Much of the interpretive data is supported by literature on blue collar workers, working class communities, and more quantitative studies on plant relocation. Where appropriate, such references will be made. By request, the names of firms and those of the workers have been changed.

## II. THE FIRMS

Carlton Manufacturing Company, which produces canned drinks and syrups, moved from Brighton to Marlboro in February, 1971. The distance from the Boston location to the Marlboro plant is approximately 33 miles, one hour's commuting distance each way. Bob Coke, the plant manager, described the company's reasons for leaving Boston. Carlton was looking for better quality help, since it found labor in the Boston "difficult to manage and irresponsible." Marlboro's location west of Boston was felt to be more central for shipping purposes, and it was expected that there would be tax benefits for the company. Management found, however, that the quality of local labor was not as good as in Boston. Mr. Coke complained that workers were not interested in their jobs and "would just as soon collect welfare."

Carlton employed 37 blue collar workers in the Boston plant, 30 unskilled, five semi-skilled, and two foremen. Only the five semi-skilled workers and the two foremen transferred with the company. The 30 unskilled workers left the company, according to Mr. Coke, because they did not want to move to Marlboro and had no means of transportation. All of those whom the company retained commute by automobile, none having made residential changes. Two of the six white collar employees employed prior to relocation moved with the company, and both of these changed their residences. Moving expenses for these personnel



were paid for by the company.

The workers interviewed at Carlton were assembly line machine operators, maintenance mechanics, and two production supervisors. Their salaries ranged from about \$8500 to \$14,000 for the most senior production supervisor. No compensation was given to those blue collar workers who commuted from Boston, and no severance pay was given to those who left the company. However, the two foremen did receive salary increases.

McCullen Company, formerly a lumber distributor, moved from Charlestown to Woburn in 1972, a distance of 12 miles, requiring a commuting ride of approximately 30 minutes. Mr. Haley, the management representative, attributed the relocation decision to taxes, easier accessibility to the highway from Woburn, and general city problems. At the time of the move there was a change in management and a change in the company's operation involving a significant cut-back in operation size. The company now distributes plastic products, a change requiring less space and fewer personnel.

Prior to relocation, McCullen employed 35 blue collar workers, 20 of whom were residents of Charlestown and most of whom either walked or took the MBTA to work. After the change in management, operation, and location, 30 of the blue collar workers left the firm. Many were layed off due to the change in operation and reportedly received severance pay. The five blue collar workers who remained were the most senior workers, none of whom made residential changes to be closer to work. Commenting on this, Mr. Haley said that the five transferred blue collar workers from Charlestown would find it difficult to start again in a new residence. According to Mr. Haley, these Charlestownners, who refer to themselves as "townies," "would rather suffer themselves than make the whole family suffer with a move to a new neighborhood."

Mr. Haley claimed that commuting expenses were negotiated into the yearly contract. This, however, was disputed by the McCullen workers interviewed. McCullen employs warehousemen, truck drivers, and shippers, with salaries averaging about \$11,000.

Whittier Company handles parts, sales, and service of construction equipment. It has relocated twice in the last 17 years. The first move, in 1957, was from Boston to Needham, a distance of 15 miles, and the second move in 1971, to Hopkinton, 25 miles from the Needham location and 35 miles from the original site in Boston. Commuting time from Boston to Hopkinton is approximately 45 minutes one way on the Massachusetts Turnpike. Among five of the cases studied, Whittier employees were the highest skilled and paid workers, in occupations such as trained mechanics and track press operation. Also interviewed were warehousemen, tool room workers, and a janitor. The salaries ranged from \$9,500 for a track press operator who had been with the firm four years, to \$13,000 for a skilled mechanic who had been with the company 31 years.

Both moves were made in order to acquire more land. According to Mr. Mitchell, the personnel director, most of the blue collar workers relocated with the company in both instances; however, during the year between moves there was some changeover in personnel. He could not think of anyone who left the company because of relocation. Office workers, mostly female clerical help, did leave the company, and clerical help was then drawn from the new localities.

Mr. Mitchell admitted that there was no compensation for commuting expenses given to the transferred workers. To aid those who might want to move to the area, the company provided maps, and land developers provided brochures. Of the 100 blue collar workers who transferred with Whittier, Mr. Mitchell

could think of six who had made a residential change. Of these six, only one was interviewed. The majority of Whittier blue collar employees were commuting from the same residences where they had lived prior to both of the company's relocations.

At the time of the second move, the management of the company changed hands, and several management personnel left Whittier. Mr. Mitchell, who remained part of management through both moves, was now residing close to the plant, as were several other of the original management personnel. When asked about the worker's reaction to the news of relocation, Mr. Mitchell stated that the workers knew the company would be relocating two or three years in advance and that management was not interested in how they reacted. He assumed that no one would look upon a long commute favorably but said that if they wanted to follow, they could. He added that he had staked out the Hopkinton area almost two years in advance, optimistic about finding local labor.

Rockway Leeds is a wholesale distributor of doors and windows bought from manufacturers and sold to retail lumberyards. It employs warehouse workers, freight car unloaders, glazers and carpenters, with incomes in the \$10,000 to \$11,000 range. The company moved from Charlestown to Andover in November, 1968, a distance of 15 miles and a 30 to 35 minute commute from Charlestown, where most of the workers resided. Management was unwilling to grant an interview, explaining that they were too busy, nor would they release names of employees. Information about the move and names of employees were obtained from Mr. Tom, a former buyer for the company, who commuted the first three years after relocation and was now working with his father in a Charlestown business. Mr. Tom's name was obtained from a representative of the Division of Employment Securities in Charlestown.

According to Mr. Tom, the move was made because the company needed more room and the taxes were more favorable in the suburban town. The 120 blue collar workers employed prior to relocation transferred with the company, although two of the workers interviewed had since left the firm. Rockway Leeds has recently faced recurrent strikes and layoffs.

Ten of the 50 white collar workers left at the time of relocation. These, said Mr. Tom, were older female clerical workers who did not want to commute. The transferred blue collar workers, most of whom were Charlestown residents, had been with the company a long time and did not want to risk losing their positions in the company. They were strongly attached to their community, owned their own homes, and had many friends and relatives in the town. The employees' reactions to the news of relocation was very unfavorable. Mr. Tom said he was used to walking to work and was shocked when he heard of the company's plan to relocate.

Parkwood Lumber Company, originally Charlestown based, did not make its move voluntarily. In 1967 the Boston Redevelopment Authority claimed the land on which the company was located in order to construct a public housing project. The company relocated in Tewksbury, a distance of 22 miles from Charlestown and a commute of approximately 45 minutes from the old site. The company's operation changed as well. Originally an importer of African lumber requiring the waterway of the naval yard adjacent to the old site, Parkwood now buys lumber which is already sawed. The number of employees necessary for the modified business was consequently cut back. Prior to relocation 85 blue collar and 20 white collar workers were employed by the company, but since the move, only 25 blue collar and 10 white collar workers are on the company payroll. Fifteen of these are blue collar workers who transferred from the Charlestown

site, two of whom moved closer to the new location.

The vice president of the firm, Mr. Hook, had made a residential change, as had two other transferred personnel from management. Of the managers from the five companies studies, Mr. Hook was by far the most sensitive to the reactions of the workers, perhaps in part because of the involuntary nature of the relocation for all concerned. When asked about the employees' reaction to the news of relocation, he said that Parkwood was thought of as an institution in Charlestown which retained the same workers for 25 to 50 years. "Workers grew up here," he said. "Jobs were passed down from fathers to sons. Workers actually cried upon hearing the news that the company would be moving."

Mr. Hook recognized the resistance workers would have to leaving their Charlestown residences to be closer to work. Wages were brought up \$8.00 a week to compensate for commuting expenses, and for those who left the company, severance pay was provided. There is no union representing the workers at Parkwood. Mr. Hook stated that he would give the workers more benefits than they would receive by being affiliated with the Teamsters, the union which had once represented the workers. Mr. Hook was attempting to preserve the congenial and familiar work environment which had existed at the Charlestown location. Unlike the other companies, he arranged for worker interviews during regular working hours. Parkwood included profit sharing on its list of benefits received by the employees.

The workers interviewed at Parkwood were employed in lumber stockyard work. Salaries averaged about \$8,000 a year.

### III. THE WORKERS

Twenty-eight male workers and four wives were interviewed. The men ranged in age from 24 to 69, with four out of the 28 between the ages 24 and 35, five between 36 and 45, and 19 between 46 and 69. Seven had left the company after it relocated (25%), three had made residential changes to be closer to the work place (10.72%) and 18 were commuting from their old neighborhoods (64.28%).

Of the seven who had left the company, four were now in jobs which required less skill, and five of the seven were earning under \$10,000. Five were over 50 (three of these over 65), and four of these five have retired.

Of the three who made a residential change, one was in his 20's and had been looking for a new home anyway, needing more space for a young growing family. The two others were in their 60's.

Among those who moved and those who commuted, the skill ranges were quite varied, as were the income levels, which ranged from \$7,000 to \$15,000.

Previous studies on relocation have found that the workers who tend to leave the companies are either the younger, less skilled, low wage earners, or older workers close to retirement.<sup>3</sup> Job tenure and a history of job stability have also been found to have a significant effect on a worker's tendency to stay with a mobile company. Men with more years at the same job are less likely to leave a relocated firm than those with fewer years.<sup>4</sup>

Of the seven workers who left the companies, four retired, and two of the three still in the labor force had less than seven years with the firm. The job tenure for those remaining with the company ranged between 4 and 38 years; eight had worked for the firm less than 10 years, and 13 had worked for the company from 10 to 25 years with six putting in over 20 years with the same firm.

I LEFT FIRM

II COMMUTE

III CHANGED RESIDENCE

7	18	3
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AGE

I

II

III

24-35	1	2	1
36-45	1	4	
46-55	4	8	
56-69	1	4	2

INCOME LEVEL

I

II

III

\$7-10,000	5	7	2
Aver. \$10-14,000	2	8	1
Aver. \$14-16,000		3	

# JOB TENURE

	I	II	III
Less than 10 years	3	7	1
10-25 years	1	8	2
Over 25 years	3	3	

Several patterns emerged from interviews with machine operators, truck drivers, lumber stockyard men, a janitor, skilled mechanics, warehousemen, a tool room man, a shipper, and two production supervisors. The blue collar workers were reluctant to leave the security of their jobs, although a combination of age, commuting inconvenience or interpersonal problems with management did prompt several to leave the company. Only three of the 28 workers had made a residential change to be closer to work. A few others had considered residential change as a possibility but had dismissed it for reasons such as a wife's job, inconvenience, or dislike of the new area.

Most workers stated a definite "no" when asked whether a move had been considered. These workers had lived most of their lives in the same neighborhood where the majority of their social contacts, friends and relatives also resided. To make a residential change would mean pulling up long established roots, leaving familiar faces and schools, streets and stores. To be closer to the firm just wasn't worth it.

The three workers who had moved closer to the work place had considerably less attachment to their old neighborhoods. One had lived in his previous neighborhood only five years. Originally from Canada, he said that



95% of his relatives still resided there and that he has many more friends in his new neighborhood than he ever had while living in Everett, his former residence.

Another had also lived in Everett, for 11 years, but he had no relatives and very few friends in the neighborhood, which he described as very unfriendly. "That's why we moved," he said. "We could never get acquainted in the city." The third worker who made a residential change had lived in Bedford for four years prior to the move and had no close relatives or close friends in the immediate vicinity. He had made seven moves in the last 10 years and said, "In Bedford the people saw us as transients; we really were not part of the neighborhood."

None of the three had owned their own homes in the previous residence. All three had purchased homes in the new locations, had met more people, and were happier in the new neighborhood.

Much of the literature on the blue collar worker reports a tendency to be stable both in job and in residence. The 1970 census section, "Mobility Status of Employed Males from the Ages 24-64 Years Old for Specific Occupation Types," indicates clearly that those workers falling into occupations covered in the term "blue collar," (craftsman, operatives, and kindred workers) were consistently shown to be less geographically mobile than white collar employees (managers, administrators, and professional and technical workers).<sup>5</sup>

John B. Lansing and Eva Mueller in their extensive national study on geographic labor mobility reached a similar conclusion. Workers in manual occupations are the least likely to be geographically mobile.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of job consistency and stability to blue collar workers has been emphasized by several researchers.<sup>7</sup> Two studies are especially

noteworthy. In a study by Parnes and Spitz, theoretical questions were posed to groups of manual workers. They found that 15% of the younger workers, ages 16 to 24, and 35% of the older workers, ages 45 to 69, were completely unwilling to take another job in the same locality, even at a higher wage.<sup>8</sup> Bertil Gardell found that in spite of an increase of an hour in commuting time each day and a favorable job market, 75% of the employees in his study chose to transfer with the relocating company. He explained that most of these workers were in their 50's and were reluctant to change, speculating that they would have had difficulty in adjusting to a new employer.<sup>9</sup>

Considerable attention has been paid to the residential stability of the working class<sup>10</sup> and their reluctance to make residential changes.<sup>11</sup> The difficulties working class employees encounter in making adjustments after leaving old neighborhoods has received much comment from Marc Fried, who has made an extensive study of working class residents displaced by urban renewal in the Boston West End.<sup>12</sup> Other researchers have pointed out that for the wife, a move from the old neighborhood, where she had the support and stability of family and friends, can be a very stressful experience.<sup>13</sup>

All three of the workers who had made residential changes had only positive reactions to their move, their new neighborhoods, and their new neighbors. However, none of them had a strong attachment to the old residence.

The urban working class community has been characterized as one in which there are intensely close ties with family and friends.

The term which most comprehensively characterizes the social relationships pattern typical in the working class community is the "close knit network." The close knit network pattern involves a rate of interaction

among members - a cluster of people, a sense of closeness and fairly binding commitment and local residence of network members.<sup>14</sup>

The importance of the geographic community to working class life is reflected both in the number of years people remain in their neighborhood, the concentration of their social ties, and their reluctance to leave. The strength of locally based social networks in working class communities has received abundant attention by many social researchers.<sup>15</sup>

In a case study of out-of-state plant relocation, Smith and Fowler found that when workers had to make a choice between their jobs or their residences, only 20% chose to leave their neighborhoods. These workers were characterized by their lack of attachment to the Buffalo community. Compared to those who refused to move, the "mobiles" had lived in Buffalo fewer years, were more likely to have been geographically mobile before, were young, unmarried, divorced, or widowed, and had fewer social ties in the neighborhood.<sup>16</sup>

The strength of local community ties and the importance of job stability and security were crucial in a decision to remain with the same job but also remain in the same neighborhood. Secondary were factors such as the expense of suburban housing and the fear that comparable jobs at comparable pay could not be found closer to home.

The desire for job and residential stability, interfered with by company relocation, is well exemplified by the case of Jack Gardinski, a lumberyardman who has been with Parkwood for over 10 years. When the company moved to Tewksbury, over 20 miles from its Charlestown location, Jack decided to go with the company. "I was too young to retire and too old to get another job. I liked the company and liked the people I worked with."

A resident of Chelsea for all of his 65 years, it formerly took him five minutes by public transportation to get to work. Now he must depend on

someone else to drive him. Mr. Gardinski and his wife both get up earlier to have breakfast together. He spends over an hour on the road each day and pays \$5.00 a week toward gas expenses. The traffic and the time bother him. "I am tired at the end of the day and can't do as much around the house as I used to. I don't feel like going out nights, so I see my friends only on weekends. I'm more irritable and get angry easily, but my wife is very understanding. If she were a different sort of person, intolerant of my moods, this move would have created problems."

In spite of the problems commuting has created, the Gardinskis would not consider leaving Chelsea, where both were born and have lived all their lives. Aside from the expense of suburban housing, Gardinski explained that his wife is very attached to the community. About half of their relatives live in Chelsea, and nearly all of their friends are in the neighborhood. They belong to the Polish Political Club and are very active in a church which has only Polish membership.

"At one time," said Gardinski, "our street used to be all Polish. I married a girl from my street. I went into the Army just three years and six days to get away, but the rest of my life has been on the same street. I couldn't go away from it."

Mrs. Gardinski expressed concern about her husband's travelling such a distance to work each day. But she says, "would never leave my block. Where would I find new friends? I can walk to shopping, and all my friends are here. I own my own home. I would never leave it."

A few examples point up some differences among the workers' responses to relocation.

Workers Who Left the Company:

Richard Morelli is 24 years old. He worked for Carlton one year before it left the Allston location. He had had eight to ten changes in the last ten years. He said he had very little reaction to the news that Carlton would be moving to Marlboro. "I didn't care because I didn't think I'd be with them very long."

When the company originally relocated, Morelli left and collect unemployment. His wife worked, and he took care of their three children. A year later, however, he went back to Carlton and worked there several months before he was temporarily layed off. He declined to return when called back.

The commute had cost him \$10 a week and 2½ hours on the road each day. When he was at Carlton, both he and his wife were working. "Everything was late and rushed. Home was not a relaxed atmosphere. It took time to get used to."

Morelli has lived in Somerville his entire life. His whole family and most of his friends live in the neighborhood. He usually sees them several times a week, but commented that when commuting to Marlboro he had much less time to socialize. When asked whether he had contemplated a residential change when the company moved, he said, "If the company had stayed in Allston I would have worked there a few more years, but I would never move for that particular job." Morelli hasn't started to look for a new job yet. The family is living on unemployment and his wife's wages.

When Carlton moved to Marlboro, Hank Merande did not follow. The 65-year-old mechanic had been with the company 12 years but chose that time to retire. "I never went. They would take me back, but I have arthritis, and the drive would be too much. I wouldn't be dependable."

Merande was not pleased about his retirement. "I would still be with the firm, though not on a full time basis if Carlton had not relocated." He resented how little Carlton did for its workers. There was no compensation for commuters, no severance pay for those who left, and no pension. "A bottling company doesn't want steady general help. They didn't want to pay benefits. Only the leaders and old timers were given anything."

A resident of the Boston area his whole life, Merande maintained all of his social contacts in the vicinity. He saw relatives and friends on a daily or weekly basis. He would never consider a residential change. "I've been here all my life, and I don't like that part of the country."

Edward Harriman is 53 years old. He was layed off shortly after McCullen moved from Charlestown to Woburn, although he had been with the company 24 years. His reasons for leaving differed markedly from those of the other two workers who left the company. Initially, he had decided to relocate with the company, since he had built up quite a bit of seniority. He knew six months in advance that changes were occurring at McCullen. "I saw them getting rid of the lumber and knew that there would be dramatic changes, but I had been there 24 years and had to sweat it out."

The commute had not been seen as much of a problem by Harriman, although he was uncompensated for the extra \$5.00 a week spent on gas, and he was a bit bothered by having to get up earlier. It was the management change which caused him the greatest difficulty and which eventually led to his leaving.

When McCullen relocated, the operation and management changed. Even long term employees had no control in the changes taking place. Harriman, the union's shop steward at McCullen, said that the management tried to force the union out. The workers went on strike at the Woburn plant, and the manage-

ment accused the union leaders of being disruptive. "They decided to make a deal with the leaders. They said, 'Take your severance pay and leave. Avoid going to court.' I left, but the union later brought the company before the State Labor Relations Board."

Harriman has lived in Charlestown all his life. Most of his relatives and friends are there, and he sees them every day or at least weekly. He owns his own home and would never consider a residential move. After leaving McCullen, he was unemployed for one month and collected unemployment insurance. He is presently employed by the state as a mail sorter and cleaner. His pay took a cut from the \$12,000 he was earning at McCullen to the \$7,000 he is presently earning.

Commuters:

Adrian MacKenzie is the assistant janitor at Whittier, where he has been for 24 years. He made both moves with the company. "I was satisfied, and comfortable with the company. I didn't feel like starting something new after 20 years." The new location, Hopkinton, adds an extra 20 minutes to his commute each way and an extra \$15 a week for gas, oil, and wear on the car.

MacKenzie won't consider a residential change. A resident of Auburndale for 27 years, all of his friends live in the locality. "My wife is well established in the city. Her sister has polio, and my wife is very involved with her. All our friends are here, and my wife doesn't drive. She says she would never move."

Joseph Daley, a stockyardman, has lived in Charlestown all of his 57 years. He says that 90% of his friends and his relatives are Charlestown

residents whom he sees several times a week. When Rockway Leeds left Charlestown, his commuting time increased by an hour and a half daily and cost him \$10 to \$12 a week. The company, now located in Andover, 15 miles from the old site, made no compensation for commuting expenses. "When I heard the company was relocating, I was upset and disappointed. In Charlestown I would walk to work and often walk home for lunch. I never thought about travelling in the winter. Now I had to start thinking about driving, fog banks, and winter weather. At my age, I would have had difficulty finding new work."

Would he consider a residential change? "No. I bought my home 10 years ago and have put a lot of work into it. I wouldn't think of leaving."

Dick Halls has lived in Avon for 26 years. His wife was born and raised there. The majority of her relatives and their friends live in town. The commute to Whittier, where he has worked for 15 years, is over an hour for Halls, but he is a field service mechanic and works on the road. The company thus supplies his transportation. If this weren't so, he says he might have looked for work elsewhere when the company relocated from Needham to Hopkinton.

Halls and his wife are attached to their neighborhood, where they own their own home. "My wife's mother lives next door. We see her every day. My wife sees friends and relatives very often. Her roots are in this neighborhood, and it would be hard for her to leave."

#### Those Who Moved:

Gordon River is in his 60's and has been with Parkwood for 13 years. He initially felt disappointed upon hearing that the company was going to leave Charlestown. Before making the move from Everett to Peabody, River commuted



for three years. It took him 45 minutes each way.

He had no relatives and very few friends in Charlestown. He has bought a trailer now and lives in Peabody, much closer to Parkwood's Tewksbury location. "I like being out of the city and being closer to work. I spend much more time with my family now."

Charlie Gropian, 27, has made seven moves in the last 10 years. He has three young children. He was not happy in Bedford, where he lived two years prior to his move to Northboro. Many of his relatives lived about 20 minutes away, but no close friends or family lived in the immediate vicinity. In the few years the Gropians lived in Bedford, they had not met many people.

When Whittier moved to Hopkinton, Gropian had already been planning a residential change. "We were planning to move to a bigger place, and I didn't want to change jobs, so we looked for a house closer to Hopkinton." Now he owns his own home and has a short ride to work. "Things are less accessible out here, and you need a car. But I have room for a garden, and I like the neighborhood much better. We've made lots of new friends out here. Now I'd say most of my friends are in Northboro.

Norman Hubbard, 65, lived in Everett for five years. He moved to Tewksbury eight months before Parkwood relocated. When he first heard that the company was relocating, he worried that he might have to look for a new job. He liked the firm and said it treated him well. He decided to move in order to be closer to the plant and now spends more time with his family.

Hubbard had very few friends in the neighborhood of Everett. Since moving to Tewksbury, Hubbard says he has many more friends, whom he sees

frequently. "I like it better here. I own my own home now. It's not crowded, there's no traffic, and it's easy to get around."

All of the workers who moved were looking for the sense of community that the commuters or those who left the relocated firms were reluctant to sacrifice by residential change.

Commuting created difficulties for many of the men. The commuting ride was expensive and time-consuming. Just getting to work created new anxieties.

Commuting to Carlton for six months, Tom Ebert, an assembly line worker, left the relocated company. He had been with Carlton 7 years. "I didn't have a car and the distance was too much. I am a local person and want to commute by public transportation. He described the hour's travel one way, which he made for several months as "disruptive to my life. I was worried about my ride breaking down. No matter how dependable a worker is, a vehicle isn't, and this plus setting up a meeting place caused me some anxiety. The company offered no compensation for commuting. The fact that I wasn't home too much and was very tired made some strain in my marriage for a while. There was more friction at home."

Several workers complained that the time they spent with their wives, children, other family members, and friends was badly affected by time spent on the road. Some described the activities which had to be sacrificed, while others told of how their fatigue affected family relations and the ability to enjoy free time.

Mr. Mangetti no longer spends much time with family and friends. "I only see them on Sunday morning. That's the only time I ever go out. I like work

and need the money, but I feel very bad about not seeing my friends."

Mrs. Mangetti feels much anger toward the company. Her husband has a heart condition, and she is continually worried about his health. She resents "being stuck home all the time." Her schedule has had to be modified, and she complains that she never knows what time supper will be. "I'd rather he was collecting disability insurance than working that hard and commuting that distance," she said.

But with family ties in Boston, especially the one to her father, Mrs. Mangetti has not considered moving. "I have no plans to leave Carlton either," Mr. Mangetti said, "unless something good comes up. But I'm very dissatisfied with the move."

Pat McArthur, 63, has been with Whittier for 24 years. He has made both moves with the company. "I had so many years in I couldn't let go. I was getting old and didn't want to make a change," he states.

The commute to the new location has McArthur on the road two hours a day. His cost of commuting has tripled. He estimates that in gas, oil, and wear on the car, he spends \$30 a week getting to and from work. Having lived in Dorchester for 40 years, the McArthurs would not consider a residential change. "My family, my grandchildren are here. We're used to town. My wife wouldn't move to the sticks."

But McArthur complains that relocation has created problems for him. "We can't go out at night anymore. I gave up bowling and visiting, and I miss it. We have to leave places earlier. My wife and I used to get up together, but not now. I never see her in the morning, and she has to wait later for supper. The idea of having to get up so early keeps my attention and creates tension for me. I have to go to bed early at night. Maybe my

age has caught up with me, but this has hurt my sex life. The traveling has really knocked me out."

Hal Djorff lives in Westwood, where he was born and has lived all his life. Twenty-five years old, he has been with Whittier for four years. The Needham plant, previous location of Whittier, was 15 minutes from his home. Now his ride is 45 minutes one way. Djorff had to buy a new car, which he says is already worn from the 70,000 miles he has put on it in the last three years commuting to Hopkinton. He complains that \$18 to \$20 a week must go for gas. Whenever weather permits, he commutes on a motorcycle to save money.

"Commuting," says Djorff, "is tiring. I come home and fall asleep right after dinner. I had to cut out my favorite sports like jogging and must get up a lot earlier. I don't see my family at all in the morning and only see my son (a two year old) one hour a day. Everything seems rushed."

Djorff says that his fatigue has created some problems at home. "It makes you a mean guy. My temper is shorter, and I'm more irritable and less patient with my son. I used to see my father and friends, but now there is no time and I'm too tired. I've lost the daylight hours. I go to work in the dark and go home in the dark. I don't like it at all."

But Djorff is unwilling to make a residential change. He has lived in Westwood all his life; his family and his friends are concentrated there, although many of his friends are now moving out. Those who still live in the neighborhood he tries to see weekly, as he does the relatives who live close by. "Friends - everything I have is around here. If I fall down, there is someone to pick me up. Besides, my wife is very close to her mother and wouldn't leave the neighborhood."

### Sources of Resentment:

Workers were bitter about not being compensated for the time and money commuting entailed. Others complained that benefits like pension plans and severance pay were not forthcoming. John Elliot, 69, who left Carlton after a few months commuting, said "I had no pension and received no severance pay when I left. I looked for work but was too old. I had the job at Carlton for as long as I wanted it. I would have stayed if the company hadn't left Allston."

Hank Merande also retired without a pension or severance pay when Carlton left. He too spoke of the lack of benefits offered by the company. His comment, it will be recalled was, "A bottling company doesn't want steady general help. They didn't want to pay benefits. Only the leaders and old timers were given anything."

When Tom Ebert was asked why he didn't make a residential change to be closer to Marlboro rather than leaving the firm he replied that the company offered no compensation for moving expenses. He added that he had not planned to stay with Carlton because the company offered no pension plan.

It is noteworthy to recall at this point the discussion with Mr. Coke, plant manager at Carlton. He said that two of the six white collar workers who were employed by Carlton prior to relocation kept their jobs and also changed their residences. Mr. Coke, who was one of them said that moving expenses for the management personnel were paid for by the company.

There were other sources of resentment. Several complained that the management and the plant operation changed at the time the company moved. Two of the moves occurred because of this change. There were some bitter feelings expressed about how the work environment suffered when new management entered the new locale. -26-

Dan Sheean is 64 years old. He has worked as a truck driver for McCullen for 32 years. He has lived in Charlestown all his life. The vast majority of his friends live in town, and he sees them weekly. When McCullen left Charlestown in 1972 for a Woburn location 12 miles away, Sheean did not consider leaving the company. "I had 30 years with McCullen, seniority, and a pension. When you're in your 60's, you don't start again. I used to be able to walk to work, and if I wanted to come home for lunch I could."

Of the five companies, the distance from the old location to the new one was least for McCullen. It was not the extra time on the road or the extra cost of commuting (which Sheean estimated at \$4 a week) which really seemed to bother him the most. At the time of relocation, the company management and the type of operation changed. The size of the firm was also cut back to a great extent.

"The old management," said Sheean, "were lumber people. They wouldn't have moved without taking the workers' opinions into consideration. They trusted the worker's opinions. The decision to relocate was out of our hands. We would have been involved if the old managers had still been around. It was a case of youth taking over. The new management changed the company's operation to plastics. They don't trust the old workers and won't listen to them. They don't know as much as we know about the work, but they refuse to hear the workers' opinions." Sheean reacted strongly. "I've been in town so long and want to stay here. I was baptized, confirmed, and married in Charlestown. Now I just have to be buried here."

Change of location to Mr. Sheean was only part of the central issue of feeling slighted and left out by the new management. After feeling that his work was part of his neighborhood and that he was a respected, trusted, and important employee, the work atmosphere changed. Although the new commute

was not so far that it affected his schedule or his family's life significantly, the strong positive feelings which he had associated with his work place were gone. But after having given 30 years of his life to McCullen, he did not plan to look for work elsewhere.

Ed Podarski from Whittier also had something to say about management, which changed with relocation. According to Podarski, the new environment at the work place was different. He complained that "the new managers have no feelings for either their workers or their customers. The workers' independence has been severely limited, while at the same time more hurried and poorer quality work is produced."

Although concerned about the effect commuting has had on his life, Hal Djorff was most upset by the new management at Whittier which came on at the time of relocation. He claimed that the change had created unpleasant feelings in the plant. "They don't want workers to talk or make any decisions. Their judgments are made hastily, and they don't care about the quality of the work. They say, 'just put the part on, ' even if the employee knows it's a bad part and the machine will be back in a few weeks. They just care about making money."

Djorff spoke about how restrictive the plant had become. He complained bitterly about the fact that although the workers know much better how a job on the floor of the plant should be done, the management does not trust them or give them any independence. Even worse, workers are not supposed to help each other out. Djorff described several incidents in which fellow workers were injured on the floor and the managers forbade other workers from coming to their assistance. "They told us to stay at our own job and mind our own business."

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In the mid 1960's Bertil Gardell studied a Swedish plant which re-located approximately one half hour's distance from its former site in Stockholm. Gardell hypothesized that:

The transfer of a firm from one district to another is at least as radical a change as most technical changes especially as family and leisure factors play a decisive role.<sup>17</sup>

He believed strongly that such changes could be anxiety-producing for the workers involved and added that,

Employees must be informed about the move. The more relevant and precise information the individual receives, the less anxious about the meaning of the change.<sup>18</sup>

The plant studied by Gardell provided such information to its employees. Joint work groups were formed consisting of management, blue collar, and white collar union representatives. The information to be sought included the conditions at the new place of work, printed and illustrated material from the new factory, and in-depth information about the new community. The representatives of the working party had the additional responsibility of ascertaining what questions the employees considered to be important and what additional information they desired.

Local authorities from the new community were invited to the old plant to provide information about community services. A booklet was produced and distributed to the workers which contained material concerning the new community, the place of work, and transportation facilities to and from Stockholm.

All the employees and their families were invited to a special exhibition which was organized to show a model of the new plant, machines, and working conditions. There were repeated trips to the new plant, and community



representatives were present to offer information about housing and other facilities in the new location. Discussions with municipal authorities in the new community, early in the planning of relocation, resulted in favorable access to apartment and houses for company employees.

Housing costs in the new location were higher than in Stockholm, and the majority of the transferred workers chose to commute to work. The company paid transportation expenses for the first year. Wages, supervision, machinery, and the content of work in the new plant remained unchanged.

Although a favorable job market existed in Stockholm for the employees, seventy-five percent transferred with the company. The 25% who left were either the younger employees who had been with the firm a relatively short time and who had lower positions in the company, or older workers who felt they could not become accustomed to commuting and did not want to leave their residences in Stockholm.

Gardell concluded from his study:

The intense communication and close cooperation between management and labor will keep at a minimum resistance to change based on ignorance and fear of the consequences of change.<sup>19</sup>

The purpose of this study was to discover what consideration was given to people facing a change in their lives revolving around their jobs, particularly what sensitivity existed to the needs and feelings of the workers. The conclusions of this study present a clear contrast to the Gardell study. Only in the case of Parkwood was any sensitivity exhibited by management towards the feelings of the workers faced with relocation of their work place.

Caught between their need for job security on the one hand, and investment in their geographic communities on the other, most of the workers are commuting to their suburban jobs and paying the price in time, money, fatigue,

loss of time with family and friends, and the consequent strains these changes produce.

The workers lacked control over decisions which affected their lives both in the movement of the company and the change in management and plant organization.

There is a distinct lack of recognition of the conflicts relocation poses for the blue collar worker and the numerous costs incurred by commuting. But most important, implicit in such policy is the lack of recognition afforded to workers as responsible, capable, and sensitive human beings.

Sennett and Cobb in "The Hidden Injuries of class comment:

Freedom is no longer simply the freedom to eat. Now it is a matter of how much choice a person has, and the development of human resources of men and women in a post-scarcity society.<sup>20</sup>

Commentators on worker alienation talk about lack of participation in decision making experienced by both blue and white collar workers, and point out that one of the greatest sources of dissatisfaction lies in the decreasing opportunity for any kind of autonomy in the work place.<sup>21</sup>

The aspects of job content that appear most consistently in their negative effects are fractionalism, repetition, and lack of control or in positive terms variety and autonomy. Workers in all occupations rate self determination among the elements that define an ideal job.<sup>22</sup>

Feeling respected and recognized by management as competent and capable is another essential factor in worker satisfaction.

High worker satisfaction is associated with considerate and thoughtful behavior among employers. Satisfaction is also associated with supervisory behavior that shares decision making with subordinates. Delegation of authority has positive effects.<sup>23</sup>

Control over work related decisions was recognized by Robert Dahl who believed it was an essential deterrent to broader alienation. He postulated that if workers were to:

discover that participation in the affairs of the enterprise contributed to their own sense of competence and helped them to control an important part of their daily lives, then lassitude and indifference toward participation might change into interest and concern.<sup>24</sup>

Cognizant of conditions which bring about dissatisfaction and alienation, and affect the quality of the work produced, some industries have made attempts to afford workers greater involvement and control. Western European industries in such countries as Austria, Norway, West Germany, and Sweden seem to be the vanguards of increasing worker participation in decision making, autonomy, and control over the performance of the livelihoods.<sup>25</sup> In the United States as well, some companies have been experimenting with the redesign of the work place in such areas as job rotation, semi-autonomous workgroups, and participation in higher level management decisions. A General Foods manufacturing plant, Corning Glass, and Motorola, are cases in point.<sup>26</sup>

Both in the Western European countries cited and in the domestic examples, the redesign of the work place, enabling greater worker participation and autonomy, has proven profitable in terms of production level, worker satisfaction, and company profits, with marked decreases in labor disputes, absenteeism and turnover.<sup>27</sup>

Working toward increased worker participation is, we believe, essential. In terms of plant relocation management must recognize (1) the conflicts that relocation poses for blue collar workers, (2) the importance of job and residential stability, (3) the numerous costs incurred by commuting to work, and (4) the needs of blue collar workers as responsible, capable, and sensitive human beings.

## APPENDIX

### Suburbanization of Industry:

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 requires a report to the President by the United States Department of Labor on manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training. The Manpower Report of the President in its 1971 edition paid particular attention to the changes in urban labor markets. Decentralization of job opportunities from the core city to the outlying suburban ring was a focal point of concern. Evidence clearly demonstrated that the growth of manufacturing and trade facilities, and thus the growth of employment opportunities in these sectors, has been far more intense in the suburbs. The report stated:

Economic decentralization has progressed at different rates in different metropolitan areas, but it is a firmly established national trend. 28

Business decentralization is attributed to several factors, including the high costs and decreased availability of land for expansion in the central cities and the often-stated inner city problems of crime, traffic congestion, and physical deterioration. Suburban locations are alluring due to accessibility to highways, sources of raw materials, avoidance of inner city labor problems and often more beneficial tax rates.<sup>29</sup>

An analysis of non-residential building permits reported in a 1969 publication of the Department of Labor points out that between 1964 and 1967 over half of all metropolitan industrial buildings were constructed outside the central cities (see Table #1).<sup>30</sup> To illustrate the rapid growth of suburban industry, Dorothy Newman in a 1967 article in the Monthly Labor Review at the issuance of non-residential building permits for the period 1960-65 and

TABLE # 1

## DECENTRALIZATION OF THE METROPOLITAN ECONOMY

Percent of New Private Nonresidential Building  
Outside the Central Cities of Metropolitan Areas, by  
Type of Building, 1960-63, 1964-67 1/

Type of building	1960-63	1964-67
All types of nonresidential buildings <u>2/</u> .....	56	53
Business.....	47	49
Industrial.....	62	63
Stores and other mercantile buildings.....	52	52
Office buildings.....	28	27
Gasoline and service stations.....	50	45
Community.....	44	44
Educational.....	44	44
Hospital and institutional.....	46	49
Religious.....	54	56
Amusement.....	35	34

1/ Based on valuation of permits authorized for new nonresidential buildings in a sample of over 3,000 permit-issuing places.

2/ Includes types not shown separately and excludes major additions and alterations for which type of buildings is not known.

Source: "Changes in Urban America," U.S. Dept. of Labor Statistics, BLS Report No. 353.

1954-1965. (Table #2).<sup>31</sup> Her figures indicate that of all new development in the suburbs, the largest proportion has been devoted to new industry relative to commercial forms of enterprise (retail and office buildings). This rate failed to slow in the 1960's, growing at the same pace as in the period beginning in 1954. Table #3<sup>32</sup> breaks the figures down by specific SMSA's, and again the rapid growth rate of suburban industry in the 1960-65 period is noted.

This trend in suburban industrial growth is reflected in the location of new job opportunity. Looking at the percent change in payroll employment in selected SMSA's and their suburban rings (Table #4), it is evident that a sharper increase in employment is taking place in the suburbs as compared to the core cities. For the category "All Industries," a 12% increase in payroll was cited for the 12 SMSA's as compared to a 30% increase for the rings alone. In "Manufacturing" the overall SMSA growth of only four percent was clearly dominated by a 15% increase in the rings. In "Construction" the figures is an 18% increase for the total SMSA's as compared to 31% in the suburbs. And in "Retail Trade" and "Wholesale Trade" the relative rates are fifteen percent and eight percent in the SMSA's compared with 39% and 46% in the suburbs.

In a study prepared by Wilfred Lewis for the Brookings Institution in 1969, profiles of employment by industry are presented for 1953, 1959, and 1965 for 15 of the 30 largest cities in the country. Based on "County Business Patterns" (U.S. Bureau of the Census) the data reflects the fact that "Suburbanization has been a large negative factor in the central city job picture in all cities in virtually every industry."<sup>33</sup> In a study entitled "The Occupational Patterns in Urban Employment Change, 1965-1967," by

TABLE # 2

PERCENT OF NEW PRIVATE NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDING OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES  
OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA's), BY REGION, 1960-65  
AND 1954-65 <sup>1</sup>

Type of new nonresidential building	Percent of valuation of permits authorized for new nonresidential building				
	United States	North- east	North Central	South <sup>2</sup>	West <sup>2</sup>
	1960-65				
All types <sup>3</sup> .....	47	53	49	34	53
Business.....	47	54	47	33	52
Industrial.....	62	71	59	46	69
Stores and other mercantile buildings.....	52	68	57	34	56
Office buildings.....	27	26	30	22	32
Gasoline and service stations.....	51	61	52	39	57
Community.....	45	47	47	33	53
Educational.....	45	47	46	34	50
Hospital and institutional.	35	35	36	20	48
Religious.....	55	66	57	42	60
Amusement.....	47	41	60	46	45
	1954-65 <sup>4</sup>				
All types <sup>3</sup> .....	49	55	51	34	55
Business.....	46	56	50	33	50
Industrial .....	63	73	59	47	72
Stores and other mercantile buildings.....	53	69	55	33	58
Office buildings.....	27	25	31	20	32
Gasoline and service stations.....	53	66	54	40	59
Community.....	45	52	50	33	57
Educational.....	50	53	54	36	58
Hospital & institutional.....	36	38	36	21	50
Religious.....	54	67	55	39	62
Amusement.....	48	48	51	41	50

TABLE #2 (continued)

PERCENT OF NEW PRIVATE NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDING OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA'S), BY REGION, 1960-65 AND 1954-65<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Data for groups of years are used to avoid erroneous impressions from erratic year-to-year movements in building construction.

<sup>2</sup>Data for southern and western SMSA's reflect more significant degree of annexation and area redefinition and are therefore less reliable than figures for other regions.

<sup>3</sup>Includes types not shown separately and excludes major additions and alterations for which type of building is not known.

<sup>4</sup>Excluded data for 1959, for which comparable information is not available.

Source: Unpublished data of the Bureau of the Census, tabulated at the request of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Based on a sample of over 3,000 permit-issuing places. Dorothy Newman, "The Decentralization of Jobs," Monthly Labor Review, 90: 7-13, 1967, Table 1, "Percent of New Private Non-Residential Buildings Outside the Central Cities of Standard Metropolitan, Statistical Areas (SMSA's) by Region, 1960-65 and 1954-65". Pg. 8.



TABLE # 3

PERCENT OF NEW PRIVATE NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDING OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES OF 14 SELECTED SMSA's  
1960-65 AND 1954-65 <sup>1</sup>

Type of new non- residential building	Percent of valuation of permits authorized for new nonresidential building in -													
	At- lanta	Bos- ton	Chi- cago	Cleve- land	Day- ton	De- troit	Indi- anapolis	Los Angeles	New Orleans	New York	Phila- delphia	St. Louis	San Francisco	Wash- ington
	1960-65													
All types <sup>2</sup> .....	47	64	65	56	62	69	41	59	42	38	63	41	60	74
Business.....	44	68	64	60	66	69	49	60	49	39	70	39	63	70
Industrial.....	71	81	77	61	56	70	52	85	38	61	75	67	84	96
Stores & other mercantile bldgs..	44	74	67	74	78	80	55	63	66	64	75	75	72	91
Office bldgs.....	25	52	58	38	53	55	21	41	10	21	52	32	38	58
Gasoline & service stations.....	63	91	54	57	98	58	54	60	60	51	66	55	72	76
Community.....	60	61	64	44	49	71	33	61	37	31	60	37	58	77
Educational.....	59	63	64	51	28	68	24	61	33	32	67	67	57	57
Hospital & institu- tional.....	59	38	56	15	56	61	14	72	44	25	38	35	52	78
Religious.....	69	92	73	84	56	81	56	69	35	55	77	86	62	86
Amusement.....	31	59	80	60	99	86	58	33	41	19	59	85	74	96

PERCENT OF NEW PRIVATE NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDING OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES OF 14 SELECTED SMSA's  
1960-65 AND 1954-65 <sup>1</sup>

-39-

<sup>2</sup>Includes types not shown separately and excludes major additions and alterations for which type of building is not known.

<sup>3</sup>Excludes data for 1959, for which comparable information is not available.

<sup>4</sup> Not available.  
Ibid, Newman, pg. 10

TABLE # 4

PERCENT CHANGE IN PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED SMSA's AND IN THEIR RING, BY INDUSTRY GROUP,  
1959-65 <sup>1</sup>

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	All industries		Manufacturing		Trade			
	Total SMSA	Ring	Total SMSA	Ring	Retail		Wholesale	
					Total SMSA	Ring	Total SMSA	Ring
Total of 12 SMSA's <sup>2</sup> .....	12	30	4	15	15	39	8	46
Atlanta.....	32	51	21	39	26	58	38	138
Boston.....	9	14	-24	-2	14	24	7	37
Chicago.....	10	34	6	27	16	47	9	69
Cleveland.....	10	36	3	34	14	35	5	9
Dayton.....	17	20	10	20	12	8	33	(3)
Detroit.....	16	48	11	36	16	57	11	76
Indianapolis.....	11	25	10	20	-1	29	14	16
New Orleans.....	24	54	26	12	14	77	-1	17
New York.....	9	37	1	15	11	40	4	66
Philadelphia.....	9	22	1	12	11	37	3	44
San Francisco.....	19	27	6	13	25	37	10	29
Washington.....	34	61	34	75	28	58	24	57
	Construction		Transportation & Public Utilities		Finance, insurance, and real estate		Services	
Total of 12 SMSA's <sup>2</sup> .....	18	31	14	19	14	55	30	55
Atlanta.....	67	80	35	130	44	88	37	81
Boston.....	27	31	-1	18	12	23	32	42
Chicago.....	5	6	(3)	11	10	30	24	60
Cleveland.....	18	10	16	33	20	29	27	71
Dayton.....	30	27	23	28	10	11	42	48
Detroit.....	14	80	7	67	19	276	34	82
Indianapolis.....	8	8	14	13	14	20	24	52
New Orleans.....	53	151	20	48	18	125	34	73
New York.....	4	24	20	19	7	51	26	58
Philadelphia.....	8	14	23	4	17	41	28	49
San Francisco.....	19	19	12	23	31	35	36	50
Washington.....	43	59	10	13	47	100	47	78

TABLE # 4 cont.

<sup>1</sup>Excludes government workers and the self-employed. Employment in the ring is estimated from employment outside of the county in which the central city is located. The central city and county were coterminous in both years in New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. For the following the ratio of the central city to central county employment in nine was 107 in San Francisco-Oakland, 80 in Boston, 70 in Indianapolis, 68 in Chicago, 64 in Detroit, 61 in Atlanta, 53 in Cleveland, and 52 in Dayton. Since the central county was used to establish the central city, the figures for the ring underestimate the suburban trend in all central cities which are smaller than the central city-county.

<sup>2</sup>Excludes Los Angeles and St. Louis; for Los Angeles, data for the central city-county do not permit close enough approximation with the city proper, and for St. Louis data are not yet available for 1965.

<sup>3</sup>Less than 0.5 percent change.

Wilfred Lewis, Urban Growth and Suburbanization of Employment, unpublished paper of The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Charlotte Fremon of the Urban Institute, it is shown that the percentage of manufacturing employment in the core of SMSA's has declined steadily since 1900, falling to 61% by 1967. (Table #5). <sup>34</sup>

Table #6, <sup>35</sup> also taken from Fremon's article, shows that the percent of 1965-67 total employment increase, except in New York, was greater in the suburbs than in their respective central cities. For the eight cities in her study, the percent of employment in the central city for 1965 was still 67.3%, but the increase from 1965-67 was 44.0% in the central city as compared to 56.0% in the suburbs.

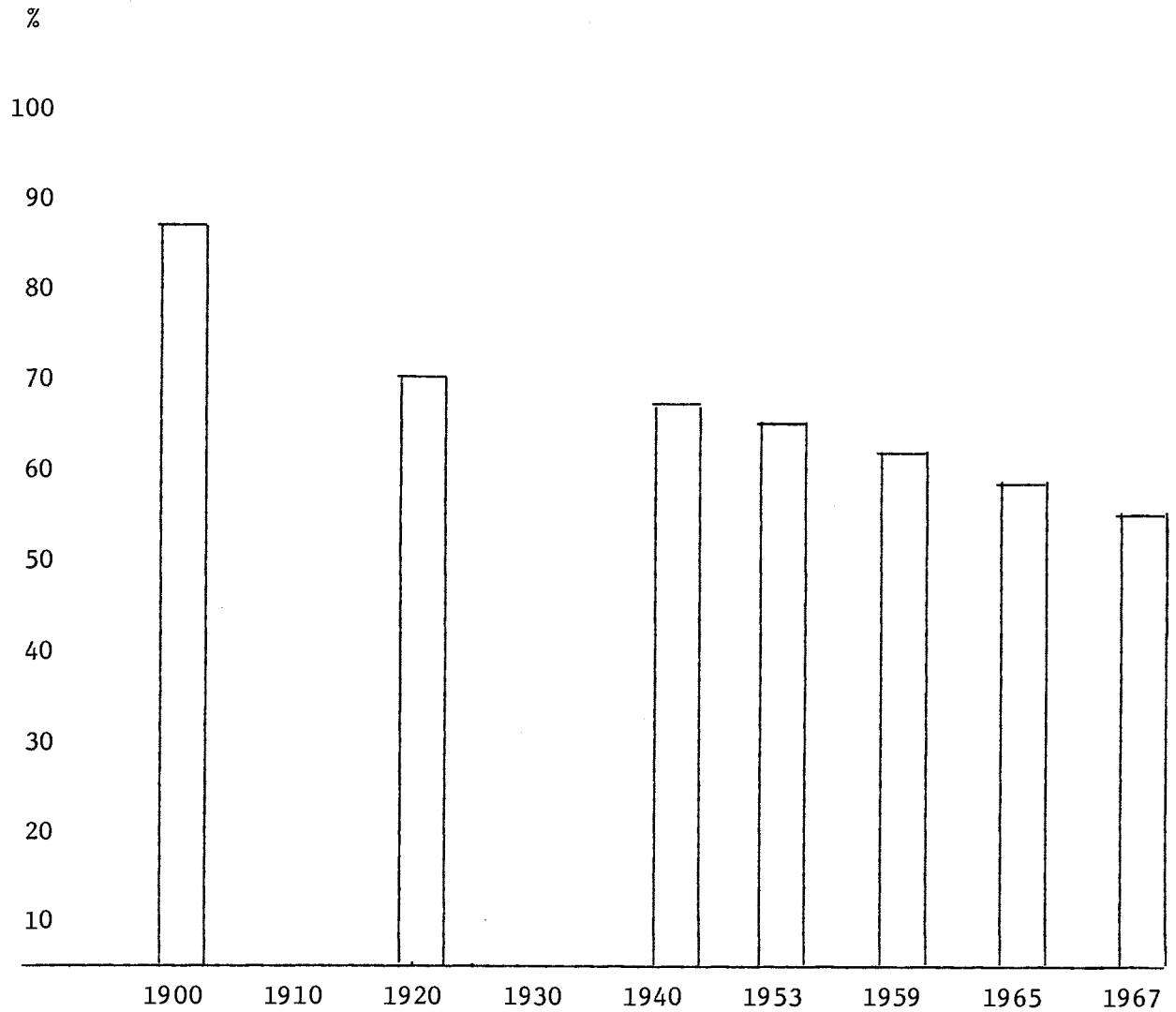
In spite of these figures, the central cities still have a larger total number of jobs than the rest of their metropolitan areas. <sup>36</sup> Based on this, Lewis maintains that while suburbanization of industry cannot be disputed as a national trend, job growth in the central city has still outpaced the increase in employable central city residents. <sup>37</sup>

The discrepancy lies in the types of job opportunities which continue to expand in the city as compared to the job opportunities in the suburbs. What the data seem to indicate is that the job categories showing substantial gain in the central cities are in such sectors as insurance, real estate, business services, and state and local government agencies. These so called "service industries" provide either white collar jobs with high entrance requirements, or low paid unskilled jobs (e.g. janitors, dishwashers, and orderlies). <sup>38</sup>

Without disputing the fact that an abundance of these low skilled jobs still do exist in the core cities, it must be emphasized that skilled and semi-skilled blue collar positions are increasingly less available to inner city residents as these positions are shifting to the suburban rings in large numbers.

TABLE # 5

CENTRAL CITY SHARE OF TOTAL SMSA EMPLOYMENT  
IN MANUFACTURING (8 CITIES)



Source: Census of Population, 1900, 1920, 1940; County Business Patterns, 1953, 1959, 1965, and 1967; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

TABLE # 6

## COMPONENTS OF SMSA EMPLOYMENT CHANGE, 1965-1967

	Percent in Central City 1965	Percent of 1965-67 Increase	
		Central City	Suburbs
New York	81.2	54.6	45.4
Philadelphia	55.9	42.4	57.7
San Francisco	41.8	48.2	51.8
St. Louis	52.9	27.5	72.5
Washington	57.9	34.3	65.7
Baltimore	64.3	33.6	66.5
Denver	70.3	49.7	50.3
New Orleans	78.2	66.7	33.3
Total, 8 Cities	67.3	44.0	56.0

Sources: County Business Patterns, 1965 and 1967, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. American Association of Railroads, Civil Service Commission.

Table #7,<sup>39</sup> taken from the Fremon article, illustrates the "percent Distribution of Employment Change by Occupation Group" over a two year period. It is obvious that in the semi-skilled positions and to a lesser extent in the low skilled positions, the suburbs showed a larger proportional increase, while the central cities showed relatively larger growth in the high skilled sector and government employment.

Table #8,<sup>40</sup> taken from the appendix of Fremon's article, differentiates between white collar and blue collar occupations. The evidence for the two year period 1965-1967 consistently shows that for each of the 8 cities, blue collar employment increased in the suburbs at a faster rate than in the central cities. The central cities held their own in white collar occupations and government jobs, and to a lesser extent in service workers and unskilled laborers.

A report by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, cited by Wilfred Lewis, summarizes the effect of this shift in occupational structure:

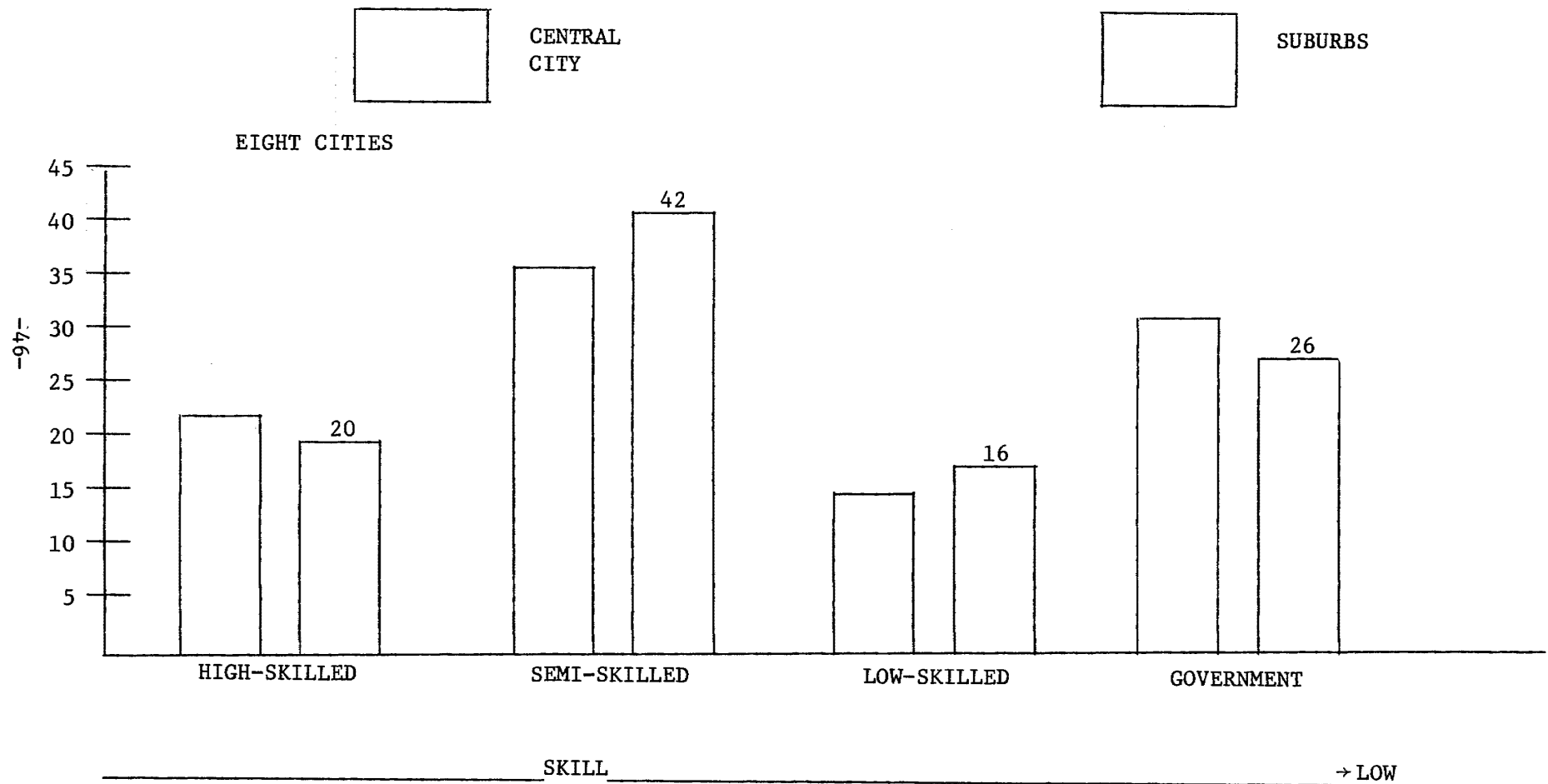
The new or expanding industries in the city tend to provide white collar jobs with relatively high entrance requirements. Major opportunities for unskilled migrants in central cities are mainly in low paid temporary service type jobs offering little chance for upward mobility and the best blue collar job opportunities are moving to suburban and smaller urban areas.<sup>41</sup>

Possibly because of the larger number of low-skilled jobs in the central city, attempts to provide transportation to the suburbs for the lowest skilled workers have failed. Lewis cites the example of the "Employment Express," a subsidized Boston bus system which provided Roxbury residents with transportation to manufacturing jobs on Route 128. He noted the small impact this program had on unemployment in Roxbury, explaining that low-skilled employment opportunities existed in Boston, accessible by the regular public transportation.<sup>42</sup> And Fremon cites the example of commuter buses to suburban jobs



TABLE # 7

CHART VIA PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT CHANGE, BY OCCUPATION GROUP, 1965-1967  
AVERAGE FOR EIGHT CITIES



Charlotte Fremon, The Occupational Pattern in Urban Employment Change, 1965-67, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

TABLE # 8

## PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT CHANGE, 1965-1967

	White Collar Occupations						Blue Collar Occupations					
	White Collar	Offi- cials, Mana- gers	Profes- sional	Techni- cians	Sales Workers	Office, Cleri- cal	Blue Collar	Crafts- men	Opera- tives	Laborers	Service Workers	Govern- ment
<u>New York</u>												
Central City	64.1	7.8	13.2	6.3	5.4	31.3	12.1	--	2.6	--	9.9	23.7
Suburbs	47.6	6.6	10.4	6.8	6.6	17.3	26.4	7.0	8.2	2.9	8.3	26.0
<u>Philadelphia</u>												
Central City	48.3	6.2	10.7	5.3	6.8	19.3	32.2	8.5	9.2	3.7	10.7	19.5
Suburbs	44.9	7.2	10.0	8.0	6.6	13.1	40.5	11.5	13.5	5.7	9.8	14.5
<u>San Francisco</u>												
Central City	34.8	5.5	6.7	3.2	3.8	15.5	29.2	5.6	5.7	5.3	12.6	36.0
Suburbs	39.3	6.5	6.5	4.9	5.6	15.8	36.8	7.2	10.5	3.1	16.0	23.9
<u>St. Louis</u>												
Central City	38.1	5.5	8.2	4.7	3.9	15.7	41.1	6.5	15.1	5.3	14.1	20.8
Suburbs	35.0	6.8	5.6	3.4	6.8	12.4	46.8	12.1	15.2	5.8	13.8	18.2
<u>Washington</u>												
Central City	41.1	4.3	13.9	4.5	1.5	16.8	3.8	-1.1	1.1	-1.5	5.3	55.1
Suburbs	34.1	5.4	5.2	4.1	7.3	12.1	25.2	4.7	5.9	2.9	11.8	40.7
<u>Baltimore</u>												
Central City	33.8	4.9	7.4	4.8	6.2	10.5	29.9	7.5	9.1	1.9	11.4	36.2
Suburbs	31.8	5.2	5.7	5.2	4.5	11.2	39.3	8.4	15.2	5.2	10.4	28.9
<u>Denver</u>												
Central City	40.9	6.7	6.0	3.6	7.5	17.1	46.1	8.2	13.3	11.2	13.3	12.9
Suburbs	33.5	6.0	7.3	4.5	5.2	10.4	40.3	12.7	15.2	1.9	10.4	26.2
<u>New Orleans</u>												
Central City	35.2	5.5	6.1	5.8	3.7	14.0	42.9	7.8	10.6	10.8	13.6	21.9
Suburbs	40.1	6.9	4.9	3.6	11.9	12.8	42.3	11.1	13.6	5.5	12.1	17.6
<u>Total, 8 cities</u>												
Central City	48.0	6.3	10.4	5.1	5.1	21.1	24.0	3.9	6.4	2.9	10.7	28.0
Suburbs	39.5	6.3	7.6	5.5	6.4	13.7	35.4	8.7	11.4	4.1	11.2	25.2

TABLE # 8 cont.

Source: Data derived from County Business Patterns, 1965-1967, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.; and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1966 and unpublished data, Washington, D.C.

outside St. Louis, which she said had little effect on the employment situation for inner city residents.<sup>43</sup>

But what of the semi-skilled and skilled working class whose jobs have left the city? American cities are also filled with working class residents who earn between \$5,000 and \$12,000 a year and reside in urban ethnic neighborhoods.<sup>44</sup> A common source of resentment among the white working class is their accurate belief that government programs have been directed at the unskilled inner city poor and that while they support these programs financially, they rarely receive the benefits of these services.<sup>45</sup> Their jobs have left the cities, and it is their paychecks which are dented by the commute to work, out of the reach of low cost municipal public transportation.

Public transportation to the suburbs from the city is long, circuitous and generally not available. When it does exist, costs are exorbitant. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index, the rate of increase in the price of public transportation has been greater than for any other group of commodities or services with the exception of medical care.<sup>46</sup>

Most workers commute to suburban jobs from city residences by automobile. The intense rise in gasoline prices has considerably affected the cost of getting to work. E. J. Burtt, in a study of ten Boston firms which relocated along Route 128, found that increased commuting cost and time to the new site was the most important and often-cited reason for workers leaving their relocated firms.<sup>47</sup> In a study of the Cambridge Kendall Square Renewal Area, Francis M. McLaughlin of Boston College found that worker dissatisfaction was directly related to substantially increased commuting.<sup>48</sup>

The working class has been found the most resistant to geographic mobility. Yet even for those who might desire to move closer to manufacturing

employment opportunities in the suburbs, the cost of suburban housing is often prohibitive. The 1969 U.S. Department of Labor study "Changes in Urban America" indicates that between 1964 and 1966 the central cities received 28% of all new housing in the metropolitan area but 32% of the lower income units, while the suburbs had 50% of the new housing, yet less than 20% of the low income units. (Table #9) <sup>49</sup>

A report published in June, 1974, by the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council indicates the continued centralization of moderate and low income subsidized housing in urban locations. <sup>50</sup> By the end of 1973, 78% of all the subsidized housing units available were located in only ten communities, the six core communities of Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, Everett, Chelsea, and Brookline, plus the additional communities of Lynn, Malden, Quincy, and Framingham. In addition, 19 outlying communities, including Lynnfield, Winchester, Lincoln, Sudbury, Weston, Sherborn, Dover, Hanover, and Norwell, had no subsidized low or moderate income housing.

Of the ten SMSA's included in the 1969 Department of Labor study, the Boston SMSA had the highest percentage of employment located outside the city's core (62% in 1967). In fact, Boston was the only SMSA in the study in which most metropolitan area employment was outside the central city. <sup>51</sup>

The working class from the urban neighborhoods of Boston and other Massachusetts urban centers has thus been the victim of employment mobility to the suburbs. While jobs move to the suburbs, neither the housing nor the transportation has been provided to make the shift reasonably bearable.

In the 1967 Newman study, it was shown that in 1967, 61% of Boston SMSA employment was outside the central city. Table #4 indicated that between 1959 and 1965 Boston total SMSA employment for "All Industries" increased

TABLE #9

## HOUSING IN RELATION TO NEED -- CENTRAL CITIES AND OUTSIDE

New Housing Units, 1964-66, and  
Substandard Units in 1966 by  
Location

Location	New Housing units <u>1/</u> supplied 1964-66	Substandard units 1966
All locations	100	100
In metropolitan areas	78	51
Central cities .....	28	32
Outside central cities.....	50	19
Small cities, towns, rural.....	22	49

1/ Units for which building permits were issued.

Source: Op Cit, "Changes in Urban America," Chart B-1

by only 32% as compared to 51% in the suburban ring. In "Manufacturing Employment" the Boston SMSA showed a 21% increase as compared with the 39% increase in the ring. In "Wholesale Trade" the total SMSA experienced a 38% increase, but in the suburban ring alone the increase was 138%. The other industrial groups are shown on the chart made with the figures taken from the Newman article. <sup>52</sup>

PERCENT CHANGE IN PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT 1959-1965  
IN BOSTON SMSA AND RING BY INDUSTRY GROUP

BOSTON SMSA	All Indus. 32	Mfg. 21	Retail Trade 26	Wholesale Trade 38	Constr. 67	Trans. & Util. 35	Finance & Real Est. 44	Svcs. 37
RING	51	39	58	138	80	130	88	81

Data from the Division of Employment Security <sup>53</sup> show that in Boston between 1967 and 1972, total employment increased by 33,254, or 8.93%. For Springfield and Worcester, other large centers of industry in the state, the increases were 7.35% and 6.16% respectively. In dramatic contrast, the town of Tewksbury, located 22 miles from Boston, experienced an increase in total employment of 82.53% between 1967 and 1973.

In employment in manufacturing between 1967 and 1972 Boston's employment decreased by 23.61%, Springfield's decreased by 17.98%, and Worcester showed a decrease of 20.39%. For the longer period between 1958 and 1972 the losses are more dramatic. Employment in manufacturing decreased by 37% in Boston, by 23% in Springfield, and by 22% in Worcester. In Tewksbury for the years 1967-1972 the increase in manufacturing employment was 72.91%, and for the years 1958-1972 the increase in manufacturing employment was 124%.

In service industries the three large cities showed intense employment growth between 1967 and 1972 as they did in finance, insurance, and real estate. Increases in wholesale and retail trade are also noted, but to a lesser degree.

The Massachusetts Department of Commerce and Development has kept a close watch on the industries locating on Route 128. Known as the "Golden Semi-Circle" because it winds around outside the Boston Metropolitan area, a 65 mile distance from Gloucester to Braintree, the Route 128 area is now the location of 1,212 firms employing 83,649 persons. Between 1967 and 1972 the number of manufacturing concerns increased from 210 to 329 (+119). Research and Development Operations grew from 123 to 150 (+27), Warehouse Operations increased from 82 to 169 (+87), while distribution firms increased by 112 from 119 to 231 and business offices increased from 263 to 836 (+578).<sup>54</sup>

Although specific information concerning previous locations of these industries did not seem to be available, Bob Conway from the Massachusetts Department of Commerce and Development mentioned in private correspondence that three out of every four firms located on Route 128 are transplants from the Boston area because of expansion needs and more favorable tax situations outside the metropolitan area.

Boston has obviously suffered tremendous losses in corporate income and blue collar jobs, but it is now trying to fight back. The city's Economic Development Industrial Commission (EDIC), part of the Office of Commerce and Manpower, plans to purchase land for several light industrial parks within city limits, in an attempt to encourage industry which needs room for expansion to stay in Boston, and also to attract new industry to the city. The EDIC has been granted a \$7 million bond authorized by the City Council for the



purpose of attracting and keeping industry in the city. Land has already been purchased in Dorchester, adjacent to the MBTA Red Line, which covers 12.9 acres, and has the commitment of two industrial tenants. Planned for the site are a manufacturer of survey equipment and a manufacturer of electronic cables. The construction of the new plants, which will employ 225 workers, is expected to provide the city with \$90,000 in taxes once the park is fully occupied.<sup>55</sup>

According to Norman Kuebler from the Office of Commerce and Manpower, negotiations for another park, also on an MBTA line, are nearly complete, and additional land for parks is actively being sought. Kuebler emphasized the need to prevent additional industry facing expansion problems from moving to the suburbs, and also the need to attract industry from outside of Boston. He stressed the necessity of keeping jobs in the city, emphasizing that urban-based blue collar workers are dependent on public transportation and cannot afford to commute to the suburbs. The Office is also concerned with increasing the use of underutilized land, making more tax profits for the city.

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