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Unemployment in Omaha in Relation to the Armour Closing

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UNEMPLOYMENT IN OMAHA
IN RELATION TO THE ARMOUR CLOSING

by Kenneth A. Root and John P. Zipay

February 21, 1968
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Center for Urban Affairs
University of Nebraska System
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THE PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

On September 29, 1967, Armour and Company announced that effective six months from that date, the Omaha Armour plant would be closed, displacing a labor force of approximately 2,200 workers.¹ This statement, announcing the closing of the third meatpacking firm² in Omaha within the past two years, was startling and indicative of far-reaching consequences for Omaha, its people and economy. Numerous social agencies, along with the Chamber of Commerce and the Nebraska Employment Service, became involved in joining together in a united effort through the development of their own organization -- ACT, the Armour Coordinating Team. ACT is an ad hoc committee designed to assess and coordinate support for solution to the anticipated problems inherent in a mass lay-off.³

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² The closing of the Cudahy Company in Omaha beginning in August, 1961, involved a total displacement of 1,100 employees. Of these, 123 were involved in a phase-out action, October 14, 1966, and an additional 315 from the beef slaughtering operation, April 15, 1967. (L. A. Danton, "The Omaha Experiment, A Study of Community Effort to Cope with Unemployment Resulting from Plant Mechanization"(unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1964), p. 1; Nebraska State Employment Service, Community Action in Omaha Creates Jobs for Displaced Cudahy Workers,1966; Omaha World-Herald, January 25, 1967.)

In October 1966, Hygrade Food Products Corporation closed, displacing 120 workers. (Omaha World-Herald, October 15, 1967)

³ The agencies represented on ACT are the City of Omaha, Cooperative
The most immediate and observable problem of the announced closing appeared to be the need for retraining and placement of the displaced workers into new employment. But while investigating the problems of the Armour closing, it became obvious that the total unemployment picture needed further study. Specifically, geographical areas of the community where significant numbers of Armour workers resided became target areas of attention. Since concentration of these workers reflected two distinct geographical areas of the community, the prospect of industrial development or redevelopment of the areas involved was suggested. However, prior to such industrial development, a preliminary perspective of the social and economic, as well as geographical features, needed to be investigated. This report serves as this initial assessment.

Including the factors thus far considered, i.e., the residential concentration of Armour workers, the social and economic characteristics of the residential environment of these workers, and potential industrial development, two distinct areas of the city were delimited for investigation.

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Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS); Omaha Chamber of Commerce; Douglas County Welfare Bureau; Armour and Company; Local # 8, United Packinghouse Workers of America, AF of L - CIO; United Community Services; Nebraska State Employment Service; and a citizens' representative.
THE STUDY AREAS

Figure 1 indicates the areas of the city selected for analysis. The first, called the North Study Area, includes part of the Omaha "Near North Side" and extends from Cuming Street (900 N.) to a northernmost limit of Read Street (7150 N.). The easternmost boundary varies between 13th and 16th Street and extends to 30th Street. Although street patterns were selected rather than census tract boundaries, nine intact census tracts were included in the area. In the northeast quadrant of this study area portions of two tracts were included.

The second area of study, called the South Study Area, smaller in areal extent than the first, is located in the portion of the city known as South Omaha. Boundaries in this instance are "L" Street on the north (4700 S.) and on the south the Douglas County-Sarpy County boundary, or Harrison Street (6900 S.) Twenty-fourth Street and its extension of Railroad Avenue to the southeast form the eastern limit with the western line at 42nd Street.

* * * * *

With this overview in mind, we should like to focus on the two specific non-contiguous areas in which a large number of Armour workers reside. Specifically, we will focus on geographical and demographic characteristics which will provide a setting in which to view the unemployment pattern. Following this section, an analysis of the consequences of unemployment and the anticipated consequences of the Armour closing for Omaha will be discussed.
FIGURE 1.
OMAHA STUDY AREAS
CURRENT TRENDS IN THE MEATPACKING INDUSTRY

Concern by Omaha's service agencies is only indicative of their community spirit, and their awareness of the growing decline of employees in the meatpacking industry, nationally and locally. To demonstrate the trend of the meatpacking industry in Omaha, the following statistics may be cited. From a labor force of over 10,000 involved in meat products in 1960 for the Omaha SMSA, a steady decline in employment has existed to the present. Latest figures supplied by the Nebraska Department of Labor indicate that approximately 6,900 persons are currently employed in the meat products industry. The additional lay-off of 2,200 people due to the Armour closing should bring the number employed July 1, 1968, to less than one-half that of the 1960 figure. (See Figure 2.)

The significance of this decline is only a part of the total effect such an industrial regression will exert. The associated service and comple-

4 Note the pervasive community spirit indicated in Project 470 as reported in Community Action in Omaha Creates Jobs for Displaced Cudahy Workers (Nebraska State Employment Service, op. cit.)


7 Telephone conversation with Mr. Bryan Wilson, Analyst, Nebraska Employment Service, February 19, 1968.
FIGURE 2.

EMPLOYMENT IN MEAT PRODUCTS INDUSTRY, 1960-1967

OMAHA SMSA

* Estimate for July 1, 1968 with the closing of Armour and Company

Source: Danton, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
Telephone conversation with Mr. Bryan Wilson, February 19, 1968.
mentary activities will also be affected by employment loss. Existing literature on this topic indicates that for every one loss in manufacturing employment there is an additional two or more loss in the tertiary industries. 8

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8 Extensive geographical literature exists on this concept of "basic-nonbasic industry." For the most concise report see John W. Alexander, "The Basic-Nonbasic Concept of Urban Economic Functions," Economic Geography, 30 (July, 1954), 246-261.
NORTH STUDY AREA: GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING.

The North Study Area extends nearly five miles from north to south with most of the land in flat to gentle slope. (Figure 3). Only in the southwestern corner does the elevation increase markedly over 1,050 feet. The only land on the Missouri River floodplain is in the northeastern section and is characterized by sparse population density. Protected by levees, this area contains the only vacant land for possible large-scale industrialization. The remaining portion of the study area is almost completely residential in character with housing of medium to heavy densities. Existing industrialization is located to the east on the floodplain land and, consequently, few railroads traverse the region. Some light industrial facilities, however, do exist within the southern boundary of the study area. No large-scale commercial agglomeration may be found but ribbon development does exist along 24th Street in the central portion of the study area and along portions of the major north-south and east-west arterials.

NORTH STUDY AREA: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS.

The population of this area totals slightly fewer than 35,000 residents, or 6.5 per cent of the Omaha SMSA. The 1960 Census statistics yields the most detailed characteristics and with respect to the North Study Area, we

---

FIGURE 3.
NORTH STUDY AREA
find the following: 10

A. The average value of owner-occupied housing is less than $7,500.

B. Of the total housing units, one-fourth were classified as deteriorating or dilapidated. (The comparable SMSA figure is 16 per cent.)

C. The majority of the resident population is non-white. The 1960 Census figures indicate that 65 per cent of the area's population was non-white but current estimates place this figure closer to 80 per cent. 11

D. Of the resident population over 25 years of age, about two-thirds completed less than four years of high school. (The comparable SMSA figure is less than one-half.)

E. Over one-fourth of the families residing within this area had annual incomes under $3,000, which is double the rate of the Omaha SMSA.

Data from the United Community Services 1963 publication, Social Problems, Disease and Substandard Housing, 12 indicates that the following characteristics are noted of the North Study Area:

F. The total number of school dropouts from the North Study Area in 1961-62 was 353. Of the 76 census tracts within the City of Omaha, tract rankings in the North Study Area were 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14 in severity.

G. The number of delinquents from the North Study Area totaled 639. In a more recent study, 13 per cent of the children from the study


11 Note Zipay, op. cit. pp. 11-18.

12 United Community Service, Social Problems, Disease and Substandard Housing, Omaha, 1963.
aged 10-18 were juvenile court referrals.  

H. Of the 6,422 arrests within the City of Omaha for the year 1960-61, almost one-third were within the North Study Area with arrests totaling 2,078.

I. The Douglas County Welfare caseload for the area in 1961 totaled 1,121 families. Seven of the ten highest family caseload tracts were within the North Study Area.

NORTH STUDY AREA: COMPUTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATE.

Arriving at the most accurate rate of unemployment necessitates detailed statistics on total population, the labor force, and the number of people unemployed. Estimates of census tract populations in the North Study Area yield a total of 34,617 residents.

<table>
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<table>
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<th>Tract 6</th>
<th>Tract 7</th>
<th>Tract 8 (part)</th>
<th>Tract 9</th>
<th>Tract 10</th>
<th>Tract 11</th>
<th>Tract 12</th>
<th>Tract 13A</th>
<th>Tract 14</th>
<th>Tract 15</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td>4,780</td>
<td>4,463</td>
<td>3,120</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>4,590</td>
<td>3,430</td>
<td>2,090</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>2,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>34,617</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>


From this total population an estimate of the labor force is required. The current labor force within the Omaha SMSA is 40 per cent of the Omaha SMSA population. An analysis of the labor force by census tracts within the North Study Area substantiates the use of this figure. Applying this figure (40%) to the total North Study Area population (34,617) yields a labor force population of 13,847.

Currently, the Nebraska Employment Service has 1,486 registered active applicants who are residents of the North Study Area. Using the registered applicants as a base upon which to project the estimated number of unemployed, and multiplying this base by 1.5 yields a total of 2,179 unemployed persons.

---

15 The 1960 Census of Population, Census Tracts, indicates a labor force participation rate of 37% of the total population. If this area has followed the nationwide trend of increased labor force participation, then the 40% figure is not unreasonable. If, however, the rate at present has not changed since 1960, then the unemployment rate as calculated is a conservative figure.

16 Mr. Russell Hand, Manager of the Omaha office of the Nebraska Employment Service, on February 17, 1968, indicated that from a total enumeration of all registered applicants within the 90-day period, 1,486 had registered from this North Study Area. There were over 6,000 active registrants on file.

17 The rate of unemployment is significantly high for this North Study
Thus the unemployment rate may be calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of unemployed persons}}{\text{Labor force population}} = \frac{2,178}{13,847} = 15.8$$

Area, and a basic assumption must be made if this rate is to be accepted. This assumption involves the multiple of the registered applicants at the Nebraska Employment Service. Is the multiple of 1.5 a valid measure? The multiple is used by the Nebraska Employment Service because not all job seekers apply for work through an employment agency, but rather, seek employment through their union, civil service, private agencies, or simply "hear" of a job through friends and relatives. Support for the use of this multiple is indicated by a survey completed on one entire census tract (Census Tract 11) which is totally encompassed within the North Study Area. This survey, completed in the Summer of 1966, indicates that 100 adult employable residents within the sample of Census Tract 11 between the ages of 16-64 were currently unemployed and seeking work. Of these 100 people, only 57 had ever completed an application form at the Nebraska Employment Service. Of these 57 people it is not known whether these were current applications or from an earlier time period. It is significant to note that 43 people did not register at the Nebraska Employment Service, even though they were not employed and were seeking full-time employment. According to these figures, an even higher multiple could thus be used.
SOUTH STUDY AREA: GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING.

The South Omaha Area is located well up on the bluff at least 150 feet above the level of the Missouri River. (See Figure 4). With the local relief over 1,000 feet, the land may be characterized as moderate in slope. The uplands are primarily residential with the lower elevations serving as railroad arteries. The railroad pattern is by far the most dense in the city and is associated with the meatpacking industry. The Union Stockyards, located to the south of "L" Street, forms a substantial portion of the northern section of the study area. In association with the stockyards, three large meatpacking companies have facilities in the vicinity. These companies are Armour and Company at 30th and "Q" Street, Swift and Company at 27th and "Q" and Wilson and Company, Inc. at 27th and "Y". Most of the land that is not occupied by manufacturing is in moderate to high housing density. The only major commercial development is along 24th Street on the northeastern border of the study area.

SOUTH STUDY AREA: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The South Study Area's population is estimated to be slightly over 16,000, or 3.0 per cent of the Omaha SMSA population.\textsuperscript{18} Population characteristics from the 1960 Census show that:\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Zipay, \textit{op. cit.}, and U.S. Department of Commerce, \textit{City Blocks, op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{19}U.S. Department of Commerce, \textit{City Blocks, op. cit.}, and U.S. Department of Commerce, \textit{Census Tracts, op. cit.}
FIGURE 4.
SOUTH STUDY AREA
A. The average value of owner-occupied housing is less than $10,000.

B. Of the total housing units in the study area one-fifth were classified as deteriorating or dilapidated. (The comparable Omaha SMSA figure is 16 per cent.)

C. Non-whites comprise less than 10 per cent of the population of this study area. Of the remaining white population, over two-fifths are of foreign stock.

D. Of the resident population over 25 years of age slightly more than two-thirds did not attain the senior year of high school. (The comparable SMSA figure is less than one-half.)

Again, the 1963 United Community Services publication\(^20\) gives a general review of social, medical, and housing problems by census tract, but since Census Tract 29 is the only complete tract within the South Study Area, we will focus on its characteristics. Although roughly 95 per cent of the population of Census Tract 30 is included within the South Study Area, the U. C. S. publication indicates a relatively low incidence of substandard housing, crime, and juvenile delinquency within this tract.

E. Tract 29 ranked 15th of 76 census tracts in number of school drop-outs.

F. Of arrests in 1960-61, Tract 29 ranked 7th highest in the city.

G. Census Tract 29 ranked 11th of the city's 76 census tracts in incidence of family caseload.

**SOUTH STUDY AREA: COMPUTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT RATE.**

Census tract data indicates the total South Study Area population as 16,034 inhabitants.\(^21\)

\(^{20}\)United Community Services, *op. cit.*

Utilizing the technique explained earlier, the 40 per cent labor force participation rate yields a labor force population of 6,414. The Nebraska Employment Service finds 284 registered applicants who reside within the South Study Area. This figure multiplied by 1.5 results in an unemployment of 426 persons. Using the formula previously used for computing the unemployment rate, we may note the following:

\[
\frac{\text{Number of unemployed persons}}{\text{Labor force population}} = \text{Unemployment rate}
\]

\[
\frac{426}{6,414} = 6.6
\]
CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Thus far, we have discussed the related characteristics of the area in which a number of Armour workers reside. These characteristics are important to note because the pervasiveness of the consequences of unemployment transcend the individual who is laid-off, although there appears to be little doubt that his psychological state and the attendant behavior are modified. Focusing on the unemployed individual, we should note the importance of steady employment. Since the job one holds in our society is the prime indicator of his status and prestige, as well as a significant way in which he relates himself to the world through a specific role, it is not uncommon to read of the loss of self-respect, or degradation of the unemployed male.

Vroom suggests that:

A person may desire to work because he expects that doing so will affect his social status or, to be more precise, because he believes that others will be more likely to accept him if he does so. Working may be perceived to be instrumental to social acceptance and respect, whereas not working may be anticipated to result in social rejection and disapproval.

Bakke (E. W. Bakke, The Unemployed Worker, 1940) has described the loss of status experienced by the unemployed during the great depression. The worker who had lost his job and was "wandering from gate to gate begging for a chance to work" was no longer accorded the respect of "a fellow your mates look to" or "a man who never lets his family down." 


Zawadski and Lazarsfeld, in their study of the unemployed in Poland, indicate that the attitudinal change goes beyond loss of self-respect.

In spite of the theme of degradation which appears so often, (in the biography of the unemployed) it is not the injury to social pride, nor the feeling of sinking in the social hierarchy, but a more general and deep-rooted motif that is mentioned most often and most bitterly: it is the feeling of being superfluous, and bound up with it, the feeling of aimlessness, or mere vegetation. 25

The meaninglessness of life, the feeling of aimlessness, is apparent in the behavior of the worker without work. Powell, in his study of "Occupation, Status, and Suicide" indicates that the retired have a suicide rate almost five times that of the adult male population. 26

Numerous reports indicate that a large proportion of the unemployed are characterized as older workers, non-whites, with low levels of education, who are less skilled, or who come from declining industries and occupations. 27

These characteristics describe the packinghouse worker displaced in Omaha


in 1961 when Cudahy closed its doors. 28 Armour employees, 29 similar to those displaced by Cudahy and those displaced by the plant shut-down of the Studebaker Corporation in South Bend, Indiana, are not all young men. The average Studebaker employee was 54 years of age; the average Armour worker is probably between 40-45. Roughly 35% of the plant work-force at Armour is non-white, and the best estimate available indicates that at least 60% of the workers have not completed high school. 30

But what are the consequences of being unemployed? Zawadski and Lazarsfeld indicate that some consequences of unemployment were mentioned in six of the 57 biographies selected. The noted consequences included: the increase of criminality, of begging and prostitution, and of tuberculosis; development of the bribing system in factories; the breakdown of solidarity among laborers; and the increase of the revolutionary mood (as threat or

28 Community Action in Omaha Creates Jobs for Displaced Cudahy Workers, op. cit., 2

29 A recent questionnaire circulated to the production workers at the Omaha Armour plant by the Nebraska Employment Service indicates that many workers have a low education, are middle-aged, and desire employment other than in the meatpacking industry. Of the 1,747 respondents who have returned the questionnaire, 1,193 had not completed high school, and of this number 55 per cent had not completed the 8th grade. Of the 1,747 workers who completed questionnaires, 728 indicated they were over age 45. Slightly over 80 per cent of the 1,747 respondents indicated they would seek other employment outside the meatpacking industry.

In our own society, the bulk of the post-Depression studies of the displaced workers focus on modes of finding new jobs, or characteristics of those who find new jobs. Studies emphasizing noneconomic consequences for the displaced worker have thus far tapped changes in political attitudes only. As Haber, Ferman and Hudson indicate:

Very little is known about the noneconomic consequences of job displacement. What kinds of psychological and social adjustments are displaced workers required to make? What changes take place in their day-to-day living, especially within the family and friendship groups.

However, Wilcock and Franke emphasize the severity of the problem for the displaced worker.

Perhaps the most serious impact of the shutdown, particularly for many of the long-term unemployed, was a loss of confidence and a feeling of usefulness. The loss of a long-tenure job was in itself a traumatic shock. Many discovered that they had become "old" in the eyes of potential employers. As unemployment lengthened, a number of the unwanted workers quite understandably felt bitter about those they felt were responsible for their plight and about the system that seemed to deny them jobs. The interviewers reported a whole range of human emotion -- bewilderment, resentment, anger, frustration, and, for a few lucky ones, pleasure that they ended up in better jobs. The general picture for the long-term unemployed is a tragic one, both for the individuals involved and for the economy that fails

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31 Zawadski and Lazarsfeld, op. cit. p. 248.

32 One example is a paper presented at the 1967 meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society in Des Moines, Iowa, April 20-22 by J. John Palen, "Radicalism and the Displaced Worker: An Analysis of the Studebaker Shutdown."

to utilize its human resources. 34

Unemployed men, after utilizing severance pay, savings, and unemployment compensation, are likely to feel financial, social, and personal dissatisfaction and pressures. These may be pressures that lead to deviant behavior as well as continued efforts to live according to societal norms. As pressures that may lead to deviant behavior patterns, the particular pattern of deviance that results cannot be determined. As Cloward and Ohlin indicate:

A given problem of adjustment may result in any one of several solutions. In other words, we cannot predict the content of deviance simply from our knowledge of the problem of adjustment to which it is a response. In any situation, alternative responses are always possible. 35

Nettler also notes that the consequences of feeling apart from society are little known, suggesting that alienation is related to mental-emotional disorder, that the alienated suffer a proclivity to suicide, are prone to "the chemical addictions," and their estrangement leads to criminal behavior. 36 Glaser and Rice found consistent support for their hypothesis that adult crime rates

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vary directly with unemployment. 37

The extensive literature in the field of unemployment thus far reviewed appears to support the basic assumption that unemployment is not simply an economic problem, but one which transcends and becomes paramount to the worker, his family, friends, social relationships, his attitudinal state, political feelings, and behavior pattern.

ANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMOUR CLOSING

The consequences of unemployment for the displaced Armour worker are likely to be similar to those problems already discussed. Within each of the non-contiguous study areas, we would expect an increase in crime, apathy and alienation, and mental-emotional disorders. Thus, within the North Study Area, where significant social and economic problems are evident, it is not unrealistic to presume a significant addition to the existing problems.

There are 444 Armour workers residing within the North Study Area, with more than 150 additional workers in the immediate vicinity. Although these workers have been Armour employees for a considerable period of time, and possess skills that are related to the meatpacking industry, these skills are, by and large, non-transferable outside of the industry. At the same time, many of these workers cannot furnish a prospective employer with the attained education that may be desired or demanded for a new position. We have already indicated the age distribution of a majority of the Armour production workers, as well as their own desire to seek employment outside the meatpacking industry.

In the South Study Area, the situation appears to be similar, except that the number of Armour workers, 433, are significantly more than the current number of registered applicants at the Nebraska Employment Service. The South Study Area, after the displacement of Armour workers, is thus likely to evidence a sharper increase in problem-visibility relative to the current environment than is the North Study Area.
Although the South Study Area is predominantly white, the Armour workers residing within the area are likely to possess the same skills, as well as the liabilities of those Armour employees who live in the North Study Area.
CONCLUSIONS

This is the culmination of a brief report of two areas within Omaha, their social and geographic characteristics, as well as the unemployment rate of their respective populations. We are now in a position to make some conclusions about these areas relative to the Armour closing.

(1) The unemployment rate of 15.8 in the North Study Area and 6.6 in the South Study Area is sufficiently high to indicate acute social and economic problems. In addition to these problems already in evidence, the anticipated closing of the Armour plant will be likely to add significant complexity in a multitude of forms. The high concentration of workers in both study areas is only representative of the potential for newly arising problems.

(2) In the South Study Area it appears that action of a short-run nature is required to alleviate the potential for a considerable increase in unemployment with its attendant consequences. The extensiveness of the problems evident in the North Study Area is indicative of changes that can only be brought about by long-range planning. In both study areas, immediate consideration of action programs need be undertaken if maximum return is anticipated and it would appear desirable that action be taken prior to the time of the closing.

(3) Although we have emphasized to a considerable extent the characteristics of the Armour workers and the problems of being unemployed, we should not overlook the fact that these workers have made a substantial contribution to the stability of the community. They have, by and large, been employed in a productive manner, and appear eager to make a good adjustment in
their future employment. Although ACT has been the prime force anticipating
the Armour closing, an effective solution to the problem rests with the com-
munity at large.

(4) The local trend of the meat products industry has been one of de-
clining employment. The community and its social agencies have periodically
been confronted with the displacement of meat products workers. Without an
extensive and thorough study of the causes of the decline and the consequences
of displacement, Omaha will undoubtedly be confronted with recurring problems
of the most serious and the most diverse nature.
APPENDIX
COMPARISON OF 1966 SAMPLE SURVEY  
TO 1960 CENSUS BUREAU DATA  
OMAHA CENSUS TRACT 11

MARITAL STATUS, AGE 14 AND OVER

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<td>Married</td>
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SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED, AGE 25 AND OVER

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<td>100%</td>
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<td>Less than 8 years</td>
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<td>8 - 11 years</td>
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<td>High School Graduate</td>
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RACE

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Per Cent</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than 1/10 of 1%.

SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960 Census</th>
<th>1966 Sample Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Per Cent</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMPARISON OF 1966 SAMPLE SURVEY
TO 1960 CENSUS BUREAU DATA
OMAHA CENSUS TRACT 11 CONTINUED

AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Per Cent</th>
<th>1960 Census</th>
<th>1966 Sample Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - 25 Years</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 35 Years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 49 Years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64 Years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1966 data from a survey conducted by Urban Studies, University of Omaha. The 1966 survey was a systematic sample survey of all residential dwelling units within Census Tract 11. All respondents within each dwelling unit between the ages of 16-64 who were not in school nor physically disabled were interviewed. The total sample was comprised of 501 respondents.


Breed, Warren. "Occupational Mobility and Suicide Among White Males." American Sociological Review, 28 (April, 1963), 179-188.


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Ferman, Louis A. "Sociological Perspectives in Unemployment Research," Reprint Series 29, the University of Michigan-Wayne State University, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, pp. 504-514.


