Status conceptions of negro CIO Union leaders in Atlanta, Georgia

Walter La Ray Wallace

Atlanta University

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STATUS CONCEPTIONS OF NEGRO CIO UNION LEADERS
IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
AUGUST 1955
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express indebtedness to Dr. Hylan G. Lewis, without whose incisive guidance and criticism the problem might never have been conceived or executed; to the subjects and other informants whose patience, candor and trust made possible the collection of data; and to a new art collector, without whose good will the study would bear a much later presentation date.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to cast some light on the ways in which Negro CIO union leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, think of themselves, of the offices they hold, of the things they are called upon to do in fulfilling them, and of the people with whom they have dealings in connection with them.

In this study of status conceptions, it is a leading idea that we are examining factors which are simultaneously causes and effects of changes in union policy and practice. Unions are social inventions which industrial workers devise to meet certain exigencies which have arisen as part of the economic, political and social development of capitalism. Because unions are made by workers and composed of workers, the ways in which workers think of unions and themselves are contributing determinants of union structure, goals, policy and tactics. Therefore, findings about conceptions may be used to prophesy future organic changes in the unions. Moreover, the top leaders of unions may bring about changes in policy and practice which will change both the believed and the actual relationships between Negro workers and the unions. In this sense, status conceptions are also resultants of organic changes.

This idea, joined with a simple statement of the subjects' general characteristics, helps to shape preliminary expectations
of the study findings on these conceptions. The subjects are, first of all, Negroes, living and working in Atlanta, Georgia. That is, they are systematically deprived of equal opportunity in every walk of American life.\textsuperscript{1} Furthermore, they are residents in a region, state and city in which this deprivation is particularly acute.

Secondly, the subjects are industrial workers. They participate in manufacturing - an aspect of economic production to which Negroes in the South have been admitted in large numbers only in the past twenty-five years.\textsuperscript{2} In most cases, they are together with white workers in the plant, in the department and sometimes side-by-side.

Thirdly, with one exception, they are members of affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, an industrial union with an equalitarian policy. In part, the subjects' attitudes are shaped by this policy and by the imperatives of their situation as workers in manufacturing.

Lastly, they are officials of their unions. The majority hold positions of formal leadership and authority over both white and Negro members.

The study examines the status conceptions of these leaders. Preliminary to presenting the findings, we shall (1) define the

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\textsuperscript{1}See Gunnar Myrdal, \textit{An American Dilemma}, (New York and London, 1944).

problem; (2) describe the data and method; (3) examine some components of the situation; and (4) suggest some significances of the study.

The Problem

Subjects' beliefs about their status may be revealed by information about how they behave (i.e. what they do) in meeting the requirements of their offices, and information about their attitudes (i.e. how they feel and think) about their offices, their duties and the people with whom they have dealings. All of this must be seen in the context of objective conditions pertaining to the subjects' election and incumbency.

We are therefore concerned with the following questions:

(1) What are some of the conditions of the subjects' election and incumbency?

(2) What functions are performed by the subjects under the conditions given?

(3) What attitudes prevail in conjunction with conditions and functions?

Data and Method

The Subjects

Any Negro member of a CIO local union in Atlanta, Georgia, who held an elected or appointed office (from shop steward to president) and any Negro staff official of a CIO union in Atlanta was considered an eligible subject. The subjects were selected in the spring of 1955, from lists supplied by Mr. David Burgess, then Executive Secretary of the Georgia State Industrial Union.
Council and presently Special Assistant to Victor Reuther in the national CIO office, and interviews with the following officials:

Mr. John Bateman, then Education and Political Action Director for the Southeast, now Assistant Director of Region Eight, United Automobile Workers of America (CIO)

Mr. Elwood E. Hain, Director of District Nine of the then Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America (CIO), now Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers of America (CIO)

Mr. J. L. Baughman, Southern Director, International Woodworkers of America (CIO)

Mr. John Henry Hall, Field Representative, United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO)

Mr. John Huss, President, Local 3204, Communications Workers of America (CIO)

The local subjects represent all of the CIO unions reported by the above informants as having Negro officials, local or area, in Atlanta, but represent neither all of the locals of the unions so reported, nor all of the Negro officials of these unions. One local officer of the Independent Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (the only all-Negro union represented) and one white official of a mixed local were added to the final list of respondents.

Fifteen subjects were interviewed in the spring of 1955: eleven Negro officials of local unions, one white local official, and three Negro staff officials of mixed unions. All of the subjects, with one exception (Subject C.), are men.

Each interview lasted an average of two and one-half hours. Verbatim record was made of as much of the subjects' responses
Method and Process

The general interest in conceptions, together with limitations of time and money, dictated the open-end interview method with this group of fourteen subjects as the suitable research method. A review of literature and first-hand examination, in the field, of some relevant components of the situation served to sharpen definitions of concepts, method, data and the problem itself. The study design began to take shape as leading ideas emerged and research questions and field questions were deduced from them.

When it became possible to describe explicitly the problem, data and method, the systematic interviewing of the fourteen subjects was begun.

Conceptual Framework

Status.-- The following are examples of definitions of status which may be found in the literature:

... a set of visible, external markings that systematically ranks individuals and groups in relation to each other, and that includes all the members of the organization some place in the scheme of rankings.

... that condition of the individual that is defined by a statement of his rights, privileges, immunities, duties and obligations in the organization and, obversely, by a statement of the restrictions, limitations, and prohibitions governing his behavior.7

---

3See Appendix A for documentary notes of two related interviews, and Appendix B for the interview guide and personal data sheet.


... a defined social position for whose incumbents there are defined rights, limitations of rights, and duties.  

... a position in a particular pattern ... A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties. ... The relation between any individual and any status he holds is somewhat like that between the driver of an automobile and the driver's place in the machine.

We accept Merton's statement, which follows, as generally most useful to the present study.

A formal, rationally organized social structure involves clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization. In such an organization, there is integrated a series of offices, of hierarchized statuses, in which inhere a number of obligations and privileges closely defined by limited and specific rules.

To it, however, we add two points implicit in the other definitions quoted. First, the achievement of a status is an opportunity to perform new roles which may lead to the achievement of new status. A given status is also believed to be associated with opportunities, irrespective of whether or not these opportunities are objectively present. These believed opportunities endow the status with value in the conceptions of the individual. Secondly, we add Linton's point that

A role represents the dynamic aspect of status. ... When [the individual] puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role. Role and status are quite inseparable.

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9Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 114.
There seem to be two types of roles - an expected role and a performed role. The expected role we shall take as that which a given status-holder is expected to perform in fulfillment of status. There is the role which the institution "expects" of him, and this is most often defined by constitution and custom. Then there are the roles which others, inside and outside the organization, in close or remote contact with him, expect of him. The performed role is what the individual actually does in fulfillment of status.

**Status Contradiction.** - Linton suggests that one individual may hold two statuses, in the same system, simultaneously. He points out that

Societies have [developed] two types of statuses, the ascribed and the achieved. Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their immediate innate differences or abilities. ... The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort.10

One of the "reference points for the ascription of status," Linton says, is "birth into a particular socially established group, such as a class or caste."11

What happens when persons bearing a given ascribed status achieve a status hitherto closed to them is described by Hughes, with reference to medical doctors:

The appearance of new kinds of people in established positions ... produces a status contradiction. It may also create a status dilemma for the individual concerned and for other people who have to deal with him. The dilemma [of the white colleagues of Negro doctors] arises from the fact that, while it is bad for the profession to let laymen see rifts in their ranks, it may be bad for the individual to be associated in the eyes of his actual or potential patients with persons, even colleagues, of so despised a group as the Negro.12

We must add to this the important factor of the white individual's own race prejudices, over and above the demands of social propriety.

Hughes offers especially valuable clues with regard to the Negro's part:

For the Negro ... there is also a dilemma. If he accepts the role of Negro to the extent of appearing content with less than full equality and intimacy with his white colleagues, for the sake of such security and advantage as can be so got, he himself and others may accuses him of sacrificing his race ...13

A manner in which this dilemma may be resolved is described by Hughes with reference to personnel men:

... a common solution is some elaboration of social segregation ... [the Negro personnel man] prompted to this position, acts only with reference to Negro employees ... the 'straw boss' is the liaison officer reduced to lowest terms.14

Here we note Kornhauser's reference to the "liaison" type of Negro union official: " ... particularly in times of racial conflict he is expected 'to straighten things out' by 'dealing with his own people'"15

12 Ibid., p. 358.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
Kornhauser's first type of official, however, is

... a symbol of the union, or faction within it, to the Negroes whose allegiance is sought. This symbolic Negro official ... probably typifies the majority of national Negro officials in predominantly white unions.¹⁶

Kornhauser quotes Hughes to show that "the Negro personnel man is performing a racial function; he is not part of the regular line of authority, and does not represent a rung in the ladder of regular advancement to higher positions."¹⁷ Thus, Kornhauser concludes that the Negro union official conceptualizes his position "as 'ambassador' of the Negro members, winning as much as possible for the group while at the same time keeping the good will of the white leadership."¹⁸

Status Conceptions.— Status may be the subject of two kinds of investigation. The one seeks to establish what the individual's position actually is, as revealed by expected and performed roles. The other examines what the individual believes his or another's status to be. The present study is of the latter type.

Some Components of the Situation

Broad answers have been sought to the following three questions: What are some important social determinants of the Negro worker's status in CIO unions in the South? How do they operate? What effects does the Negro union officer's position have? In seeking these answers, no serious attempt was made to examine the

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 448.
¹⁷ Ibid., p. 449.
¹⁸ Ibid., p. 450.
specific influences of the general historical context, of industrial union organization elsewhere in the United States, or of the American Federation of Labor.

**Union Functions**

Unions perform two basic types of functions. The first has been called "bread-and-butter" unionism,\(^1\) or "unionism pure-and-simple,"\(^2\) and the second has been called "ideological" unionism.\(^3\) With regard to bread-and-butter unionism, Barbash writes of the pursuit of

... the objective of 'more' - more pay and shorter hours, better working conditions - on the ground that, above every other possible achievement, 'more' is most readily recognizable as an index of effectiveness.\(^4\)

In contrast, the ideological unionist's objectives within the union

... are flavored, tempered, colored, and in a few instances, even modified by attitudes on and philosophies of national and international policy.\(^5\)

For the partisan of bread-and-butter unionism, the quantitative achievements of the union on the job seem to be ends in themselves. For the partisan of ideological unionism, they are regarded as means to qualitative social reorganization.

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\(^4\) *Ibid.*, p. 221. Bruce Minton and John Stuart give this illustrative quotation from Adolph Strasser, President of the Cigar-makers Union (Samuel Gompers' union) in 1883: "We have no ultimate aim. We are going on from day to day. We are fighting for immediate objects, objects that can be realized in a few years." (*Op. cit.*, p. 11).

Ideological unionism cannot be pure. But it is even more important to realize that bread-and-butter unionism is never "pure" and never "simple". For example, even the AFL's traditionally disinterested, "no comment" attitude toward national and international policy was revised following the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill, by the establishment of Labor's League for Political Education by the 1947 AFL convention. Hence, there are neither bread-and-butter, nor ideological unions, but only unionisms which reflect degrees of consciousness and deliberate avowal.

However, it must be admitted that unions, since the days of the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, have been mainly guided by the pragmatic philosophy of "more" rather than by any theoretical system of social goals. Within such unions, however, the role of men of high levels of ideological consciousness and avowal has been important. Barbash writes: "The motives of many pioneer organizers of unions in particular industries can be traced more to idealistic and perhaps ideological impulses than to any other factor."

The Role of Union Leaders

A special role devolves upon the leaders of a union, in connection with the union functions mentioned. Kornhauser suggests certain aspects of this role with regard to the selection

24 See Clyde E. Dankert, op. cit., p. 450.
of Negro officials:

The 'push' that a Negro union leader, or would-be leader, receives from Negro members is not sufficient for his selection as an official in a union in which Negroes are in a minority. There must be a 'pull' from the white leadership of the union to put him in office above the local level.

To stay in power, the union leadership must be able to (1) win union members in competition with employers, other unions, and anti-union or apathetic workers, (2) gain union members' support in conflicts with other unions seeking to win over its membership, and (3) hold union members' loyalties in conflict with other persons and groups seeking to take over union leadership. These three types of conflict situations, as defined by the top union leadership, are the three major kinds of conditions under which Negroes are selected for union office.²⁶

There are ideological reasons as well for the role of white leaders. Barbash refers to unions which hold racial equality as an "article of faith"²⁷ and notes that "these unions have, therefore, faced up to the race problem, not by reluctant and grudging compromise but by deliberate and conscious planning."²⁸ Slichter adds:

In nearly all instances, the influence of the national officers is thrown against discrimination. Indeed, a number of national officers have taken their political lives in their hands to fight discrimination against Negroes.²⁹

Slichter's summation may be true enough for national officers, but it certainly does not describe some regional and local leaders whose racist convictions lead them to resist the equalitarian dictates of rugged unionism.

²⁶Ibid., p. 444.
²⁷Ibid., p. 62.
²⁸Ibid.
Let us pause for a moment to emphasize: We are presented with a situation in which the unity of Negro and white is dictated primarily by non-sentimental practicality in wrestle with employers, for higher living standards. In short, Negro and white belong to and hold office in the same unions because they have to, in the interests of both. Whether or not they want to, for other reasons, decisively conditions the quality of their unity, but does not seem to determine its existence. Such a situation does not prevail in all organizations concerned with Negro and white relations. In many cases, the chief motive of cooperative effort is humanitarian idealism unconstrained by the immediate material need characteristically experienced by industrial unions.

The Negro Worker's Statuses

We recognize three simultaneous, interdependent, but analytically separable statuses for Negro workers, in relation to unions. The most important of these is employment status which has three aspects: (1) the proportion of Negroes hired in the total employee force, (2) hiring-firing order, and (3) job-wage placement.

(1) In certain industries in the South (lumber and turpentine, for example), Negro workers are traditionally hired in large proportion to the total work force. In others (textiles and communications, for example), they may not be hired at all, or only in very small proportions.

(2) What may be called the "pecking order" among job-seekers and employees is expressed in the familiar axiom: "The Negro is last to be hired; first to be fired." This formula is forcibly
modified in various degrees by union-management seniority agreements (and/or government action). These modifications are especially significant conditioners of status conceptions.

(3) Traditionally, the lowest-paying, most unpleasant, most debilitating, least-skilled jobs are reserved for Negroes. This too has been modified by seniority agreements and/or government action.

The status next in importance is that of "race". The term "race status" is used here to indicate a composite, of which the Negro's economic and institutional statuses, together with others, are aspects. Hence, a change in economic status is a change in race status for the Negro.

The third status is institutional - that is, in the union itself. By this, we mean to include simple union membership in the first place, and the full range of official positions from shop steward to international president, in the second.

Operation of the Above Factors

The factors we have described (union functions, the special role of union leaders and the statuses of Negro workers in relation to unions) have a complex relationship. The general features of the relationship, however, may be summarized as follows.

Employment status (i.e. proportion in the work force, hiring-firing order and job-wage placement) is pertinent to unionism and influences institutional status to the extent to which its pertinency is recognized. As Kornhauser puts it:

Many unions, primarily industrial types, have faced the continuous problem of organizing Negro workers for the following reasons: they often found Negroes in large
numbers and strategically located in their jurisdictions [and] they met employer attempts to divide the work force along racial lines. ...  

Kornhauser notes that the tactic of selecting Negroes as organizers "is employed to increase the likelihood that the local will stay organized and not split along racial lines," and concludes that "careers of Negroes in unions are tied to the position of Negroes as a group in the work force and union."  

Barbash elaborates this point:  

The force of economics operates formally in behalf of the [minority] groups when they have predominated in an industry before union organization in the industry was established. In these cases, discriminatory policies aimed against them would be clearly inexpedient, all other factors aside.  

Another facet of the effect of employment status is discussed by Northrup:  

It is ... important to note that nearly all the unions practicing discrimination - and railway labor organizations are no exception - are organizations of skilled craft workers. ... [It seems likely that] the work scarcity consciousness of most craft unionists ... or, as Spero and Harris so well put it, 'the desire to restrict competition so as to safeguard job monopoly', is the main contributing factor.  

The complicated relationship among the employment, race and institutional statuses is seen clearly in Barbash's description.

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30 op. cit., p. 444.
31 Ibid., p. 445.
32 Ibid., p. 446.
33 op. cit., p. 61.
of the CIO's southern organizing drive of the mid-1940's:

The CIO organizers in the southern campaign are emphasizing the fact that in bringing Negro workers into unions the CIO is concerned with economic objectives and not objectives of social equality. The CIO, with reason, feels that its organizing task in the South would be impossible if it were associated with a philosophy so repugnant to the prevailing culture as racial equality.  

In pointing out that the Negro worker's employment status influences his union status, we must also note that general employment levels bear directly upon his employment status and thus indirectly influence institutional status. On this question, Northrup writes:

Union racial policies are influenced to an important extent by the condition of the labor market. In periods of declining employment, white workers generally strive to protect themselves at the expense of Negroes.  

Ross, writing in depression days, anticipated Northrup's point and described

... The displacement of colored workers by whites who appropriated 'Negro jobs' which they had formerly considered beneath their dignity. This was accomplished at the initiative of employers, by workers, by unions, by legislation, occasionally by lynching and violence, and in fact by all the diverse channels of social pressure. Two citations by Ross are descriptive of conflict and pressure:  

First, on February 16, 1932, the United Press reported that in Jacksonville, Fla., 1400 unemployed white men marched through the streets in a violent demonstration.

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aimed at driving Negroes from their jobs. And secondly, the New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population reported in 1938 that a union had forced an employer to sign an agreement which dismissed twenty-five Negro employees. The union business agent explained that 'Too many white men are out of work for n——-[Deletion mine—WW] to keep their jobs.'

Not only employment status, but race status also, bears upon the Negro worker's union status. Where a union or its leaders adopt a particular goal of general social change (or changelessness), the race status of Negroes is a factor in their philosophy and is reflected in the institutional status which they seek to make accessible to, or reserve for, the Negro worker and justify to the white worker.

Reversing this process, union activity tends to bring about changes in the employment status of Negroes, as well as to change the more general race status relationships. With regard to union-made modifications in employment status, Northrup writes:

We thus have the interesting case of the structure of the industries giving unions no choice but to adhere to an equalitarian program in organizing Negroes, which, in turn, led the unions to alter the structure of the industries by causing changes in their racial employment patterns.  

Slichter goes into slightly more detail:

In the great majority of cases ... unions have attempted to broaden the economic opportunities of Negroes and to help them rise to semi-skilled or skilled jobs. This is particularly true of industrial unions - though not invariably true. ...

39 Ibid., p. 551.
We have said that union effect broad social change. By this we mean that a union, in enlisting masses of hitherto segregated Negroes into the same union and locals as white workers, moves toward achieving a broader social transformation than higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions - whether this is its conscious, avowed goal or not. As one of the present study's subjects indicated, one result of the CIO southern organizing campaign was the breaching of social segregation at Atlanta's City Auditorium. Furthermore, the CIO's recent gift of $75,000 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People directly aided the Negro's general efforts toward equality in political, social and cultural, as well as economic, phases of life.

Supplementing and affecting this ideological development, the Negro, once having achieved institutional status in the union, tends to bring "idealistc and ... ideological impulses" into the union, and to impel it toward effecting additional changes in the statuses of Negro workers. As A. Philip Randolph put it, "Brotherhood men are a crucial challenge to the Nordic creed of the white man's superiority. For only white men are supposed to organize for power, for justice, for freedom."

In summary, the Negro worker's status in the union is affected significantly by the extent to which the union is cognizant of the employment and race statuses of the Negro group in its

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43 Quoted in Jack Barbash, op. cit., p. 19.
industry. The Negro's achieved status in the union, the realignments in the work force which it symbolizes, and the unions themselves, in turn influence new changes in employment and race relationships. We would expect that these changes necessitate changing roles, self-conceptions, and possibly status dilemmas among union functionaries who are Negroes.

Some Significances of the Study

It was not the purpose of the study to test any specific hypothesis, although the investigation was predicated on and guided by the conceptual and methodological considerations already indicated. The purpose was to examine the status conceptions of individual Negro CIO union officials intensively, in order to uncover some details of the subjective effects of interracial industrial unionization and status achievement.

The generalizations and conclusions reached in the study are not of broad applicability. More extensive studies would be required to validate generalizations which would apply to other officials, other locals or other locations in the South. Nevertheless, the present study may be helpful, first, in further defining the phenomena through relatively intimate detailing of specific cases; and second, through suggesting the potential fruitfulness of future studies.
CHAPTER II

CONDITIONS OF SUBJECTS' ELECTION AND INCUMBENCY

The analysis in this chapter indicates that circumstances of election and incumbency divide into two categories: first, factors which are conditions for any Negro holding office and second, factors which are conditions for the subject, as a particular Negro, holding any office.

It is the investigator's premise that in the United States as a whole, but especially in the South, official status held by a Negro anywhere is always representative status and never status for the individual alone. Therefore, the requisite conditions for any Negro holding office must be present before any particular Negro may hold office. Once these are established, conditions pertaining to individual Negroes take effect in the selection of one among them to hold the office.

As Kornhauser describes it, there are two chief requisites for any Negro holding office in a union: a significant proportion of Negroes in the plant and a conflict situation in which the Negro workers and members assume strategic importance. The first two conditions enumerated below refer to these situations. The third condition is suggested as an intermediary type. That is, it pertains to another Negro's holding office, on the ground that a blazed trail is easier for others to follow. The last

\[44\] See pages 11-12.
eight conditions are suggested as leading to the election and
incumbency of the subjects as particular Negroes.

TABLE 1
MEMBERSHIP AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF TEN
UNION LOCALS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

<table>
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<tr>
<th>International Union and Subject</th>
<th>Per cent Negro of Total Membership</th>
<th>Age of Local Membership (Years)</th>
<th>Other Negroes in Office</th>
<th>Total Local Membership</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>100</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (E)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (F)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USW (G)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (H)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (I)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW (J)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA (K)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Staff Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Union and Subject</th>
<th>Total Local Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IWA (L)</td>
<td>30,000 in South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (M)</td>
<td>30,000 in South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (N)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The names of the international unions are as follows, reading from top to bottom (all are CIO affiliates, except as indicated): United Packinghouse Workers of America; Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America (now Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers of America); Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (independent); International Woodworkers of America; United Steel Workers of America; United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America; and Communications Workers of America.

Basic clues to the latter conditions are provided by Sayles:

The evidence from locals is that local officers are more likely to be elected from (1) higher-paid and more
skilled workers; (2) those with more seniority, both within a plant and within the union; (3) those with ample opportunities to talk and 'move around' the plant; (4) those from dominant ethnic groups; and (5) men rather than women. ...

Only in crises do the equalitarian traditions of unionism triumph over the status systems based on pay, seniority, and accessibility.

The subjects' conditions of election and incumbency are presented in the section which follows.

**Conditions Pertaining to Any Negro**

Characteristically, these conditions among the local subjects are: (1) high proportion of Negroes to total membership; (2) the locals are not old and the subjects have held some office in them since their inception or shortly thereafter; (3) other Negroes hold offices in the same locals.

In all except one local, a high percentage (25 per cent or more) of Negro members is present. Seven locals have fifty per cent or more Negro, and three of these have 100 per cent Negro membership. All of the latter are in plants where all or nearly all workers are Negroes.

All of the locals are new by comparison with some of the large northern locals which were established some sixteen to eighteen years ago. The locals represented may be thought of as off-spring of World War II and the CIO's southern organizing drive of the mid-1940's. They have recently come through the management-worker conflict of union organization. The oldest

---

local represented is thirteen years old, the newest is three years old, and the average is 7.2 years old.

### TABLE 2

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN UNION OFFICE OF FOURTEEN NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Union and Subject</th>
<th>Years in Present Office</th>
<th>Years in Some Local Office</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UAW (A)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (B)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (C)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSCP (D)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (E)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USW (G)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (H)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (I)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW (J)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA (K)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Subjects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff Subjects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (L)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (M)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (N)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents are mainly "first-generation" incumbents and have had the union experience of helping to organize their plants, plus that of subsequent years. Four subjects have held their present office since the local was organized. Four others have held some office (including the present one) since shortly after the union was organized (ranging from one and one-half to one half year afterwards). The subjects have held their present office an average of 4.4 years. Eight have held other office in their locals, and three of these have also held office in some other
union. Of the three who have not held any other office in their locals, one has held the same office for nine years; another has held the same office for four years (both since the locals were established); and the third has held his present office for eight years. The subjects represent an average experience in some office, in some local, of seven years.

In eight locals, the subject is not the only Negro official.

Conditions Pertaining to the Subjects as Particular Negroes

Characteristically, these conditions are: (1) total membership in the locals range from 42 to 140, from 300 to 350, and one local has 2300 members; (2) the subjects have several years of experience in their industries, plants, unions and locals; (3) the subjects are not veterans; (4) indications are that their relative skill and wages are high compared to that of other Negroes in the plants; (5) they are among their local's older workers and support families; (6) their educational level is low; (7) they have lived in Atlanta for most of their adult lives, but have spent some earlier years on farms or small southern towns; and, (8) about one-half of them vote, and most belong to community organizations, including churches.

Six of the locals are relatively small, with from 42 to 140 members reported. Three are fairly large locals, with about 300 members. In these nine locals, it would be reasonable to expect that, in the course of years, an articulate Negro worker could become widely known among both Negro and white workers in the plant and local.
### TABLE 3

**PLANT AND UNION CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTEEN NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union and Subject</th>
<th>Years in Industry</th>
<th>Years in Union</th>
<th>Years in GCC</th>
<th>Years in BSCP</th>
<th>Years in IWA</th>
<th>Years in UPW (A)</th>
<th>Years in UAW</th>
<th>Years in CWA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPW (A)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (B)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (C)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSCP (D)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (E)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (F)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USW (G)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (H)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (I)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW (J)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA (K)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Local Subjects

#### Staff Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union and Subject</th>
<th>Relative Job Skill</th>
<th>Weekly Wage</th>
<th>Relative Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IWA (L)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (M)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (N)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

**SKILL AND WAGE LEVELS OF ELEVEN NEGRO LOCAL UNION OFFICIALS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union and Subject</th>
<th>Relative Job Skill</th>
<th>Weekly Wage</th>
<th>Relative Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPW (A)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (B)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (C)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSCP (D)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>76-85</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (E)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>over 85</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (F)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>over 85</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USW (G)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (H)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>over 85</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (I)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW (J)</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA (K)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Subjects were asked to compare the skill which their jobs required, and their wages, with those of the other workers in their plants. In each case, they were given three alternative choices: High, Average, and Low.*
One local, however, is large (2300 members) and has a small Negro proportion (seven per cent).

The subjects represent an average of 19.4 years spent in their industries, 17.6 years in their present plants, and 8.6 years in their locals. All except two have been working in their plants longer than the local has been organized - an average of nine years longer. With these two exceptions, they have the advantage of being able to lay claim to having "been here even before the union came."

Every subject reported non-veteran status. This coincides with the data given for experience. Only those who escaped war service could have accumulated such experience.

When the subject was asked to compare his skill and wage with others in his plant, the referent was not clearly specified. Thus, in some cases, subjects seem to have compared themselves with other Negro workers, and in others, with all workers, Negro and white, in the plant. Correction of all responses to a Negro referent would probably raise the number of "high" estimates, while correction to a general referent would probably raise the number of "low" and "average" estimates.

The respondents are almost fifty years old, on the average, and are probably among the oldest workers in the plant.

The average number of years of school claimed is 6.5, with a high of twelve years and a low of one. Only three progressed beyond elementary school.

The subjects have lived an average of 32.8 years in Atlanta. Seven subjects have lived on a farm or in a small town in a
southern state for an average of 19.2 years.

Six subjects said they voted in the Presidential elections of 1952, or in the Gubernatorial elections of 1954. Ten said they belonged to other organizations, including churches, at the time of the interview and six of these said they held one or more offices in these organizations.

TABLE 5

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTEEN NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union and Subject</th>
<th>Years in Atlanta</th>
<th>Years in Last School</th>
<th>Grade Completed</th>
<th>Voted 1952 or ship in</th>
<th>Member-Office</th>
<th>Staff Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPW (A)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>IWA (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (B)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>IWA (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC (C)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>UPW (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESCP (D)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWA (E)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (F)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USW (G)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (H)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPW (I)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAW (J)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWA (K)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Staff Subjects

| IWA (L) | 45 | -  | -  | 13 | Y  | Y  | Y  |
| IWA (M) | 40 | -  | -  | 13 | NA | Y  | Y  |
| UPW (N) | about 45 | NA   | NA | NA | NA | Y  | N  |
CHAPTER III

FUNCTIONS OF THE SUBJECTS

Official and Unofficial Functions

The material in this chapter illustrates the fact that all subjects in mixed unions have two union functions - one official and the other unofficial. The official function is defined by constitution and custom; it is inherent in the impersonal office itself. For example, the official functions of a Recording Secretary include taking minutes of all meetings and keeping the local's non-financial records. The unofficial functions of the subjects, however, relate to the conditions of election and incumbency detailed above. For example, the unofficial function of a Negro Recording Secretary, in a mixed union of high Negro membership proportion, centers on liaison and special interest representation of the Negro members on the Executive Board.

Our data indicate that in general, the official functions of a Negro official derive from what we may call the imperatives of unionism, while his unofficial functions derive from conditions relating to the Negro group of members and to himself as an individual Negro.

The unofficial functions are tacit or explicit; they vary in relative importance with official functions; and they merge with them in cases where racial equality is "an article of faith".  

46 Jack Barbash, op. cit., p. 62.

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of the top union leadership, where non-discriminatory clauses are parts of union contracts and where the Negro official is of high rank in the local.

The subjects do not seem to resent their unofficial positions as special representatives of the Negro group, or consider it a status which institutionalizes discrimination. On the contrary, they consider that their positions are achievements in the direction of status equality for Negros and that the "rational" roles they are expected to play, and do play, serve this end.

This conception springs into relief when compared with others' resistance to attaching informal racial roles to formal institutional offices, in favor of choosing a man on his individual merits alone, often with studied disregard for his group origin.\(^7\)

Moreover, as will be documented in the section following this one, subjects believe that the union affects social behavior and racial relations in the community at large. The unofficial roles which the subjects play may therefore be viewed as further extending union concern into ideological questions of social and political goals.

**Documentary Materials**

The following records portray the subjects' experiences and feelings about their official and unofficial functions.

\(^7\) William Kornhauser reports these illustrative comments of a Negro UAW official: "The whites on the left were pushing for a general understanding that one post on the Executive Board would be for a Negro. We [Negroes] opposed them [sic]. We resented their attempt to make a Negro an officer no matter whether he had the ability or not." (op. cit., p. 451).
Subject J: Grievance Committee Member

The subject is the only Negro official in his local and was first elected at a meeting at which the District Representative stipulated that 'the Negro members should elect one representative on the Grievance Committee.' About twenty-five per cent of the local's members are Negro and they are all in the subject's work-group in the plant. Shortly after his election, he was successful in implementing the plant-wide seniority agreement through the upgrading of a Negro to a 'white man's job.' The white workers went out in a wildcat strike against this but were opposed by the union's state office. The strikers returned under threat of being fired by the company. The subject commented: 'It's a struggle to place qualified Negroes, in spite of plant-wide seniority ... Only me and two other colored hold "white" jobs now.' He told the plant supervisor, 'The Negro is used to saying "yes" to everything white but we're looking for a change now.'

The subject described his approach to fulfilling his unofficial function and indicated his attitude to some of his Negro fellow-members: 'Some Negroes ask the white man for something once and if they are turned down, they drop it and say "Why ask him again - for him to turn you down again?" That way, they give the impression that they are satisfied. But you got to keep pushing to let them know you haven't forgotten about it. Even if you can't win, let them know we want it. And times change - what you don't get one time you will get the next time.'

Subject F: President of a Local

In June, 1953, there was an unsuccessful attempt to split off the locals in Atlanta from this union. The leader of the secession movement was the union's white District Organizer. The subject described the events in his Local: 'The president [at that time, of the subject's local] and the District Organizer started pushing for disaffiliation and held two local meetings on it. The first one was at the union hall but not enough members was present to make the [disaffiliation] motion valid. The second meeting was in a field off from the plant. The president was asked why he was in favor of disaffiliation. He said the reds - because the union is run by the reds. Anyway, the motion passed. Well, the International sent [a white administrator] down and he called a meeting where 210 out of 230 Negroes was present, but no whites, even though they had been asked the same as everybody.'

When the International's administratorship over the local was lifted, the subject, who had been Chairman of the Grievance Committee for ten years, was elected President and other Negroes filled all other offices. The NLRB election was held seven months later, the union won and the all-Negro slate was reelected then and a year later.
This may be interpreted as an example of the merging of official and unofficial functions - where the unofficial becomes part of the official - in a situation in which the Negro workers are strategic to the survival of the local, as well as in the ideological convictions of the top leaders.

The subject described the changes which have taken place since that time, changes for which he, as President, is officially and at least in part responsible:

\[\text{There's been a lot of comment about the Negro saving more money than ever before. In a little better than a year's time we've saved $6000 and that's one thing that has changed a lot of their minds. We've gotten more back-pay than ever before - $700 last year, some of it from 1952. The last President couldn't do it. Where they would go in [to management] cussing and raising sand, we go in with a 'medium dap' and just lay it on the line and let it go like that. We've had comments from management on our cooperation and handling of negotiations. Management's attitude is very surprising to us. The foreman will run to me before the stewards do and says if he's wrong he wants to get right quick.}\]

\[\text{The majority of whites are back in the union now. Out of 500 workers eligible we have 400 members. We have 222 Negro members out of 226, and about 175 white members. [The fact that the subject was able to be exact about the number of Negroes, but not about the whites, indicates that his unofficial function as Negro representative remains dominant.]}\]

\[\text{Where they used to resent the Negro being officers, they don't resent it now. They come to us and ask us to do things for them.}\]

\[\text{The subject indicated his policy as President: 'I try to let everyone have his say in the union - let it be known that it's for the average man - and so far, we've been together on every subject. The International says our local is the best local nation-wide. We've eliminated in-plant discrimination except in the cafeteria and lockers, and we plan to go to work on front-office hiring pretty soon ... The next step is to restrict hiring to city-limits. Most whites in the plant are out-of-county farmers. One of the techniques of union-busting is to load the plant with these kind of people - people who think like they do.'}\]

In bold contrast with all other subjects interviewed, this subject was able to make this strikingly anomalous remark:
'No, we don't have no white officers, but we have some white stewards and we have some on the grievance committee because when we go to negotiate, we use it that we have colored and white.'

Subject I: Executive Board Member and Chairman of Trustees

The subject belongs to the same union as Subject F, and is the only Negro official of a local that covers workers in six plants. About thirty per cent of the local's members are Negroes. He was first elected to the Executive Board three years ago, when the local was first organized. He was elected Chairman of the Trustees because he "was the only one who knew what the job was."

The struggle to hold the union together against the secession move was reflected in this local also. The District Organizer, leader of the splitting faction, was present at a union chicken dinner from which Negroes were barred. 'When [the District Organizer] said the chicken dinner wasn't for colored, I told him my dues wasn't segregated. And you know, you got to carry a little something to help you out with some of these whites and I had a pocket knife, and there was a man behind it that would use it. Next day, some of the boys asked me "did you say so-and-so to [the District Organizer]?" and I said sure - and I wasn't scared to either. Don't care how black your face is, you got a right.'

The subject was invited to attend a midwestern meeting of his union at which he spoke on the events in Atlanta. Here again, the official and unofficial functions begin to merge under certain conditions.

The subject described his work at present: 'My part [as Chairman of Trustees] is more important in one way than the President's. I have to know how the money is spent. The Secretary-Treasurer must show the books to me at any time of the day or night.' How does the Secretary-Treasurer like this? 'He don't show it, but if he did, it wouldn't make no difference. I'd make it hard for him.'
Subject H: Grievance Committee Member

Subject H indicated the policy dilemmas he sometimes faces: 'Might as well be steward for the whole plant - all the guys bring their grievances to me anyway - white and colored. But if I go to the foreman I want to go to him right. Some of the guys stick their faces out if I tell them they are wrong and don't have no real grievance. When a man brings you a question, sometimes all he wants is you to agree with him. One guy who got caught stealing a hog foot was fired and got mad at me because I couldn't get him reinstated. You know, a company's got rights. Some fellows think they can do anything they want and get away with it just because there's a union. Now you know that's no way.'

He related an incident in which both his official and unofficial functions were appealed to. When an agreement was negotiated to eliminate segregated locker rooms for the women, the Negro women changed over to the white room but the white women walked off the job in protest. On their way out of the plant, they asked the subject to come out with them. The subject refused and told the Negro women to walk off their jobs with the white women. They did and finally they came back together, when the boss threatened to fire them all. Now, the subject said, the relationships have changed radically and 'the white women are always praising the colored.'

Subject Er Recording Secretary and Member
Georgia State Industrial Union Council

The subject felt himself in a special position: 'I work with all of them. If something happens, lots of times they'll tell me before they tell the President or the steward. I guess I'm big-mouthed or big-hearted because I'll latch right on to the man for them.'

Subject B: President of All-Negro Local

The subject said he was elected President on the basis of his official acts as Vice-President: Two men were laid off unjustly in September 1949. The then-President was afraid to fight the case and stayed away from work while the subject fought and won it. Two weeks later, the President got another job in another plant and at the next election, the subject was elected to the vacant presidency. Since that time, the subject has been unopposed in candidacy and reelected five times.

The data which has just been reviewed, and the data to be presented next are intimately related and overlapping. The data below, however, are more direct expressions of opinions as such,
rather than descriptions of events or acts.
CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES OF THE SUBJECTS

General Dispositions

We are concerned here with two interrelated sets of data: the subjects' dispositions toward the groups, individuals, ideas, situations and things with which they have contact in connection with their union activities; and the subjects' motivations and ambitions. These are basic data which ought to develop further our image of the subjects' group identifications and status conceptions.

Two findings which are documented below, as well as in the preceding section, emerge with special and seemingly contradictory force: first, the unanimous and manifold expressions of gratification with the status-conferred freedom to "dispute the white man's word," whether in processing grievances against management or in intra-union affairs; and second, the strong, often bitter, criticisms of apathy among the subjects' Negro fellow-members.

To understand the significance of the respondents' freedom to dispute the white man's work, one must first recognize that the degree of that freedom is an accurate measure of status equity, whether between groups or individuals. To say, "My word is as good as yours," is to say "We are status equals." To say, "You have no right to disagree," is to say "You are a status-inferior."
Let us also return to mind the fact, pointed out above, that the subjects are all Negroes living in southern states (all of the local officers live in Atlanta, Georgia), most of whom have lived earlier, formative years in rural Georgia. We may also assume that the great majority of white men and women with whom the subjects have dealings are of similar origins. An institutional status which provides Negroes with opportunities to dispute the white man's word openly, in public, and, indeed, in line of duty, represents a significant change for the Negroes and for the whites.

The respondents testify well to the limitations on this freedom, as well as to its scope. But the mere fact of testimony as to its existence is evidence of at least minimum status achievement for the subjects and establishes a ground on which they believe they can, and do, wage the battle to realize further achievements. Herein lies the significance of the unanimous approval given to mixed unions as against segregated ones, and of the reasons offered.

In order to realize the meaning of the second major finding on attitudes, namely, strong criticism of apathy among the Negro members, it is necessary to place it in the context of certain points made previously. First, the subjects are aware of an unofficial capacity which attends their official ones. No matter what their official titles, they consider themselves to be unofficial representatives and champions of the Negro group in their locals. It follows (as is documented below) that they look more to the "push" of their Negro constituencies than to that of their
white constituencies, or the "pull" of white officials, for support in their status strivings, both in behalf of the Negro group and for themselves. Secondly, we have just pointed out that the subjects believe that their offices confer a special freedom to fight for the realization of greater opportunity for the Negro group and for themselves. In brief, these two points suggest that the respondents believe they are in advantageous positions to advance racial equality, and look to their Negro fellow-members to support them in this effort.

Now we must add one further finding. Subjects who were most critical of the lack of support from Negro members also expressed unconscious or covert satisfaction with the other side of that same coin, namely, the dependency of the Negro members on the subjects for the defense of the rights of the Negro group. In other words, these subjects tend to conceive of themselves as crusaders, facing formidable adversaries, receiving negligent support but fighting on in spite of all odds. They appear to derive satisfaction from this role conception.

Thus, it does not seem that the subjects suffer dilemma between defending their race and "appearing content with less than full equality and intimacy with [their] white colleagues, for the sake of such security and advantage as can be so got," nor does there seem to be evidence of yielding to the "temptation for such [Negroes] to seek advantage by fostering the idea that

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48 Everett C. Hughes, op. cit., p. 358.
[they are] unlike others of [their] race.\textsuperscript{49} However, it does appear that from the single source of inactivity on the part of Negro members the subjects derive both frustration from not reaching the goal of racial equality fast enough, and satisfaction from feeling specially needed by their fellow-members. (Subjects also gained satisfaction from evidences of dependency on the part of white members). To put the matter more abstractly, the subjects' apparent dilemma arises from the fact that the fulfillment of their unofficial function as Negro representative requires its own elimination, through the mass involvement and participation of those whom they represent.

Subjects were asked to express their dispositions toward three categories of objects: (1) the union as a whole, its racial integration, the degree of opportunity for them to rise in it, change in race relations within it and the comparison of these relations inside with those outside the union; (2) the white officials, members and company management; and (3) the Negro members. Subjects were also asked what they got out of holding office; what their personal ambitions were and whether they thought the union served them. These were questions which almost directly probed the subjects' group identifications.

The Union as a Whole

These attitudes are, in a sense, summations or resultants of the subjects' dispositions toward all aspects of their union activity. Without exception, all subjects expressed proud

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid.
devotion to their unions and consciousness of the strength and material gains which unions have brought them.

Subject J, a Grievance Committee member, referred to the importance of unions both to the needs of workingmen in general and to relations between the races:

The union is one of the greatest things to a working man. Colored and white get along like they were all one race except for three loudmouths who whisper about the colored. We have never had a colored and white fight out there. Colored don't get the same break in AFL as in CIO.

The subject expressed dissatisfaction with the inactivity of the members:

They don't come to meetings. Once somebody on the Exec suggested some kind of door-prize to get the members to come out, but I got up and spoke against it. I was against it in principle because if the members couldn't see anything in the meetings without any door-prize, shame on them.

Proud comments on the unions' effect on the country in general and on the CIO's anti-discrimination policy were made by Subject I:

I always have been 100 per cent to better my living conditions. Any labor movement will do this, but as a whole the CIO is better because their policy is better. They want to break down discrimination - the AFL don't carry that policy.

The government is supposed to be the leader. There's no union without government approval. If it's right by the government it's OK and the state can't fight it too hard. No state can beat the labor movement if it's pushed. Reuther and Meany have more support than any state. There are fifteen or sixteen million in organized labor. The man in the white collar can't put a man in the presidency - the working man got to put him there. Like Truman - if he hadn't vetoed Taft-Hartley, he wouldn't have been elected.

Subject B's remark on why the union does not include all of the eligible workers in his plant reveals some of his own attitudes toward the union:
The rest don't join the union because some of them say 'I promised the boss not to join.' But every time the union gets a raise, they get one too. They just can't see.

Subject H remarked that workers in his industry are the "...'highest paid group in Atlanta because of the union.' The subject made seventy cents an hour when the local was first organized in 1946, two dollars and thirty-two cents an hour in 1955 and the union had just won a twelve cents per hour raise. He mentioned that the union affects life in general by 'getting people together and colored participate in the meetings; and getting people to register and vote.'

Subject G, an officer of the Atlanta Industrial Union Council, expressed his devotion to his union, then qualifies it:

The union is one of the greatest things that the laboring man has ever belonged to - not counting the church. With the union you go to the man not as an individual, but collective bargaining. I like to work for labor, but uppermost in my mind is the church. I ain't going to promise labor I'm going to nothing on Sunday when church is my first duty.

Segregated vs. Integrated Locals

All respondents in mixed locals strongly preferred mixed locals for the same reasons. Subject F puts the typical reasoning best:

If you had two separate unions, the company would try to use you - try to give one a better deal than the other one, but when you combine together, you have nothing but strength. It makes me protect the white man and makes the white man protect me. In separate unions you couldn't thrash out differences of opinion because you wouldn't be together where you could discuss them and then make one solid move.

With one subject, J, vacillation was shown under probing:

'It should be mixed. If we was in a colored local, half of the officers wouldn't be at the meetings. And in a mixed local you can hear what the white man says and be there and talk to him. Same thing in voting.' [Suppose you were president of a segregated local] 'That wouldn't make no difference because I wouldn't have no backers.' [Suppose
you did have backers.) 'It would still make no difference because the whites would outvote you. Wait until we get stronger.' [How strong?] 'If two-thirds of the members were Negroes, then separate would be better.' [Why?] 'No, it's better to keep together and just keep working on getting along together better.'

Another subject described what happened when his local went from AFL (with a Negro sub-local) to CIO:

'In 1950 we went CIO and then we started to get something done. The company went to throwing fits one right after another because they know what CIO means.' Shortly after this, there was a walkout because of company reprisal against the white president of the local: 'The supervisor found out he couldn't read and write, so they used that for an excuse to take him off his regular job and put him on another one where he made less money and had to do a two-man job. When he complained, the supervisor said that was the only job they had for him. Finally they fired him. He came and told me and I got the grievance committee together and we went to the office and gave the boss four days to put him back on. When the four days were up, I told the guys 'You remember what we said - follow me out of here.' The strike lasted ten days and was successful. 'I'm going to stick with the union as long as I'm able to hold a job anywhere.'

The above instance of a Negro worker leading a successful strike in behalf of a white worker seems to express, in pointed and unique fashion, the value which all of the subjects place in non-segregated unity in pursuit of the common aims of Negro and white wage earners.

Opportunity to Rise

The majority of the local officials in mixed unions do not feel that they have free access to higher office - that is, access on the basis of individual merit alone - and thus believe that they remain, as Hughes puts it, "in a career line apart." 50

50 Ibid., p. 359.
The respondents believe that the reason for this lies not so much in the absence of "pull" from the white incumbents in higher echelons, as in the absence of "push" from the Negro members. Conscious as they are of the unofficial, representative function of their own and higher offices to which they aspire, they consider this Negro "push" to be indispensable and do not even expect a significant "push" from the white members.

This appears to be an aspect of the subjects' attitudes toward the Negro members which at the same time reveals part of the motivation for those attitudes. It would seem that some subjects are critical of their Negro fellow-members partly because these members do not vigorously enough help them to rise in office. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that those officials who are most critical of the Negro members in the present regard are also among those most critical of them in general, while the subject who seems to believe most strongly that his union enables a Negro to rise according to merit is also the only subject having a wholly positive evaluation of Negro members.

Subject J ran as a candidate for election as a Trustee of his local and lost. He is a good example of those who were most critical of the Negro members' inactivity, and at the same time proud of their reliance on him:

I can't get my boys' cooperation. When it comes time for a meeting, they always have to meet their wives, or see some TV show, or always have something else to do. But still they want to know what happened at all the meetings. Next morning they all ask me 'What happened at the meeting last night, Johnny?'

Subject I seemed ambitious and bitter:
'My people segregate their own selves. In other places, there's a Negro President and a white President, and it could be here too. I get poor support from my local because colored people seem to be using more uncle-tomism. When there's a local meeting, only seven or eight colored are there. Your own color don't support you. With their support, I could be a member of the staff.'

When asked how high he thought a Negro could go, the subject replied: 'Well, Brother L is first Vice-President and you can't get closer to the top unless you are on top. And we have two colored District Directors in the West - Texas is one of their districts.'

When asked if it would make any difference if the subject were white, he replied, 'I would be higher than where I'm at and some Negroes would push me more if I was white too.'

Subject F, President of the mixed local discussed in the preceding chapter, seemed surest of the opportunity provided within his union for high status achievement. He said, 'A Negro can go as high as President of the International, if we get him qualified.' As we shall see below, this subject was most emphatic in his praise of Negro members of his local.

The investigator believes that A, a Local Finance Secretary-Treasurer, dissembles when he says:

They won't let me get a-loose, but in this coming election I'm going to do-the-goat [refuse to run for office]. I wouldn't be President - he has all the work and all the headaches. I'd like to be a floor member for a while.

Changes In and Through the Union

One main reason why the subjects express uniformly positive attitudes toward their unions in general seems to lie in their awareness of changes for the better within the union, changes which the union has helped to bring about outside the union, and superior achievements inside the union as compared with the outside. Subject F presented the most coherent picture:
Colored and white get along fine - there's better understanding and getting better all the time.

In the 1948 strike the white people had to hug the Negro to get what they wanted or what they needed. That caused a great change.

There's been quite a bit of change in the city in respecting each other's right, that is, they have started using more respect for Negroes. I've noticed the courtesy at Rich's - they wait on you in order, as you come. And the attitude on the trolleys is better. But changes are taking place more in the plant. If a man wants to curse you out there, and you want to curse him back, you do it - although we don't have much of that. The white man tries to get along with you.

The main thing we need is the abolishing of segregation and discrimination. If we were holding a convention here, we couldn't go to the Biltmore to accommodate all our people - and you wouldn't be able to get to the white people like you should and they wouldn't be able to get to you like they should. And you know at a convention we union people share rooms in the hotel and stay close together.

Subject E illustrated the effect of the union on relationships in the city:

Talmadge said it wouldn't happen - but it did - Talmadge said there would never be a mixed group at the City Auditorium. But the 1952 Georgia State CIO Convention was held there and Mayor Hartsfield welcomed us and we had a four-day session there - all mixed and mangled together - white men, white women, colored men and colored women. That Saturday night we had our banquet in the Skyroom [of the City Auditorium] and we had about 600 people and about half of them was colored all mixed in. Now Talmadge said that wouldn't happen, but it did.

Then Subject E added a self-revealing note:

We had a grand time, but the president had asked for it to be formal and some of those crackers came with no ties, grey pants.

Subject J emphasized the changes in the plant and offers a suggestion to speed the change:

There's seventy-five per cent improvement over three years ago. The Negroes used to do the dirty work, but now they're all spread around. They're thrown together more, due to plant-wide seniority. If you look at the assembly line, you might see a white, then a colored guy, then another white guy all working along together.
In my old job they used to have one hour a week to learn the company. They should have the same thing now to learn each other [Negro and white].

Subjects B and H also noted in-plant changes:

Twelve years ago the foreman could cuss a man out, but the union broke that down. The union gives you a 'git-back'. I wouldn't work in a place where there was no union. It's more friendly between supervisors and employees now and we're able to accomplish things. Only five people have been fired since the union came and every one was brought back with seniority and back-pay. It used to be that the white worked longer than the colored [and made more money] but now it's the same. We have only one drinking fountain now, and mixed dressing rooms and they have started hiring Negro women. Changes are better and faster in the union because the union is fighting.

Subject I saw small change in the way Negro and white get along in his local:

'Ain't but one thing where they got a little friendlier.' A white woman in the local offered two men fifty dollars to beat up the subject during the factionalist fight in the local to which we have previously referred. Later on she apologized, but she still has that Negroism in her.'

'Things are a little better inside the union - the union is more pulling for it.'

Management

All subjects are antagonistic toward management, but the subjects' comments reveal differences in this basic attitude. Subject B, fifty-eight years old and with thirty-two years of experience in his plant and industry as an unskilled worker, said:

The supervisors don't care about us old guys - they'll just fire them and get some young ones if they can. The union is for self-protection against that. The man before me had twenty-five years seniority and he was fired.

During the 1948 strike, Subject H's company officials visited Negro workers' homes, offered to pay them to come back
to work. All the Negro workers said they would follow the subject - whatever he did, they would do. The company offered the subject and his wife money but both refused. The company got an injunction to keep the subject away from the plant during the strike, and he was fired. But at the end of the strike he was one of the most needed workers and was among the first to be brought back.

The following excerpt describes an integrated plant in which the subject's (E) attitude toward management reflects the ambivalence of his employment and institutional statuses there:

One thing I'll say about my company - there's no discrimination there. I don't know why, but if you want to make the boss mad, just insinuate there's some discrimination. Sometimes I look around me and just don't believe it's the South. And it's all over the mill like that - a white man and a colored man working right together and making the same salary. And if they work together, their pay is kept right together - they work about the same hours. Most places where I worked, you never knew what the white man made and you know he's making more than you.

Johnson, [the supervisor] and he's just as low-down as he can be, told a mechanic that said he didn't work with a n-- that he'd have to, or not work at all. 'E [the subject] is about as good a mechanic as I've seen.'

The following subject (F), from his unique position as Negro President of a mixed local, describes how the local deals with management:

We never has been turned away, and secured a lot of respect. We base every grievance on the master agreement instead of paragraphs in it like the old officers used to do. That way, we can skip around and find our grounds and management never knows where we are going to hit and they can't get set.

They all call me 'Big Jack' or just 'Jack'. Out there the Negroes avoid calling 'Mister' - they just call the supervisors 'boss' or nothing, just 'Hey there!' We call all of the employees by their [first] names.
The White Union Members and Officials

Several variations of, on the one hand, distrust, and on the other, brotherhood, were found among the subjects. One subject (J), criticized the white president of his local for "talking out of both sides of his mouth" and regarded some of the white members as obstacles to the election of Negro officers. He said, "The white loudmouths call the whites who would want to vote for a colored man 'n---- lovers' and drive them away."

But, the subject advised,

Be frank and straight with the white man, don't 'tom' to him. If there are things one of them does that you don't like, tell him - that'll break him down. Be a man.

The Subject H's local is one of those which has emerged from the splitting attempt already described, and he speaks of the power of Negroes in his local:

Our local never split as sharp as some other locals and all who went with the District Organizer are back now. There's no hard feelings. We elected white officers to keep things together. I could have been President. The whites live way out in the country and the Negroes live in town. The whites won't stay for an eight-nine-ten o'clock meeting, so we could elect just who we want to - we could have the whole thing colored.

Subject F., now president, was critical of his white predecessor in that office:

'We found out that the last President was nowhere on the main issue of seeing to it that the Negroes had an equal chance. He drank heavy and he misused money.' The subject told of going to a convention and negotiations in Chicago with the former President, who tried to get the subject to help him write extra expense checks, but the respondent said he refused.

The following informant (E) described the atmosphere of brotherhood which seems to exist in his plant and local:
The white guys went to bat for a colored guy the company wanted to lay off because they had mechanized his job. They said 'If they lay him off, they'll be laying somebody else off the same way.'

This particular subject also evidenced some feelings of personal superiority arising from his consciousness of the singularity of his ninth grade education:

'They are some of the dumbest people you ever saw in your life. The President told me he realized I would make a better President than he would because I can read and write better. They all cooperates very good, but they just don't have any forethought - they never think if a man is capable of holding an office - they just up and nominate him.' Some time ago, the man elected Recording Secretary couldn't read or write well and, after making several errors, he resigned. The local then elected a Negro to the office. At the next election, the subject was elected.

'Why can't they go to school? I spent most of my time in night school and I'm going to Blayton's school for accounting next September.'

The subject's superior attitude extended to the Negro members as well: 'Don't know of any Negro as qualified as I am educationally, and also they try to pick someone [for office] that is clean so far as criminal is concerned. I don't know of one who is qualified.'

Subject G, a local representative to, and officer of, the Atlanta Industrial Union Council seemed wary of white members and officers, and formal in his relations with them. He keeps a key to the offices of the Atlanta Industrial Union Council. Here he comments on the integration of the work force at his plant:

'They integrated the production line about a year ago - did away with man-rates and made job-rates. The "big man" from Pittsburgh [company] office did it after he talked with a friend of his on the bargaining committee. Now they take it OK but at first they didn't like it a bit. The white don't come out with their grievances against the colored but it's there.'

The Negro Members

Eight of the eleven subjects who are officials of locals in mixed unions express varying degrees of dissatisfaction with their
Negro fellow-members. Two of the remaining three expressed no opinion, and only one of them expressed a wholly positive disposition.

The critical attitude toward the Negro members may be illustrated by the following selections from several interviews:

Some of them I don't feel too good over. S is not too thoughtful. He don't think fast enough and then he's too quick to say 'yes'. I don't believe in just everything I say you agree with with.

Some Negroes get so used to saying 'yessir' they can't say 'no'.

We don't have enough colored people with guts - they're like this - they're just there.

Negroes have the best jobs, gripe less, let too much pass up.

Our people are like this - they want these things, but come down to sure enough fight, they hide, they ain't got the guts.

If ever a man go against me for a white man, I have no use for him.

Subject F, alone, had unqualified praise for Negro members of his local:

Negro members are the ones to hold the line when you're on strike. They will not scab. But we have to be careful of our white members. Your biggest strength is in the colored people. In the 1946 and '48 strikes the Negro was the most militant - he never crossed a picket line.

There are seventy-five to one hundred Negro men at the plant between twenty and thirty years old. Young Negroes have the grit and nerve and more education, and they can use the old ones' experience.

The Negro studies his contract better - it's the only way he can get by, by knowing his rights.

Motivation and Ambitions

The subjects expressed three principal sources of personal satisfaction in connection with holding union office: helping others and being depended on by others, working to achieve equality, and moving to higher union office.

Subject F, who has the firmest belief in the existence of
full opportunity for a Negro to rise in his union's ranks, is one of those who expressed least ambition to do so:

I've been working for the company for twenty-five years and I'd have a lot to lose. We're trying to train the young guys for the staff jobs. The higher a Negro goes, the more he can help.

We have a job to do for the people and the only way we can get anywhere is to do the job. Nobody looks for any praises.

The "helping others" theme is also sounded by Subject E:

Well, look, I believe in helping to bring up fallen humanity. Now I don't get paid in the church for the up-bringing of humanity - I'm just glad to be there.

Subject H, in addition to expressing altruistic motives for holding office, put into words a motive which was evident, by implication, in all subjects:

I get a kick out of "jooging" at the supervisors and some of the white guys in the local. I don't know, it just makes me feel good all over. I get tickled at myself sometimes.

This subject, (D) official in an all-Negro local and union, lent the same idea greater dignity: "The Brotherhood enables me to dispute the white man's word."

The following respondent (B) emphatically declared his aspirations to a staff position and apparently wanted the investigator to put in a good word for him.

Now that's what I'm working for - that's why I work hard for the union I got now, and the main thing is to try to work along with the [white] office people here. I want to get the opportunity to be called out to do work for the international. And if I do I can get my job back with my same seniority. It looks like a good chance I will be called out. People my age got to front things, show the young ones so they can come along.

Then the subject took up the "helping others" motif, which also expresses gratification with the dependency of others:
Every union member ought to feel the kin of another member, especially the president and he has to go a little out of the way to see that people are satisfied. People in my local think I'm up there just to give orders, but actually, I'm just a servant. I serve for the good that I've done, for the good that I'm still trying to do. I get as much joy out of taking up a grievance for those who are against me as for those sticking close to me because I know it's just ignorance on their part.

Subject G was offered a temporary staff job, but because he had a small farm and had to get in the crop, he refused the offer. The man who did take the job is still on the staff and the subject expressed regret at not having accepted. He thought he might again be offered a staff position, was not optimistic.

By contrast with the subjects quoted above, this respondent (J) denied personal ambition both inside and outside the union:

I don't look for a future in the union, or any type of future. Tomorrow can take care of itself. All I want is a clean place to sleep, wholesome food and to be able to pay my bills. When I'm satisfied, I'm just satisfied, that's all. I want to help my people get to the point where they can say 'no' a little.

The Staff Officials' Attitudes

The three non-local officials who were interviewed present cases of Negroes who have risen to international and CIO positions from local offices. All three came from and are presently associated with unions having high Negro membership proportions.

Subject M, Associate Director of Education for the international union described his coming up from the ranks, his functions and his attitudes.

In 1937 he joined the Redcaps in Cincinnati. When they affiliated with CIO in 1942, the subject became Chairman of the Grievance Committee. In 1943 he became the first Negro ever elected to the Executive Board of the Ohio State CIO Council as a result of organized pressure from the Negro
delegates to the state convention on the convention leaders. In 1951, he did some work for PAC-CIO in Kentucky, and in 1946, he was hired as an organizer on the CIO Organizing Committee for the South. He continued in this work until 1953 and as part of his regular work, began giving classes in various locals on labor history and grievance processing.

In the fall of 1953, he was assigned to his present position. His office is unique: he is the only Negro among a national Director and three regional Associate Directors in the union and he is the only staff member Negro or white, that he knows of, who is assigned region-wide responsibility for education by any union in the South.

'You feel like it's a crusade - like you're doing something for the masses of people and for the Negro in particular. It's like a religion - doing something for the masses of people.'

He told of having given a course in job relations to six southern white delegates to the 1953 Southern educational conference which was presided over by the National Director. 'At first, they were hostile to me, but when they saw the respect that the Director and others gave me, they began to respect what I was teaching them and the fact that I could teach them.'

He said he has always disliked Mississippi even though he had never been there, and never wanted to go there. Then a mixed local in Jackson requested him. 'At first I didn't want to go, but they gave my program the best reception of anywhere in the South. I hated to leave.'

'I like my job for the freedom it gives me. I like to get out among the people - the guys that really need help, guys that can't write their names.' The subject expected to pilot a trial of his idea of hiring teachers to teach illiterate members how to read and write.

He is active in his home community in Virginia, campaigns for Negro political candidates and is a trustee of his church.

Subject L, a Staff Organizer for the same union as M, has been in office since 1951. He discussed the CIO and the Negro:

Through the CIO the Negro is educated on labor legislation and closer relations between Negro and white. The CIO is teaching the Negro a lot about organization - the Negro is woefully weak in administering his contract.

Negro organizers were put on the staff due to the pressure Negro members put on white organizers. Many Negroes were first organized by a Negro that CIO assigned to the union in 1950 and after he left, they still expected to see a Negro organizer and said so.

Then, these two paradoxical, but revealing statements were made:
I used to belong to the AFL, but I like the CIO. This is a brotherhood - I don't call nobody 'Mister' in the CIO. It's 'Brother' so-and-so ... Let the Southern cracker feel that he's in the lead and you can get anything you want, without stooping.

What does he get out of his work as an officer? The subject first mentioned his pay and the new car and home which he owns. Then he said,

I believe in the trade-labor movement - I've seen many towns whose standards were raised by the union. I get particular pleasure out of organizing the unorganized. I have hated to leave a place - I've made so many good friends there. Unless you are in the kind of work you or I am in, you might not see how wonderful people are.

In his home community in North Carolina, the subject is known as "the CIO man" as a result of his leadership of a strike there when he was president of the local there.

Subject N, a Field Representative, has been in his present office for eleven years and works under a white District Director. He is one of two Negroes out of seven officials at his staff level. He outlined the rewards of his office:

I try to overcome the old beliefs that whites make better negotiators - the guy who makes the best arguer with the boss makes the best union man. I'm not satisfied with my accomplishments, but I like the work. I could get a job with other unions at more pay and less work, but I stick with my union because I can do more good and I know the job by now. Plant workers make more money than I do, but I'd rather be doing this because of my physical condition [age] and because I feel I can make a contribution.

In connection with the Staff subjects, it should be noted that though they are more often in superior status relationship to those white members and officials with which they have dealings than are the local officers, they share the unofficial function which has been discussed in relation to local officers.

The attitudes and motivations of the Staff subjects are
essentially similar to those of the local subjects, except that their attitudes toward Negro members in particular, and toward all members and workers in general are more positive. This finding may be explained by the fact that they are less directly dependent upon the members for their positions, since they are appointed officers.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to examine the status conceptions of fourteen individual Negro CIO union leaders intensively, in order to uncover some details of the subjective effects of inter-racial industrial union organization and status achievement.

The basic findings of the study are as follows:

First, the subjects share certain circumstances of election and incumbency in common or in major part. Among these are: a large percentage of their local's and/or union's total membership is Negro; the subjects have come to office in times of conflict with management or internal factions. For the most part, they are not the only Negro officials of their locals or unions.

They rank high in wage, skill and experience in their industries, plants, unions, locals and in holding office. There is no significant difference in levels of educational attainment among the subjects from locals, but two of the staff officers interviewed had been to college. Most subjects have spent several years of their youth on farms on in small towns in the South.

Second, two overlapping functions were found to be expected of, and performed by, the subjects: an official function denoted by the title of the offices they hold, and an unofficial one as representatives of the Negro members. No distinction seemed apparent between these two functions in the minds of the respondents,
who seem to view their unofficial functions as the primary role-content of their institutional statuses.

Third, the staff officials interviewed reflected circumstances of election and incumbency, and functions similar to those of the local officials interviewed. The only major difference is in the staff subjects' attitude toward the Negro members which was much more positive than that of the local subjects. This may be explained by the fact that the staff officials depend less directly upon the support of the Negro members to remain in office.

Fourth, all of the subjects believe that not only do their statuses involve roles of championing Negro equality, but they also confer special freedom to do so. However, the subjects in local unions, in contrast with the staff subjects, look mainly to their Negro constituencies for support and find it wanting. The local subjects seem to consider themselves lone, or nearly lone, crusaders and find their main motivations in the fight for equality and in the dependency, in this fight, which they believe the Negro members have on them. Of those who expressed a desire to rise in union ranks, none were among the highest wage earners (who denied such aspirations for financial reasons).

Several further questions emerge from the study. They may be answered by studies which examine status conceptions among Negro officials in one union, from the highest to the lowest office held; in several unions among CIO and AFL affiliates and independent unions; and in one union, in connection with a given incident or conflict situation. A study which seeks to establish
and compare the conceptions of two groups of Negro workers, of similar personal characteristics - one of them in a rural setting and one of them in an urban, industrial setting - would throw some light on the changes which take place among Negro workers who make the transition. Lastly, an examination of the ways in which white CIO union members and officials conceive their own and Negro statuses would add an important dimension to the present study.
APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTARY NOTES OF TWO INTERVIEWS

The dissection of subjects' responses for the analytical purposes of the body of the study, in emphasizing the apparent coherence among status conceptions for the subjects as a group, may have sacrificed a degree of clarity with respect to this coherence within the responses of individual subjects. It is partly our purpose here to correct any such shortcomings through the presentation of two interviews which document the status conceptions of one respondent: Subject K.

The first interview is with the white President of subject K's local. It was made four months prior to the interview with K himself, and about three months prior to a ten-week South-wide strike in the industry. The investigator asked the local President (whom we shall call X) for the names and addresses of the Negro official or officials of his local, and for some information on the local, its activities, problems, changes, et cetera. The interview record with X therefore serves to establish a general picture of the way in which the Negro official (subject K) is thought of by his white local President and to give special force to certain of K's own responses.

What are the names of the Negro officers of your local? We only have one - his name is John K. He has been a member of the Executive Board since November 1949. The first thing I did when I got into the presidency was to put John on the Executive Board. John gives all of our invocations at the meetings - he's a deacon. Whenever the International
wants something done at conventions, they always get John to speak on the floor for it.

'We had a sub-local up until 1950 and John was President of it. That was until we went CIO. The AFL unions have sub-locals for colored, but we don't because Negroes pay the same dues and go out on strike the same as we do. We don't have any colored people on the picket lines because this is Atlanta. They work in the kitchen and doing what they can do better than white people. If we did put them on the picket lines, Talmadge and his boys would get some free publicity. But one time an AFL union went on strike and Negroes were on the lines, and white members of my union refused to cross the lines.'

The respondent spoke of racial wage differentials:

The union dues are three dollars a month for everybody, white and colored, in spite of the colored wage differential. But we're afraid that if we have a graduated dues, the company won't be willing to deduct two different amounts from the pay. The top wage-scale for colored is forty-five dollars, as cooks, maids, elevator operators, janitors, garagemen, groundsmen and storeroom men. The white wage is fifty-seven dollars for operators and sixty-five dollars for general clerical.

How many members does the union local have? 'About 150 Negroes, and about 1,850 whites. We could have more, but we don't allow many of the [white] hotheads in the union.'

The following records the interview with subject K. The subject is the only Negro among eleven local Executive Board members, elected to that office in 1950, he said, at a meeting attended by eighteen to twenty Negro members and 175 to 200 white members. About seven per cent of his local's total membership is Negro.

According to subject K, he was President of the Negro sub-local from 1946 to 1950. The local union was affiliated to an independent, region-wide union which merged with the CIO union of corresponding industrial jurisdiction in 1950, and the sub-local was dissolved at that time. We have here, then, an opportunity to examine the status conceptions of a Negro who has given up the
highest segregated union status possible for a Negro to attain, in favor of lower titular status in an integrated union.

Subject K has twenty-six years of experience in his industry, is fifty-seven years of age, has lived in Atlanta for the past thirty-five years, and lived on a farm in South Carolina until he was sixteen years old.

He is a janitor in his plant and earns between forty-six and fifty-five dollars per week. In addition to this, his regular job, he also has what he called two "sideline" jobs. The most important of these, for our purposes, is that as janitor of his local union hall. In other words, Subject K holds a high institutional status in his local, and at the same time, is employed by his local in the lowest occupational status.

The subject is a member of a large Atlanta Baptist church, where he is chairman of the Trustee Board. He belongs to two other organizations of national affiliation and has "voted in every election since Coolidge." He completed the sixth year of elementary school, and is married, with two dependents.

'We had about one hundred forty Negroes in the union and about 2300 altogether before the strike, but we lost some. Better than one-third of the Negro members worked during the strike - it was the first time such a large number worked. The company was trying to crack the union this time - they were much tougher.' How long were you out?

'Ten weeks. I missed only two days going to the union hall in those ten weeks. I was a member of the Welfare Committee. It was the first time we had a Welfare Committee, and we paid the members money for food and paid their emergency bills.' K talked at some length about strikers who got more from the committee than they needed, and about those who got more than he did. He was the only Negro of five members of the committee.

'At the union meeting just after we went CIO, the [local, white] president told me he was wondering where he was going to sit the colored people. I told him we have no more segregated local, so let them sit where they can find
seats. That's the way it was, but our people segregate themselves sometimes. Usually now our people sit up front, bunched together. And the fact that too many of our people decline [responsibility in the union] too much makes me do more than one thing to hold our little end up and keep from being pushed clear out. It's almost a one-man fight!'

"During the strike, X wanted to buy a separate coffee pot for the colored, as he said, to make them feel more at home because they seem to be a little shy about going into the kitchen with the whites to get coffee from the pot there. So I told him if we got one big local, and the constitution says that, we got to make it a reality. He said, "but some of your people seem to be reluctant to go into the kitchen." And I said, OK, but when will they learn if we have a separate coffee pot?" No separate coffee pot was bought.

"I guess the union would say, "If it wasn't for John, we could do just like we wanted." I know what white people expect, in a courtesy way, so I give it to them, I "Mister" them all. After all, you're here. It hurts and it helps. But I'm tougher than some people might expect." K is trying to get another, better-paying and easier job. "It's like the foreman told me to forget about trying to get the job, that if the boss didn't want him to have his job, he wouldn't want it either. I told him the Negro wouldn't get anywhere with that attitude - the minority group only gets what it fights for. I was raised in the country and I don't have any high-school education, but I don't lap with them [white people]."

"Two years ago, the state director wanted to call a meeting of the Exec Board at the Piedmont Hotel and they told me I couldn't go, but I could take the day off from work anyway." K refused and protested, and went to work. "Do you know that that meeting was held in the union hall, and I went to it. I sat there and looked at these nineteen white people and got kind of scared. I thought that I had stopped them from having the meeting at the Piedmont. Just one Negro. Then I thought that I have done some good after all with my work in the union."

"I told X that the CIO principles are good, but some people are doing them no good. "If I get to heaven, I'm going to see some of your people there, and if you get to heaven, you going to see some of my people there. But we got to learn to get along here first, to deserve it.""

At first, K denied any special role in the union. Then he said:

"If the colored have any serious grievance, they [the white members] feel that I'm able to get the facts better than they can."

"If there was a Negro who could and wanted to go higher in the union he'd get consideration, especially if he had
some support. The company is the biggest obstacle—they are the ones who don't want to recognize you.' K is the only Negro Executive Board member anywhere in the union that he knows of. 'That's why I can't go any higher—nobody is up there that I can point to.'

K noted progress however. At a division meeting in 1949, he read the sub-local's resolution that Negroes be put on the Negotiating Committee, but the motion was defeated. Last year and this year, however, the committee did have Negroes on it.

'The only reason for a sub-local is to keep you from meeting together.' All of the sub-local's moves had to be approved by the main local, the President of the sub-local never met with the main local's members or leaders, and the only contact was when a white official paid a visit or was invited to come to the sub-local meeting.

'During the strike, Negro men and women went on the picket lines for the first time. There were thirty-eight men, and some of them were at the main office. They were put on the line on the second day of the strike, and during the last weeks of the strike, I had charge of them. One reason for it was that a lot of the whites got temporary jobs and weren't available.'
APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Would you describe your duties in the union? Are there any extra or special things that you do? Is there anything else? Can you give me an example of some union work that you did?

2. How would you compare the part you play in union activities with the part played by other officers in the union? What about the other Negro officers? What about the white officers?

3. Do you think being a Negro makes any difference in the things you do in the union? In the things you can do? In the things you want to do?

4. How do you feel about your chances to get places in the union? How high do you think you can go? What are some of the limitations?

5. How do you feel about the chances of other members to get places in the union? What about the other Negro members?

6. Do you know of any other Negroes that hold office in your union? What is the highest office a Negro holds in your local? In your union?

7. In general, how do you feel about the part you play in your union?

8. In general, how do you feel about the part played by other members? The Negroes? The whites?
9. What do you think about the way colored and white get along in your local? In your union?

10. Do you think one integrated local, or separate locals for white and colored are better? Why?

11. What strikes you as the most important thing about the way Negro and white get along in your local? Have you noticed any changes since you joined the union?

12. What do you think accounts for these changes?

13. Are relations between colored and white changing fast enough to suit you?

14. What do you think needs most to be done in the local right now? Anything along the lines of Negro and white relations?

15. Do you think the union stands for racial equality? All parts of the union? Why do you think they take that stand?

16. How do you feel about the way colored and white get along outside the union? In the city? In the state?

17. Have you noticed any changes in the way colored and white get along in Atlanta since you started living here?

18. Where do you think race relations are changing faster - in the union, or in the city in general? Where do you think the best changes are taking place?

19. Do you think unions have any effect on race relations in Atlanta in general? What about your own union?

20. Do you think the union helps you personally, to get what you want out of life, and to do the things you want to do?

21. Do you think your work in the union has any effect on the position of Negroes? Do you want it to have any effect?

22. What do you get out of being a union officer?
PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Union ____________________________ Local ____________________________

Company ____________________________

1. What is the title of the union office you hold? ____________________________

2. Were you elected? __________ Appointed? __________
   (If elected) Tell me something about the candidates you ran against.
   (IF APPOINTED) By whom? ____________________________

3. How long have you held this office? ____________________________

4. Have you ever held any other offices in your present local?
   (IF YES) Please name them ____________________________

5. Have you ever held any offices in any other local or other union?
   (IF YES) Please name the unions and the offices and locals ____________________________

6. About how long have you worked in your present industry? ____________________________

7. About how long have you been working in your present shop or factory? ____________________________

8. About how long have you been a member of your present union? ____________________________ Of your present local?

9. About how long have you lived in Atlanta, or have you spent your whole life here? ____________________________

10. Where did you live before that? ____________________________

11. Did you ever live in a small town or on a farm? __________
    (IF YES) For how long? ____________________________

12. How many dependents do you have? ____________________________

13. Are you married ______ single ______ widowed ______ divorced ______ or separated ______


15. Did you vote in the 1952 Presidential elections? ______
    (IF NO) Why not? ____________________________

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16. Did you vote in the 1951* local elections? ____________________________
   (IF NO) Why not?_______________________________________________
17. What was the last grade you completed in school?____________________
18. What organizations besides the union do you belong to? 
   a. ________________________ b. ________________________
   c. ________________________ d. ________________________
19. What offices do you hold in any of them? 
   a. ________________________ b. ________________________
   c. ________________________ d. ________________________
20. What is the name of the job you hold in your shop or factory? 
21. Compared with the other jobs in your shop, would you say that your job calls for almost no special skill__________
   some skill__________ a lot of skill__________________________
22. In which group would your average weekly wage be? 
   (SHOW CARD) a. $25 to $35_________________
   b. $36 to $45_________________
   c. $46 to $55_________________
   d. $56 to $65_________________
   e. $66 to $75_________________
   f. $76 to $85_________________
   g. over $85_________________
23. Compared with the other union members in your shop, would you say this is a high__________medium__________ or low wage__________?
24. How old are you?_________________
25. When was the union organized where you work?____________________
26. About how many members does your union have?____________________
27. How many of the members are Negroes?___________________________
28. What officers does your union have?__________________________________________
29. Which of these are Negroes? (INDICATE WITH "N" ABOVE)__________________________
30. What is the most important thing about your union?
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