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## ABSTRACT

### RACISM IN THE BUILDING TRADES

BY

Kenneth Leon Gagala

Negroes comprise a small fraction of the membership of most building trade unions. Solutions for this problem were investigated by interviewing civil rights, government, industry and union representatives in Chicago and Detroit and analyzing data provided by them.

The major obstacle is the paucity of blacks possessing the requisite skills for working in the trades. Government policies have been successful to only the extent that at least 100 years will elapse before equality is attained.

The unions could increase the pace of equalization by admitting more blacks to existing programs or by establishing special training programs. Government could establish training classes divorced from union control. Government and union action depends upon the power of the black community.

**RACISM IN THE BUILDING TRADES**

**By**

**Kenneth Leon Gagala**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to**

**Michigan State University**

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements**

**for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of Economics**

**1970**

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Of necessity, respondents to my inquiries on racism in the building trades must remain anonymous. The knowledge they generously shared is the substance of this dissertation.

To Professor Charles P. Larrowe I will always be indebted for guidance on issues of substance and style and for support when I became discouraged. Having bases for comparison, he provided an excellent model for a young academic to emulate.

The George C. Catlin Memorial Library of the Detroit News and the Municipal Reference Library of the City of Chicago provided complete and well organized newspaper clipping files.

The Gersch family--Barbara, Delores, Gene, and Ruth--and the Parkhursts--Dan and Renas--made my visits to Chicago and Detroit most enjoyable by sharing their homes.

Sabina Anne Langill typed the final copy and more importantly, assumed the burden of adapting the study to the prescribed format.

My wife Pat typed and edited the rough drafts, but her major contributions are intangible.

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27. Boile
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## UNION MADE

by Eugene Gersch

Cast the die upon the ground.  
Watch it roll.  
Each has a number.  
A number turns.  
It is read.  
It is not mine.  
Cast the die upon the earth.  
Watch it roll.  
A number is read.  
It is not mine.  
Cast the die upon the dirt.  
Watch it roll!  
A number!  
It is not mine!  
The dies roll, the numbers read,  
They are not mine.  
If the die be true, then  
My number should be at least  
One in five.  
I hold the die.  
It says U.S.A.  
My heart is sad.  
My eyes are full.  
I cry;  
It is union made.  
Brotherhood!  
Brotherhood!  
Make the die true.  
Let me see my number;  
I am a man as you.

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## CHAPTER I

### RACISM IN THE BUILDING TRADES

Throughout American history, the black minority has been relegated to second class citizenship. Only within recent decades has the government sought to complete the act of emancipation, and, as is often the case in a pluralistic society, it has moved slowly in effectuating those declared policies. This slow transition toward equality has created anxiety among Negroes.

Over 100 years ago, the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass observed:

Beat and cuff your slave, keep him hungry and spiritless, and he will follow the chain of his master like a dog; but feed and clothe him well, work him moderately, surround him with physical comfort, and dreams of freedom intrude.

The Kerner Commission echoed Douglass by reporting that the most impatient blacks are those who have realized new freedoms but are unable to fulfill their aspirations for complete equality. If American society continues the present pace of equalization, the racial strife of the 1960's will undoubtedly be duplicated in the 1970's. The prospect of civil discord as a consequence of procrastination should not be necessary to motivate a free society to make its constitutional precepts de facto.

If Negro men were to enjoy the same occupational distribution as that of the labor force as a whole, 28% of the non-white men employed in 1966 would move to higher-status and higher-paying categories. This shift would produce about \$4.8 billion more earned income for non-white men alone, approximately a 30% increase in annual income for this group.

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The concentration of Negro males at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important source of poverty among blacks--more important than unemployment.

This conclusion underlines the difficulty of improving the economic status of Negro men. It is far easier to create new jobs than either to create new jobs with relatively high status and earning power, or to upgrade existing employed or partly-employed workers into such better-quality employment. Yet only such upgrading will eliminate the fundamental basis of poverty and deprivation among Negro families. (138:254-56)

While a high level of economic growth is necessary to upgrade the occupational status of blacks, it is not a sufficient condition. Dale Hiestand attempted to relate changes in minority group employment to changes in economic growth over the period 1910 through 1960 and

concluded that his efforts had been largely in vain. It is his conclusion, in light of this negative finding, that the key determinants of the growth of minority group employment are non-economic forces such as changed attitudes and behavior of the white majority with respect to minorities. The changes in attitudes that have opened up new opportunities for Negroes are reflected in hiring policies, in the educational and training programs available to them, in their eligibility for trade union membership, and in other ways. (67:XIV)

Conversely, though, full utilization of the employment potential of minority group workers is a necessary and, ceteris paribus, sufficient condition for maximum economic growth. Racial inequality is expensive. In 1962, the President's Council of Economic Advisors estimated that discrimination costs the United States \$13 billion in national income annually. (17:492)

This study examines the status of the black in the construction trades of two cities. The color line in the building trades is a difficult one for Negroes to break. The process of combating this barrier may provide useful analogies for other areas of employment where the obstacles to full black participation are as formidable.

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## WHO BUILT TARA?

While the crew constructing sets for "Gone With the Wind" in the 1930's was undoubtedly lily-white given the traditional racial exclusiveness of the motion picture industry, most buildings in the antebellum South were constructed by black labor. In sharp contrast to the stereotype of cotton and banjo pickin' slaves, blacks were the skilled labor force of the South. A study sponsored by the federal government in 1865 to assess the needs of reconstruction estimated that the South had 100,000 black and 20,000 white mechanics. (152:12-13 & 16)

Mindful of the capitalist tradition, the reason for this racial imbalance is clear. The Southern aristocracy attempted to maximize their return on investment. The value of the Negro craftsman was reflected in his price. Black artisans commonly sold for twice that of field hands. (152:5)

Slave owners apprenticed Negro youth to white mechanics for training. Blacks and whites worked together on the job with no apparent trouble. The Negro journeyman was utilized on the plantation and hired out for construction projects in the cities and surrounding countryside. White craftsmen were often driven from their trade by slave owners who could supply a large number of workers at a per unit cost below that sufficient to sustain a white artisan and his family. In Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina, white artisans attempted through legislation to prevent the employment of enslaved craftsmen, but these efforts were futile. (152:7-9)

Some masters allowed slaves to retain a portion of their earnings from work off the plantation, contributions to the purchase of freedom.

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In 1820, the majority of building craftsmen in Philadelphia were apparently Negro freedmen. (152:12-13 & 16) Denmark Vesey, a freedman and carpenter, led the Slave Rebellion of 1824. Conversely, today black freedmen struggle to become carpenters.

#### ERECTING THE COLOR LINE

After 1865, the black craftsman vied with whites for construction jobs. Paradoxically, the struggle in the South was the reverse of that in the North.

In the North, whites controlled the building trades and blacks sought entrance. (60:182-83) Even prior to the Civil War the arrival of free Negro artisans into the North was resented by whites who lobbied for restrictions upon migration and often violently drove black freedmen from the job. (152:13-13)

In the South, Negroes dominated the construction sector and whites attempted to dislodge them, a task facilitated by emancipation's destruction of the property interest of the Southern slave-owning class.

Negro-white participation in the building trades was reported for the first time in the 1890 U. S. Census. The decline in the Southern Negro's relative participation from that inferred by the estimated number of black and white mechanics in 1865 (83% Negro) is reflected in Table 1.

Considering that Negroes have comprised between 11 and 14% of the U. S. population over the period 1890 to 1950, Table 2 reflects the virtual exclusion of Negroes from the 6 building trades which comprise the majority of skilled construction workers.

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\*Alabama, Arka  
Carolina, Ter

Source: U. S.

PROP

Carpenters

Painters

Bricklayers

Plasterers  
Cement Fini

Plumbers

Electrician

\*Proportions  
\*\*Includes st

Source: U. S.

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN SELECTED BUILDING TRADE  
IN TEN SOUTHERN STATES IN 1890\*

Carpenters	25.6
Painters	22.2
Bricklayers	47.0
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	52.5

\*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina

Source: U. S. Census Reports, 1890

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN SELECTED BUILDING TRADES  
IN THE UNITED STATES 1890-1950\*

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Carpenters	3.6	3.7	4.3	3.9	3.5	3.9	3.9
Painters	2.0	2.1	2.9	3.2	3.6	3.8	5.2
Bricklayers**	6.1	9.0	7.5	8.1	6.9	6.0	10.9
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	10.3	10.5	13.0	15.4	15.8	15.2	19.3
Plumbers	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.2	3.2
Electricians	N/A	N/A	.6	.6	.7	.7	1.0

\*Proportions for 1960 not available

\*\*Includes stone masons beginning in 1940

Source: U. S. Census Reports, 1890 through 1950

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By 1900, building trade unions controlled the supply of construction labor in virtually all large urban areas. In 1930, Lorenzo Greene and Carter Woodson observed:

The increasing organization of the whites...tended to minimize the chances of employment for Negro mechanics. By collective bargaining the whites have made skilled labor so attractive through increased wages that the competition with the Negroes for this work has not only become excessively keen but in many cases has also resulted in forcing the Negro out of employment. The unionizing of these trades has not only eliminated Negro mechanics by gradually driving them from these spheres, but has also deprived their children of the opportunity of rising through apprenticeship. (60:324)

The building trade unions were among the character organizations in the American Federation of Labor. From its outset in 1881 the A.F.L. prohibited member unions from maintaining constitutional restrictions on Negro membership. The International Association of Machinists was not allowed to join the A.F.L. until it struck the discriminatory clause from its constitution.

The machinists' union, however, circumvented the class conscious intent of the A.F.L. by installing as a part of its induction ritual a promise on the part of its members to only nominate whites for membership. (152:88-89) Such circumvention was not unusual and the A.F.L. has to this day placed trade union autonomy above racial equality by never disciplining a discriminatory affiliate.

The color line was erected by different techniques.

Negroes have enjoyed nearly equal access with whites in the "trowel trades"--bricklaying, cement finishing, and plastering, although it was not always this way. In 1869, a Washington, D. C. bricklayer's local expelled 4 of its white members for working with Negroes who had transferred from Southern locals. But in 1881 the national bricklayers' union instructed locals to recognize the traveling cards of Negro

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members. The constitutions of both the bricklayers' and plasterers' unions stipulate a \$100 fine for members who refuse to work with other union brothers because of their race, color, or creed and empower the national union officers to deny certification to local unions chartered along racial lines. (127:7) An applicant for the bricklayers' union is not to be "blackballed" on any other grounds than incompetency at the trade. (127:39)

The black's official status in the trowel trades can be explained by the fact that bricklaying, cement finishing, and plastering are the dirtiest and most arduous of the building trades and are generally considered to be "Nigra jobs" by the poor Southern white. Competition between the races was minimal. In 1910, Negroes comprised 66% of the South's plasterers and cement finishers and 54% of its bricklayers. Whites have been forced to recognize the black craftsman because of the threat he poses as a potential strikebreaker. But the Southern craftsman who migrated North did not, despite union regulations, always receive equal status. Greene and Woodson speak of:

...a plasterer who was born in Alabama and reared in Tennessee where he worked for two years at his chosen trade. In the Northwest he had to work as a hod carrier. Negro masons in St. Louis, reduced to hod carriers, were still actuated by pride to designate the former as their occupation. In Philadelphia a Negro bricklayer, failing to find such an opportunity, became a messenger; his fellow workman, a carpenter, was forced to labor at odd jobs. In Columbus, Ohio, a Negro bricklayer from Virginia armed with a union card showing him to be a member in good standing in the National Bricklayer's Union, was refused work and finally had to accept whatever employment he could find.

Those who were not pushed down into menial or unskilled labor in many instances were compelled to become odd job men, working chiefly among their own people, or performing such tasks as they might occasionally pick up from whites. (60:173)

By the turn of the century, the bricklayers, cement masons, plasterers, carpenters and painters had established segregated Negro

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affiliates in some Southern localities. The black locals received separate charters, elected their own officers, and ostensibly enjoyed equal status with the jurisdiction's white local. (126:43)

The hypocrisy of the blacks' "separate but equal" status was displayed in Paul H. Norgren's analysis of United States Employment Service data for five Southern states in 1937-1938. The proportion of Negroes actually employed in the building trades was consistently much lower than the corresponding proportion of blacks registered for work. For carpenters the ratio was between 5 and 10%; bricklayers, 35-44%; painters, 9-12%; plumbers, 8-20%; and plasterers, 53-75%. (121:1101-02)

In 1905, John R. Commons observed that Southern plasterers, carpenters, bricklayers, cement masons, and painters admitted Negroes, often on a segregated basis, but that few of these trades' Northern locals would even accord blacks segregated status. (104:11)

Negroes have been excluded from the building trades in many informal ways. Most building trade unions have required prospective members to be sponsored by an active member and to be subject to the approval of the brotherhood. Some locals have agreed not to sponsor Negroes or to vote against those who sought admission. Other affiliates have merely refused or ignored the applications of blacks. The passage of a stiff entrance exam as a requirement for blacks and an easier test or no exam at all for whites has been another technique for denying Negroes admittance. Union control of government licensing boards and building inspection departments has provided effective means for driving non-union black craftsmen from their trades. (126:46)

The "mechanical trades"--electrical, elevator construction, plumbing, pipefitting, sheet metal and sprinkler fitting--were initiated after

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the Civil War. Negro slaves never worked in the mechanical trades, and since emancipation, blacks have been unable to attain more than token participation in them.

Until 1946, the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association had a constitutional provision relegating black members to auxiliary locals:

Where there are a sufficient number of Negro sheet metal workers, they may be organized as an Auxiliary local and shall come under the jurisdiction over said locality. Members of Auxiliary Locals composed of colored sheet metal workers shall not transfer except to another Auxiliary Local composed of colored members. (152:62)

The dues paying Negro member could vote neither for officers nor on key issues and was forced to rely upon the parent white local for job placements. (126:42) At best, Negro sheet metal workers could be organized into segregated locals only with the permission of the jurisdiction's white local. (127:4)

The electrical and plumbing unions excluded Negroes by informal methods. Wholesale supply houses, in collusion with the unions, often refused to sell Negroes electrical and plumbing materials. Difficult union entrance exams were administered exclusively to Negroes. (60:192) Building inspectors, often former union electricians and plumbers, would refuse to certify the work of blacks.

In 1903, the editor of the electrical workers' journal wrote: "We do not want the Negro in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but we think they should be organized in locals of their own..." chartered by the A.F.L. (60:192) However, the electrical workers often denied blacks the opportunity to practice the trade by preventing them from obtaining state and municipal licenses.

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The plumbers' and pipefitters' union only accepted licensed craftsmen as journeymen members. Because government licensing boards are often controlled by the union, qualified Negroes can be denied certification and, consequently, admission to the union.

Thus, in a variety of ways the color line in the building trades was erected. The paradox of proportionately greater numbers of blacks working in the building trades prior to emancipation than after is illustrative of what Myrdal has termed "an American dilemma."

#### PROBLEM INVESTIGATED

Blacks comprise but a mere fraction of the journeyman membership of most building trade unions. As will be discussed in later chapters, the major avenue for improved black participation at the craftsman level is through apprenticeship training.

In 1903, a white New Jersey contractor described a situation which has prevailed to this day: "For Negroes learning trades under union apprenticeship rules, the chances of their ever being able to do so in any number seems very remote." (60:171)

While Negroes comprise 11% of the population of the United States, the 1960 U. S. Census reported only 2,191 non-white apprentices in the country, 2.5% of the total. In 1964, blacks constituted 1.9% of the apprentices in California, 2% in New York, and .5% in New Jersey. (100:160)

The major portion of apprenticeship training occurs in the building trades. In January, 1963, of the 158,616 registered apprentices in the U. S., 103,046 were in construction. (156:286) Surveys of the construction industry by the President's Committee on Equal Employment

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Opportunity in 1964, found only 26 black apprentices included in a total of 3,696 in thirty Southern cities and 114 black apprentices out of 5,818 in four states and twenty-one cities outside the South. (100:160)

About 50,000 apprenticeship openings occur each year. If the Negro proportion were increased to 15%, for example, only 7,500 openings would be provided. While increased participation in apprenticeship would do little to alleviate high black unemployment, it would curtail a source of civil discord and would indicate to the Negro community that significant obstacles to economic equality can be overcome. (100:174)

In recent years, the federal and some state and local governments, along with private organizations, have initiated programs to increase the number of Negro apprentices. Coinciding with the intensification of these efforts, the proportion of Negro apprentices has increased from 2.3% in 1966 to 4% in 1968. (117)

The nature of this improvement--such as it is--is not entirely clear, for the Department of Labor does not relate the figures to specific trades in its reports. For example, an increase in the proportion of black apprentice plasterers, with Negroes representing over 4% of the trade's membership in 1960, is not as significant an improvement as an increase in the electricians' apprenticeship program, which included 79 non-whites in 1960.

Research is hampered by the failure of the Department of Labor to make public Negro apprenticeship participation rates by standard metropolitan areas. However, Negro apprenticeship and journeyman participation rates by construction trade during 1968 for the cities of Chicago and Detroit were obtained.

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The cities appear to be quite similar. They are located 275 miles apart in the North Central Region of the U. S. Chicago has the nation's second largest population, Detroit the fifth largest. In 1960, Cook County had the largest number of Negro residents in the U. S.--861,156--17% of total population. Wayne County was second with 529,582 black residents--20% of the total. In 1968, Chicago reported Negro participation in the building trade unions at the journeyman level of 3% and at the apprenticeship level of 8%, Detroit--5% and 4% respectively.

This study is an attempt to determine the courses of action which might increase the pace of equalization in the building trade unions of both cities.

#### PROCEDURES USED

For purposes of this study a number of alternative hypotheses which might indicate means of improving black participation in the building trade unions were developed, after an extensive examination of related research. The paucity of quantifiable data and published material related to the topic necessitated direct examination of the two labor markets.

A sample questionnaire I distributed did not achieve sufficient response and was abandoned. Interviews were more successful.

Although questions related to the preconceived alternative hypotheses were always asked, I did not develop a uniform interview format. Modified open-ended interviews were used in the belief that more unanticipated information would be gathered than through a structured interview approach.

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Interviews were confidential. A tape recorder was employed on three occasions. Its use noticeably upset one interviewee and was subsequently abandoned. The results of interviews were recorded as soon after completion as possible.

Previous studies of the construction industry by Haber and Levinson (93) and of the Negro and apprenticeship by Marshall and Briggs (101) indicated that the best sources of information would be officials within the apprenticeship system and the leadership of the civil rights movement. The experience of Marshall and Briggs in interviewing present and former Negro apprentices and unsuccessful applicants was that they were difficult to contact and often provided highly impressionistic views from which substantive conclusions were difficult to reach.

Table 3 relates the organizational affiliation of interviewees and the number of interviewees with these organizations who were contacted in Chicago and Detroit.

TABLE 3

## ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF RESPONDENTS

Government (federal, state, & local)	16
Civil Rights Groups	12
Unions	9
Employer Associations	5
Others	4
Total	46

Chapter II examines the obstacles to full economic participation by the Negro. Chapter III discusses, in a rather broad historical context, the public policies designed to equalize the economic position of the Negro. Chapter IV investigates the labor market of the construction

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industry and strategies for increasing Negro participation in the building trades. Chapters V through VIII analyze the building trades in Chicago and Detroit and the status of policies designed to include the Negro in the construction sector of the two labor markets. In Chapter IX, the concluding chapter, Negro participation in the building trades is discussed from the standpoint of remedial policy.

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## CHAPTER II

### THE OBSTACLES TO ECONOMIC EQUALITY

**"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line." W.E.B. Du Bois**

The economic disparity between black and white connotes the existence of two sectors to the labor market, separate and unequal. Undoubtedly, the market mechanism would eventually equalize the position of the Negro. But the market mechanism operates slowly and the decisive question posed to American society is a normative one of time. In order to identify the obstacles to a racially integrated labor market, the theoretical competitive labor market and deviations from the desired market norm will be examined.

### OPTIMALITY

Within the purely competitive labor market of economic theory, discrimination in employment on the basis of race would be negligible. Individual firms motivated by profit maximization would tend to employ each labor force participant in his most productive capacity. If employers were so irrational as to discriminate, cessation of the practice would be closely followed by the movement of the previously excluded into competition for job openings. Assuming no difference in the distribution between races of innate and acquired ability, occupational information, and employment preferences, one would expect that the proportions of employees in an occupation according to race would soon begin to reflect the racial composition of the region's labor force.

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## ABERRANCE

Negroes have not enjoyed the benefits of the impartial market mechanism. The median income of nonwhite families as a percent of white family income has remained relatively stable at about 50% over the period 1950-1965. A recent study of U. S. industry by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found that although three of every seven workers in the nation is in a white collar job, only one Negro out of seven is so employed. Among the whole working population, one worker out of five does semi-skilled or unskilled labor; four out of five Negro men do that kind of work. (55) The Negro's lower opportunity cost is evidenced by the fact that in 1966, 46% of the blacks who completed their first term in the Armed Forces reenlisted, compared to 18% of whites.

This disparity cannot entirely be explained by differences in the labor supply. For the past decade, proportionately twice as many black adults have been unemployed whatever the occupation, educational level, sex or age. (132:215) Black college graduates average \$1,140 a year less than whites with only a high school education. P. M. Siegel estimates that being a Negro costs an individual, whatever his educational level, about \$1,000 per year, reflecting that "the rate of return upon educational investment is appreciably less for Negroes than for whites." (148:53 & 57)

## INEQUALITY OF DEMAND

In order to operate in a non-discriminatory manner, the market demand for labor would have to be characterized by relatively perfect knowledge of the productivity of each labor force participant, profit

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maximization as the sole objective of employers, and the complete absence of racial considerations in the consumption and employment decisions of white customers and employees.

These conditions are not always fulfilled. The Negro is easily identified and tends to bear a stamp of inferiority no matter what his qualifications. Not having worked in many skilled areas, blacks are often stereotyped for certain jobs by employers and white workers. Whites desire to maintain a feeling of superiority and have been found to view their jobs as downgraded after the admission of Negroes.

(106:25)

While employers who are motivated by profit tend to hire workers on the basis of merit, employment decisions are not separated from social forces. Employers have hired and promoted whites who were not as well qualified as blacks in fear of adverse reactions from white customers and employees. When profit maximizing decisions are not in conflict with social institutions, Negroes will be hired in accord with their productivity. But when market forces and social forces collide, discrimination is likely to prevail over economic efficiency. (105:142-43)

#### INEQUALITY OF SUPPLY

In general, the supply of Negro labor differs from the supply of white labor. These differences--educational achievement, vocational information, and orientation--constitute effective barriers to improved economic status for many Negroes.

#### EDUCATION

Only 40% of nonwhites--versus 70% of whites--receive a high school diploma, which is a requirement for most skilled jobs. (156:295) But

years of education do not alone indicate the black's educational disadvantage. In 1966, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported that Negro education is inferior to that of whites in all sections of the country. For example, Northern blacks are 3.3 years below their white counterparts in educational achievement by the twelfth grade, with many not having had courses in algebra, trigonometry, or physics, which are prerequisites for most apprenticeship programs. (101:42-43)

In 1954, the Supreme Court delivered the historic Brown decision, shattering the hypocrisy of "separate but equal" education. But yet in 1966, 87% of Negro first graders and 66% of twelfth graders attended schools in which blacks are in the majority. Predominantly Negro schools are generally older and more poorly equipped than white schools and tend to have larger classes, less experienced teachers, and more half day sessions. (24:28-29, 34-35)

Employers or unions which desire to exclude blacks need not resort to overt racism. The public education system has provided an effective, legal means of screening out Negroes. By maintaining even minimal standards in basic subjects as reading or arithmetic, the majority of working class, black youngsters are prevented from qualifying for more than traditional Negro jobs. (100:168)

#### INFORMATION

A person usually becomes interested in a particular occupation because a friend or relative is in the trade. A nationwide survey of the 1962 graduates of vocational high schools disclosed that reliance

upon informal sources for occupational information is more prevalent among Negroes than whites. (167:90)

Blacks seldom receive encouragement to enter the skilled trades, because their social contacts are, as racial employment, housing, and education patterns indicate, usually limited to those in unskilled jobs. Information on how or when to apply for apprenticeship is usually conveyed by friends or relatives in the trade. Vocational counsellors often steer minority group members away from areas of employment where discrimination is or has been practiced. (156:293-95)

#### ORIENTATION

The works of Baran (3) and Bauer and Yamey (5) indicate that Marxian and neo-classical economists agree that if provided with the opportunity, a previously subjugated people will take advantage of their new freedom and will improve their economic status. Consequently, explanations of the black's lower economic status which include social-psychological constraints within Negro culture and personality are controversial.

Beginning with the research of the Clarks in the early 1940's on the Negro self-concept (23), students of Negro culture and personality for nearly two decades usually reported significant differences between blacks and whites in respect to such work related factors as attitudes, aspirations, achievement motivation, ability or willingness to defer gratification, and self image. Recent studies, however, tend to contradict the earlier research. (167:86-89) These later findings may reflect improved social status for the black in the 1960's, an indication that efforts to promote "black pride" have been successful.

Certainly, blacks and whites do not constitute two mutually exclusive homogeneous groups and it is ridiculous to classify all Negroes as "disadvantaged." But as a logical proposition it is reasonable to assume that many blacks may have somewhat realistically limited their employment expectations to those jobs which Negroes have traditionally held.

Blacks may be reluctant, because of past defeats, to seek employment in non-traditional occupations despite their qualifications and possession of information on employment availability. Fear of adverse reaction from whites may discourage blacks, familiar with violent desegregation efforts, from being the James Merediths of an occupation. Recruitment for non-traditional jobs may be hampered by the black's experience with white authority. The addition of the phrase "equal opportunity employer" to an advertisement is not likely to elicit a positive response from an individual who does not trust "the man." Special recruitment efforts may be necessary in order to employ blacks in non-traditional occupations. In 1930, Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson observed that the closing of the building trades to black youth turned their aspirations away from skilled construction work and "led many whites, who failed to ascertain the real cause, to conclude that Negro youth was either unfitted for or had no interest in the trades." (60:171-72)

Months after this chapter was written, I obtained a copy of a report on the black's status in the building trades by the Equal Opportunities and Contract Relations Department of the Detroit Public Schools which has actively recruited minority youth for apprenticeship. Three



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obstacles to increased black participation in non-traditional occupations were identified:

Another problem area, both for apprenticeship and for other employment, is that of effective recruiting. There are few problems with employers that could not be solved with a steady stream of qualified non-white applicants at the door. But on the one hand these potential employees are often (1) not informed, (2) genuinely not qualified in terms of passing the entry test requirements, and (3) cynical about their chances of success. (46)

### SYNDROME OF INEQUALITY

The average Negro is born into want and deprivation. His struggle to escape his circumstances is hindered by color discrimination. He is deprived of normal education and normal social and economic opportunities. When he seeks opportunity, he is told, in effect, to lift himself by his own bootstraps, advice which does not take into account the fact that he is barefoot. -- Martin Luther King, Jr.

The demand for and supply of Negro labor are interdependent. Where blacks possess the requisite skill and vocational information and seek entrance into non-traditional jobs, they may be denied inclusion because of their race. Frustrations in their quest for advancement maintain the differences between the black and white labor supplies.

Likewise, an equalization of the demand for labor of both races will not necessarily result in economic advancement for the Negro due to the education, information, and orientation gap between the black and white labor supplies. The paucity of qualified black applicants, despite the adoption of a "color blind" hiring policy, tends to reinforce the discriminatory attitudes and behavior of many whites.

The interdependence of the demand for and supply of black labor results in a syndrome of inequality for many Negroes. Remedies for the Negro's lower economic status, other than those which attempt to equalize both the demand and supply, are likely to fail. The market

mechanism will only begin to yield to the black the same economic status as the white when the racial differences in demand and supply are eliminated.

#### THE DUAL LABOR MARKET

In the field of economic development, the concept of the dual labor market characterizes countries having both a subsistence sector and a market sector. (92) A similar conceptual framework may be applied to urban labor markets having a sizeable Negro population, for the differences between the demand for and supply of white and black labor connote the existence of an urban labor market which is divided into two racial components--a sector for the deployment of white labor and a sector for the deployment of Negro labor with each sector operating independently of the other through its own institutions and mechanisms in employing workers. (4:259)

Whites seldom pursue employment in firms, industries, or jobs which blacks dominate, for they are usually low paying, hazardous, and cyclical or seasonal in nature. Black job seekers expect and, most often, are rejected outside the Negro sector, so they confine their job search to traditional occupations.

Harold M. Baron and Bennett Hymer observe:

These segregated job seeking patterns are reinforced by several practices. Many firms fill vacancies by word of mouth to friends and relatives, thus recruiting from the same racial groups as their present labor force. Labor market intermediaries--the ...State Employment Service,...private employment agencies, and vocational counselors--tend to operate on the basis of the dual labor market. (4:265)

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The black sector may be utilized to fill manpower shortages in the white sector during periods of rapid economic growth. As employees with low seniority, Negroes hired during expansionary periods are the first to be affected by a decline in economic activity. Hence the traditional Negro lament in a modern setting--"Last hired, first fired."

Observance of the color line in job seeking patterns and hiring policies is supported by Northern de facto school and housing segregation. These institutional arrangements retard Negro advancement by limiting their educational achievement, vocational information, and orientation, and limit the peer group relationships between blacks and whites, a significant obstacle to equalizing the demand for black labor.

The concept of the dual labor market will be utilized in later chapters. This framework of analysis is relevant to an explanation of the racial composition of the building trades and policies designed to increase black participation.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE NEGRO WORKER IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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Who was born free in Africa,  
A slave in America.  
He purchased his liberty,  
Professed Christianity,  
Lived respectably,  
Died hopefully.

-- Epitaph on a gravestone in the  
churchyard at Jaffrey, N. H.

If the discussion in the previous chapter on the supply of and demand for Negro labor prompted any question of the "chicken versus the egg" variety, let it be dispelled now. The discriminatory demand of the white majority for black labor over the past 300 years has resulted in the differences between the black and white labor supplies. This point should be evident in the brief discussion of the Negro's historical role in the U. S. economy and the development of public policies designed to equalize the black's economic status which follows.

### THE BLACK STEREOTYPE

Hoping that the Negro will pass into the main stream of American life as easily as the European immigrants did fifty years ago ignores the core of the problem--blackness, a biological characteristic which by itself provides no physiological or psychological obstacle to racial integration but which within the American context orients the attitudes and behavior of both blacks and whites. The Negro has been stereotyped as "superstitious, lazy, ignorant, dirty, irresponsible, and sexually uninhibited." (53:277-78)

The origin of the black stereotype is rooted deep in the structure of American society. The first black slaves came to Virginia in

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1619. The planter class attempted to reduce the slave to a machine and in order to keep him in that status imposed controls and customs which conditioned the attitudes and behavior of both blacks and whites. The mark of inferiority was stamped upon the black man and he was forced to conform to this image in order to survive in the plantation economy. The slave was stripped of his African heritage and placed in a completely dependent role where rewards stemmed not from individual initiative but from absolute obedience. (133:14) In South America, the Spanish and Portugese accorded slaves definite, though limited, rights, but the slave in the United States was not recognized as a human being and was treated as mere property--no different than a house, a barn, or an animal. (133:13)

Despite the fact that few Southerners owned slaves, the values and interests of the slave owners dominated the region. Common whites identified with the planter class. Prior to the Civil War, the common white and black were only indirectly competitive for jobs. (102:61-65)

After 1865, black labor was thrown upon the market. The Negro's ability to purchase land was hampered by his sparse assets and the requirement that the seller receive the permission of his neighbors. Through "Black Codes," which were essentially vagrancy laws, the planter assured himself a constant labor supply. Black share croppers were kept in debt in order to reduce their mobility.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century cotton prices fell drastically due to increased foreign production. The South's commitment to cotton and the high birth rates of both classes intensified the direct competition between the poor white and the black for jobs.

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The Ku Klux Klan movement was motivated in large part by the desire of the poor white to eliminate black competition.

The first segregation laws were not passed until 1887, 10 years after President Hayes removed the army of occupation, because the South was afraid that federal troops would again be sent. Southerners became more daring as they witnessed segregation of Negroes in the Army, the refusal of many Northern States to enfranchise the black, and United States Supreme Court decisions legalizing "separate but equal" facilities. By the turn of the century, the majority of Negroes were disfranchised, losing their ability to influence public policy through the ballot. (102:65-69)

#### ACQUIESCENCE

In 1900, 87% of Negroes were employed as household servants or in Southern agriculture. In 1960, less than 10% were in Southern agriculture and 15% in domestic service. Throughout this period of sectoral transition, the majority of Negroes have been relegated to the lowest economic status. (142:3)

Despite the Negro's difficulty in employment, the first civil rights organization, which was established in 1911, concentrated on attacking overt forms of discrimination in voting, education, and public accommodations and implicitly agreed with whites that the black man was being employed in accord with his productivity. The National Urban League's founder, Booker T. Washington, believed that the way to improve the Negro's economic status was to make black labor more appealing to white employers. He stressed thrift and hard work, and tried to conciliate with employers. The Negro was to accept his subordinate social



status and was to challenge neither whites nor the biracial institutional framework. This approach reinforced the black stereotype and reduced the League to an employment agency for the most menial of jobs. (110:175-78)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People originated as a protest against Washington's philosophy. Its methods of propaganda, court action, and lobbying for legislation were considered radical in the 1920's by both whites and blacks. (110:179-80)

Prior to 1936, most Northern blacks supported the Republican Party, largely in remembrance of Abraham Lincoln. The depression of the 1930's had a particularly debilitating effect on the Negro community. Negro civil rights groups, however, were not mass organizations. The Urban League and N.A.A.C.P. tended to follow W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of the "talented tenth"--a Negro elite set above the masses who would lead them to a racially egalitarian society. While most blacks were concerned over the source of their next meal, civil rights organizations were devoting their energies to the establishment of legal precedents. (137:92-94)

The failure of civil rights groups and the government to solve the most basic problems of hunger and disease stimulated some blacks to join the Communist Party in dramatic protest marches in both Chicago and Detroit. But to make the transition from Republican to radical in 3 or 4 years would be too much to expect. At the height of its power in 1934, it is estimated that the C.P. of America had only 2,500 Negro members. (137:116)

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One should not, however, write off Communist influence particularly in Detroit with its diverse ideological conglomerate, the United Auto Workers. John Leggett observes:

During the Great Depression and in the 1940's Marxist groups concentrated themselves in the largest auto plants and used class politics to influence Negro members of the U.A.W. Consequently to a far greater degree than some writers would admit, one must take into account the past and, to some extent, the present influence of the Communist party in order to explain the aggressiveness of many Negro unionists. During the formative stages of the C.I.O., Communists were particularly powerful and active in large auto locals with a disproportionately large number of Negroes—for example, U.A.W. Local 600 at the Ford plant in River Rouge, Michigan. (102:84-85)

By the 1936 Presidential election, the New Deal had siphoned off much of the radical ferment among the Negro masses. The blacks of Chicago and Detroit voted almost unanimously for the Democratic Party—a voting pattern that exists to this day. The impact of the New Deal on the Negro community was poignantly demonstrated to me at a black-owned tavern in Detroit. The walls are adorned with photographs of outstanding blacks spanning the decades from Jack Johnson to the Supremes and that of one white—F.D.R.

In reality, Negroes did not gain much from the New Deal. In 1940, 22% of the Negro labor force was listed as unemployed, compared to 15% of whites. But the figures are understated, for more blacks than whites appear to have dropped out of the labor market, as evidenced by the fact that in many Northern cities there were four times as many Negro welfare recipients as whites.

With World War II imminent, the Negro Committee on National Defense was formed and unsuccessfully lobbied for anti-discrimination rules in the armed services. On September 27, 1940, the White House

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released a statement that "the policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organization." (144:69)

In January, 1941, the N.A.A.C.P. and A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, called for a march on Washington to protest the black's second class participation in the war effort. Marching and demanding were so unorthodox a posture for Negroes that it took until May of 1941 before sufficient support could be rallied. The administration appealed to Randolph and the N.A.A.C.P. to call it off because of the threat to "national unity." On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 and Randolph agreed to "post-pone" the march which was finally held on August 28, 1963.

(144:70)

Thus, the Negro was relatively acquiescent about his second class citizenship from emancipation to the beginning of World War II, a tranquility not to be experienced again.

#### EQUALIZATION OF DEMAND

Under the common law, unions and employers were allowed to discriminate against Negroes on the principle of voluntary association. The passage of the 13th and 14th Amendments modified the common law in regard to racial discrimination. The 13th prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude, but has had little effect in combating "employment discrimination, other than to the extent that it has promoted a general climate of constitutional law and policy." The "equal protection" clause of the 14th by itself and related to the 5th Amendment have

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recently been interpreted to prohibit "government-executed-sponsored or-supported racial discrimination." (141:482-83)

The Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 established the ground rules for collective bargaining. But "there is nothing in the legislative history of either act to suggest that Congress intended them to be used as substitutes for Federal F.E.P. legislation." (126:206-09)

The first overture toward equal employment opportunities came on June 25, 1941 when President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802. The resultant Fair Employment Practices Committee was almost totally ineffective and disbanded in early 1943 after its chairman interfered with a proposed investigation of the flagrantly discriminatory railroad industry. On May 23, 1943, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9346 which reconstituted the Committee. All government contracts were to contain a non-discriminatory provision with the implied penalty of cancellation of the contract for non-compliance. (144:70)

Of the more than 10,000 complaints received from 1943 to 1945, only 52 were reported as having been satisfactorily adjusted. Maneuvering by Senator Richard Russell of Georgia killed the Committee's appropriations in 1945. The Executive orders were continued by Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy but were weak and complaints fell to about 150 per year. (144:71)

In 1965, President Johnson abolished the Committee but continued the policy barring discrimination by government contractors. Major responsibility for administering the program was transferred to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Department of Labor.

The ineffectiveness of the F.E.P.C. may be attributed to external deficiencies beyond its control and poor internal procedures. Each board was created by Presidential edict and was unable to organize its procedures along the lines of regulatory agencies initiated by statutes with the consequence that they were not wholly accepted by employers, unions or federal agencies. Congress never provided them with sufficient financial support. After the Russell Amendment their jurisdiction was confined to only about 25% of the firms engaged in interstate commerce. The committees failed to negotiate comprehensive programs for eliminating discrimination in entire companies, industries or labor organizations and did little more than hear complaints. It relied upon voluntary compliance and avoided imposing penalties. Its administrative procedures were so complex that complaints were processed very slowly, which discouraged aggrieved parties from coming forth. (126:176-68)

On December 5, 1968, Herbert Hill, Labor Director of the N.A.A.C.P., urged that the Office of Federal Contract Compliance be transferred from the Labor Department to the Justice Department in view of the fact that while "in isolated instances Government contracts have been delayed for non-compliance, no contract has ever been terminated," and no contractor has ever been disqualified from bidding in the 27 years that a non-discriminatory pledge has been required. The ineffectiveness of the government's voluntary compliance procedure, called "Plans for Progress," is evidenced by a January, 1968 report that 54 companies not signing the "Plans for Progress" agreement had proportionately more Negro managers, supervisors, technicians, professionals, and clerical workers than 46 companies which had agreed. (162:6)

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Mr. Hill charged that many Labor Department officials were formerly members of bigoted unions and are maintaining loyalty to their former union employers. (64)

In 1945, New York enacted the first state Fair Employment Practices Law. Most state laws, of which there are now 37, are modeled after the New York law which declares it to be an unlawful employment practice:

- A. For an employer to refuse to hire or employ, to discharge or to discriminate against an individual in compensation, conditions or privileges of employment.
- B. For a labor organization to exclude or to expel from membership or to discriminate against any member, employer or employee of an employer.
- C. For any employer or employment agency to print, circulate or cause to be printed or circulated, any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment which expresses directly any limitation, specification, or discrimination; if any of those acts, limitations, or statements are related to race, color, religion or national origin.
- D. It is an unlawful practice for an employer, labor organization or employment agency to discharge expel or otherwise discriminate against any person because he has opposed practices prohibited by the act or because he has filed a complaint, testified or assisted in a proceeding under the act. (144:71)

State F.E.P. commissions normally have the power to:

- 1. Receive, investigate, and pass upon complaints alleging unlawful practices. (Ten of the state commissions are empowered to initiate complaints, and in six others the attorney general is so authorized.)
- 2. Endeavor to resolve the complaint and to eliminate the unlawful practice by conference and persuasion.



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3. Hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, compel attendance, administer oaths, take testimony, require the production of records. For enforcement of these powers the agencies must go to court.

4. Issue orders requiring respondents to cease and desist from unlawful practices and to take affirmative action such as to remedy the specific practice complained of, instate or reinstate the applicant or employee, and to reimburse for loss of income.

In 1964, 22 states had F.E.P. commissions. According to Paul Norgren and Samuel Hill, most of these were under staffed and received inadequate financial support. (126:5)

Under the administrative procedure in most states, action is only taken upon formal complaints. An investigation is then conducted. If the charges are substantiated, the Commission attempts to remove the grievance by private conciliation with the offending party. If a satisfactory settlement is not reached, a public hearing is held and the commission may order the defendant to cease the discriminatory practice. If the commission's ruling is disregarded, action may be brought in the state courts. (85:LRX400)

The first court case under a state F.E.P. law occurred in Connecticut in 1949 when a Negro, Oscar Draper, applied at Clark Dairy for a job whose only requirements according to the newspaper ad were: "Boys, 18 years or over. Experience unnecessary. Evening work." He was the first applicant and fulfilled the stated qualifications, but was told that the job had been filled. Clark Dairy which did not employ any blacks refused to abide by the Connecticut Interracial Commission's ruling that he be hired. The Connecticut Superior Court

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upheld the commission's ruling. (79:203-07) But by this time Mr. Draner had found another job and never did work for Clark Dairy.

The approaches taken by state and municipal F.E.P. Commissions differ in substance and results. Following are two cases where qualified blacks were excluded from union membership:

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 38 in Cleveland resisted efforts by black electricians to become members of the union for more than 40 years. Negroes were restricted to non-union work provided they could obtain a city license. In 1955, Cleveland's Community Relations Board sustained charges that the union was guilty of discrimination. Despite widespread publicity and the efforts of the mayor, the union resisted. The case was referred to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Civil Rights Department and the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Finally in 1957, the local admitted three blacks after George Meany threatened to revoke the local's charter. The local showed its defiance by refusing to admit the man who filed the original complaint and through 1964 had not admitted any apprentices--white or black.

Connecticut used a different approach to gain compliance from I.B.E.W. Local 35 in Hartford. The union defied the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission, public opinion, and a court order. Compliance came after the union was found in contempt of court and ordered to pay \$2,000 and \$500 for each week it remained in contempt. (104:113-15)

In general, voluntary compliance procedures are ineffective. State and municipal F.E.P. commissions have been effective only when given the power to impose penalties. (126:225-27)

In 1963, the House Labor Committee reported that of 19,000 complaints filed with 12 state F.E.P. commissions, there had been only 62 hearings, 26 cease and desist orders and 18 court actions. (85:LRX400)

The majority of employment discrimination court cases have been filed against unions. Two major issues have been whether unions have a duty to represent all members of the bargaining unit fairly and whether a union is required to admit black members of the bargaining unit.

The extremes to which whites have resorted in order to subjugate the black are illustrated in the case of Negro railroad firemen. Before World War I, 8 out of 10 firemen on southern railroads were black. Fifteen years later 1 in 10 were black. The work of the railroad fireman was traditionally "Nigra work"--hot, dirty, and strenuous. But with the advent of dieselization the jobs became attractive to whites. Where Negroes could not be driven out by excluding them from the bargaining unit and negotiating a "whites only" clause, indignant whites resorted to murder. Seven black firemen were murdered in 1923 and ten in 1932. (70:65)

In Steele v. Louisville and Nashville R.R. Co., 323 U. S. 192 (1944), the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that a union designated as the bargaining representative of a craft or a class has the duty of representing all members of the bargaining unit without discrimination and could not enter into an agreement which penalized black firemen by removing them from their jobs to the advantage of whites. This obligation is not specified in the Railway Labor Act, but the Court believed that it was implied. (85:LRX406) The common law principle of free

association imposed no obligation upon the union to admit blacks into membership, but because they were in the bargaining unit, Negroes were entitled to fair representation. (126:207)

In Syres v. Oil Workers International Union, 350 U. S. 892, (1956) the Supreme Court extended the duty of fair representation to unions covered by the National Labor Relations Act. (126:209)

The Taft-Hartley Act, which outlined the unfair labor practices of unions, failed to prohibit racial discrimination. The debate that preceded the Act makes it clear the Congress had no intention of compelling employers to hire blacks or unions to admit them.

Section 8 (b) (1) of the Act reads in part: "Provided that this paragraph shall not impair the right of a labor organization to prescribe its own rules with respect to the acquisition or retention of membership therein." (126:215)

When the Railway Labor Act was being amended in 1951, Senator Jenner's motion to prevent racial discrimination in union admittance was tabled, and both the House and the Senate made it clear that they would not interfere with the voluntary association doctrine. (104:257)

The Landrum-Griffin Act did not guarantee membership to blacks, but provided for equal treatment, which had been guaranteed by the courts years before. During the debate on the Act, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's attempt to provide "that no labor organization shall... refuse membership, segregate, or expel a person on the grounds of race, religion, color, sex, or national origin" was defeated. In opposing the Powell Amendment Congressman Landrum declared: "We do not seek in this legislation, in no way, in no shape, no guise to tell the labor unions in this country whom they shall admit to their unions." (126:217)

Historically, the efforts of the National Labor Relations Board for protecting minority rights were weak. When the N.L.R.B. certified a union as bargaining agent and allegations were made that the union was likely to be unfair to non-union members of the bargaining unit, the Board usually stated that certification would be withdrawn if discrimination was proven. (84:LRRM1193)

In Pioneer Bus Co., 140 N.L.R.B. 54 (1962), the Board ruled that the execution of a contract which incorporates racial discrimination against members of the bargaining unit is subject to revocation and the contract does not bar an election sought by an outside union. (85:LRX461)

In Hughes Tool Co., 147 N.L.R.B. 166 (1964), the Board ruled that a union which maintained segregated locals and did not act on the grievances of Negro members was guilty of an unfair labor practice. The Board rescinded the union's representation certification and directed it to cease discriminating against Negroes and to terminate the discriminatory provisions of its collective bargaining agreement. (84:LRRM1289) By ruling that a violation of the duty of fair representation is also an unfair labor practice, the Board reversed its previous position of merely revoking a union's certification with the stronger penalty of issuing cease and desist orders.

In 1964, federal law finally recognized that Negro labor has the right of equal employment opportunity. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not supersede state laws unless those laws allow something specifically prohibited by it.

The administration of the act rests with the 5 member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Persons alleging discrimination must

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appeal first to state or local F.E.P. commissions, where they exist. The Commission's main activity is that of conciliator; it has no authority to issue cease and desist orders or to go to court for enforcement of such orders. (85:LRX390-390a)

If the Commission's efforts at conciliation fail, the complainant must be notified of his right to file a suit in a federal district court. The Commission, unlike in some states, does not bring the action. If the court finds evidence of discrimination, it may enjoin the respondent against continuing the practice. If he fails to comply, only then may the Commission begin proceedings to force compliance. (144:79) The U. S. Attorney General may file an injunction request where he believes that persons are engaged in a "pattern or practice of resistance."

Section 703 (h) of the Act allows employers to use seniority, merit, or testing systems in order "to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions or privileges of employment." This provision was aimed at a ruling by a trial examiner of the Illinois F.E.P. that a black applicant for a skilled job at an electronics firm was not accorded equal opportunity, because aptitude examinations of the type used place those of the Negro culture at a competitive disadvantage. (85:LRX392a)

Nothing in this title (VII) shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor--management committee...to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of race...on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of such persons hired, referred or accepted into membership.

So called, "quota hiring" cannot be required by the government but the Act does not specifically prohibit quota agreements by private parties.

It is interesting to note that Congress granted preferential treatment to American Indians.

Nothing in this title shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation.

As a result of the government's concern with their employment opportunities, Indians receive both the protections of the Act and immunity from its prohibitions.

#### ASSESSMENT

Government efforts to equalize the demand for Negro labor have been rather weak. Impotence results from the difficulty of proving discrimination and the procedures for enforcing the law.

Employment discrimination means the exclusion of minority group members solely because of their racial, religious, or ethnic affiliation. Hiring and promotion decisions are based upon a number of factors ranging from the filial relationship of the applicant to his education which are imputed by decision makers to be predictive of an individual's performance. Absolute proof of discrimination is next to impossible, except in biased advertisements and applications. One may presume discrimination where an employer refuses to hire a "qualified" applicant of a minority for a job opening at a firm that has no members of the group or employs them only in certain jobs.

The difficulty of proving job discrimination was aptly stated by the New York State Court of Appeals:

One intent on violating the Law Against Discrimination can not be expected to declare or announce his purpose. Far more likely is it that he will pursue his discriminatory practices in ways that are devious, by methods subtle and elusive, for we deal with an area in which subtleties of conduct...play no small part. (85:LRX400)

Equal employment laws are ineffectively executed. The commissions which administer them (except in Ohio and Philadelphia) do not have the power of regulatory agencies--to initiate investigations, and to issue cease and desist orders. Rather they follow a case by case approach, investigating complaints, conciliating with employers, and assisting plaintiffs in court proceedings.

The New York commission, the nation's oldest and most active, received only 3 complaints about discrimination in apprenticeship between 1946 and 1965. The paucity of complaints is understandable. Discrimination is difficult to prove. But even if a Negro knows he is the object of discrimination, he may not know of the law's existence or may be reluctant to "get involved." If the aggrieved party initiates proceedings, a year or more may elapse before the case is settled.

#### EQUALIZATION OF SUPPLY

The United States has a long heritage of providing opportunities for individuals to develop their marketable skills. The American educational system, however, has failed to equip a significant minority with the skills necessary to participate fully in a developed economy. Not until the decade of the 1960's did the government enact specific

policies to make viable labor force participants out of the chronically unemployed and underemployed.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was enacted with the realization that the maintenance of high aggregate demand would not alone insure full employment and that retraining and relocation efforts were necessary if the structurally unemployed and underemployed were to be included in the private sector of the economy.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was the first program since the New Deal to provide employment in the public sector and was designed to help economically disadvantaged teen-agers and young adults. The E.O.A. instituted the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Work Experience Program, and Community Action Program.

Preliminary cost-benefit studies indicate that M.D.T.A. and E.O.A. are efficient, although a normative argument could be presented for their continuation even if costs exceeded benefits. (97) Moreover, a multiple of the cost of these programs will probably be paid back to the government through taxes upon the increased earnings of the recipients of training as was the case with the G.I. Bill of World War II.

But yet the white majority will not accept the reality of the economically disadvantaged and the means for improving their status. In 1966, 41% of the nonwhite population was below the poverty level compared with 12% of the white population. Only one out of four of the nonwhite poor receive any type of welfare assistance. A survey of 9 Negro central city areas in 1966 disclosed that one-third of the residents in the labor force were unemployed or underemployed at a time when the national unemployment level was at a post-Korean War low. From

1962 through 1968, only 1.8 billion dollars had been spent under M.D.T.A., less than 2% of government expenditures for "national defense" in 1968 alone.

When the Kerner Commission attributed Negro discontent to white racism, the conclusion seemed inconceivable to the majority of whites what with the passage of "all those laws"--all those weakly-administered and under-financed laws.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NEGRO AND THE BUILDING TRADES

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. -- The Niagara Movement Principles, July, 1905.

Negroes comprise the majority of members in many local unions of unskilled laborers and dominate the "street corner shape ups" for casual construction labor found in large urban areas, but are unable to attain more than token admittance into most skilled crafts because of the inequality in the demand for and supply of Negro labor. The color line in the building trades presents a distinct challenge to public policy, because the labor market of the construction industry operates in a unique manner. The employment process and strategies designed to increase Negro participation in the building trades are examined in this chapter.

### ALLOCATING JOBS AND WORKERS

The construction industry is composed of many small individual proprietorships and partnerships. In 1951, 95% of the firms in the industry had 20 employees or less. (154:4-6)

Each locality has one or more employer associations through which collective bargaining is conducted. The locality's largest contractors tend to dominate the associations with the majority of small contractors not usually participating in collective bargaining and

merely signing the agreement reached between the employer association and the building trades local union. (114:29)

Most observers agree that building trade unions are more powerful than employer associations in collective bargaining. Because of factionalism within employer associations, employers seldom present a united front to the unions. The immense power of some building trade unions is reflected in the requirement that contractors, particularly those specializing in the mechanical trades, must maintain union membership. Contractor membership in the unions has undoubtedly contributed to the 40 year no-strike record of I.B.E.W. Local 58 of Detroit, for example.

The labor force of manufacturing industries is usually characterized by a large proportion of unskilled and semiskilled workers and a relatively small number of skilled, technical and managerial employees. But in the construction industry, 65% of the labor force is in supervisory or skilled classifications and 10% in white collar, technical, and sales positions. (114:1) 19 separate craft unions represent the skilled labor force of the industry.

Building trades craftsmen comprise the largest group of skilled workers in the U. S. labor force. In 1964, more than 2.5 million building trade craftsmen were employed--about 3 out of every 10 skilled workers.

The building trades vary greatly in size. Several major trades--carpenter, painter, plumber, pipefitter, bricklayer, operating engineer, and electrician--had more than 100,000 workers each. Carpenters numbered more than 800,000--nearly a third of all building craftsmen. By

contrast, only a few thousand workers were employed in trades such as marble setter, terrazzo worker, glazier, and stone-mason. (169:1)

Construction work may be grouped into three broad classifications--structural, finishing, and mechanical. However, some craftsmen--carpenters, for example--do finishing as well as structural work. Generally, each building trade is classified in one of these three categories, as follows:

Structural work: Carpenter, operating engineer, bricklayer, structural iron worker, ornamental-iron worker, cement mason, reinforcing-iron worker, rigger, stone mason, and boiler maker.

Finishing work: Lather, plasterer, marble setter, tile setter, terrazzo worker, painter, paperhanger, glazier, roofer, floor covering installer, and asbestos worker.

Mechanical work: Plumber, pipefitter, electrician, sheet-metal worker, elevator constructor, and sprinkler fitter. (169:1-2)

Members of "allied trades" such as pipefitter-plumber and plasterer-cement mason cross union jurisdictional lines in some localities when a surplus of labor exists in one trade and a shortage in the other.

While industrial unions are forced to organize the workers hired by employers, entrance into the construction industry is for all practical purposes controlled by the union in localities, such as the two which are the subject of this study, where virtually all employers are unionized. Skilled construction workers are placed with employers through either a union operated hiring hall arrangement or a union referral system.

While the closed shop was made illegal by the Taft-Hartley Act, the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1961 that hiring hall contracts



are allowable provided that union and non-union workers are referred to employers by the union. The Court reasoned that unions are often the only available source of skilled labor. The effect of the decision is to give unions virtually solid control over the labor supply, because they determine who is skilled and, consequently, who will get the jobs. (81:759)

Under the hiring hall system, as union members are laid off a job they return to a list of men to be referred and are not allowed to seek work within the union's jurisdiction on their own initiative. Likewise, employers are allowed to hire only by requesting men from the union. Men at the top of the list are not always the first to be referred. Consideration is usually given to seniority and the extent of one's skill.

Unions in some localities maintain a modified hiring hall arrangement. An employer is allowed to hire a certain number of workers without contacting the union. Men over the maximum number are employed through the hiring hall.

The referral system of job placement is a union shop arrangement which in practice amounts to a closed shop.

The seniority system as it operates in manufacturing does not exist in construction. Employers tend to lay off their most recently hired workers but there is usually no contractual agreement to do so. The unemployed worker does not have the right to bump men with inferior seniority at his present location or at any other site. Workers are laid off as the project or their phase of the operation is completed. If all goes well, they are referred by either the employer, the union,

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or informal communication channels to another contractor. If no other work is available in the locality, the worker may seek employment in other parts of the state or nation. Thus, the labor force of the construction industry is highly mobile between job site, employer, and in some cases geographic area. (114:22-23)

Hiring takes place at the temporary office of the contractor, located at the construction site. The applicant meets with the foreman or superintendent who makes the hiring decision. Foremen in the construction industry retain their union membership and frequently alternate between supervisory and production status. Most employers do not have written application forms and only maintain the payroll records required by law. (114:22-23)

The only test the applicant receives is a tryout on the job. If his work is deemed unsatisfactory at the end of the day, the foreman lays him off, with the union seldom questioning a dismissal. A non-union worker hired in this manner must attempt to join the union, usually within a month after being hired.

In practice, though, the permit for a tryout is usually union membership. The union card is considered to be a certificate of demonstrated competence at the trade. When union members are unemployed, foremen (union members) and contractors (in some cases union members) are discouraged by the union business agent from hiring non-union workers.

Non-union workers hired during tight labor market periods may be admitted to the union; however, they may be granted only a "temporary card" and will be unable to compete with full union members when there is a decline in construction activity. Being hired does not give one

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the right to even a "temporary card." Union membership even on this basis is not automatic. Each union maintains certain qualifications which must be met before membership is granted. What standards to apply and whether to apply these standards often rests with the discretion of the union business agent. The union may desire to make a tight labor market even tighter by disqualifying employed non-union workers and thereby forcing employers to lay them off.

Journeymen commonly work above union wage scales during expansionary periods as contractors compete for labor. The amount of overtime work at sites during periods of peak construction activity also reflects the competition between employers. Union journeymen are mobile and will work for contractors offering the most overtime. Fringe benefits such as extended lunch hours and the utilization of temporary helpers to perform the more arduous tasks customarily executed by journeymen are common.

The union's unwillingness to maximize the number of dues-paying members is understandable. The seniority system is virtually non-existent and would be difficult to impose, because construction projects are scattered over an entire metropolitan area with one or more being completed practically every day of the year. Construction activity has historically been subject to wide cyclical fluctuations and older union members, the leadership, tend to have what may be called a "depression mentality." These characteristics and their consequence are not really different from that of professional organizations like the American Medical Association which exercise control over the supply of labor and where predictably, one finds the same obstacle to entry of blacks into the labor market.

## OBTAINING UNION JOURNEYMAN STATUS

An individual attains union journeyman status in either of two ways, direct admission or apprenticeship. (59:317)

The National Manpower Council has estimated the means by which skilled occupations having apprenticeship programs fulfill their replacement needs (expressed as percentages):

TABLE 4

## SOURCES OF CRAFTSMEN

Formal training	32.4 to 38.4
Registered apprentices	
Completed training	12.0 to 16.0
Left without completing	6.0 to 8.0
Unregistered apprentices	14.0
Vocational school graduates	0.4
Immigrants trained abroad	4.0
No formal training	57.6 to 63.6

Source: Strauss, George. "Apprenticeship: An Evaluation of the Need," in Employment Policy and the Labor Market, edited by Arthur M. Ross. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, p. 321.

In 1959, projections were made of the proportion of journeymen which would be trained by the apprenticeship method to fulfill the needs of the construction industry in the decade 1960-1970. The electricians' estimated reproduction rate of 36% was the highest in the industry. Corresponding rates for other building trades were bricklayers--22%, sheet metal workers--21%, plumbers--17%, ironworkers--15%, carpenters--6%, and painters--3%. (155:301-05)

Thus the majority of individuals in the building trades have not completed apprenticeship and gain union journeyman status through the direct admission process.

## DIRECT ADMISSION

Direct admission usually occurs during periods of peak construction activity. The prospective "back door" entrant applies for admission at either the union hiring hall or, after being hired by an employer, at the union office depending upon the job placement arrangement between the union and employers. The union must then decide whether to reject the applicant, to grant him temporary status, or to recognize him as a union journeyman. Direct admission of journeymen varies among local unions and according to economic conditions. Qualifications may be determined by a brief interview with the business agent, sponsorship by a current member, or a written examination. (155:318-19)

Union journeymen who have gained entrance by the direct admission process acquire their skill at the trade through one or more of the sources discussed below.

1. Partial apprenticeship training. About 50% of the apprentices indentured fail to complete their training. A survey by the U. S. Bureau of Apprentices disclosed that 29% of apprenticeship dropouts were working at the trade as journeymen, 4% as foremen, 5% as helpers, and 12% at closely related trades. (155:321-22)

2. Informal apprenticeship. In 1964, there were an estimated 55,000 unregistered apprentices receiving training, mostly in the non-union sector. (155:324)

3. Membership transfer. Journeymen who have learned a trade in the non-union sector of the construction industry or in a related industry can transfer to the union sector. (155:318)

4. Vocational education. Graduates of vocational high schools are not usually accepted outright into the building trades, but when combined with other training an individual has an advantage at qualifying as a journeyman. (155:328)

5. Advancement from a lower classification. An individual working at a construction site can acquire considerable skill by merely observing craftsmen in other trades and will, of course, learn much more if allowed to work with or replace a journeyman. A laborer or helper will have a good chance to learn a trade in this informal manner if he is the friend of a journeyman or has a foreman who will assign him to jobs which journeymen usually perform. During periods of peak construction activity, the opportunities for working outside one's classification are increased. In this informal manner, men learn a trade without going through formal training. This process is disparagingly referred to by journeymen who have completed apprenticeship as "stealing the trade." (155:327)

These means for learning a skilled trade without formal training overlap a good deal and there is little indication of their relative importance.

The building trade unions have a formal commitment to apprenticeship as the primary means of entry, and there is opposition by fully apprenticed journeymen to direct admissions. Most business agents dislike direct admissions because "back door" entry may tempt employers who may believe that they can acquire labor with this type of background by themselves to work on a non-union basis. Directly admitted journeymen are often harder to place because they do not usually have as



extensive skills as fully apprenticed journeymen. They are more likely to insist on featherbedding and likely to create internal union strife by demanding that they share job opportunities equally with fully apprenticed journeymen. (155:320)

In spite of these difficulties, direct admission has short run advantages for the union. Apprenticeship involves a forecast of the need for journeymen in four or five years. Unions are uncertain about the pace at which apprenticeship enrollments should be expanded, because they do not know what business conditions will be when the apprentices reach journeyman status. Direct admission allows unions to engage men when they are needed. (155:319-20)

Craft union resistance is not the only reason for a limited number of apprentices. The small contracting firms which comprise the majority of companies in the industry often consider the employment of apprentices to be disadvantageous. The apprentice's wage, particularly during the first year, may exceed the value of his output, and he may not remain with the contractor upon attaining journeyman status. These short-run disadvantages to the contractor result in a somewhat paradoxical situation. Contractors complain loudly during expansionary periods about the shortage of skilled labor. The obvious implication is that the unions have excessively limited the number of apprentices. But in reality it is union pressure upon construction firms, as contractor association representatives emphasized during interviews, that insures even present indenture levels. The unions are wedded to apprenticeship as the formal means of entry into the building trades. If the apprenticeship system atrophied, a competitive method of training construction



labor might emerge with a possible decline in union control. The relative importance of union and employer limitations upon the number of apprentices is difficult to assess.

#### THE NEGRO AND DIRECT ADMISSION

Obviously, Negroes have difficulty gaining union journeyman status by means of direct admission. The Negroes who do work at the skilled construction trades are concentrated in the non-union sector. A recent survey by the N.A.A.C.P. of 32 cities disclosed that 97% of all black journeymen worked for non-union Negro owned construction companies. (140)

Negro contractors usually do business exclusively with the black community, whose housing seldom consists of new residential construction because of discrimination and low incomes. Negro contractors primarily do repairs and additions. Because of the high risk attached to loans to Negroes by financial institutions, the Negro contractor usually does work at a lower price and exerts a greater sales effort in obtaining customers. Confinement to working for non-union Negro contractors yields a lower hourly wage and more sporadic employment.

Many unskilled Negroes work at construction sites with white union journeymen. But the perpetuation of the traditional superior-subordinate relationship between races on the job has limited the black's ability to "steal a trade." Other types of informal training are likewise excluded from the purview of the black by the differences in the demand for and supply of Negro labor.

The extent of one's skill acquired without formal training is most often a highly subjective determination with discrimination as the



reason for disqualification nearly impossible to prove. The fact remains that:

Entry into many jobs is controlled by a series of requirements which are guides to the skills needed to enter the job. For the Negro applicant, however, these qualifications and failure to meet one is grounds for rejection of the applicant.  
(63:244)

Exclusion of blacks from the direct admission process may be altered by what may prove to be a precedent setting court case. On September 13, 1968, Cincinnati Federal District Court Judge Timothy J. Hogan ordered lily-white, eight hundred man, I.B.E.W. Local 212 to accept Anderson Dobbins, a black college graduate and city licensed electrician for 20 years, as a full fledged journeyman. The judge noted 11 separate instances of racial discrimination committed by the union and found these acts to be in violation of the prohibition of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on patterns of discrimination. Of even more significance, though, was the court's challenge to the entire hiring system of the local.

Judge Hogan stated that the ordered revision "will not include differentiation based on union membership or the passing of a union examination or work for a union contractor," but rather will include training and experience gained from non-union sources. The judge found the union's present referral system entirely within the arbitrary discretion of the business agent. The new system "will be objective and will expressly deal out the 'prerogative' system now in effect." (140)

If Negro participation in apprenticeship is increased, the chances for blacks to gain direct admittance should also increase, because black journeymen should be more inclined to extend informal

training opportunities to others of their race and the possibility exists that more Negroes will enter decision making capacities. But more positive approaches such as well publicized competitive examinations for direct admittance and training programs to upgrade unskilled construction workers have not been widely utilized.

#### APPRENTICESHIP

The apprenticeship system has its origin in Medieval Europe. Boys in their early teens were indentured by their fathers to skilled craftsmen. The craftsman agreed to teach the boy the trade. In return, the father relinquished all claims upon his son's labor. The life of the apprentice was arduous. The master usually had him work long hours at menial tasks, fed and housed him poorly, and rarely taught him all the necessary skills of the trade. The number of runaway apprentices was high. As a black respondent observed: "It is ironic that blacks are clamoring for entrance into apprenticeship today when there are statutes still on the books which prescribe harsher treatment for runaway apprentices than did the Fugitive Slave Law."

Today, the condition of the apprentice, while no longer evoking the abhorrence of a Dickens novel, is difficult. Young men usually between the ages of 18 and 23 are eligible for apprenticeship. In Europe, apprentices are much younger, often 14 or 15, and consequently do not have as many financial responsibilities as the U. S. apprentice. Apprentices commonly receive a starting wage of about half a journeyman's rate with wages increasing periodically so that toward the end of the four or five year indenture the apprentice and journeyman rates are equal.

Union journeyman status is granted upon completion of a union sponsored apprenticeship program. The apprentice must attend classes, sometimes without pay, for usually a minimum of 144 hours a year. The duration of apprenticeship is often extended beyond the stated period by the usual stipulation that apprentices cannot attend classes if they are unemployed. Thus, a term of apprenticeship which would last 4 years if the apprentice enjoyed continuous employment might be extended to 5 or 6 years due to lay-offs. The job assignments of the apprentice are to be rotated in order that he gain experience at all facets of the trade. The quality of classroom instruction and the diversity of experience on the job varies with the trade and locality. About half the apprentices indentured drop out.

The function of apprenticeship is to train the leadership of the construction industry. In 1956, 19% of the apprentices in the U. S. who graduated in 1950 were working as supervisors and 8% as contractors. A California study of apprentices completing their programs in 1950 disclosed that by 1955 over 30% were supervisors and 13% were contractors. In 1960, 41% of the California apprenticeship class of 1955 worked as supervisors or contractors. (155:313)

Professor George Strauss comments:

Apprenticeship officials defend the intensity of their training programs on the grounds that they are training future members of management. Thus, the carpentry program provides training in cost estimating, building and safety codes, and aspects of masonry, plumbing, and electrical work--and seems designed to turn out general contractors as well as journeymen carpenters. (155:313)

The apprenticeship drop out has a good chance of gaining direct admission as a union journeyman, but his opportunities for advancing

into supervisory ranks would appear to be less than those of the apprenticeship graduate. While no data on this matter are available, it would seem that the recipient of the Certificate of Completion would enjoy steadier employment. Employers are more likely to retain the formally-trained man during slack periods because of his greater adaptability and the possibility of not regaining workers with extensive skill during peak periods.

The National Apprenticeship Act of 1937 established the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship which is composed of representatives from labor, management, and education. The F.C.A. and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor establish a broad framework within which "registered" apprenticeship programs must operate.

The primary function of B.A.T., which has field offices in every state, is to promote apprenticeship programs by giving technical assistance to Joint Apprenticeship Committees, composed of employer and union representatives, which determine the specific requirements and administer the programs within the broad framework established by the Bureau and the F.C.A. Classroom instruction is normally given through the public schools and is financed by the federal, state and local government. Upon fulfilling the broad federal requirements, apprenticeship programs are "registered" and receive a partial reimbursement of their cost under the Smith-Hughes Act (1917) and the Vocational Education Act (1946).  
(101:11-13)

The local Joint Apprenticeship Committee has full control over the determination of the number of apprentices to be indentured and a



lesser degree of control over the qualifications for apprenticeship. While labor and management are equally represented on J.A.C.'s, most contractor, government, and labor observers agree that the union influence is dominant. Employers are fragmented into many trade organizations which have little control over individual contractors and seldom present a united front to the unions. Correspondingly, it was reported in both Chicago and Detroit that employer representatives usually had poorer attendance records at J.A.C. meetings. Until the decade of the 1960's and its extensive black protest, the J.A.C.'s had virtually full control in the determination of who could become an apprentice.

#### WAGE DETERMINATION

Union control over the supply of labor in the construction industry should result in a smaller number of workers and a higher wage than would be attainable under purely competitive labor market conditions. The only study of the wage impact of building trade unions confirms this expectation. (149)

In determining the size of its membership, the union recognizes that the lower its membership and, consequently, the higher the wage, the more employers will resort in the long-run to factor substitution. Hence, building trade unions appear to maintain a size somewhere between that which will maximize wages and that which will insure at least current employment levels in the future.

The wage determination process between the union and employer association may be viewed in terms of a bilateral monopoly. But trade unions do not incur a cost in supplying labor units and, therefore, do

not have a marginal cost of production. The factionalism within employer associations and the ease of entry into the construction industry belie their designation as monopolies. A more realistic description is as follows.

A union which operates a 4 year apprenticeship program might start its apprentices at 50% of a journeyman's rate with annual increments of 12.5% so that upon completion of the indenture, the journeyman rate is received.

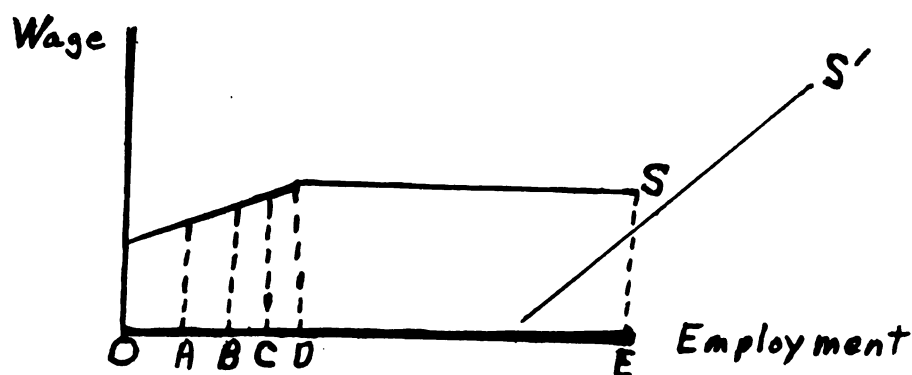


FIGURE 1

## LABOR SUPPLY

The supply curve of the union ( $S$ ) is depicted in Figure 1 where  $OA$  represents the number of 1st year apprentices,  $AB$ --the 2nd year apprentices,  $BC$ --3rd year, and  $CD$ --4th year. The number of journeymen is represented by  $DE$ . The supply curve under competitive conditions is represented by  $S^1$ .

Assume that the productivity of apprentices as a percentage of the productivity of journeymen equals the ratio of the apprentice wage to the journeyman rate. For example, a 1st year apprentice is only 50% as productive as a journeyman and receives half the craftsman's wage rate. By making the productivity of a journeyman the unit of measurement, total employment can be converted into units of labor efficiency.

In Figure 2, OF corresponds to  $OA + AB + BC + CD$  in Figure 1 and FG equals DE.

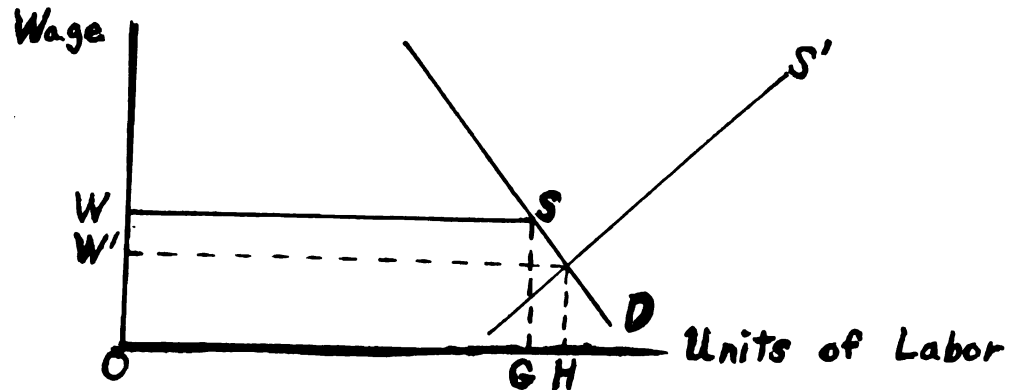


FIGURE 2

## WAGE DETERMINATION

The equilibrium wage ( $W$ ) is that rate where the supply of labor equals the demand and where all union members are employed. Under competitive conditions a lower wage ( $W^1$ ) and greater employment ( $OH$ ) would result.

## THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP

An urban labor market with a sizeable Negro population can be depicted as divided along racial lines into two sectors. The concept of the dual labor market, as it was discussed in Chapter II, will be utilized to examine the intent and the effects of various public policies designed to increase the proportion of Negro apprentices in the building trades.

The previous discussion in this chapter on the labor market of the construction industry indicates that it is plausible to view the number of apprentices demanded in a period for a metropolitan area to be a somewhat exogenous determination by each trade's Joint Apprenticeship Committee. The number of apprentices demanded is a function of



what the J.A.C. perceives the need for highly trained journeymen to be in 4 or 5 years hence and bears no direct relationship to what might appear to be, if it were not for the role of the direct admission process, logical independent variables such as current employment, government estimates of projected employment, and journeyman retirement rates. The objection might be made that because collective bargaining agreements stipulate apprentice-journeyman ratios, current journeyman employment sets a limit upon the number of apprentices which can be indentured. To an extent this is true, but the J.A.C. can and often does indenture a number of apprentices far below the allowable ratio and can, of course, negotiate a change in the ratio.

The number of apprentices demanded can be allocated by the J.A.C. between black and white sectors, either equally or unequally. The apprentice wage is the same in both sectors and is set at some fraction of the craftsman's rate through the process described above.

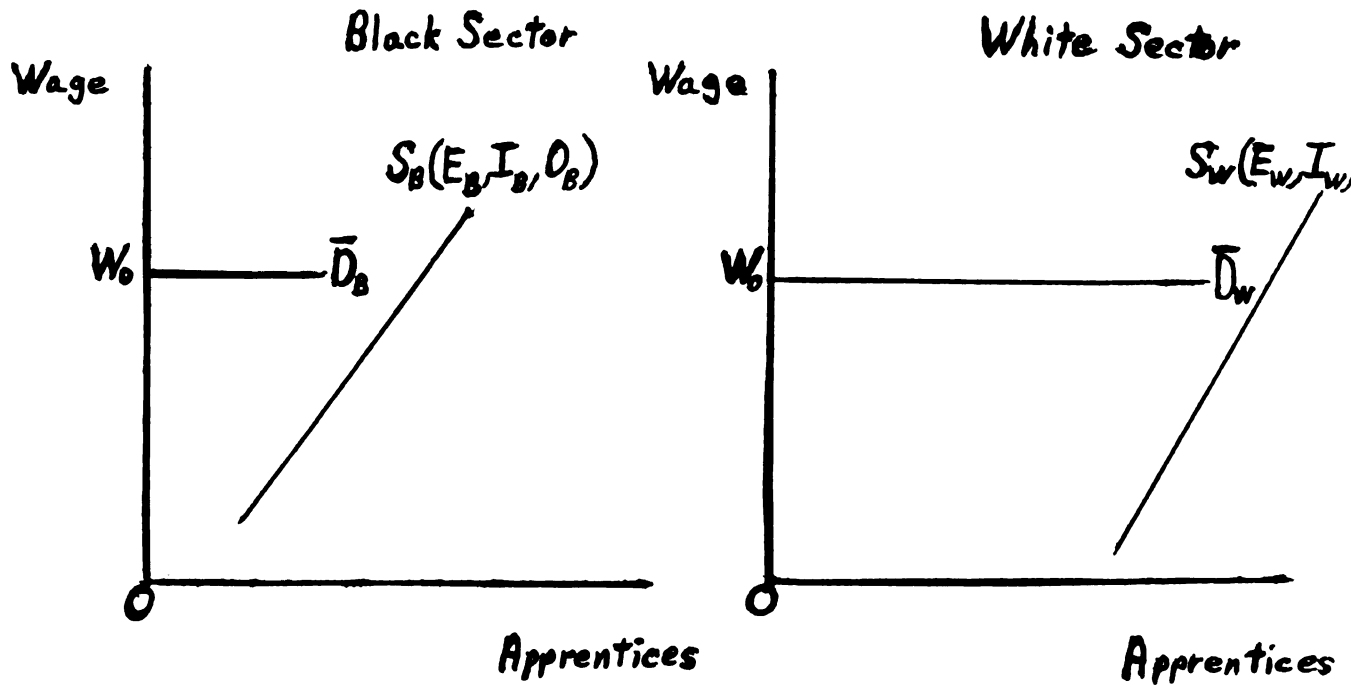
The supply of qualified applicants of both races for apprenticeship is dependent upon the educational level, employment information, and orientation of the urban labor market's white and black participants. The number of qualified applicants who will accept indenture if offered varies directly with the wage rate. Because one is eligible for apprenticeship only if so designated by the J.A.C., "qualified" means being able to participate if a condition of no discrimination prevails.

Neither sector of the apprentice market is necessarily in equilibrium even in a long term situation. The supply of qualified applicants may continuously exceed the demand. The long waiting lists for

most apprenticeship programs indicates the plausibility of this situation. After the passage of time as applicants reach the top of the list, their decision of whether or not to accept indenture is most likely predicated upon the apprentice wage in relation to that in their present employment.

No self-equilibrating mechanism exists in either sector of the market; for example, an increase in the supply of qualified applicants will not necessarily lower the wage nor expand the number of apprentices indentured. The number of apprentices is not expanded because the total supply of labor would be increased and the journeyman wage reduced. The apprentice wage tends to remain stable because of important institutional factors. Apprentices are often relatives of journeymen and a reduction of a long standing apprentice-journeyman wage ratio would violate a "family" tradition and might create internal union strife. When the supply of qualified apprentice applicants exceeds the demand and the apprentice-journeyman wage ratio remains constant, journeymen are in effect subsidizing apprentices. But if apprentices are predominantly family members, this subsidy is really not too different than a father's expenditure for his son's college education. Furthermore, union leaders tend to have an undefined conception of a "just wage." A reduction in the apprentice-journeyman wage ratio may encroach upon this ethic, particularly when it involves relatives. Hence, apprentice-journeyman wage ratios tend to remain constant despite increases in the number of qualified apprentice applicants.

The market for apprentices is illustrated in Figure 3.



$\bar{D}$  = exogenously determined number of apprentices demanded

$$\bar{D} = \bar{D}_B + \bar{D}_W$$

$S$  = supply of qualified applicants

$E$  = educational level

$I$  = informational level

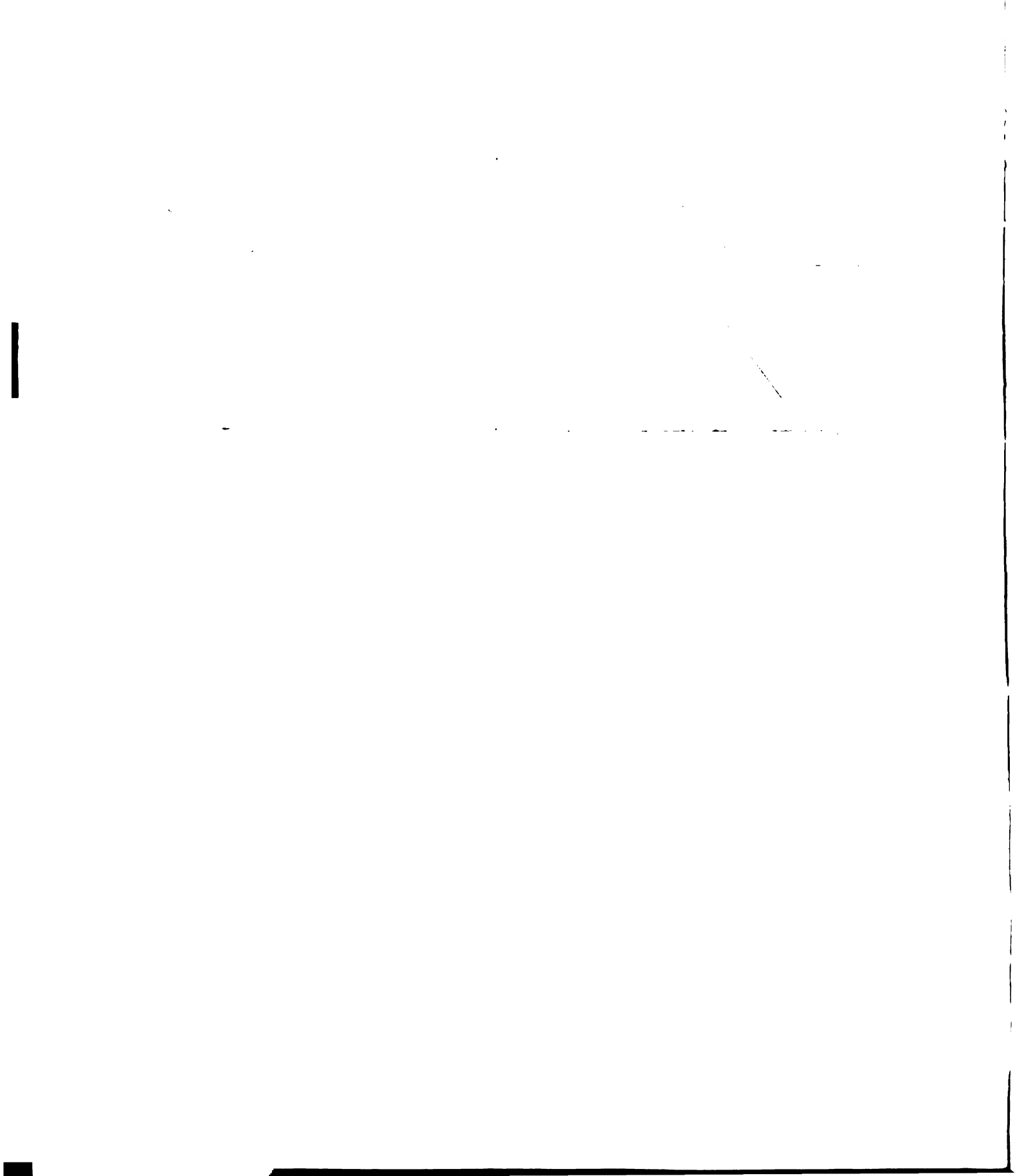
$O$  = orientation

$$S(E, I, O) = f(W)$$

FIGURE 3

#### UNEQUAL DEMAND

The number of apprentices demanded is allocated unequally between sectors in this example. An increase in either the educational or informational level or a positive change in the orientation of either race's labor force participants will shift its supply curve to the right.





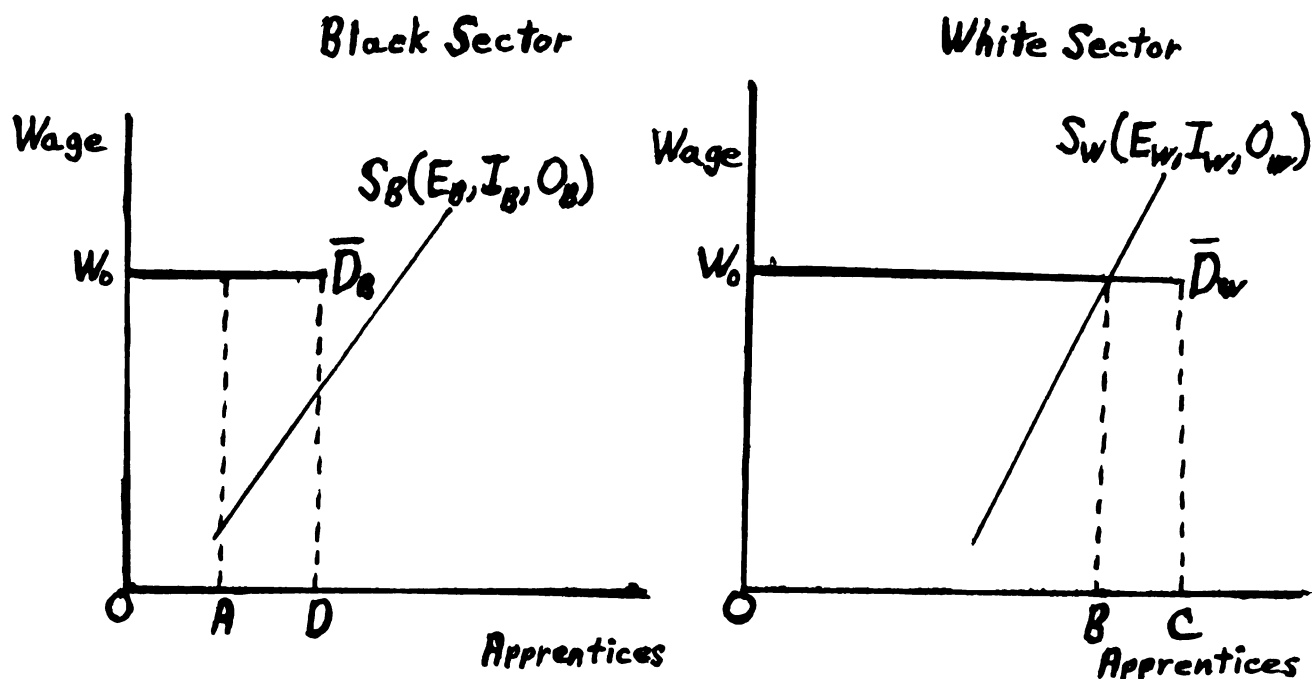


FIGURE 4

## EXCESS DEMAND

Where a firm requires a relatively fixed amount of labor in order to operate and where factor substitution is not presently feasible, a shortage of white labor will result in excess demand in the white sector which may be satisfied by drawing labor from the black sector. But in the apprenticeship market an excess demand for white apprentices by a discriminatory union (BC in Figure 4) need not result in an increase in the demand for black apprentices.

Labor shortages in the journeyman market may be filled by admitting whites (or even Negroes) as journeymen through direct admission or as temporary card holders. In order to increase the number of white apprentices, the union may raise the apprentice wage, or it may intensify recruitment efforts in the white sector or lower apprenticeship entrance requirements, both of which will shift the  $S_W$  curve to the right.



Only if these efforts fail to attract white apprentices and the union is convinced that it must increase the leadership of the trade regardless of race will the demand for black apprentices be increased (AD in Figure 4 where  $AD = BC$ ). A situation of insatiable excess demand for white apprentices does not seem to be a probable avenue for increased black apprenticeship participation in the judgement of contractor and union respondents in Chicago and Detroit.

#### EQUALIZATION OF DEMAND

Fair employment practice laws, even if strictly enforced, do not by themselves eliminate the dual labor market. The most that these laws can do is to assure that an individual is not disqualified from employment solely on the basis of race.

In Figure 5, the entire number of apprentices demanded (OB) could be acquired in the white sector. The effect of a fully enforced equal employment law is to make the demand for black and white apprentices equal ( $\bar{D}_B = \bar{D}_W$ ). But  $OA + OB = \bar{D}$ . The expected distribution of apprentices according to race would be proportionate to the number of qualified apprentices of each race available at the prevailing wage rate. In this example,  $OD + OE = \bar{D}$  and  $OD/OA = OE/OC$ .

Union resistance to integration is not due entirely to racial prejudice. About half the building trade apprentices indentured each year are relatives of trade members. (101:18) Building tradesmen do not feel that nepotism is immoral and believe that a trade is a property right which one should be able to pass on to one's children. The selective nature of craft unions in passing artisan skills on dates back to the closed guilds of the twelfth century.

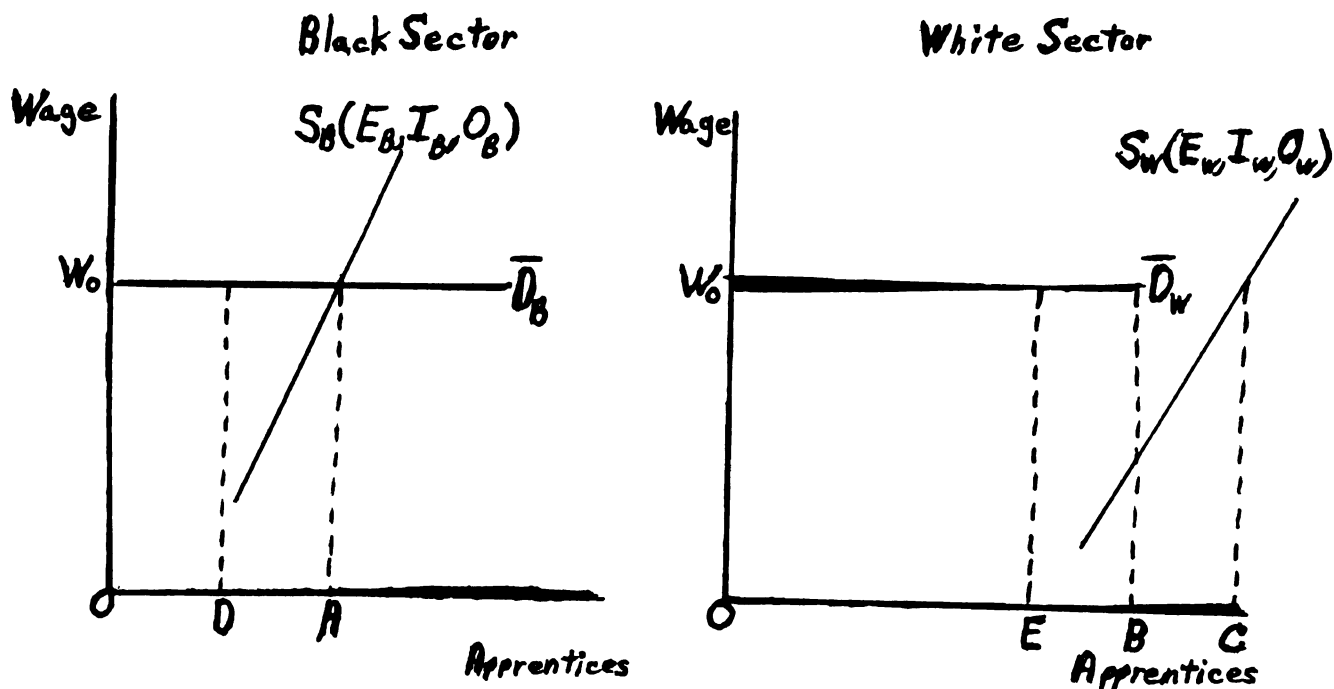


FIGURE 5

## EQUAL DEMAND

Apprenticeship programs have been developed with little outside assistance, and trade unionists dislike interference in what they consider to be a private matter. (156:316) The craft unions feel that charges of discrimination are exaggerated as evidenced by the small number of formal complaints filed with F.E.P. Commissions.

On June 21, 1963, the national officers of the 18 separate craft unions which comprise the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Building Trades Department issued a non-discrimination policy statement.

1. In order to avoid discrimination, local unions are urged to accept into membership any applicant who meets the required qualifications regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

2. If a local union has an agreement which provides for and operates an exclusive hiring hall, all applicants for employment are to be placed on the hiring list in accordance with applicable law and their contract with employers.

3. If the local unions do not have an exclusive hiring hall but do have a referral system set forth in their contract, qualified applicants for employment are to be referred without discrimination as to race, creed, color, or national origin.

4. With regard to the application for, or employment of, apprentices, local unions shall accept and refer such applicants in accordance with their qualifications. There shall be no discrimination. The local unions shall adhere strictly to apprenticeship standards. (86)

The building trade unions, however, have yet to place a local union under trusteeship for racial discrimination. The Landrum-Griffin Act allows trusteeships for racial exclusion--see Chicago Federation of Musicians v. American Federation of Musicians DC No. Ill., 57 LRRM 2227 (1964). Seymour Lipset has posed an interesting hypothesis to explain why local unions deny equality, while at the national level equality is promoted at least verbally: local unions operate more democratically than national unions and reflect the racial prejudice of members. (94:136)

Prior to the Spring of 1963, local branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League attempted to equalize the demand for Negro apprentices by conciliating with unions and employers. Efforts to publicize the exclusion of blacks through informational picketing and the news media were also unsuccessful, because construction unions and the industry's many small employers have little to fear from adverse public opinion unlike retail stores and firms producing brand name commercially marketed products. An alternative was to force a confrontation.

In May, 1963, the first major civil rights demonstration at a construction site occurred in Philadelphia. Within the month, multi-million dollar projects in other major cities were tied up. The nation

saw demonstrators lying down in front of building material trucks and police often brutally hauling them off.

On June 4, 1963, President Kennedy reacted and the demonstrations subsided. Secretary of Labor Wirtz was instructed to require all registered apprenticeship programs to comply with the following standards:

1. The selection of apprentices on the basis of qualifications alone, in accordance with objective standards which permit review after full and fair opportunity for application, unless the selections otherwise made would themselves demonstrate that there is equality of opportunity.

2. The taking of whatever steps are necessary, in acting upon application lists developed prior to this time, to remove the effects of previous practices under which discriminatory patterns of employment may have resulted.

3. Nondiscrimination in all phases of apprenticeship and employment during apprenticeship after selections are made.  
(101:197)

The Wirtz order has been rather inconsistently applied. Many apprenticeship programs with a low proportion of Negroes have been compelled to adopt "objective" admission requirements--usually the passing of written and oral examinations--, but most often the objectivity of the tests is determined solely by the J.A.C.'s. The more flagrant obstacles to black participation such as requiring a vote upon applications by the union membership and accepting only friends and relatives of union members appear for the most part to have been eliminated or at least they are no longer openly practiced. No penalties--deregistration and the withdrawal of federal funds--have been given for non-compliance. One reason for provisions' ineffectiveness may be that B.A.T. administrators are often ex-construction trade unionists.

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An alternative to confrontation is court action.

In 1964, a U. S. Circuit Court ruled in Todd v. Joint Apprenticeship Committee, 7th Cir., 332 F 2d 243, (1964) that while it is well established that constitutional guarantees protect an individual only against the acts of the government and not those of private individuals, a union conducted apprenticeship program which discriminates against qualified black applicants is in violation of the 5th and 14th Amendments, because "federal and state agencies at least passively, assisted, aided and made it possible for the union to carry out its policy of excluding Negroes from apprenticeship programs." (85:LRX396 and 16:394)

The New York State Commission on Human Rights delivered an unprecedented decision in 1964, enforcing the spirit of the Wirtz order. James Ballard, a Negro, had been denied admission to the apprenticeship program of Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Association. The union had removed its constitutional prohibition on Negro members but rejected Ballard while accepting whites who had applied after him.

The union was later found guilty in State Commission for Human Rights v. Farrell, 43 Misc. 2d 958, 252 N.Y.S. 2d 649 (1964) by the New York Supreme Court of barring Negroes as a class from its apprenticeship program and ordered to:

1. invalidate its waiting list composed of 900 applicants.
2. end its "father-son" relationship which gave preferential treatment to relatives of present members.
3. cease requiring that applicants be sponsored by a member of the local.
4. initiate objective admission standards such as a nominal application fee (\$10) and a high school degree. (104:285-86)



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An attempt by the union at a later date to reduce the size of its apprenticeship classes and to rely more upon the direct admission process was aborted by court order, and the union was compelled to indenture a number consistent with past practices. (16:395-96)

The leadership of Local 28 was really upset in the Fall of 1966 when 147 applicants took the apprentice entrance exam and 24 of the 32 Negroes passed as opposed to only 36 of the 115 whites. The blacks had received training from a local civil rights organization, and the union wanted to retest them because they suspected that the scores were obtained by "some nefarious means." A representative of the New York University Testing Center testified before the State Commission for Human Rights that the results were "statistically improbable." Kenneth Clark, the psychologist, countered the contention that mental ability is "crystallized in childhood" and stated that dramatic developmental changes can be achieved by a gifted instructor working with highly motivated young people. The State Supreme Court issued an injunction preventing the retest. (101:76-77 and 16:396-97)

In 1967, a Federal District Court ruled that a requirement of letters of recommendation from 3 members and the approval of all apprentices by a majority of the membership of Local 53 International Association of Asbestos Workers constituted a discriminatory "pattern" under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The requirements limited apprenticeship to sons and relatives of union members. The court instructed the union to establish objective criteria and not to admit anyone until it did. (118:54-55)

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A Federal District Court in the case of Ethridge F. Sup. 83, S. D. Ohio, (1967) enjoined the State of Ohio from entering into a contract for the building of a medical center at Case Western Reserve University. The court reasoned that the state was barred by the 14th Amendment from entering into a contract for public construction unless the state was assured that the contractor obtained his labor from a non-discriminatory source. (16:400)

The case established a precedent which Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., believes may be useful in breaking "organized labor's racial strangle-hold." In the Spring of 1969, Mr. Hill announced that the first target will be the Model Cities program and advised the Housing and Urban Affairs Department that the N.A.A.C.P. is planning a series of suits to disrupt the program unless more Negroes are employed in the building trades. Demonstrations at construction sites to dramatize the issue were intimated. (9)

The Sheet Metal Workers Joint Apprenticeship Council of Buffalo, New York examined in 1967 white--and for the first time in its history--Negro applicants. Both a written and an oral examination were used. Of the applicants passing the written exam, all the whites passed the oral, but 6 of the 8 blacks failed.

The New York State Commission for Human Rights found that the all white panel administering the oral consistently graded Negroes below whites by using subjective criteria and allowing their personal feelings toward blacks to affect their decisions. The Commission questioned the criteria and the competence of the examiners and ordered the J.A.C. to discontinue the oral unless specific, job related standards

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are developed and the interviews are conducted by licensed psychologists. (119:58)

Despite the adoption of non-discrimination policies by the federal government and AFL-CIO affiliates at the national level, apprenticeship admission policies and practices vary widely at the local level. In later chapters, the degree to which the demand for apprentices has been equalized between the black and white sectors of the Chicago and Detroit labor markets will be examined.

#### QUOTA EMPLOYMENT

By quota employment is meant a government requirement that the labor force hired by an employer be of a certain racial composition.

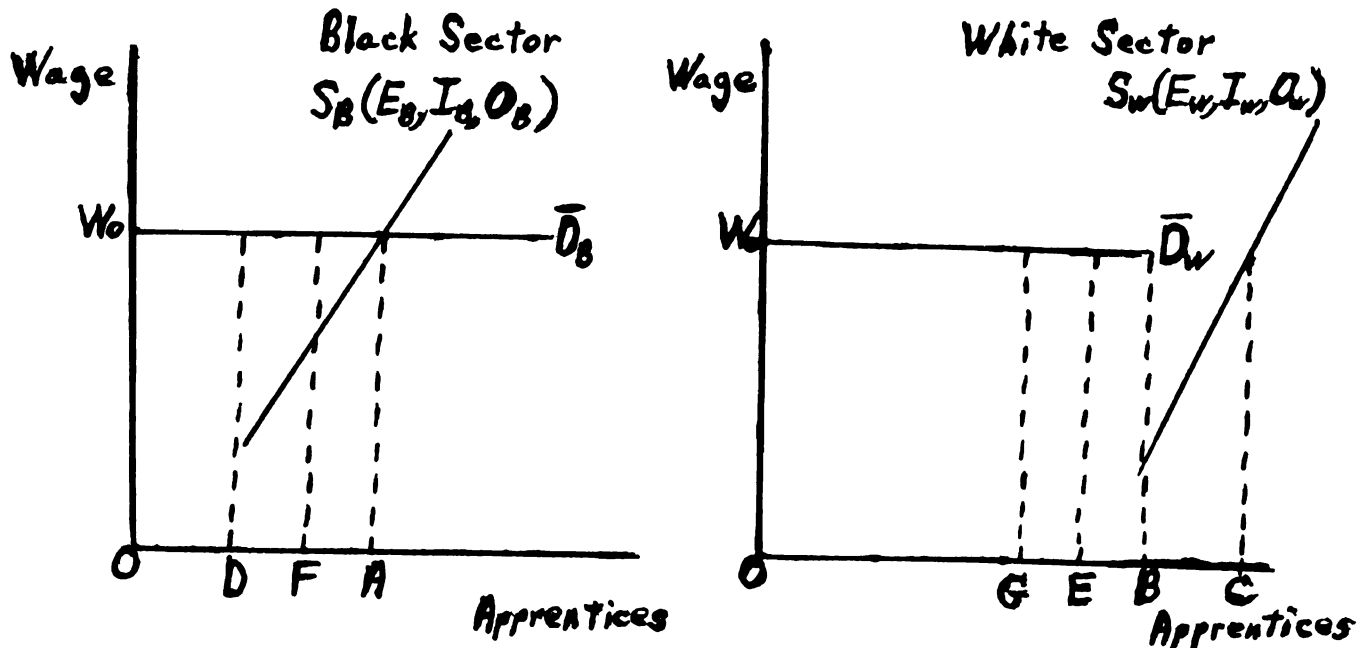


FIGURE 6

#### QUOTA HIRING

In Figure 6, the number of apprentices demanded (OB) could be acquired in the white sector. The expected distribution of apprentices

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according to race, if the demand for apprentices is equal in both sectors, would be proportionate to the number of qualified apprentices available at the prevailing wage-- $OD/OA = OE/OC$  where  $OD + OE = \bar{D}$ .

If the racial distribution is below the imposed quota, the J.A.C. would be forced to adjust the racial composition. In this example,  $OF + OG = \bar{D}$  and  $OF/OA = OG/OC$ . Thus, a quota can increase black participation without increasing the supply of qualified Negro apprenticeship applicants.

If the quota exceeds the supply of black apprentices available at the prevailing wage, either the wage will be raised or the admission requirements for blacks will be lowered. If the union desires to maintain the current wage and admission standards, the supply of qualified black apprentices would have to be increased by changing the educational level, employment information, and orientation of Negro labor force participants.

Quota employment is disparagingly referred to as "reverse discrimination" by most whites and some Negroes. George Meany has stated that it "would merely replace one kind of discrimination with another." (73:12-13) Walter Reuther echoed Meany: "If Negroes were asking for something more than equal opportunity, I think that would be crazy, and I would oppose that." (95) Employers view quotas as an unwarranted infringement upon employment decisions.

Because government--federal, state, and local--expenditures account for about one-third of yearly construction outlays, the imposition of quotas upon government projects could be a significant means for increasing black apprenticeship participation. Because federal,



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and local government contract compliance agencies operate in Chicago and along with a state agency in Detroit, the extent and influence of quota imposition will be examined.

### EQUALIZATION OF SUPPLY

Public policies designed to equalize the supply of black labor attempt to increase the number of qualified black applicants at each wage rate through positive changes in the educational level, employment information, and orientation of Negro labor force participants.

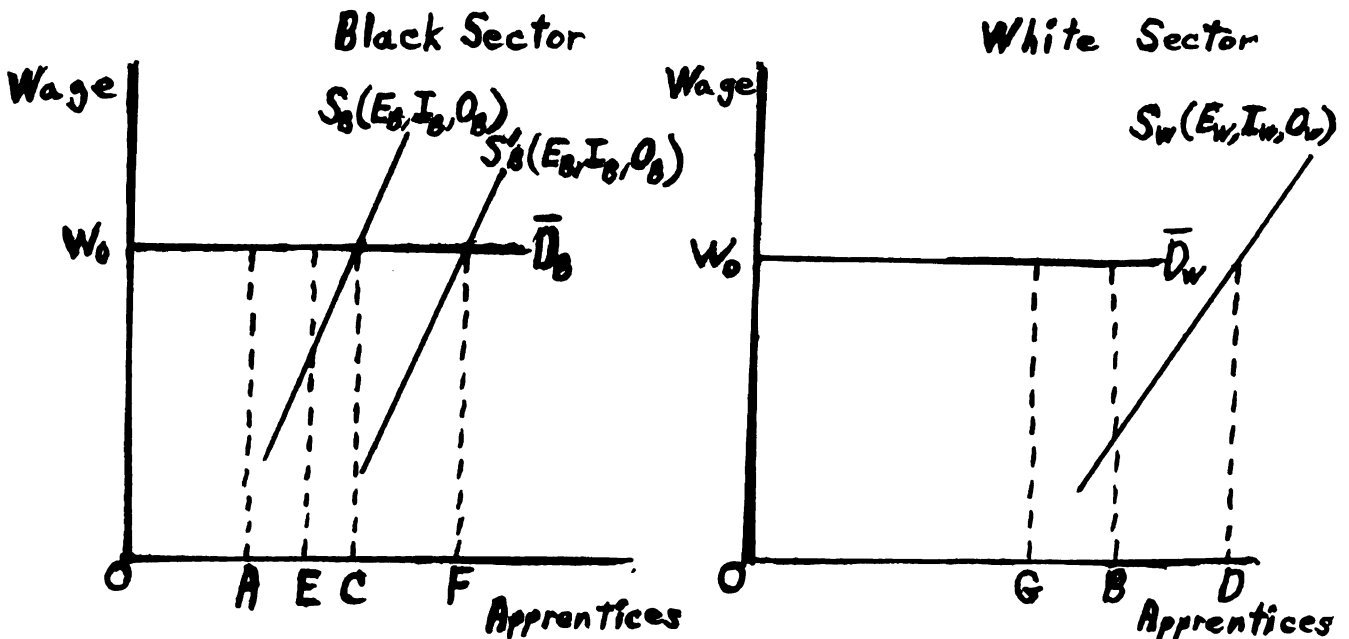


FIGURE 7

### EQUAL SUPPLY

In Figure 7, the number of apprentices demanded is equal in both sectors-- $\bar{D} = OA + OB$  where  $OA/OC = OB/OD$ . A policy which increases the supply of black applicants would shift  $S_B$  to  $S_B^1$ -- $\bar{D} = OE + OG$ , where  $OE/OF = OG/OD$ .

It is evident that the equalization of demand in both sectors while necessary is not sufficient to produce black apprenticeship participation commensurate with the racial composition of the labor force if the ratio of qualified black to white applicants is less than the proportion of Negroes in the urban labor market. The 1963 demonstrations at construction sites brought pledges from some unions to open their apprentice rolls to Negroes. However in most of these cases, to the embarrassment of civil rights leaders, few blacks applied and of those who did, many were unable to fulfill entrance requirements. (99:34)

With the realization that a major reason for the paucity of qualified black applicants is a lack of apprenticeship information, the Manpower Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor in 1963 established Apprenticeship Information Centers which are to operate within the following guidelines:

a. Information centers will be established in appropriate labor market areas, particularly in areas where there are substantial minority groups in the work force.

b. The Centers shall secure, maintain, and publicize an up-to-date compilation of apprenticeship information and make it available to high school students, public school guidance departments, the minority community, labor unions, employer associations, employers, and the general public.

c. The Centers shall place emphasis on developing cooperation with employers, unions, and minority groups, in order that these parties take action commensurate with the significant value of apprenticeship in relation to the National manpower situation.

d. The Centers shall determine the qualifications of applicants by interviewing, counseling, and testing, and refer only those qualified to available apprenticeship openings.

e. Centers shall be operated as separate entities within the organizational structure of Employment Service local offices and each one shall be prominently identified as "Apprenticeship

Information Center," so as not to be confused with any other Employment Service function within which or near which it is located. (101:209-10)

As of September 6, 1968, Apprenticeship Information Centers had been established in 36 cities. The A.I.C.'s are under the joint control of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and the Bureau of Employment Security. B.A.T. has the responsibility of securing the support of labor, management, and the minority community and of obtaining relevant apprenticeship information such as the requirements for programs, filing dates, and examination dates. B.E.S. has the responsibility of coordinating the program with state employment agencies. (101:210)

The performance of A.I.C.'s varies widely. Some have not received even the most basic apprenticeship information from all the locality's J.A.C.'s. Others do not actively recruit in the minority community and do not maintain performance records. (101:216-18)

In addition to these operating difficulties, the concept of the A.I.C. as an institution capable of significantly increasing black apprenticeship participation is deficient. The A.I.C.'s do not attempt to improve the educational level of the black nor do they really attempt to change his orientation toward traditional Negro jobs.

Apprenticeship outreach programs attempt to increase the supply of black apprenticeship applicants by directly affecting changes in the education, information, and orientation of Negro labor force participants.

In 1964, the New York City branch of the Workers Defense League, a civil rights organization, established a program to recruit and tutor

minority group members for apprenticeship. The program has become something of a model for apprenticeship outreach endeavors in other cities.

The W.D.L. recruits through public school counselors, parent-school councils, church groups, and other community organizations. The typical recruit is an above average high school graduate, employed in a traditional Negro job.

Because of its ability to provide qualified Negro applicants, most unions are cooperative and supply the required apprenticeship information. The W.D.L. has not pressured unions to lower admission requirements, because increased competition from white applicants is feared.

The W.D.L. interviews recruits and administers an aptitude test. If the candidate appears to be of sufficient potential, he is counseled as to the range of opportunities available in the apprenticeable trades.

If the candidate is interested, he attends tutorial sessions for 9 hours a week for 6 weeks prior to the apprenticeship exam. The goal of the tutorials is passing the entrance exam--not the improvement of the candidate's overall educational level. The actual apprenticeship exam which will be used is usually not available, but the type of test can often be determined. Elementary mathematics, spatial relations, mechanical reasoning, and verbal reasoning are taught. Mock oral exams are also given.

The League helps those passing the apprenticeship test to get jobs during the interim, as long as 6 months, before indenture. Applications are processed by the League for the recruit, and loans are granted for tools and union initiation fees.

By January 1, 1968, programs of this type were financed by the Department of Labor in 14 other cities and by September, 1968 in 43 cities. The programs are administered by the Workers Defense League, Urban League, Trade Union Leadership Council, and local building trade councils. The New York City pattern is to be followed in the other cities. (99:38-50)



## CHAPTER V

### THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO AND DETROIT

To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time. -- James Baldwin

That black participation in the building trades reflects the quality of other aspects of Negro life in an urban community was indicated in previous chapters. The condition of the Negro in Chicago and Detroit will be examined in this chapter, a profile which will contribute to an understanding of the color line in the building trades of the two cities.

#### MIGRATION AND REACTION

In 1910, 91% of the 9.8 million Negroes in the U. S. lived in the South. 27% lived in cities of 2,500 residents or more. By 1966, the total black population had more than doubled, numbering 21.5 million, with 55% living in the South and 69% in metropolitan areas. (138:12) The migration of blacks into Chicago and Detroit is reflective of the national pattern.

While the first permanent settler on the site of Chicago in 1790 was a black trader, Jean Baptiste Pointe de Saible, Negro community life in Chicago and Detroit can be traced back to only about the 1840's. (151:5) Former slaves, who had either purchased their freedom or were set free by their masters, settled in both cities and as small minorities lived rather harmoniously with the white populace which was primarily of native-born French ancestry. Because of their proximity to Canada, both cities were important stations along the underground

railroad network. Fugitive slaves settled in the cities and Negro residents often violently clashed with run-away slave catchers from the South.

Between 1830 and 1860, the ethnic composition of the cities changed substantially due to the influx of English, German, and Irish immigrants. Race riots occurred in Chicago and Detroit during the Civil War as Negroes came North and competed, especially with Irish immigrants, for unskilled jobs. The Irish were particularly incensed over being drafted into the Union Army to fight a war whose primary objective, they thought, was to secure freedom for the slaves and consequently made blacks a prime object of their wrath. The riots in Chicago and Detroit, however, were not as bloody as the infamous Draft Riots of 1863 in New York City. (172:99)

Negro migration remained relatively light for the duration of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th. In 1900, 30,000 Negroes resided in Chicago and 4,700 in Detroit, 1.8% and 1.7% of the total population respectively. In 1910, Chicago had 44,000 black residents and Detroit had 6,000.

During the next two decades, the pace of black migration quickened. In 1920, 109,000 Negroes lived in Chicago and 40,000 in Detroit. By 1930, 234,000 resided in Chicago and 125,000 in Detroit, 7% and 8% of the total population respectively.

The great migration of blacks started during World War I when labor shortages arose in Chicago and Detroit. The majority of Negro men were working for low wages in Southern agriculture and receiving increasingly sporadic employment due to floods in the Black Belt and the ravages of the boll weevil, which forced farmers to switch from cotton to extremely less labor-intensive food crops.

While economic motivation was an important reason for migration, the social status of the Negro citizen in the South was so poor that the prospect of increased freedom in the North alone stimulated migration. Education, employment, housing, public accommodations, mob violence, injustice in the courts, and the lack of police protection in the South were more than many blacks could bear.

In 1920, 31% of the population of Chicago and 30% of the residents of Detroit were foreign born. Immigration restrictions imposed in 1921 made internal migration a more important source of unskilled labor for the expanding industrial centers. Labor agents went to the South and recruited black labor for Chicago and Detroit.

The black's Northern migration was resisted in the South. During the 1920's, many Southern cities enacted ordinances subjecting labor recruiters to stiff fines and jail sentences. (44:58-59) The flight from the South for blacks who had "Northern fever" was often reminiscent of their predecessors who travelled the pre-Civil War underground railroad.

Between 1917 and 1921, major race riots occurred in Chester and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, D.C.; Omaha, Nebraska; and Chicago. The worst took place at Chicago in 1919--38 were killed, 537 injured, and 1,000 left homeless. (20:1)

The riot was kindled by an incident at a Lake Michigan beach. A black youngster strayed across an imaginary line intended to separate the races in the water. A number of whites threw stones at the boy, who panicked and drowned. The police refused to arrest the white man accused by Negroes of instigating the rock throwing. News of the

incident was disseminated by rumors and the newspapers. Black and white mobs roamed the streets, brutally attacking one another. (20:1)

The incident which precipitated the riot reflected the social unrest of the period. Within 18 months during 1917-1918, 50,000 blacks migrated to Chicago. (20:79) Practically no new residences had been constructed in the city during the war, and it was impossible for the doubled Negro population to live in the area occupied in 1915. Tension was created as blacks moved into previously all white neighborhoods. (20:3)

Racial antagonism also resulted from Negro strike-breaking activities and the 1919 mayoral election. The Republican candidate, who was despised by the white working class, was elected by a coalition of the white middle class and Negroes. (157:60)

While Detroit did not have a riot, the black migrant was not welcome. In 1923, Mayor Frank E. Doremus sent the following letter to the Detroit Board of Commerce:

The Negro problem is always a difficult one in all cities where there is a large Negro population. Detroit's Negro population seems to be growing at an abnormal rate, possibly due to the activities of agents...,deceiving the Southern Negro as to labor and living conditions in Detroit.

It occurred to me that your board might be interested in making a survey, if one has not been made, to ascertain just what the status of the Negro laborer in this city should be.

Action along this line might have the desirable effect of discouraging the influx from the South by providing Southern towns and cities with dependable information regarding industrial conditions in Detroit. (32)

During the 1920's, some important white financial backers of the Chicago Urban League displayed their antagonism over the influx of large numbers of blacks by cutting off their contributions to the League.

(157:64)

The threat posed to "100% Americanism" by the foreign-born and non-white migrants elicited an organized reaction. The Ku Klux Klan achieved considerable influence during the 1920's in Chicago and Detroit.

Initiated in 1921, the membership of the Chicago Klan was estimated in 1923 to be between 40,000 and 80,000. While only representing about 2% of the population, the spread of the Klan is more accurately reflected by the fact that only 15% of the populace was eligible for membership--adult, white, native-born, Protestants. The Chicago Klan staged some spectacular mass meetings during the 1920's but never gained significant political influence and faded rapidly after 1925 due to poor leadership and boycotts by the city's "foreign" element against business men sympathetic to the Klan. (31:125-26)

In 1921, the Detroit Klan had 3,000 members and at the height of its influence in 1924 had 22,000 members. (31:129) The Detroit Klan was considerably more influential than the Chicago chapter and almost elected a mayor. Charles Bowles lost in the 1924 mayoral primary for a 1 year unexpired term but ran as a write-in candidate in the mayoral contest. The Klan actively campaigned for Bowles, who would have won the election if all of the ballots which were improperly marked or upon which his name was misspelled had been counted. In the 1925 election, Bowles was defeated by Mayor John W. Smith. (31:142) In 1926, membership began to decline, and by 1934, the Detroit Klan ceased to exist. (31:139)

In 1925, Dr. Osian Sweet and his family moved into a white Detroit neighborhood. That night a mob gathered and someone fired shots into the house. The Sweets fired back, killing a leader of the mob.

The police came but rather than arresting anyone in the mob arrested the entire Sweet household, charging each one with murder. (136:47-48)

Detroit Mayor John W. Smith commented:

...I must say that I deprecate most strongly the moving of Negroes or other persons into districts in which they knew their presence may cause riot or bloodshed.

I believe that any colored person who endangers life and property, simply to gratify his personal pride, is an enemy of his race as well as an incitant of riot and murder. (31:141)

The N.A.A.C.P. handled the defense and employed Clarence Darrow as chief counsel. Eventually, after two trials the charges against the defendants were dropped. (136:47-48)

Black migration to the North declined substantially during the depression of the 1930's. The Negro population of Chicago increased by 44,000 between 1930 and 1940, increasing from 7% to 8% of the city's total population. In Detroit, the black population increased by 21,000 and comprised 9% of the total population, 1% greater than in 1930.

The depression of the 1930's was conducive to demagogues with racist appeals, particularly in Detroit. Father Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest, utilized the radio and the press to cultivate a national audience receptive to his denunciations of "international Jewry." Henry Ford published his anti-Semitic periodical The Dearborn Independent and tracts like The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith, also launched his career in Detroit during the 1930's.

With the demise of the Ku Klux Klan in Detroit, a similar organization known as the Black Legion emerged as an anti-Negro, anti-Semite, and anti-union organization with several thousand members whose primary

intent was to secure jobs for Southern white migrants. The Legion was linked to several unsolved murders in the Detroit area and disbanded in 1936 when 7 of its leaders were convicted of murdering a young W.P.A. worker.

In August, 1931, 3 blacks were killed by police at one of the many evictions taking place in Chicago's depression-ridden Black Belt. The normally conservative Negro community was so incensed by these killings that significant numbers joined a protest march on city hall organized by the Communist Party. The march forced a suspension of all evictions by the city. (44:87)

The pace of Negro migration was unprecedented during World War II and the ensuing years of relative prosperity. The number of black residents of Chicago increased by 215,000 between 1940 and 1950, increasing from 8% to 14% of the total population. The growth of the black population of Detroit was even greater. The number of black residents increased from 100,000 in 1940 to 301,000 in 1950, from 9% to 16% of Detroit's population.

The prospect of an improved economic position due to labor shortages in these two expanding industrial centers increased the flow of black migrants from the South. Migration was also encouraged by reports that members of "the Race" were actually working as clerks in Loop department stores and for the same wage as whites at the Ford Motor Company, sitting where they pleased on the streetcars of the C.T.A. and D.S.R., and voting black men into Congress.

But the arrival of large numbers of Negroes also resulted in violent reaction. In 1942, a white mob attacked blacks moving into Detroit's Sojourner Truth Housing Project, ironically named after a

black woman who was an organizer of the underground railroad system. Paralleling the Sweet incident of 1925, the police arrested 107 black tenants and 2 members of the attacking mob. (70:25)

In 1943, 26,000 workers at the Packard Motor Company staged a wildcat strike in protest of the job upgrading of Negro employees. Officials of the U.A.W. blamed the stoppage on Ku Klux Klan organizers.

During World War II, race riots occurred in Harlem, in Los Angeles and, the worst of all, in Detroit. On a warm Sunday evening in June, 1943 a small number of blacks and whites got into a fight at Belle Isle Park. The police broke up the fight, but wild rumors and newspaper stories spread through the white and Negro communities and incensed mobs took to the streets. After 3 days of rioting, 34 people were dead. Out of the 25 blacks who were dead, 17 were killed by the police.

The infamous "Algiers Motel Incident" of the 1967 Detroit riot is not without precedent. In 1943, during the second day of rioting, the police invaded the St. Antoine Y.M.C.A. The inhabitants were lined up against a wall and an unarmed Negro was shot. The police claimed the man "reached for his pocket." No Detroit policeman received even a reprimand. (70:96)

In reaction to the riot, U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle proposed to President Roosevelt that "careful consideration be given to limiting, and in some cases putting an end, to Negro migrations into communities which cannot absorb them." (33)

In their classic, Black Metropolis, written in 1945, St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton analyzed why Chicago did not have a riot



similar to that in Detroit. Chicago did not have as large a relative increase in blacks during the War, consequently, Negro movement into white neighborhoods was not as great as in Detroit. Also, not as many white Southerners migrated to Chicago. City government inaugurated programs to keep Chicago's black ghetto "cool." Black strike breaking activity was not as prevalent in Chicago as in Detroit during the C.I.O. organizational drives of the 1930's. (44:92-93)

Between 1950 and 1960, a new phenomenon emerged in urban America--the massive flight of whites to the suburbs. The Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area grew from 5,178,000 people in 1950 to 6,221,000 in 1960, but the population of the core city of Chicago declined from 3,621,000 in 1950 to 3,550,000 in 1960. The number of white residents of Chicago decreased from 3,112,000 in 1950 to 2,713,000 in 1960, while the black populace increased from 492,000 in 1950 to 813,000 in 1960, from 14% to 23% of the city's population.

The Detroit S.M.S.A. increased from 3,016,000 in 1950 to 3,762,000 in 1960, but the core population of Detroit fell from 1,850,000 in 1950 to 1,670,000 in 1960. The white population of Detroit decreased from 1,546,000 in 1950 to 1,183,000 in 1960, while the number of Negro residents increased from 301,000 in 1950 to 482,000 in 1960, from 16% to 29% of Detroit's total population.

Indications are that the 1970 U. S. Census will reflect the pattern of the 1950's in the 1960's--the movement of whites from the central city to the suburbs and the concentration of growing numbers of Negroes within the central city.

While Chicago did not have a single riot the scale of the Detroit riot during the war and immediate post-war years, at least 9 major

racial incidents occurred between 1945 and 1954. Most of them stemmed from blacks moving into white neighborhoods. (157:160)

In 1951, the Harvey Clark family moved into an apartment in Cicero, a Chicago suburb. The police looked on, and made no arrests when a mob invaded the Clark's apartment and burned their furniture and personal effects in a bonfire on the street. A special grand jury indicted the Clarks and their lawyer, not the rioters. The indictments were later dismissed with the aid of the N.A.A.C.P. (70:120)

In 1953, 7 black families moved into Chicago's Trumbull Park Housing Project. Police looked on as 3,000 whites stoned the apartment building. (70:119)

During the decade of the 1960's the racial polarization in Chicago and Detroit has been manifested in much the same way as it was 40 and 50 years ago. Police reaction to the 1967 Detroit riot, the violence incurred when blacks moved into previously all white neighborhoods in Harvey and south-side Chicago, in Roseville and north-west Detroit, the mass arrest in the New Bethel Church incident, and Mayor Daley's shoot-to-kill prescription for looters are all too familiar. One can only share the perspective expressed by Kenneth Clark to the Kerner Commission:

I read that report...of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission--it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland--with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction. (138:29)

## HOUSING

The migration of large numbers of blacks to Chicago and Detroit has not been favorably received by the white majority. Through informal and legalized discrimination the Negro citizens of Chicago were restricted from the outset to the "Black Belt" and the Negroes of Detroit to "Paradise Valley." As was described in the initial section of this chapter, blacks moving into previously all white neighborhoods have been subjected to mob violence which has often been sanctioned by civil authorities.

In 1926, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants could be used to exclude Negroes from purchasing homes. The precedent stood until 1948 when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the Michigan Supreme Court could not prevent the Orsel McGhee family of Detroit from purchasing a home with a restrictive covenant.

From 1935 to 1950, 11 million homes were built with F.H.A. insured loans. During this period the federal government urged racial covenants as sound investment policy and refused to insure mortgages unless Negroes were expressly excluded. (146:101)

A study of 1960 U. S. Census data for 207 cities estimated that only about 15% of Negroes live in integrated housing, which is the corresponding percentage for Detroit. (138:13 and 4) The degree of integration for Chicago is not available, but is probably lower than in Detroit based on a comparison of racial concentration within the public schools, which is examined in the next section of this chapter. For both cities "integration" in the words of Saul Alinsky "is usually a term to describe the period of time that elapses between the appearance of the first Negro and the exit of the last white. (42:5)

A larger proportion of Negroes in Chicago live in public housing than in Detroit. About 90% of Chicago's public housing tenants are black. Since 1950, no public housing has been built in Chicago outside the black ghetto.

While there appears to be little difference in the degree of housing segregation between cities, an appreciable difference exists in the quality of Negro housing. Chicago is more densely populated than Detroit. In 1960, Chicago had 15,836 residents per square mile in contrast to 11,964 in Detroit. Reflecting the greater number of single family dwellings in Detroit, 38% of all housing units occupied by Negroes in 1960 were owner occupied as opposed to only 16% in Chicago, whereas in 1960, 41% of Chicago Negroes lived in dwellings classified as "substandard," the comparable figure for Detroit was 27%.

#### EDUCATION

By the 1870's, the states of Illinois and Michigan had prohibited racially segregated schools. But as a result of housing segregation and the application of the neighborhood school concept, education in Chicago and Detroit is provided on a segregated basis.

While Negroes comprised only 52% of the elementary and secondary students in Chicago and 55.5% of those in Detroit during the 1965-66 school year, 89.2% of Chicago's and 72.3% of Detroit's Negro elementary students attended schools in which blacks were 90-100% of the total enrollment. In Chicago 96.9% of Negro elementary pupils and 91.5% of those in Detroit attended schools where blacks comprised a majority of the students. Of white elementary students, 88.8% in Chicago and 65% in

Detroit attended schools where whites comprised 90-100% of the enrollment. (146:238) De facto racial segregation is the rule in both Chicago and Detroit. But the extent of segregation is greater in Chicago.

In both Chicago and Detroit Negroes have on the average received less education than whites, but the difference is not as great as one might expect in view of the higher unemployment rates and lower income of Negroes.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF EDUCATION COMPLETED, PERSONS 25 AND OVER IN 1960

	<u>Chicago</u>		<u>Detroit</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>
0 to 8 years	41.2	48.1	38.2	47.9
1-4 years high school	44.1	41.3	46.6	43.3
1-3 years college	7.3	7.1	7.9	5.8
4 or more years college	<u>6.4</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U. S. Census Reports, 1960.

In 1960 the median years of education completed for persons 25 and over in Chicago was 10 years and in Detroit, 9.7 years. For the non-white population the median in Chicago and Detroit was 9.3 and 9.2 years respectively.

Table 5 depicts little appreciable difference in years of education completed between the non-white residents of Chicago and Detroit. While years of education completed for Negroes in both cities are similar, the quality of education might differ substantially. But such a comparison is hampered by a lack of available data.

The Chicago public schools have been criticized for the poor education provided black students, and it is known that in 1962, an average

of \$342 was spent to educate white students as opposed to only \$269 for Negro students. (173) But it is impossible to make comparisons between cities on the performance of Negro students on standardized tests, because the Chicago Board of Education has not made public test results on a school by school basis.

Although the Detroit Board of Education has administered the Iowa Test of Basic Skills to elementary students and the Sequential Tests of Education Progress to secondary students since 1956, results for individual schools were not released until 1969.

William Grant of the Detroit Free Press states:

The realization that results could be used to argue that black children are poorly educated is a key reason school officials in Detroit and other cities have hesitated to make test scores public.

The performance of Detroit's black students was appreciably poorer than whites at both the elementary and secondary levels.

"The scores do little to demonstrate that the wide variety of special services that have been introduced to raise the educational level of disadvantaged students have been successful." (59)

#### INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

The dual labor market is evidenced by the economic status of Chicago and Detroit Negroes.

Median family income in 1960 was \$6,738 for residents of Chicago and \$6,069 in Detroit. Non-white median family income was \$4,772 in Chicago and \$4,366 in Detroit, 70.5% and 71.9% of the median for all families respectively.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE  
EMPLOYED MALES IN 1960 IN CHICAGO AND DETROIT

	<u>Chicago</u>		<u>Detroit</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>
Professionals & technical	10.7	4.5	11.8	3.8
Managers & proprietors	9.8	2.6	9.6	2.3
Clerical workers	11.5	12.1	9.4	6.7
Sales workers	7.9	2.2	8.8	2.5
Craftsmen & foremen	23.4	12.1	22.4	13.5
Operatives	23.1	31.7	26.6	43.1
Household workers	.02	.4	.06	.4
Service workers	7.9	17.9	7.0	12.4
Laborers	5.7	16.4	4.5	15.3

Source: U. S. Census Reports, 1960

As Table 6 depicts, the occupational distribution for white residents of both cities is quite similar. By about the same ratio in both cities Negroes are under-represented in professional, technical, and managerial positions and more likely to be employed as laborers than whites. Proportionately more blacks are employed as clerical workers in Chicago and as service workers and operatives than whites in both cities. The greater concentration of non-whites in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs accounts for the income differential between races.

In 1967, a special U. S. Department of Labor study of unemployment disclosed that in both Chicago and Detroit the non-white jobless rate was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as high as the rate for whites. (49:25-27)

In 1968, the Department of Labor began collecting employment data on poverty areas of 6 cities, 2 of which are Chicago and Detroit. Comparisons must be made with caution because the poverty areas are not perfectly homogeneous, but the survey does provide the most recent data available on the condition of the black worker in both cities. The

survey covered 117,000 persons in Chicago and 98,000 in Detroit, over 97% were Negroes.

While during the period July, 1968--June, 1969 the unemployment rate for workers in the U. S. was 3.4%, the unemployment rate for Negroes living in poverty areas was 8.8% in Chicago and 13.5% in Detroit. Median family income for the U. S. in 1968 was \$8,600; Negro families in survey areas had a median income of \$7,000 in Chicago and \$6,200 in Detroit. About 75% of Negro men in both survey areas worked at unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. (168:15-22)

In order to place data for the poverty areas in perspective, comparable data for the total population of two cities, Atlanta and Detroit, were collected.

TABLE 7

SELECTED STATISTICS FOR THE CITY OF DETROIT AND THE  
POVERTY AREA OF DETROIT

	<u>City</u>	<u>Poverty Area</u>
Unemployment rate	6.7%	12.2%
Proportion of males 25 yrs. old and over who completed 4 yrs. of high school or more	48.1%	28.5%
Median family income	\$8,800	\$6,300
Proportion of families who received less than \$3500 during previous year	13.2%	27.1%

Source: U. S. Department of Labor. "Employment Situation in Poverty Areas of Six Cities," B.L.S. Report No. 370, October, 1969, page 23.

Chicago and Detroit Negroes appear to have remained far below the economic level of their white counterparts during the decade of the 1960's. A more precise analysis must be deferred until the availability of 1970 U. S. Census data.



## THE NEGRO AND THE POWER STRUCTURE

The attitudes and aspirations of the Negro community and their relationship to the power structures of Chicago and Detroit are examined in this section. Either because of exposure to the well publicized rhetoric of black nationalists or because of wish fulfillment, many whites believe that the majority of Negroes seek a radical solution to racial inequality. For example, a 1969 survey found that 65% of white Detroiters believe Negroes desire racial separatism in all-black neighborhoods. The fact is that the great majority of black Detroiters desire integrated housing and do not particularly "want to live among their own people" nor do they "find the ghetto an interesting and exciting place to live." (31) As a survey in the June 9, 1969 issue of Newsweek magazine depicted, the vast majority of Negroes desire education, employment and housing on an integrated basis. Also, despite years of frustration, most Negroes are not ready to give up on the American political system. They want reform, not revolution.

The acceptance by Detroit and Chicago Negroes of more conventional political alternatives is demonstrated by two events. On July 30, 1966, Stokely Carmichael drew an audience of 600 people at Detroit's 12,000 seat Cobo Arena. In contrast, 3 weeks earlier, every seat was filled 2 hours before the presentation by Martin Luther King. (38)

In the 1967 Chicago mayoral election, Richard Daley was re-elected by a plurality of about 200,000 votes over his Republican opponent. It is estimated that Daley received about 460,000 votes from

Chicago Negroes. Former comedian Dick Gregory ran as an independent and received only 26,000 votes.

Most Negroes of Chicago and Detroit evidently agree, at least implicitly, with the view of the Kerner Commission:

The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. The rhetoric is different, but the ideas are remarkably similar. (138:11-12)

In Chicago the center of power was as easily determined as it could have been in most major cities 30 or 40 years ago. Chicago is that last bastion of the political machine and the big city boss.

Mayor of Chicago since 1955, Richard Daley has never lost an issue in the 50 man city council. The greatest number of votes amassed against him was 16 in 1963 on a fair housing ordinance. When asked at an interview in January, 1970 what was his proudest accomplishment, Mayor Daley responded: "I'm proud of the fact that the people of Chicago responded in improving the opportunity for all the people." (58)

"All the people" is probably synonymous with "my black constituents."

The influence of the mayor's office is present in county, state, and federal government affairs. Every action which involves the security of the machine is subject to its scrutiny and its influence. Edward Banfield observes:

Nothing of importance is done in Chicago without its first being discovered what interests will be affected and how they will be affected and without the losses that will accrue to some being weighed carefully against the gains that will accrue to others. (146:78)

To the uninitiated this description may seem exaggerated. Skepticism should be allayed in later chapters where efforts to combat the color line in the Chicago building trades are discussed.

The relationship of the Negro community to the power structure was less clear. Arnold Schucter states:

In Chicago, very few Negroes are reputed to have the Mayor's ear and confidence. The most notable Negro non-politician to have the Mayor's confidence is Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League. (146:77)

Respondents, however, were less certain about Mr. Berry's influence with the mayor. Citing the changing racial composition of Chicago and the Negro vote as the Mayor's plurality in the last election, one black respondent probably explained the relationship between the Negro community and the power structure best:

There is no powerful black man in Chicago. Dick Daley is the city's biggest black man. Nobody tells him or has to tell him what to do. He'll make sure that enough progress is made in the building trades dispute just as he has on every other civil rights question that received a lot of attention to keep that black vote. No more and no less.

Power is considerably more diffused in Detroit. David Greenstone states:

In Detroit there is no continuing political organization responsible for the overall operations of government beyond a specific term in office. There is no one to go to...beyond the politician himself. (61:II-2)

In 1918, the upper-middle class of the city succeeded in eliminating machine politics. The mayor and city council are elected on a non-partisan basis and, in practice, party affiliations are rather unimportant. Although Detroit is overwhelmingly Democratic, as late as 1956 it had a mayor who was affiliated with the Republican Party.

Detroit has a strong-mayor form of government. The mayor appoints all city officials and members of citizens commissions which supervise the various executive departments. He can also veto common council actions.

The aldermanic system was also eliminated in 1918. Councilmen are elected at large. Former Councilman Ed Carey observes: 'You can never tell what will happen, there are nine parties on the council.' While independence enhances the importance of each councilman, the collective power of the Council is weakened. (61:II-9) Prior to 1969, when 3 Negroes were elected, some blacks talked of attempting to return to the aldermanic system, because Negro representation on the Council had been less than the proportion of black voters in the city.

Beyond city government the most powerful, though by no means omnipotent, organization appears to be the United Auto Workers. Among the various power factions the U.A.W. is also the strongest ally of the Negro community.

The automobile companies, which concentrated in Detroit shortly after the turn of the century and transformed it from a multi-industrial city of 465,000 people in 1910 to an automotive boom-town of 993,000 ten years later, comprised the power structure until the 1930's. A paternalistic relationship existed between the auto magnates and the production workers. Workers, who knew and were often known on a first name basis by entrepreneurs such as Henry Ford, Walter Chrysler, and the Dodge Brothers, followed the advice of the boss at the polls and in regard to union organization. Acting in concert through the Detroit Employers' Association, the auto companies succeeded in keeping unions out of the factories and accommodating politicians in city government.

The depression of the 1930's and the New Deal substantially changed the ideology of Detroit's working class. Faith in the capitalist system and its entrepreneurs was shaken during this period of social conflict. Even today, the working class of Detroit is quite class conscious, particularly the two largest minority groups--Negroes and Poles. (88:117)

The Communists attempted to unite the black and white working class as is illustrated by a handbill from 1934 which called for a "Mass Protest Meeting" to "Prevent New Scottsboro Frame-Ups in Detroit" and "Stop the Murder of Negro and White Strikers." But as John Leggett observes: "In Detroit, increases in class consciousness fail to be accompanied by decreases in inter-ethnic hostility"--a phenomenon which puzzles Marxists. (88:126)

The U.A.W. has not been able to elicit strict discipline from the working class at the polls and has been successful in delivering votes for candidates with strong civil rights platforms only when the opposition has a "poor labor record." But elections where class consciousness can be used to overcome inter-racial hostility seldom occur at the local level, as a consequence the U.A.W. exerts more influence in state and national elections.

The auto companies, beside losing their powerful influence over City of Detroit affairs, have also lost a great deal of their interest. Only one of the "Big Three" maintains its headquarters in Detroit and the bulk of automotive production does not actually occur in the City but in surrounding suburbs.

Between the 1943 and 1967 riots, Detroit received extensive publicity from the national press for its progress in race relations. The

observations of Stanley Brown in the June, 1965 issue of Fortune are typical:

Of all the accomplishments in the recent history of the city, the most significant is the progress Detroit has made in race relations. The grim spectre of the 1943 riots never quite fades from the minds of the city's leaders. As much as anything else, that spectre has enabled the power structure to overcome tenacious prejudice and give the Negro community a role in the consensus probably unparalleled in any major American city. (11:144)

Mr. Brown, however, does not specify who comprises this "power structure" capable of overcoming "tenacious prejudice." Repeat a lie often enough....

In May, 1967, Richard Marks, Director of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, stated that a riot could erupt because "discrimination, not equal opportunity" is the prevailing condition in the city.

Challenger beware.

Former City Council President and former U.A.W. official Ed Carey replied to Marks:

How can you be so pessimistic about race relations in this city? I just don't see it that way at all. In fact, I think you are generating unrest where it does not now exist. (39)

Forty-three deaths and \$45 million in property damage later, New Detroit Inc. was formed with a budget of \$10 million and the "active involvement of the most powerful men in Detroit." Now two years later, the initial optimism has faded due to a dozen projects that have never gotten off the ground--one of these being the inequality in the Detroit building trades. (163)

In the 1969 Detroit mayoral election, a white candidate won with only about 4% of the black vote and will probably be able to be elected

4 years hence in another election decided along racial lines. The mayor of Detroit, an eunuch by Chicago standards, owes little to the Negro community. (96)

The most striking difference between the power structures of Chicago and Detroit is the degree of concentration. The result is that disputes which arise along the civil rights front tend to be more expediently resolved in Chicago than in Detroit.

#### A PROFILE SUMMARY

Little diversity exists in the social or economic status of Chicago and Detroit Negroes. While impossible to quantify for comparative purposes, blacks have been subject to a dual system of justice in both cities. The Chicago Negro lives in poorer housing and in more crowded and racially segregated neighborhoods than his brother in Detroit. While it is impossible to compare the quality of education for blacks between cities, years of education completed are about the same in both cities. Negroes attend more racially segregated schools in Chicago than in Detroit. The economic status of Chicago and Detroit Negroes is about the same relative to their white counterparts in terms of income, unemployment, and occupational distribution.

The most discernible difference between cities is the relationship Chicago Negroes bear to an effectual power structure. The question arises, if the Chicago power structure is beholden to the Negro community, why isn't there a lower incidence of school and housing segregation?

The passage of "fair-housing" legislation has co-opted much of the thrust from open housing drives and there has been little support for proposals such as that of Saul Alinsky for the enforcement of racial quotas within neighborhoods. Much the same situation exists in regard to segregated schools. Chicago Negroes have not widely supported bussing proposals.

More importantly, Negro civil rights groups in Chicago have only recently put procedural differences aside--something Detroit Negroes have yet to do. With militant and moderate working together the support of the Negro community has been coalesced in the building trades dispute. An effectual power structure was capable of settling the issue to the "satisfaction" of the building trades and the civil rights groups. And of course to its own satisfaction. In time, housing and school segregation may become volatile issues and again a compromise will probably be worked out more quickly than in Detroit.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE NEGRO JOURNEYMAN IN CHICAGO AND DETROIT

The status of the Negro journeyman in the building trades of Chicago and Detroit is examined in this chapter. Because apprenticeship takes 4 or 5 years to complete, the number of Negro journeymen now in building trade unions does not substantially reflect the implementation of government sponsored programs to increase the number of black apprentices, except insofar as some Negroes may have completed only a portion of indenture and gained admittance through the direct admission process. While the historical record is by no means complete, the process through which blacks have gained even token admittance as journeymen to the building trade unions of Chicago and Detroit will be discussed. Efforts to upgrade unskilled black construction workers to union journeyman status and to admit into the building trade unions Negroes working as journeymen in the non-union sector will also be investigated.

### NEGROES IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

The racial composition of various occupations is listed in the 1960 U. S. Census. A comparison between the number of Negroes working at the various building trades in Chicago and Detroit and the number of blacks belonging to the craft unions of the two cities would indicate the extent that blacks have been excluded from the union sector and the potential impact of public policies which would insure the admittance of blacks already working in the construction sector into the A.F.L.-C.I.O. affiliated building trade unions. But the Census does not distinguish

between, for example, workers classified under the occupation "Electrician" who are employed in the construction industry and those working in manufacturing. Nor does it specify occupations along union jurisdictional lines. For example, the occupational classification "Masons, Tile Setters, and Stone Cutters" includes workers belonging to 4 national unions, one of which is not generally considered to be a building trade.

In Chapter IV reference was made to a N.A.A.C.P. survey which disclosed that 97% of the blacks in the construction industry were working for non-union Negro owned construction companies. I was unable to determine how this survey was conducted or how many Negroes are working at the various trades in the non-union sectors of Chicago and Detroit and suspect that the N.A.A.C.P. may just now be obtaining these figures. In September 1969, the N.A.A.C.P. with the financial support of the Ford Foundation launched a study of Negro owned construction companies in an effort to identify them and to determine their productive capacity. The ultimate purpose of the study is to increase the participation of Negro owned construction companies in the public housing field. For what it is worth, black and white respondents, no matter what their organizational affiliation, were in agreement that "there are just not that many "non-union black construction workers to cause a significant change in the racial composition of the unions. Efforts to avail union admission to black craftsmen and the obstacles encountered will be discussed in a succeeding section of this chapter.

## THE NEGRO UNION JOURNEYMAN

The number and proportion of Negro journeymen in the building trade unions of Chicago and Detroit will be examined in this section. If applicable and known, the process by which blacks gained admittance to the unions will also be discussed.

Figures for the total number of journeymen and the number of black journeymen in each of Detroit's building trade unions are the result of a telephone survey of union business agents conducted by the U. S. Office of Federal Contract Compliance (Detroit) in December, 1968. (46) If anything, one might suspect that the figures are too high.

The comparable data for Chicago are from a newspaper article written in September, 1969. The writer of the article stated that he could not reveal the source of the information and would only attribute it to an employee of the government. The figures were disputed by the president of the Chicago Building Trades Council, but he has yet to provide "accurate" figures. (51) He should, of course, be able to conduct a telephone survey as did the Federal Contract Compliance Officer in Detroit. The article appeared at the height of the dispute over the paucity of blacks in the unions and substantiated the number of black union members claimed by civil rights groups and disclaimed by the unions, thereby weakening the position of the Building Trades Council in the public forum. The concern of the Council over public opinion was evidenced when it placed a full page advertisement in Chicago newspapers presenting its offer for settlement of the dispute, which had been rejected by the civil rights groups. The figures for Chicago should be considered reasonably accurate.

TABLE 8

## ASBESTOS WORKERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	800	5	.6
Detroit	232	0	0

Lily-white in Detroit. Token in Chicago. But if recent disclosures of the serious health hazards of working with asbestos are correct, blacks should be thankful.

TABLE 9

## BOILERMAKERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	900	3	.3
Detroit	450	2	.4

Close but Detroit has the edge.

TABLE 10

## BRICKLAYERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	4,400	250	5.7
Detroit*	2,921	473	16.2

\*Does not include 680 member Local 59 for which the number of Negro journeymen is not known.

In 1960, non-whites constituted 15.1% of the Detroit S.M.S.A. Black participation in the bricklayers union of Detroit therefore is about what one would expect if Negroes had equal access to the trades.

Negro membership in the bricklayers union is not a recent development. In 1929, the union reported 200 Negro members and stated that it followed the national union constitution by prohibiting racial exclusion in its induction procedure and fining whites who refused to work with blacks. (15:190) As was discussed in Chapter I, the racially egalitarian policies of the bricklayers' union are reflective of the strong foothold Negroes have always had in the trowel trades.

Even by counting the 680 members of Local 59 in the total number of journeymen Detroit bricklayers and assuming that the local had no black members, the percent of Negro journeyman members is 13%, which is still double the proportion of blacks in the Chicago bricklayers' union. In 1963, the Chicago union claimed to have had Negro members for over 50 years. (91) But evidently blacks have enjoyed more equal access to the bricklayers union in Detroit than in Chicago.

TABLE 11

## CARPENTERS

	<u>Total Journeymen</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeymen</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	29,350	500	1.7
Detroit	15,010	428	2.8

Black participation in the largest of the building trades is dismally low. In 1929, the Detroit union reported 73 Negro members, who had transferred from other locals, primarily in the South. The union admitted that it barred Negroes who were not transferring membership. (15:190) A racial distribution for each carpenters' union local in Detroit was not available, but in Chicago about 300 of the 500 black

carpenters belong to Local 10, (91) a reminder of the segregated locals established by the carpenters in many Northern cities.

TABLE 12

## CEMENT MASONS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	2,500	450	18.0
Detroit	1,100	550	50.0

Another trowel trade and, as expected, Negro participation is high. With non-whites comprising 14.8% of the residents of the Chicago S.M.S.A. in 1960, black participation in the Chicago union reflects a non-discriminatory membership policy. The size of Negro membership in the Detroit union is more characteristic of cement mason locals in the South.

TABLE 13

## ELECTRICIANS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	8,000	325	4.1
Detroit	2,500	100	4.0

The proportion of Negro membership in the electricians union is the same in both cities, but the means through which blacks initially gained admittance was different.

The Commission report on the 1919 Chicago riot disclosed that the Chicago electrician's union had only one Negro member. (20:420) Two years later, blacks acted as strike-breakers and gained a tenuous foothold in the trade. Spero and Harris observed in 1931:

In Chicago where the building trades are highly unionized, a number of colored workers got into the industry on open shop jobs carried on under the supervision of the Landis Award Committee. The committee was set up to administer the award of Judge Landis of the federal court who sat as arbitrator of the building trades dispute of 1921. The Landis Award Committee organized trade classes which were attended by many of the Negroes who came into the industry. The result was the establishment of a considerable body of proficient non-union building-trades workers. When the unions again gained control of the situation, most of the white men trained under the Landis Award Committee were taken into the organizations, but the Negroes were unable to gain admission to several important unions, particularly the plumbers', gas fitters', electricians', and tinnners'. As a first step toward correcting the situation, the Negro electricians organized a local of their own and received a federal charter from the American Federation of Labor as Colored Electricians' Union No. 9,632. (152:120)

As late as 1944, the black union was confined to working for Negro contractors in the Black Belt. (127:25) The separately chartered union has since been merged with I.B.E.W. Local 134 in Chicago.

In Detroit as recently as 1929, I.B.E.W. Local 58 had no black members. Glenn Carlson reported:

The local does not bar colored men, but 'fortunately does not have to', because there were no colored electrical workers in the vicinity. This work, he [the union business agent] said, did not appeal to colored men because it was dangerous, hard, and required skill and not the type of work the Negro went out looking for. According to a colored labor official, who has been actively connected with union affairs in Detroit for 25 years, this local specifies 'white' in its ritual but not in its constitution. It could not do this and belong to the national union. (15:194)

In 1957, almost 30 years later, a complaint was filed against the local with the then Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission whose description of the case follows:

The claimant, a Negro journeyman of many years experience, alleged that he had repeatedly been denied admission to the respondent construction craft union. The claimant further alleged that the respondent had never accepted Negroes as members. Officials of the respondent contended that the claimant had not been granted membership due to the fact that work in the trade had fallen off and an attempt was being made to restrict employment to union members only. The respondent denied racial

discrimination and claimed that there were Negro members of the union. However, when requested by Commission staff to produce the Negro members, the respondent's officials were unable to name a single Negro member....Resolution was reached through conciliation. The respondent admitted the claimant to membership and at the same time admitted seven other Negro journeymen who had not filed claims with the Commission. (116:9)

TABLE 14

## ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

	<u>Total Journeymen</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeymen</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	625	2	.3
Detroit	243	1	.4

Detroit by a nose.

TABLE 15

## GLAZIERS

	<u>Total Journeymen</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeymen</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	400	1	.2
Detroit	400	8	2.0

Better in Detroit, but still a confirmation of a dual labor market.

TABLE 16

## IRON WORKERS\*

	<u>Total Journeymen</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeymen</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	4,200	26	.6
Detroit	2,470	0	0

\*Includes architectural, ornamental, resteel, and structural iron workers.



At least Chicago isn't lily-white.

TABLE 17

## OPERATING ENGINEERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	8,000	400	5.0
Detroit	11,000	N/A	N/A

Membership in the operating engineers' union is so large, because unlike other trades the jurisdiction of the Detroit based local encompasses the State of Michigan and the Chicago local covers northern Illinois. The data for the Detroit based local would be helpful, but are not crucial in view of the fact that the union's membership is drawn from the whole state and Negro participation in the labor force of the state is considerably lower than in the Detroit area.

TABLE 18

## LATHERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	700	0	0
Detroit	332	73	21.9

Specific reasons for the vast difference between cities were not determined. The best answer in Detroit was "As far back as I can remember we've always had quite a few Negro members."

TABLE 19

## PAINTERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	11,500	475	4.1
Detroit	3,500	125	3.6

At the turn of the century Negro painters were relegated to a segregated local in Chicago. (20:417) Today more than half the black painters in Chicago belong to Local 1332. The vestige of a segregated painters' local in Detroit could not be identified.

TABLE 20

## PLASTERERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	800	100	12.5
Detroit	350	75	21.4

As in other trowel trades, black participation reflects a non-discriminatory admittance policy.

TABLE 21

## PIPE FITTERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	7,800	20	.3
Detroit	1,400	4	.3

A tie. The initial entrance of blacks into the Chicago pipe fitters' local resulted from a case involving the plumbers, which is discussed below.

TABLE 22

## PLUMBERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	3,440	100	2.9
Detroit	2,800	10	.4

A respondent stated that 5 of the black plumbers in the Detroit union gained entrance when a city licensed Negro plumber, who had previously been denied admission to the union, started a plumbing firm which in time proved very successful. Mindful of the dues it was losing, the union "organized" the owner and his 4 journeyman employees. I was naturally unable to verify this account with the union. But in view of no conflicting evidence in the public record, the account is probably true.

By exercising "local option" the Chicago plumbers' union succeeded in excluding Negroes for many years. In 1929, a contractor tried to hire a city licensed Negro plumber who had graduated from Tuskegee Institute. The union refused to admit the man even though he had passed their entrance exam. (152:480)

When questioned about the status of Negroes within his union in 1963, Stephen M. Bailey, business manager of Local 130 Chicago Journeyman Plumbers Union, stated:

"I believe there used to be some discrimination here. But I raised cain about that in 1945 and I don't think we've had any trouble since." (12)

This is not the whole story. In 1942, Local 597 Steamfitters Protective Association (Chicago "Pipefitters Union" today) and Local 130

Chicago Journeyman Plumbers Union were found guilty of racial discrimination by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The union refused to allow black plumbers and pipefitters into the unions as full fledged members and offered to allow them to work only for Negro contractors on jobs in the Black Belt. The blacks refused and when they were barred from a federal housing project, lodged a complaint. The F.E.P.C. could not force the unions to admit blacks, but did force them to allow blacks to work. One can only speculate whether Mr. Bailey "raised Cain" over the appearance of non-dues paying plumbers working on union jobs.

TABLE 23

## RIGGERS AND ROOFERS\*

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Detroit	500	0	0
Detroit	550	26	4.7

\*Data for the Chicago riggers' and roofers' unions were not available.

TABLE 24

## SHEET METAL WORKERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	4,650	10	.2
Detroit	2,100	5	.2

In view of the Negro auxiliary local policy which the national union advocated until 1946, the paucity of Negroes in the sheet metal workers of both cities is understandable.

TABLE 25

## SPRINKLER FITTERS

	<u>Total Journeyman</u>	<u>Total Negro Journeyman</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	260	0	0
Detroit	200	0	0

Lily-white in both cities.

The pattern of racial exclusion is clear. Except for the trowel trade unions and the Detroit lathers' union, Negroes comprise but a mere fraction of the proportions one would expect in the absence of the dual labor market.

## EQUALIZING DIRECT ADMISSIONS

With an unspecified number of Negroes working as journeymen in the non-union sector and well over 60% of the construction laborers in Chicago and Detroit being Negroes, the elimination of racial exclusiveness from the direct admission process could produce significant changes in the racial composition of the building trade unions.

Respondents agreed that prior to 1963 while the direct admission process varied among the building trade unions in Chicago and Detroit, the ultimate arbitor was the union business agent. While demonstrations did not occur at construction sites in Chicago or Detroit during the summer of 1963, Negro civil rights groups confronted the Building Trades Councils of both cities in less dramatic fashion.

In Detroit, Operation Negro Equality (ONE) was formed primarily by leaders of the Trade Union Leadership Council, a civil rights organization unaffiliated with but composed of black U.A.W. members. In Chicago, the Urban League and N.A.A.C.P. spearheaded the confrontation.

The threat of violent demonstrations and law suits challenging the closed shop brought action, but more quickly in Chicago than in Detroit. On July 17, 1963, Mayor Daley stated "I hope to be able to fulfill my pledge that within a reasonable time not a single craft union in this city will be without Negro members." (13) On July 18, the Chicago B.T.C. voted to support the mayor and shortly thereafter agreed to initiate objective direct admission procedures.

In Detroit, "operation cool-off" as the impartial mediator of the dispute described it dragged on for nearly a year with an agreement on direct admission eventually reached.

In both cities, the direct admission process has been formalized. Most unions now employ written examinations and administer them at regularly scheduled intervals throughout the year. The agreements also provide that the unions must admit any black who passes the examinations, thereby preventing the unions from delaying admission because of unfavorable labor market conditions.

I was unable to secure pass-fail rates on direct admission tests from the unions and unable to determine whether blacks are now using the "front door" with whites continuing to enter by the "back door." Respondents from civil rights organizations stated that they knew of no instances where blacks received unequal treatment under the formalized direct admission procedures. The major obstacle to increased black participation via direct admission is the paucity of black journeymen taking the examinations.

Respondents from civil rights groups participating in the 1963 negotiations thought that there would be an on-rush of unskilled

laborers in the union sector and black non-union journeymen applying for direct admission. Admittedly they were disappointed by the response.

In both cities meetings were held with representatives of the laborers' union. Because of the stage by stage process in which a building is constructed and the fact that laborers are employed most frequently at the initial stage of erecting the structure, laborers are more familiar with the so-called structural trades than with the finishing and mechanical trades. The structural trade offering the most employment is carpentry. But the response of the laborers to opportunities in carpentry or the other structural trades was not enthusiastic. Despite the fact that their hourly wage is below that in any of the structural trades, the laborers believed that they enjoyed steadier employment and consequently higher yearly incomes. The laborers also rejected proposals that they enter the high-paying mechanical trades through apprenticeship, because their financial responsibilities were too great for the earnings of an apprentice. Upgrading black laborers into the craft unions is considered to be "a dead horse" in Chicago and Detroit.

The reluctance of non-union black journeymen to apply for direct admission was attributed to two factors. Negroes fear harassment from white members of unions which openly discriminated against them only a few years ago. But the factor emphasized most by black and white respondents in both cities was the recalcitrance of Negro contractors.

In 1939, Cayton and Mitchell observed:

The Negro upper class depends on...racial solidarity to maintain and enable it to exploit the market for professional

and business services which racial prejudice has tended to create. This situation has been referred to as 'the advantage of the disadvantaged.' As early as 1850 the idea of developing an economic structure within the Negro group paralleling that of the white community was championed and has continued to the present. The appeal has been made for the development of a 'black economy' which would furnish work for young Negroes and advance the race generally. No Negro employer was ever engaged in business for the sordid purpose of making money. On the contrary all were motivated solely by the desire to build race institutions and to create opportunities for youths. Toward this end Negro consumers were supposed to patronize Negro business and professional men even though the goods and services might be inferior to those of their white competitors and more expensive as well. On the other hand, Negro employees of colored business men, in the name of race loyalty, were supposed to be willing to make sacrifices in the form of low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions....William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated that colored workers should not join labor unions if they are employed in Negro business enterprises, since their employers are struggling to build up race business. This argument is curiously similar to the infant industry argument for protective tariffs. (18:377)

As a black respondent stated: "Greed makes all men the same color and these contractors use the race issue to their advantage."

In order to obtain an electrician's license, which is a prerequisite for journeyman status in the I.B.E.W., an applicant must be employed at the trade for a specified period of time under the tutelage of a licensed electrician. In both Chicago and Detroit, black respondents told of cases where Negro contractors refused to sign affidavits certifying that employees had worked at the trade for the required time.

The Chicago Urban League's Apprenticeship Project, which will be examined in a succeeding chapter, has a subsidiary goal of placing non-union minority group journeymen in the union sector:

The League with the cooperation of the Bureau [Illinois Bureau of Employment Security], Association [Chicago Building Construction Employers Association], and Council [Chicago Building Trades Council] will identify, recruit, refer, and follow-up on skilled



and semi-skilled minority group tradesmen to union operated referral services in the trade for which they are qualified. The League shall also refer such individuals to employers of such tradesmen. The expectation is that these men will earn more money under better conditions and will raise the image of the craftsman in the minority community. (22)

From January, 1966 through August, 1969, 36 Negro journeymen were placed by the project in the union sector.

In September, 1969 the Chicago Building Trades Council and the Chicago Employers Association in reaction to civil rights confrontations launched a campaign to recruit 1,000 black non-union journeymen. Advertisements were placed in newspapers and a recruiting office was opened in the Black Belt. Time will tell whether the racial composition of the Chicago building trades can be significantly altered via direct admissions. But a black respondent, who was the most knowledgeable student of both the Chicago Negro and the construction industry I encountered stated: "A flash in the pan, they'll be damn lucky to get 100." He based this prediction on the small number of blacks qualified to pass the tests and the reluctance of Negro contractors to allow their employees to join unions. While data are not available, this perception corresponds to that of other respondents--black and white alike.

#### BLACK UNIONS

In June, 1968, black construction workers in Detroit formed an independent union--Local 124 of the United Construction and Trades Union. The goal of the union is expressed in a statement by Calvin Stubbs, President of Local 124: "The U. S. Government has brought something like seven million dollars into the inner city and Local 124

intends to get a piece of the action." Local 124 claims that its membership is 82% black and encompasses workers in all building trades.  
(160)

I was unable to verify these contentions and as with any fledgling union unable to determine the size of its membership. Civil rights people, however, estimated its size and versatility as "only a handful and not in all trades." There is no apparent movement under way in Chicago to start a black construction union.

In November, 1968, 50 members of Local 124 signed on with the Goldfarb Building Co. to work on a \$1.2 million federally sponsored rehabilitation job in Detroit's inner city. The Detroit Building Trades Council demanded that the contractor pull all Local 124 members from the job and honor his contract to employ only A.F.L.-C.I.O. craftsmen. Intervention by Negro Congressmen John Conyers Jr. and Charles Diggs Jr. resulted in a truce and Local 124 members continued on the job.

In May, 1969, 40 members of Local 124 began work on another rehabilitation project. The Detroit B.T.C. again challenged the union, this time, by picketing the location. Prominent among the pickets were black members of Laborers' Local 334. The Building Trades Council offered to incorporate Local 124 laborers into Local 334 of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. In June, an N.L.R.B. election was held and the workers voted unanimously to remain in Local 124.

Respondents from A.F.L.-C.I.O. affiliated unions stated that Local 124 members were not being paid union wage scales and that by playing on racial fears, Negro contractors were preventing them from joining the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Officials of Local 124 state that their

members are receiving the same wages. Even if the claims of A.F.L.-C.I.O. members are true, there may prove to be a very good self-serving reason for workers to remain in Local 124 rather than join the laborers' union.

In December, 1968, a group of Negro contractors and Local 124 launched an electrical apprentice program which now has 50 students. Ten months later a plumbing apprentice program with 26 students was started.

After 3 years work under licensed plumbers and electricians, the apprentices will be eligible to take examinations for state licenses--provided, of course, that the contractors will certify their work experience. The probability of a black youth--21 of the 26 plumbing apprentices are black--or any youth for that matter gaining admission to Local 124's apprenticeship program at this time is undoubtedly greater than for A.F.L.-C.I.O. programs. If Negro contractors are paying below scale, one has a chance upon receiving state certification of gaining direct admission to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions.

It should be noted that the Negro contractors, who are financing the apprenticeship programs in an attempt to increase their productive capacity largely in an effort to secure a greater portion of federal housing expenditures, were not barred from using the Detroit Public School facility utilized by most A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions, and upon fulfilling federal apprenticeship standards, could have received financial assistance. But chose to go it alone in the belief that they could achieve the same results quicker and cheaper. Time will tell.

Much of the success of Local 124 and its apprenticeship program rests on whether federal construction contracts can be secured by Negro contractors. The political implications are tremendous, for as one A.F.L.-C.I.O. union respondent stated: "There is room for only one building trades council in this city."

If Local 124 is successful, a situation analogous to that of the Negro electricians in Chicago who received training in the 1920's under the Landis Award Committee may result with the black union eventually merging with the A.F.L.-C.I.O., or a new chapter in the history of the labor market of the construction industry may have to be written.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DEMAND FOR NEGRO APPRENTICES

We are much encouraged [by increased Negro apprenticeship participation]. I hate to see publicity that gives the unions involved a possible black eye...when we are so close to progress.

Orvis Wertz, Deputy Regional Director of B.A.T.

The status of Negroes in apprenticeship programs for the building trades of both cities--the effect of the dual labor market--is examined in this chapter. Where the historical record allows, the process through which blacks gained even minimal levels of participation will be discussed. Efforts to equalize the demand for black apprentices are also investigated.

### THE NEGRO APPRENTICE

With the exception of the two apprenticeship programs conducted by Local 124 in Detroit, all formal training at the building trades in both cities is conducted under the auspices of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions. Most union apprenticeship classes are conducted at public school facilities and racial headcounts for the years 1963 through 1968 are available. The data for apprenticeship programs using the Chicago Public Schools were compiled by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. (19) Comparable data for Detroit were prepared by the Equal Employment Opportunities Department of the Detroit Public Schools. (41)

For trades which do not use public school facilities the trend of black apprenticeship participation is unknown, but for most of these trades data for 1968 are available. The figures for Detroit are the

result of the survey conducted by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in December, 1968. (46) Data for Chicago were compiled by the Deputy Regional Director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in December, 1968. (171)

The data were cited while interviewing persons in a position to dispute their validity. In no instance was the reliability of the data questioned; therefore, the figures should be considered reasonably accurate.

The asbestos workers', boilermakers' and bricklayers' locals in both cities do not conduct classes at public school facilities; therefore, only data for December, 1968 are available.

TABLE 26

## ASBESTOS WORKERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	115	2	1.7
Detroit	40	3	7.5

Negroes comprised .6% of the journeyman members of the Chicago asbestos workers' local. The low black participation rate in the union's apprenticeship program which was lily-white until 1963 will perpetuate the racial inequality.

The Detroit asbestos workers' local is progressing toward the elimination of its lily-white journeyman membership.

TABLE 27

## BOILERMAKERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Detroit	45	0	0

Data for the Chicago boilermakers' local were not available. Blacks comprised .4% of the journeyman boilermakers in the Detroit local. Its lily-white apprenticeship class offers no indication of an improvement.

TABLE 28

## BRICKLAYERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	131	33	25.2
Detroit	121	3	2.5

Considering that Negroes comprised 5.7% of the journeyman members of the Chicago bricklayers' local and 16.2% of those in the Detroit local, black apprenticeship participation in Chicago corresponds more closely to what one would expect in Detroit--ceteris paribus.

TABLE 29

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE CARPENTERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	2.0	1.8	3.3	2.9	5.9
Detroit	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.9	2.2

TABLE 30

## CARPENTERS, 1968

	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	394	31	7.8
Detroit	1054	40	3.8

The carpenters' locals of both cities utilize public school facilities for their apprenticeship programs; therefore, data are available for the years 1963 through 1968.

From 1963 through 1966, black participation in the carpenters' apprenticeship program was about the same in both cities--consistently low. In 1967, the pattern changed. The proportion of black apprentice carpenters in Chicago doubled over that in the previous year and was more than twice the percentage in Detroit.

In 1968, the proportion of Negroes in the Detroit carpenters' program was nearly double that in anyone of the 5 previous years, but the percentage in Chicago was again double that in Detroit.

In 1968, the Chicago carpenters' union had 29,000 journeymen and the Detroit union 15,000. Yet over the period 1963 through 1968 the Detroit carpenters have had two to three times as many apprentices as the Chicago carpenters. In 1963, the Chicago union had 166 apprentices, and the number has grown steadily through 1968. The Chicago carpenters do not appear to be indenturing "small" apprenticeship classes in an attempt to retard integration.



TABLE 31

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE CEMENT MASONS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	9.9	16.0	11.1	37.1	29.5

TABLE 32

## CEMENT MASONS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	140	28	20.0

The Detroit cement masons do not have a formal apprenticeship program. The trade is taught entirely on the job. With 50% of the local's journeyman members being Negroes, it is reasonable to assume that a large proportion of the men receiving training at cement masonry are black.

Negro participation in the cement masons' apprenticeship program has been consistently above that in any other trade in Chicago. In the years 1966 through 1968, higher proportions of Negro participation were recorded than in the previous three years.

TABLE 33

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE ELECTRICIANS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	2.1	2.3	1.2	3.4	4.5
Detroit	0.0	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.9*

\*Figure reflects only those apprentices indentured prior to 1967 and completing classes at the public school facility.

TABLE 34

## ELECTRICIANS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	578	33	5.7
Detroit	375	15	4.0

The presence of Negroes in the Chicago electricians' union and its apprenticeship program is a result of the establishment of a black union chartered by the A.F.L. in the 1920's and its eventual merger with the white local. A slow but increasing trend in black apprenticeship participation rates is displayed in the years 1966 through 1968.

Through 1963, the Detroit electricians' apprenticeship program was completely white. In November of that year a black man named Paul Crutcher attempted to secure admission forms from the union office, but was unsuccessful because the union official in charge was "fresh out of applications." Crutcher left his name and address and was to receive the forms by mail. Several weeks elapsed and the applications were not received. In 1964, he finally was admitted as the first black apprentice in I.B.E.W. Local 58. But only after the intercession of civil rights leaders and the suspension of the electricians' apprenticeship program from the public school facility. (101:144)

In 1966, the electricians were not allowed to enroll a newly indentured "pure white" apprenticeship class at the Detroit Apprentice Training School. Denial of public school facilities, however, can no longer be used to pressure the union. In 1968, the local established its own school in a suburban community.

In view of the lily-white status of the local for many decades, the black apprenticeship participation rate of the Detroit local in 1968 is not too poor relative to that of the Chicago local, where blacks had been first indentured many years before. Reflective of the national pattern, black participation in the electrical trade remains low in both cities.

TABLE 35

## ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Detroit	104	3	2.9

Apprenticeship data for the Chicago local were not available. In 1963, the union was all white, (91) and today lists 2 Negro journeyman members. One can only guess the speed of the snail.

The proportion of blacks in the apprenticeship program of the Detroit local is low, but there is a note of optimism. The local has 3 times as many black apprentices as Negro journeymen.

TABLE 36

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE GLAZIERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Detroit	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0

TABLE 37

## GLAZIERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	0	0	0.0
Detroit	40	6	15.0

The Chicago glaziers' local has one Negro journeyman. The suspension of its apprenticeship program is likely to preserve the nearly "snow-white" status of the union. The reasons for the local's failure to indenture could not be verified but are suspect.

After failing to indenture Negroes from 1963 through 1966, the Detroit local's 1968 apprenticeship enrollment is reflective of a non-discriminatory entrance policy. The Detroit glaziers have made considerable progress toward racial equality.

TABLE 38

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE IRON WORKERS\*

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	0.0	1.3	1.4	2.6	3.2
Detroit	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3

TABLE 39

## IRON WORKERS\*, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	200	11	5.5
Detroit	213	9	4.2

\*Includes architectural and structural iron workers.

While the Detroit iron workers remained lily-white through 1966, the historical pattern of racial exclusiveness in Chicago ended in 1964. Despite a slower start, black participation in the iron workers' apprenticeship program in Detroit is rather close to the low proportion in Chicago.

TABLE 40

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE LATHERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	8.6
Detroit	5.9	5.9	5.6	15.0	11.1

TABLE 41

## LATHERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	11	2	18.1
Detroit	29	4	13.8

Negroes appear to have enjoyed equal access to the Detroit lathers' local for many years. The journeyman membership of the Chicago local however is completely white as was its apprenticeship program until 1966.

After a cursory examination of the racial participation rates of the Chicago local for 1967 and 1968, one might conclude that the pattern of racial exclusiveness has been significantly altered. But one must proceed cautiously. While the Detroit local increased the total size of its apprenticeship classes at a rather steady rate from 17 in 1963 to 29 in 1968, the Chicago local reduced the number of its

apprentices from 48 in 1965--the last lily-white class--to 11 in 1968. I was unable to verify the reasons for the reduction in the number of apprentice lathers in Chicago. But this tactic has been used to retard integration.

TABLE 42

## OPERATING ENGINEERS, 1968

	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	57	27	47.4

Data for the Detroit operating engineers' apprenticeship program were not available. Because of the wide geographical dispersion of the unions' membership, the apprenticeship program consists of on the job training and correspondence courses.

The proportion of black participation reported for the Chicago operating engineers' program is the highest of all the building trades in both cities. However, the figure is suspect. The total number of apprentices reported is quite small for a union which has 8,000 journeymen. The bulk of Chicago operating engineer apprentices learn the craft in the same manner as those in Detroit--on the job training and correspondence courses. The data are probably that for a Manpower Development and Training Act sponsored pre-apprenticeship program conducted by the union at a suburban facility. The M.D.T.A. program will be discussed in a succeeding chapter.

TABLE 43

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE PAINTERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	8.7	9.8	9.9	10.4	12.6
Detroit	5.2	10.7	5.5	8.7	7.9

TABLE 44

## PAINTERS, 1968

	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	214	34	15.9
Detroit	99	8	8.1

Among the various building trades, black participation in the painters' apprenticeship program has been one of the highest in both cities. In 1968, Chicago Negroes achieved representation closely proportionate to their participation in the area's labor force. In Detroit this goal has yet to be realized with the existence of the dual labor market in the painting trade still being in evidence.

TABLE 45

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE PLASTERERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Detroit	23.0	16.7	17.6	18.8	14.3

TABLE 46

## PLASTERERS, 1968

	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	19	3	15.8
Detroit	14	2	14.3

Negro participation in apprenticeship programs for this trowel trade is, as one might expect, reflective of the proportion blacks comprise of each labor market.

TABLE 47

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE PIPE FITTERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	0.0	0.0	0.0	.7	1.0
Detroit	1.0	.9	.8	.7	.6

TABLE 48

## PIPE FITTERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	614	10	1.6
Detroit	220	7	3.2

The Chicago pipefitters' apprenticeship program was all white through 1965. The Detroit pipefitters local indentured its first Negro apprentice in 1963--one year before its former president for 20 years, the late U. S. Senator Patrick V. McNamara, voted in favor of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In 1966 and 1967, the proportion of black apprentice pipefitters was about the same in both cities. In 1968, Negroes achieved a participation rate in Detroit double that in Chicago, but black representation in this mechanical trade remains miserably low in both cities.

Four of the black Detroit pipefitters' apprentices gained admission through a "deal" between civil rights spokesmen and an official of the local. The formal entrance procedure--written and oral exam--



was by-passed. The union official, I believe, sincerely desired to rectify the local's racial inequality. This was the only reported instance of a "deal" in either city and for good reason--the union official was shortly thereafter kicked upstairs to a job with the national union in Washington.

TABLE 49

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE PLUMBERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	N/A	3.8	7.7	6.9	6.3
Detroit	1.4	1.0	1.0	.8	2.8

TABLE 50

## PLUMBERS, 1968

	<u>Total Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent Negro</u>
Chicago	297	19	6.4
Detroit	400	6	1.5

The first black Detroit plumber apprentice was indentured in 1963. Negroes have been members of the Chicago plumbers' union since the 1940's when its business manager "raised cain." As a consequence, black participation in apprenticeship has consistently been much higher in Chicago than in Detroit where the rate is deplorably low.

Denial of the use of public school facilities cannot be used to pressure the Detroit plumbers. By 1969, all plumbing apprentices were attending a school established by the union.

TABLE 51

## ROOFERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	177	24	13.6
Detroit	91	10	10.9

Negro participation in the roofers' apprenticeship program is relatively high in both cities. Progress toward overcoming the dual labor market in the roofing trade is indicated.

TABLE 52

## RIGGERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Detroit	21	0	0.0

Data for the Chicago riggers' apprenticeship program were not available. The degree of black participation could not be lower than that in Detroit where the union is perpetuating the "dazzling-white" status of its journeyman membership.

TABLE 53

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE SHEET METAL WORKERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	0.0	1.1	1.7	2.2	2.9
Detroit	0.0	.7	.3	1.2	2.4

TABLE 54

## SHEET METAL WORKERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	355	12	3.4
Detroit	393	28	7.1

Until 1964, the apprenticeship programs in both cities were lily-white as one might expect given the role historically assigned to Negroes by the national sheet metal workers' union. From 1964 through 1967, the rates of black participation were about the same in both cities, but in 1968 the Detroit sheet metal workers' union had a black apprenticeship participation rate twice that in Chicago.

TABLE 55

## PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO APPRENTICE SPRINKLER FITTERS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Chicago	2.2	4.7	2.4	1.6	1.2
Detroit	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

TABLE 56

## SPRINKLER FITTERS, 1968

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	99	1	1.0
Detroit	40	1	2.5

Since 1965, the Chicago sprinkler fitters' apprenticeship program has included 1 black. The proportion of Negroes has declined because of expansion in the total number of apprentices and failure



to increase the number of blacks. The reason for the absence of more blacks from the Chicago sprinkler fitters is more appropriately discussed in a succeeding section of this chapter.

The Detroit sprinkler fitters' program was completely white until 1968 when its first black apprentice was indentured. There is, however, a note of optimism. A class of 11--including 3 Negroes--had been approved and was awaiting indenture at the date of the racial headcount in December, 1968.

TABLE 57

TOTAL NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP PARTICIPATION  
IN TRADES FOR WHICH DATA ARE AVAILABLE

	<u>Total</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Negro</u> <u>Apprentices</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Negro</u>
Chicago	3,198	252	7.9
Detroit	3,299	145	4.4

Negroes appear to be doing about twice as well at gaining admission to apprenticeship programs for the building trades in Chicago than in Detroit, but aggregate figures can be misleading. A comparison should be made between only those trades for which data are available in both cities.

The Detroit cement masons do not have a formal apprenticeship program, but there is little doubt that a large proportion of the men receiving training at cement masonry are black. Negro representation within the operating engineers' apprenticeship program is not available in Detroit and appears to be misrepresented in Chicago. By subtracting data for these two trades from the aggregate figures for Chicago, the



percent of Negro participation in the city's apprenticeship programs is reduced from 7.9% to 6.5%.

Black journeyman participation rates were miserably low in the boilermakers', elevator constructors, and riggers' locals of both cities. By subtracting from the Detroit aggregate data for these apprenticeship programs, which were either lily-white or low in black participation and for which data for Chicago were not available, the percentage of Detroit black participation increases slightly from 4.4% to 4.5%.

Then if data for the traditional Negro domain--the trowel trades, bricklaying and plastering--are subtracted from the totals for both cities, black participation of 5.6% in Chicago and 4.6% in Detroit is recorded. The difference between black apprenticeship participation in Chicago and Detroit is not as great after these adjustments have been made:

TABLE 58

## TOTAL NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP PARTICIPATION IN COMPARABLE TRADES

	<u>Chicago</u>		<u>Detroit</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>
All apprenticeship programs, 1968	3,198	252	3,299	145
Minus:				
Cement Masons	(140)	(28)		
Operating Engineers	(57)	(27)		
Boilermakers			(45)	(0)
Elevator Constructors			(104)	(3)
Riggers			(21)	(0)
Bricklayers	(131)	(33)	(121)	(3)
Plasterers	(19)	(3)	(14)	(2)
	<u>2,851</u>	<u>161</u>	<u>2,994</u>	<u>137</u>
	5.6%		4.6%	





Moreover, two Chicago unions--the glaziers and lathers--may have reduced their apprenticeship enrollments in an effort to retard integration.

For the 5 of the 6 mechanical trades--the highest paying building crafts--for which comparable data are available, black apprenticeship participation is 3.9% in Chicago and 4% in Detroit.

TABLE 59  
TOTAL NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP PARTICIPATION  
IN THE MECHANICAL TRADES

	<u>Chicago</u>		<u>Detroit</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Electricians	578	33	375	15
Pipe Fitters	614	10	220	7
Plumbers	297	19	400	6
Sheet Metal Workers	355	12	393	28
Sprinkler Fitters	99	1	40	1
	<u>1,943</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>1,428</u>	<u>57</u>
	3.9%		4.0%	

An evaluation of black apprenticeship participation data indicates that aggregate figures can be misleading. In July, 1969, Raymond M. Scannell, director of employment services for the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, a city agency, said:

The Chicago building trades unions have done a better job of integrating their ranks than skilled construction trades in any other city, but they've still got a lot of ground left to cover. (51)

The Chicago building trades definitely have a lot of ground left to cover, and one might question whether they are really integrating much faster than the craft unions in Detroit.

The activities of various organizations which have attempted to equalize the demand for black apprentices are examined in the balance of this chapter.

#### NEW DETROIT INC.

New Detroit Inc. was launched after the 1967 riot and designated racial inequality in the city's building trades as a prime target. On April 19, 1968, the following report of its progress with the building trades was issued:

The New Detroit Committee made a special point of looking into local apprenticeship programs which feed skilled tradesmen into the City's construction industries. It became involved in a study which includes discussions with employers of skilled tradesmen, union leaders and agents of government concerned directly, and indirectly with apprentice programs. It has also reviewed work done by the Detroit Board of Education and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and has examined approaches attempted in other cities such as New York, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh.

At a national meeting of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in Bal Harbour, Florida, in February of 1968, the U. S. Department of Labor was assured by the presidents of 18 international unions that they recognized the need and that they would order 8,500 local unions not only to recruit Negroes into apprentice programs, but to provide the instruction necessary to help them qualify. Because of the new approach implicit in this view, the Employment Subcommittee met with the Executive Board of the Building Trades Council to determine how the New Detroit Committee could help achieve this goal.

The Building Trades Council stated that it had experienced difficulty in recruiting Negroes. It was agreed that the New Detroit Committee would furnish qualified Negro applicants in March, 1968. This appeared to be a reasonable request until the Committee attempted to implement its offer by inquiring of specific unions the number of apprentice openings each had available at that time or in the near future. Although telephone inquiries were made of each union, the responses were universally negative. According to the individual unions, there were no current apprentice vacancies, and apprentice classes were closed and wouldn't reopen for another 90 days. The unions assured the Committee that

they had an "open door policy," despite the fact that recent statistics for the past two years demonstrate little change in Negro participation in the various apprenticeship training programs. Commitment on a national level by AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department has little relevance at the local level.

One of the past barriers found to exist which work to discourage Negro entrance into apprentice programs is irrelevant hiring qualifications. Nearly all apprentice programs require a high school diploma or the equivalent before an application is accepted and yet it is questionable what validity lies in this restriction. In addition, Negro graduates from the inner-city often are not accepted because they do poorly on written tests which lack relevancy to actual job needs. On-the-job training could overcome most of these shortcomings.

Guideline: The New Detroit Committee is proceeding with its efforts to supply applicants for building trades apprenticeships, and should encourage the use of legal remedies in the form of court orders or legislation, if necessary, to prohibit the discriminatory practices which have characterized these unions in the past. (125)

Since April, 1968, to the time of writing (early, 1970), New Detroit has neither supplied applicants for building trades apprenticeships nor encouraged legal remedies to prohibit discriminatory practices.

In November, 1969, its second report was issued with no reference made outright to combatting the inequality in the Detroit building trades. But the following statement taken from that report indicates the organization's lack of progress and perhaps why its credibility is questioned by much of the black community:

There are, of course, shortcomings to New Detroit's own performance. More than a year ago, the New Detroit Committee adopted a statement in which members [including representatives of virtually all major business firms in the city] pledged themselves to an equal opportunity policy on any real estate sales made by their own organizations. To this date, only the University of Detroit--headed by the Rev. Fr. Malcolm Carron--has followed up with a formal policy statement. (8)

Note the use of the term "real estate sales." In July, 1969, I was told by a member of the organization's staff that the pledge applied

to employment on construction projects contracted by member organizations. The automakers, retailers, and universities of the city tend to purchase facilities rather than sell real estate. The efforts of New Detroit to combat racial inequality in the building trades have been inconsequential.

#### PROJECT EQUALITY

In 1966, Marshall and Briggs observed in the Detroit chapter of their extensive survey The Negro and Apprenticeship that:

..., there are several significant community developments that are working to increase Negro participation in these programs. One of these was the convening of a special citizens' committee composed of business, labor, and civil rights representatives from the "power structure" in the city. The committee is chaired by Reverend Richard T. Emorich (an Episcopal priest) and is concerned with the race issue of which the apprenticeship area is felt to be potentially one of the most explosive. Similarly, in May, 1965, the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations for the Catholic Church in Detroit recommended that a non-discrimination code for its construction projects be implemented. Archbishop John F. Dearden agreed to this recommendation and issued the directives. The program calls for employers and unions to undertake affirmative action to demonstrate their compliance with the principle of equal opportunity. (101:148)

Three years later, such an optimistic appraisal is not appropriate. In December, 1965, the four major faiths, as a result of the activities by Bishop Emorich and Archbishop Dearden, formed Project Equality of Metropolitan Detroit, a nonprofit corporation for the promotion of equal employment opportunity. Since 1965, Project Equality programs have been initiated around the country with the national council located in Chicago. The basic idea behind the program is to use the purchasing power of organized religion for the promotion of minority employment.

The difficulty Project Equality has encountered in dealing with the construction industry is exemplified by the following excerpt from its brochure outlining the overall program:

It is important in administering the program to move systematically and effectively, in only one economic area at a time. It is also important to the ultimate success of the entire program to begin in the area which will most readily respond to the affirmative action techniques. This has been proven in the federal government's experience to be the area of general purchasing.

Adaptation of an equal employment opportunity program to the construction industry meets certain technical and presently inherent difficulties. These are now in the process of being remedied. Therefore, while this area should be included in the general announcement of the program by a judicatory, compliance should not be rigidly sought until after it has been obtained in the area of general purchasing. With the proficiency developed in this area added to the methods presently being developed by the federal government for achieving compliance in construction contracts, a judicatory can more confidently move into that area as the second stage of the program. (135)

The brochure was printed in 1967, and the promise of new methods developed by the federal government for handling the construction industry has not been realized. Project Equality in Chicago and Detroit is still in "stage one."

The compliance officer in Detroit was particularly disgruntled by his inability to influence the building trades. In Chicago, I was subjected to a defensive administrator who insisted on relating his many successful experiences with general suppliers despite my insistence that we discuss the "second stage." He finally relented. The effect of Project Equality he admitted, on black participation in the building trades has been inconsequential.

#### CITY FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ACTIVITIES

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations and the Detroit Commission on Community Relations administer the fair employment ordinances of their respective cities. Persons submitting discriminatory employment

complaints to them are usually referred to the state fair employment practices commissions, but grievances are sometimes handled through private conciliation. The commissions do not have complaint procedures going beyond mere conciliation nor are they empowered to initiate court proceedings.

The primary activity undertaken by the city commissions to increase employment opportunities for minority group members is contract compliance. Since 1950 in Chicago and 1952 in Detroit, all contractors bidding on city contracts must sign a non-discriminatory employment pledge. Yearly racial headcounts per each occupational classification must also be submitted.

If the review by commission staff disclosed overall racial imbalance, confinement of minority group members to only certain job categories, or failure to advance over prior years' performance, the contractor is exhorted to improve or face the possibility of being disqualified from bidding upon city contracts. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations has never disqualified a contractor, because it does not have the power. The commission can only "suggest" to the purchasing department that contracts be withheld.

The Detroit Commission on Community Relations, though subject to the approval of the Common Council, has the power. In May, 1968, the power was used for the first time in the construction industry. A plumbing sub-contractor, Zeni-McGuire Company, which had no Negro employees in a work force of 45, was disqualified from bidding on a \$500,000 city job. A meeting was held with representatives of the company and the Metropolitan Detroit Plumbing Contractors Association

to determine the company's ability to comply. The contractor had no plan or proposals for achieving racial integration among his tradesmen. The contract was awarded to the next lowest bidder Irving Moskovitz and Son, which had a work force of 97 employees including 13 Negroes--2 apprentice plumbers, 1 journeyman plumber, 2 clerks and 8 laborers. (29)

In June, 1969, the W.D. Gale Electric Company was declared ineligible to bid upon City of Detroit contracts, because the company failed to "initiate or implement an affirmative action program to include more minority group employees in the electrician and clerical categories." Only 5 of the company's 251 employees were Negroes--3 laborers, 1 in the service area, and 1 journeyman. (30)

Contractor and union respondents in Detroit typified the commission's action as merely a political move to pacify Negroes. Respondents stated that if the commission applied its criteria rigidly to all construction contractors doing business with the city, it might very well eliminate all work in certain crafts on city projects. Union journeyman and apprentice data tends to substantiate this contention.

Because the labor force of the construction industry is highly mobile between employers, the racial composition of crews working at construction sites is also examined by the city commissions. The Chicago commission has no set rule on the proportion of minority group workers to be employed at a site, because its director "does not believe in quotas." The commission staff exhorts contractors to employ Negroes and tries to assure sufficient racial balance at sites, particularly those located in the black community, in order to avoid flammable

situations. The Detroit commission, however, requires a minimum of 1 Negro journeyman and 1 Negro apprentice in each trade at each site.

Job site inspections are conducted by the commission staff in both cities. In Detroit, it is a known fact that black workers are shifted from site to site in order to satisfy the quota. The result has been the development of a cadre of Negro City of Detroit contract specialists with no net increase in black participation. The commission has only recently begun to take the names of Negro workers in an effort to stop this practice.

Both commissions claim to have had a substantial effect upon minority employment and partially substantiate this affirmation by referring to data which shows that the proportion of Negroes employed by firms holding city contracts has increased. But neither agency releases figures applying solely to the construction industry. The pressure applied by the commissions on unions and employers has undoubtedly contributed to the virtual elimination of de jure racial discrimination in the building trades, notably the Chicago commission which acted as the agent for Mayor Daley in fulfilling his pledge in 1963 that no craft union would be lily-white. But it is difficult to perceive how the major weapon of the commissions, contract compliance, has had or can have a substantial impact upon black participation in the building trades.

By penalizing contractors employing a low proportion of minority group workers, job opportunities for Negroes should be increased. But this logic is only applicable to the construction industry under certain conditions--none of which has been present since 1963 when the commissions designated the building trades as a prime target.



With the absence, inability, or unwillingness of Negro craftsmen to obtain direct admission to the unions via a route essentially free of de jure discrimination, building contractors are unable to obtain black journeymen even if they so desire. Entrance to apprenticeship has been formalized so that de jure racial discrimination is seldom present. Firms submitting bids on city building contracts claim and in most cases rightly so that they are unable to expand minority employment.

In Chicago this contention has been received without penalty. In Detroit, the ultimate weapon--contract denial--has been used against two firms, but the net effect for Negroes will probably be zero.

Unless these two firms lose substantial revenue by being disqualified from city contracts--currently there is no evidence that they are--and are willing and able to make an "arrangement" with the unions, black participation will not increase. If the employers are unable to make a deal with the union, they may attempt to bid Negro workers from other firms. While advantageous to blacks already working in the trade, the net effect on minority employment is zero.

Union members employed by these two firms would essentially be unaffected even if the companies went bankrupt. There is no seniority provision or pension stipulation to harm union members released by the firms and with a tight labor market nothing to prevent their transfer to other employers. Officials of the city's plumbing and electrical unions are indifferent as to which contractor receives city contracts as long as the only firms capable of fulfilling them are union organized. The existence of a strong non-union sector would, of course, and Local 124 may someday change this reaction.

Short of an employer bribing a union and in the absence of a viable non-union sector, the effect of city contract compliance activity is inconsequential.

#### BOARDS OF EDUCATION

The boards of education of both cities require contractors to agree to hire minority group members on a non-discriminatory basis. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations conducts contract compliance activities for the Chicago Board of Education. The Detroit Board of Education's policy is implemented by its Equal Employment Opportunities and Contract Relations Department.

Since March, 1966, contractors wishing to bid on Detroit Board of Education projects are required to submit racial employment data. A minimum of one non-white journeyman or apprentice is required of each construction contractor. But as with the minimum quota of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, it is doubtful whether the requirement has increased black participation.

Because most apprenticeship programs are conducted at public school facilities, the threat of withholding use of these facilities has been used in an effort to increase black apprenticeship participation. Such a threat was reportedly made by the Chicago Board of Education in 1964. The Chicago board has been less aggressive than the Detroit board in this matter, perhaps, because the president of the Chicago Building Trades Council is one of its members. But as was discussed in regard to the Detroit electricians, expelling a union's apprenticeship class or

threatening to do so is no guarantee of progress. The unions own the bulk of the equipment used at the schools. Finding a new home poses few problems for them.

#### N.A.A.C.P.

Traditionally, the N.A.A.C.P. has acted as the lawyer for the civil rights movement. Based upon the precedent in Ethridge v. Rhodes, discussed in Chapter IV, the Chicago branch in September, 1969 filed suit in federal district court to bar the State of Illinois from entering into contracts for construction projects in which state or federal funds are involved. The case has not yet been settled. But it is unlikely that the court action could significantly increase black participation in the building trades unless the court prescribes action which would deviate substantially from the current selection and training process, for example, something along the lines of the Landis Award Committee. Such a prescription seems unlikely. A more likely outcome is the development of a group of Negro tradesmen highly proficient on State of Illinois projects.

The Detroit N.A.A.C.P. has not filed a similar suit and does not plan to do so, because it is "accomplishing things without much fanfare." When asked to substantiate this claim, the respondent stated: "We don't keep any records." Perhaps the less aggressive stance of the Detroit N.A.A.C.P. may be explained by the fact that its president is also the president of the metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO.

## STATE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITIES

An enforceable fair employment practices law was enacted in Michigan in 1953. Illinois had a non-enforceable law beginning in 1945, which became enforceable in 1961.

In both states unfair employment practice charges must be initiated by the aggrieved party. If the Michigan Civil Rights Commission or the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission investigation of the charges indicates a violation, conciliation efforts are undertaken. Most cases in which a violation appears to have occurred are settled at the conciliation stage. If conciliation fails, public hearings are conducted. The commissions can issue cease and desist orders. If the cease and desist orders are not complied with, the commissions initiate court proceedings on behalf of the complainant.

Because of the difficulty of proving racial discrimination, about 80% of the complaints filed before the Illinois F.E.P.C. are dismissed for lack of proof. (71) Comparable data for the Michigan C.R.C. was not available, but a Commission spokesman estimated that the proportion of dismissed cases was about the same.

Complaints dismissed for lack of proof and those settled through conciliation are not a matter of public record. To my knowledge, the only case involving the building trades settled by the commissions was that of the Detroit electricians' union, which was discussed in Chapter VI.

In 1968, charges of racial discrimination were filed with the Illinois F.E.P.C. against Sprinkler Fitters Local 281 by the Chicago Urban League. The complaint was based upon the disproportionately large

number of black apprentice applicants failing the Joint Apprenticeship Committee's oral examination. A respondent stated that in 1967, 6 blacks took the written exam, and 5 passed. Of the 5 who passed the written test, and therefore were eligible to take the oral, only 1 passed. In 1968, 112 men secured applications for admission. Completed applications were returned by 69 men, 27% were black. The written exam was taken by 64, of whom 33% were black. 47 passed, 25% of whom were black. Of the 35 whites and 12 blacks who took the oral, 31 whites and 2 blacks passed. In 1969, 7 blacks took the written exam. 2 passed. Both failed the oral.

In January, 1969, the complaint was dropped by the Illinois Commission because it had not been "filed properly." A respondent charged that the complaint had been properly filed but that a member of the Commission--a Negro AFL-CIO official--had brought about its dismissal. The case has since been filed with the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The Michigan commission has been empowered to require nondiscriminatory employment on State contracts since 1955. But little was done to enforce the law until August, 1967, when its current program of contract compliance was inaugurated. The Illinois commission is currently studying contract compliance activities in other states and plans to initiate a program in 1970.

Racial quotas are not used by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission. An employer should have or make an effort to attain "reasonably representative integration of the work force."

In May, 1969, the commission disqualified a construction contractor from bidding on State contracts. The company is a small Indiana based firm which employed no blacks and did not plan to hire any.

Recently, the commission recommended that the Pontiac Michigan School Board not award a contract to a firm which would not agree to hire one black bricklayer and one black carpenter. Its recommendation was followed.

Between August, 1967 and May, 1969, the commission reviewed the employment practices of 685 employers with a work force of 743,598 people. During this period, total employment for the companies increased by .06%, while the number of minority group workers increased by 10.1%. Data for construction firms alone was not available.

It is doubtful whether the Commission's contract compliance activities have increased black participation in the Detroit building trades. In deciding whether a firm is in compliance, consideration is given to "the availability of minority group applicants in the area from which he is drawing his work force." (115) In Detroit, where the craft unions control the entrance of virtually all labor into the construction industry, minority group applicants are not "available" to employers. Pressure from the commission upon contractors does little to motivate the unions to admit more blacks.

State equal employment activity has had little impact upon black participation in the Chicago and Detroit building trades.

## FEDERAL EQUAL EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITY

Four agencies of the federal government have participated in efforts to equalize the demand for black apprentices--the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Department of Justice, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

In the summer of 1963, coinciding with the activities of Operation Negro Equality in Detroit and the less formalized pressure in Chicago which elicited Mayor Daley's pledge of integration, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training was instructed to require at least a non-discriminatory entrance policy from registered apprenticeship programs. The non-discriminatory resolutions adopted by the building trades councils of both cities that summer, however, were the result of local pressure and not the issuance of the Kennedy executive order.

B.A.T. officials have exhorted the building trades to follow the non-discriminatory policy and stated in both cities that the unions are in compliance with estimates on the length of time that they have adhered ranging from 3 to 5 years. No union has been penalized by the withdrawal of financial support. But such action in the case of a recalcitrant union would probably be unproductive. Respondents, no matter what their organizational affiliation, believed that the unions would be able and even willing to conduct their apprenticeship programs without federal support. The withdrawal of the electricians and plumbers from the Detroit public school facility tends to confirm this contention.

The Kennedy order stated that unions could retain their presumably subjective entrance procedures and comply by demonstrating increased minority participation. The only reported instance of this

course being followed was that of the Detroit pipefitters. B.A.T. officials in both cities said that they did not favor this course of action because of the difficult negotiations entailed each time an apprenticeship class is to be indentured. Overseeing the administration of written and oral exams, while perhaps not as likely to increase black participation, poses fewer problems for B.A.T. officials.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission handles discriminatory employment complaints in much the same manner as the Illinois and Michigan fair employment practices commissions. Complaints dismissed for lack of evidence or settled through mediation are not a matter of public record. The only case involving the building trades which I could find is that of the Chicago sprinkler fitters' union.

In July, 1969, the Department of Justice filed suit against Ironworkers Local 1 in Chicago, charging that the union maintained a pattern of discrimination against Negro entrance into the apprenticeship, journeyman, and temporary permit categories. While blacks comprise less than 1% of the union's journeymen and only 8% of its apprentices, other unions in both cities have equally poor records. Details of the case are not available, but Local 1 may have been singled out because of its history of internal union corruption. (91) The Department of Justice may have an ulterior motive.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance coordinates among the various federal agencies the policy of purchasing from non-discriminatory suppliers. Respondents from the O.F.C.C. emphasized that the compliance departments of federal agencies were understaffed. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, the agency most active in the construction



industry, for example, has 4 men assigned to a 10-state region encompassing Illinois and Michigan.

About all that construction contractors in Chicago and Detroit are required to do is agree to non-discriminatory employment. No pre-award employment survey of contractors like that of the Chicago and Detroit human relations commissions and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission is conducted. Not until April, 1969 did H.U.D. announce plans to require contractors to disclose racial employment data prior to signing contracts. No contractor has ever been disqualified from bidding.

A respondent related his experience with the construction industry:

When I was with General Services and reviewing manufacturing firms, I could see progress and felt that I was accomplishing something. But now I'm knocking my head up against a wall. Reasoning and persuading accomplish nothing.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Civil rights activity in 1963 elicited a pledge from the building trades of Chicago and Detroit that the demand for apprentices would be equal in both sectors of the labor market. This policy has been implemented by the institution of uniform admission standards which are applied to all applicants for apprenticeship. The selection criteria established by individual unions vary somewhat but basically consist of written and oral examinations.

Since 1967, the apprenticeship selection process of the Joint Apprenticeship Committees has been subject to the scrutiny of interested outside parties. Officials of the apprenticeship outreach programs of

both cities and the Equal Employment Opportunities and Contract Relations Department of the Detroit Public Schools are present when applications are filed, during the administration of written tests, and during J.A.C. interviews. Racial headcounts such as those discussed in conjunction with the Chicago sprinkler fitters case are maintained. If the performance of Negroes on the oral exam, the most subjective criteria, deviate from what one might expect if a non-discriminatory policy were in effect, a complaint can be filed with the state civil rights commission or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. As discussed in Chapter IV, a complaint of this type against the Buffalo, New York Sheet Metal Workers' J.A.C. resulted in substantial changes in the administration of the oral exam. J.A.C.'s dislike such interference. As a result, the proportion of blacks passing the oral is usually in accord with the proportion being interviewed. Civil rights spokesmen in both cities were in agreement with union and employer respondents that apprentices are selected in a manner free of de jure racial discrimination.

The activities of city, state, and federal government agencies and private organizations have helped to assure non-discriminatory apprenticeship selection by warning employers and unions that the flagrant discrimination of the past would not be tolerated. But these activities have not persuaded the unions to waive the entrance exams, which did not exist prior to 1963, and to display "equality of opportunity" in the only true sense--representative minority group participation. As Edwin C. Berry of the Chicago Urban League recognized in 1963: "If full freedom came today--equality of opportunity--Negroes would not have one more job, one more good house, one whit more education than the day before it came." (157)

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SUPPLY OF NEGRO APPRENTICES

Let them [blacks] pass the tests like everyone else and they can get in the union.

--a white construction worker counter-demonstrating in Pittsburgh on August 29, 1969. CBS Evening News.

The entrance requirements for apprenticeship are examined in this chapter along with the efforts of the Chicago and Detroit apprenticeship information centers and outreach programs to increase the supply of qualified black applicants for the building trades.

### APPRENTICESHIP SELECTION

What opened the door also put a barrier in front of the door.--a respondent

Joint apprenticeship committees usually specify that applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 22 and high school graduates. The age limit is extended for veterans, and passage of the high school equivalency examination is acceptable in lieu of graduation. Because the proportion of Negroes attaining a high school education is lower than that for whites, a barrier to increased black apprenticeship participation is apparent. According to the 1960 U. S. Census Reports, only 32% of plumbers and pipefitters were high school graduates. While data for Chicago and Detroit are not available, it is reasonable to assert that a large proportion of the men working at what are generally considered to be two of the most highly skilled building trades could not secure admission to apprenticeship under current entrance standards.

Upon submitting admission forms, required supportive documents such as birth certificate, school transcripts, and armed forces discharge papers, and usually a nominal fee (about \$10), apprenticeship applicants must take a written examination for most trades. The written exams are usually administered by private testing agencies.

Respondents from civil rights organizations assured me that black applicants take the same tests as whites and are graded on the same scales. A respondent from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training stated that he believed the aptitude tests were inherently discriminatory against persons of Afro-American culture. However, as was discussed in Chapter III, a specific provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prevents employment examinations from being challenged on this basis. While civil rights spokesmen questioned the relevancy of the written examination to the skills necessary for the trades, they were generally in agreement with employer, government, and union respondents that the exams should not be difficult for high school graduates to pass. Yet a large proportion—an estimated 50%—of applicants, black and white, fail to attain passing scores on the J.A.C. tests.

Because of the defensive posture of respondents at the Chicago and Detroit apprenticeship outreach programs whose function is to prepare Negro applicants to pass the tests, I was unable to acquire complete records on the performance of blacks relative to whites on the written examinations. However, the relative success of black and white applicants can be inferred from data supplied by the Chicago Apprenticeship Information Center, which will be examined in a succeeding section of this chapter.

A survey conducted in Detroit in 1966 disclosed that about 30% of all apprentices had relatives in the building trades. (130) Comparable data for Chicago are not available, but employer, government, and union respondents believed that the proportion of relatives is also about 30%. While the written tests constitute a barrier to black applicants, relatives of tradesmen also encounter difficulties.

In December, 1968, 230 young men, including 26 blacks, took the written examination for the Detroit pipefitters' apprenticeship program. The exam was passed by 33 people including 1 Negro. Of the 230 people tested, 44 were related to contractors and journeyman pipefitters. Fourteen of the relatives passed. While the relatives of journeymen and contractors did much better than other applicants, all relatives probably would have been admitted via the admission process used prior to 1963. To my knowledge, this is the only written exam for which these data were compiled. With such a small sample, the effect of the written exam upon nepotism in the building trades is unclear. But it is probably safe to observe that some relatives are being excluded and that some men now working in the building trades would have been unable to gain admission to apprenticeship under current entrance requirements.

The Chicago painters and roofers, and the Detroit painters and plasterers do not require passage of a written exam. Black participation is rather substantial in these apprenticeship programs, and, as will be discussed below, relatives of tradesmen probably have little difficulty gaining admission.

For the Chicago electricians and plumbers, the General Aptitude Test Battery is administered by the Chicago Apprenticeship Information



Center. Almost no one fails this exam. A respondent from the Chicago A.I.C. stated: "Last year there was some guy who failed. His brother brought him in here. I think he was retarded." The J.A.C.'s do not even request the exam scores of applicants, and, again, relatives of journeymen and contractors probably have little difficulty gaining admission. The proportion of black apprentices in the Chicago electricians and plumbers is low. No correlation appears to exist between whether or not an exclusionary written exam is administered and black apprenticeship participation.

The selection criteria suggested by the Michigan Department of Education and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for registered programs in Michigan are reproduced on the following page. The admission standards for each trade vary somewhat from this suggested format, but it is a representative example of the selection criteria used by most Joint Apprenticeship Committees in Chicago and Detroit. Some J.A.C.'s disregard "Military Service" and use different standards for judging an applicant's performance at the interview. A candidate's health and physical stature and the neatness and accuracy of his application are evaluated by others. The proportion of the total score allocated to individual criterion also differs among J.A.C.'s.

An examination of this format discloses the advantages enjoyed by relatives of tradesmen who pass the written "Aptitude Test." Being aware while in school of the courses for which points are allotted by the J.A.C., relatives are more likely to receive maximum credit for "Education" and "Post High School Trade Related Courses." Relatives are more likely to have had "Previous Work Experience (related to trade)." At least 3 of

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_ Referred by (if applicable): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

## RATING POINTS

	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Earned</u>
1. Aptitude Test *	20	_____
2. Education (High School transcripts, etc., subjects studied pertinent to the trades and grades received.	20	_____
3. Post High School Trade Related Courses	10	_____
4. Previous Work Experience (related to trade)	15	_____
5. References	10	_____
6. Military Service	5	_____
7. Interview Evaluation (see Below)	20	_____
TOTAL POINTS (BY ALL RATING FACTORS)	_____	_____

Any applicant scoring less than 70% of the total possible points shall be disqualified.

\*When Aptitude Test results are given as passing or not passing, the applicant shall be evaluated 20 points for passing, 0 points for not passing.

## INTERVIEW EVALUATION

	0	1	2	3	4	Interviewer's
	Poor	Fair	Avg.	Good	Excel.	Points Awarded
1. Sincerity of Interest						
2. Attitude toward work						
3. Attitude toward related supervision						
4. Ability to work under supervision						
5. Understanding of responsibilities as an apprentice						

TOTAL INTERVIEW POINTS  
 (ENTER ON LINE 7 ABOVE)

FIGURE 8

APPLICANT EVALUATION FORM



the 5 criteria of the "Interview Evaluation" favor applicants with a family background in the trade. By "Sincerity of Interest" is usually meant how an applicant views apprenticeship--whether merely as a job or as essential training for a craft. Family tradition in a trade impresses J.A.C.'s as to one's "craft pride." Relatives probably have a better "Attitude toward related instruction" because they are less likely to be discouraged by the prospect of a 4 or 5 year indenture period due to better knowledge of the alternative of direct admission. Applicants with family members in a trade should also have a better "Understanding of responsibilities as an apprentice." Except for the obstacle posed by the written examination, relatives of tradesmen appear to have encountered little difficulty gaining entrance to apprenticeship since the formalization of the admission process after 1963, contrary to the anticipated cessation of nepotism within the building trades.

As was discussed in Chapter VII, J.A.C.'s are usually rather careful to pass an equal proportion of Negro and white applicants on the oral examination. Racial prejudice is usually not manifested when blacks are evaluated on particularly subjective criteria as "Attitude toward work" and "Ability to work under supervision." Negro applicants also do not appear to be penalized unduly on interview criteria which reflect the differences of job market information and orientation between blacks and whites such as "Sincerity of interest," "Attitude toward related instruction," and "Understanding of responsibilities as an apprentice."

Due to pressure from public and private organizations, black applicants are selected in a manner essentially free of de jure racial discrimination. But only one of the criteria reflective of de facto

racial discrimination, other than the interview evaluation, has been modified. Because of the operation of the closed shop in the construction sectors of both cities and the nepotistic allocation of summer and part-time jobs within the industry, black youth have little opportunity to attain work experience related to the building trades. Non-trade related employment experience is usually acceptable. The inequalities of education, information, and orientation between the black and white labor supplies penalize black applicants on such "objective" criteria as "Aptitude Test," "Education," and "Post High School Trade Related Courses," which constitute 50% of the points of the suggested evaluation format.

As is apparent from this discussion, J.A.C.'s maintain a great deal of flexibility in evaluating applicants. But the institution of more "objective" criteria would probably not increase the number of black apprentices because of labor supply differences between races. Presumably, more "subjective" criteria would be a solution. But the proportion of black applicants probably would have to equal or exceed the ratio which Negroes comprise of the labor force. Such is not usually the case.

Changing the selection criteria employed by the J.A.C.'s is not likely to increase black apprenticeship participation. Correspondingly, civil rights spokesmen whom I contacted in Chicago and Detroit during the Summer and Fall of 1969 stated that challenging the selection criteria would be unproductive.

But on December 5, 1969, 4 black Detroiters and the Trade Union Leadership Council filed suit in U. S. District Court against I.B.E.W.

Local 58, the Joint Electrical Apprenticeship Committee, and Thomas Augenstine, regional director of the U. S. Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The suit charges that the "irrelevant" written examination requires knowledge "peculiar to middle-class white people" and the requirements that applicants be high school graduates and under age 24 also are "irrelevant." The suit will probably be unsuccessful because of provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But even if it is successful, I doubt whether changing the evaluation criteria would significantly increase the number of black electrical apprentices. In 1968, Local 58 indentured 75 apprentices. Nearly 1,000 applications were filed--about 10% by Negroes. 8 blacks were indentured--10%. (159) Elimination of the written exam probably would have no effect on black indentures. Removal of the education and age requirements undoubtedly would increase the number of black applicants. But the number of white applicants vying for admission also would increase, though perhaps not proportionately. The net effect would be minimal.

Unlike the Joint Apprenticeship Committees of Chicago and Detroit and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, Peter T. Schoemann, president of the national plumbers' union, recognized in 1968 that the "waiver of requirements" may be necessary to increase significantly black apprenticeship participation. Mr. Schoemann diagnoses the status of the black apprenticeship applicant in the following:

I am wondering just how much difference a change in tests or requirements--by itself--is going to make in the final outcome, the identity of the candidates selected. ....

...suppose you throw away all academic requirements and throw away one recognized aptitude test in favor of another one; and then put your dropout from the ghetto into an objective point

competition with white high school graduates for a limited number of openings. Will there be any significant difference in the outcome?

Five years ago people were saying that if only the preference for sons were knocked out, apprenticeship would be wide open for Negroes. And so we got Title 29 CFR Part 30 with BAT's heavy preference for the point system. ....

If affirmative action, which is a very color conscious approach, is the right social policy for our times, then why must minority recruits be run through some kind of 'color blind' point competition?

I know of no significant group of private employers who select employees through a civil service-type competition. What then is so great about it? (145)

#### APPRENTICESHIP INFORMATION CENTERS

The Chicago and Detroit Apprenticeship Information Centers were established in March and July of 1964 respectively. The A.I.C.'s are financed by the federal government and operated by the Illinois State Employment Service and the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

Both A.I.C.'s have been under fire from civil rights organizations for the low participation of Negroes in apprenticeship. Apparently, this critical barrage accounted for the reluctance of A.I.C. officials to cooperate with me. They were, in the current vernacular, up tight. After some delay and much prodding, I was able to gain access to the monthly reports filed by the A.I.C.'s with the U. S. Department of Labor and to interview employees of the centers.

The periods during which data differentiated according to race were available varied between A.I.C.'s. I have no reason to question the accuracy of the figures for the Chicago Center. The supervisor of the Detroit A.I.C. said that J.A.C.'s often did not provide the names

of individuals who had been accepted for apprenticeship. Consequently, the data for youth placed in apprenticeship through the activities of the Detroit center may be understated.

The function of the centers is to recruit applicants for apprenticeship programs in construction, manufacturing, and service trades. Staff members visit school, civic, and church organizations in an attempt to interest young men in apprenticeable occupations. The M.E.S.C. has a weekly television program which disseminates information on apprenticeship and other employment opportunities. Both A.I.C.'s are located in the same building as their city's Youth Opportunity Center. Individuals who initially seek only the assistance of the Y.O.C.'s and appear to be potential apprenticeship applicants are referred to the A.I.C.'s. The relative importance of the various recruitment sources could not be determined.

As of February, 1966, only one building trade union in Detroit was informing the A.I.C. as to when applications for apprenticeship would be accepted. (101:143) The situation has evidently improved. Respondents from the A.I.C. stated that all J.A.C.'s in the construction industry of Detroit notify the center when apprenticeship openings occur.

In September, 1966, Thomas Dinan of the United States Employment Service examined the operations of the Chicago A.I.C. and reported that:

...he was not impressed with minority progress in the building trades, that no one has sat down with the principals [J.A.C.'s] involved and reduced to writing what their requirements are, nor coordinated it. Everything is in confusion. He went on to say that the director of the A.I.C., ..., has no guidelines, and that there are and were too many cooks stirring things up. (1)

The director of the Chicago A.I.C. reports that he is now receiving the cooperation of J.A.C.'s in the building trades as to when apprenticeship openings occur.

A noticeable difference between A.I.C.'s was evident in regard to the availability of information on the requirements for apprenticeship. The Chicago A.I.C. distributes a list of apprenticeable occupations and specifies the age range, physical requirements, and term of apprenticeship for each. Information on application fees, examinations administered by the J.A.C.'s, and prospects for employment in each trade is not included. A respondent from the center stated: "I don't know all of the requirements for each apprenticeship program. I don't think anyone in the city does." In contrast, the Detroit center provides quite detailed information on apprenticeship requirements and prospects to potential applicants.

During the period 1967 through July, 1969, 9,823 youth came to the Chicago A.I.C. and 4,672 to the Detroit A.I.C. The figure for the Detroit center is 47% of that for the Chicago A.I.C. In 1960, the total population of Detroit was 47% of that of Chicago. Assuming no change in the relative population of the cities and an equal age distribution between cities, the centers appear to be attracting an equal proportion of their city's youth.

In July, 1965, a U. S. Department of Labor team evaluated the Detroit A.I.C. and concluded "that the A.I.C. personnel have, to a great degree, ignored the minority community and have been remiss in their responsibility to promote the announced tenets of the Center." (101:143) The deficiency has apparently been rectified. Blacks comprised 45% of the youth coming to the Chicago A.I.C. during the period 1965 to July, 1969 and 42% of those at the Detroit center from March, 1967 through July, 1969.

But a significant difference exists between races in regard to the proportion of individuals coming to the centers who are accepted for employment in the apprenticeable trades. From 1965 through July, 1969, 35.6% of the white youth and 9.4% of the black youth seeking the assistance of the Chicago A.I.C. were accepted for apprenticeship. During the period March, 1967 through July, 1969, 21.5% of the whites and 8.1% of the blacks appearing at the Detroit center were placed in apprenticeship programs. Blacks comprised 22% and 28% of the youth placed in apprenticeship by the Chicago and Detroit centers respectively. Evidently, in order to place a proportion of black youth in apprenticeship commensurate with Negro participation in the labor force of an urban area, significantly greater numbers of blacks than whites must be attracted to the centers.

The existence of labor supply differences between races is further evidenced by the relative performance of blacks and whites on the General Aptitude Test Battery which applicants are required to pass in order to be referred to J.A.C.'s by the centers and the relative number of blacks and whites who elect to take the examination after a preliminary discussion of employment opportunities in the trades.

During the period August, 1968 through July, 1969, 1,968 white and 1,205 black youth were tested by the Chicago A.I.C. The examination was failed by 5% of the whites and 10% of the blacks. From March, 1967 through July, 1969, passing scores were not attained by 20% of the 1,574 whites and 30% of the 887 blacks tested by the Detroit center.

The difference in orientation between races may be inferred from the fact that 62% of the whites and 48% of the blacks who came to the

Detroit A.I.C. between March, 1967 and July, 1969 decided to take the G.A.T.B. From August, 1968 through July, 1969, 84% of the blacks who came to the Chicago center were tested.

The supervisors of the A.I.C.'s stated that they were unaware of the total cost of operating the centers. A rough estimate of yearly expenditures based upon the size of their staffs, and estimated salaries and overhead follows:

TABLE 60

## ESTIMATED COST, CHICAGO A.I.C.

1 supervisor	@ \$12,000	\$12,000
4 counselors	@ 8,000	32,000
1 clerk	@ 6,000	<u>6,000</u>
Estimated Salaries		\$50,000
Overhead @ 60% of salaries		<u>30,000</u>
Estimated total yearly cost		\$80,000

TABLE 61

## ESTIMATED COST, DETROIT A.I.C.

1 supervisor	@ \$12,000	\$12,000
2 counselors	@ 8,000	16,000
1 clerk	@ 6,000	<u>6,000</u>
Estimated Salaries		\$34,000
Overhead @ 60% of salaries		<u>20,400</u>
Estimated total yearly cost		\$54,400

From 1965 through July, 1969, 3,414 individuals--22% of whom were black--were placed in apprenticeship programs for construction, manufacturing, and service trades by the Chicago A.I.C. at an estimated total



cost of \$366,662 and an estimated per placement cost of \$107. Over the period March, 1967 through April, 1969, the Detroit A.I.C. spent an estimated \$117,858 to place 541 young men, including 151 (28%) blacks, in construction, manufacturing, and service related trades. The estimated per placement cost was \$218.

The substantial difference in estimated per capita cost between the Chicago and Detroit A.I.C.'s is misleading. While data on apprenticeship openings are not available, by computing the per placement cost for the Chicago A.I.C. over the period March, 1967 through April, 1969--the period encompassing the figure for the Detroit center--a more accurate comparative cost estimate is obtained, because comparable periods tend to be reflective of economic conditions which in part govern apprenticeship openings and, hence, the opportunities for the A.I.C.'s to make placements. The Chicago center administers the written examinations for the electrical and plumbing apprenticeship programs. Applicants for these two programs who contact the J.A.C.'s for admission are referred to the center. Hence, all electrical and plumbing indentures are counted as placements by the A.I.C.

By deducting electrical and plumbing "placements," the estimated per capita expenditure of the Chicago A.I.C. over the period March, 1967 through April, 1969 is \$183, which is still below the \$218 for the Detroit center. The Chicago A.I.C. appears to be more efficient at placing young men in apprenticeship. One explanation is the close coordination of the Chicago A.I.C. with the Chicago Urban League's Apprenticeship Project, a factor which will be discussed in a succeeding section of this chapter. The other is that the placement figures for the Detroit A.I.C. are understated as its director contends.

Blacks comprised 25% of the referrals to and 27% of the placements in apprenticeship programs for the building trades by the Chicago A.I.C. In contrast, 32% of the young men referred and 23% of those placed through the Detroit A.I.C. were Negroes.

TABLE 62

## BUILDING TRADE APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

	Referred		Placed	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Chicago A.I.C. 1965-July, 1969	5,873	2,010	1,213	459
Detroit A.I.C. March, 1967-July, 1969	1,573	727	216	63

An implication of this comparison is that blacks have experienced more difficulty gaining admission to the Detroit building trade apprenticeship programs than those in Chicago. But such a conclusion is not necessarily warranted. The referral data do not reflect the number of young men actually applying for apprenticeship but only those who have been informed by the A.I.C.'s as to how and when to apply. The blacks designated as "referred" and "placed" by the Chicago A.I.C. are much more likely than those in Detroit to have received assistance from the city's apprenticeship outreach program and, therefore, presumably more likely to apply for and be admitted into apprenticeship.

The proportions of black referrals to and placements in each building trade apprenticeship program by the Detroit A.I.C. are presented below. Drawing meaningful conclusions from these data on the existence of de jure racial discrimination and the ability of black youth to



secure admission to building trades' apprenticeship is difficult, because in contrast to Chicago, the proportion of blacks referred by the center is not as good an approximation of those actually applying for apprenticeship, because they are less likely to have had assistance from an apprenticeship outreach program.

TABLE 63

DETROIT A.I.C. (MARCH 1967-JULY 1969)

	Referrals		Placements	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Negro</u>
Bricklayer	49	44.9	3	33.3
Carpenter	554	24.2	151	18.5
Electrician	557	23.2	26	8.3
Iron Worker	32	28.1	3	33.3
Painter	2	100.0	---	---
Pipefitter	396	42.7	8	25.0
Plasterer	5	20.0	---	---
Plumber	173	36.4	5	0.0
Rigger	1	100.0	---	---
Roofer	19	57.9	5	40.0
Sheet Metal	315	39.4	43	48.8
Sprinkler Fitter	4	25.0	1	100.0

The proportion of Negro placements exceeds referrals in only 3 crafts--iron work, sheet metal, and sprinkler fitting. In the brick-laying, carpentry, pipefitting, and roofing trades, the proportion of black placements exceeds black participation in the Detroit labor force.

The most significant accomplishment of the center has been the placement of 21 black youth with the traditionally lily-white sheet metal workers. The A.I.C. is notably deficient in its ability to place blacks in the electrical and plumbing crafts where written examinations and competition from large numbers of white applicants present formidable

barriers to Negroes and where the lack of apprenticeship outreach activities being reflected in the data is most apparent.

TABLE 64

CHICAGO A.I.C. (JULY 1965-JUNE 1969)

	Referrals		Placements	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Negro</u>
Bricklayer	143	77.6	39	66.7
Carpenter	610	55.4	151	57.0
Electrician	4,336	14.4	609	15.9
Glazier	28	14.3	---	----
Iron Worker	178	74.2	45	73.3
Lather	59	39.0	2	50.0
Painter	693	27.3	265	36.2
Pipefitter	183	42.6	5	20.0
Plasterer	9	88.9	---	----
Plumber	701	23.1	117	23.9
Roofer	617	24.8	409	18.6
Sheet Metal	202	60.4	25	48.0
Sprinkler Fitter	20	80.0	---	----

The proportions which blacks comprise of referrals and placements by the Chicago A.I.C. for each of the building trades are compiled in the above table. In the carpentry, electrical, iron work, lathing, painting, and plumbing trades, the proportion of Negroes placed exceeds or is nearly equal to referrals. In two crafts--plumbing and electrical--which have traditionally had low black participation, "referrals" denote the actual number of apprenticeship applicants.

The proportion of black referrals exceeds placements in the bricklayers', glaziers', pipefitters', plasterers', roofers', sheet metal workers', and sprinkler fitters' apprenticeship programs. The problems encountered with the glaziers and sprinkler fitters were discussed in the preceding chapter. Black participation in the bricklaying,

plastering, and roofing programs closely approximates the rate of Negro participation in the Chicago labor force, which is prima facie evidence of non-discriminatory indenture practices. The obstacle in pipefitting is the written test and the large number of white applicants.

While data are not available, blacks have reportedly encountered especial difficulty on this exam. The written examination for the sheet metal workers' program, while not as exclusionary as that for pipefitting, constitutes a formidable barrier to increased black participation.

While "referrals" do not designate the number of youth who actually applied for apprenticeship except in the electrical and plumbing trades and the proportion which Chicago A.I.C. referrals comprise of apprenticeship applicants could not be determined, one might cautiously infer from the data that blacks are not now encountering de jure racial discrimination from the building trades in Chicago and that when assisted by an apprenticeship outreach program, they can attain admission to apprenticeship closely proportionate to the percentage they comprise of applicants. This inference from the data supports the contention of civil rights spokesmen in Chicago and Detroit.

#### APPRENTICESHIP OUTREACH

In December, 1965, Mayor Daley announced the "Chicago Plan" for increased black participation in the apprenticeship programs of the building trades. The principal feature of the plan was the establishment of an apprenticeship outreach program operated by the Chicago Urban League to recruit and tutor minority group applicants.

During August, 1966, the president of the Detroit Building Trades Council observed that apprenticeship outreach was "the first one [program to increase Negro participation in apprenticeship] to make sense out of dozens that have been proposed." (25) But, reflective of the differences in the power structures of the cities, it was not until June, 1967 that an apprenticeship outreach program was begun in Detroit under the auspices of the Trade Union Leadership Council.

The problems I encountered investigating the A.I.C.'s were multiplied during my study of the Chicago outreach program. It seemed obvious after my first interview in Chicago that the word was out to tighten the veil of security against the intruder. Officials of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training were particularly uncooperative. Perhaps the trial of the "Chicago Eight" at the Federal Building and the demonstrations by blacks and counter-demonstrations by white construction workers during my stay in Chicago accounted for their collective neurosis. A black respondent disagreed: "Those cats are always up-tight, because they're afraid of the machine." Eventually, I was able to gain access to the records upon which the analysis in this section is based. But the study undoubtedly lacks vital information which official records cannot convey and the law cannot compel. Respondents in Detroit were considerably more cooperative.

Moreover, the accuracy of the data in the monthly reports by both outreach projects to the federal government is suspect. The director of one of the projects told me: "These are only rough estimates. I'm not even sure what some of the categories mean." The reports are intended

to give the current status of recruits, but in neither case does the total of the figures for each categorical delineation of the outreach process equal the total number of recruits or even come close.

Personnel of the outreach programs recruit minority youth from the same sources as the A.I.C.'s--high schools, civic, and church organizations. The apparent duplication of recruitment activities was explained by a federal official as being attributable to the poor image in the Negro community of the state employment services which operate the A.I.C.'s: "Most blacks don't expect to get any worth-while job from the M.E.S.C. They only go there when they're completely down and out. You can get an idea of what people think of it by what it's called--Michigan Unemployment." A similar observation was made about the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security by a member of that organization.

The outreach programs also engage in what the director of the Detroit center describes as "in-reach" recruiting:

It is in-reach in that the young men recruited are not referred from community agencies, churches, schools or friends.

...It is in-reach in that it is hard and slow recruiting in the poolrooms, bars, restaurants, and the street.

After spending a great deal of my time recruiting in these areas, I cannot promise great success in recruiting large numbers of these young men, but I can promise young men with great promise who can be motivated to be successful both as apprentices and journeymen. (164)

According to the director of the Chicago center, his staff recruits "any place we see a boy." (90)

While the relative numerical importance of the various recruitment sources could not be determined, respondents from the centers agreed that the recruits with the highest probability of placement in



apprenticeship were black youth identified as having the potential and referred by the public schools. However, the directors of both programs emphasized the importance of "in-reach" recruiting, which is contrary to the experience of the New York Workers Defense League program. (99:39)

In preparing minority youth for the examinations supportive services such as those enumerated in the contract of the Chicago Urban League's Apprenticeship Project are provided:

Family Counseling: The coaches employed by the League will make regularly scheduled visits to the home of each youth in the program. Coaches will do what is necessary to assist the family unit in giving additional support to the youth.

Personal Evaluation: The League shall train the youth in such matters as dress, personal hygiene, behavior, language, punctuality, and related items.

Tutoring: Youth who encounter difficulty in the test preparation or education portion of their training shall have tutors made available to them by the League.

Group Discussions: The League shall arrange group discussions for the youth at appropriate intervals to provide: Problem solving and role playing exercises to help them analyze, accept, adjust to, and handle new experiences, particularly in the area of overt racial discrimination in class and on the job. Meetings with "role models" and others who will help inform the youth of the routes, methods, and ingredients of success. Discussants shall be Negro journeymen, Negro labor leaders, Negro apprentices, and others whose contributions would increase the understanding of and desire for apprenticeship training.

Field Trips: As part of the counseling in careers and guidance, the League shall arrange for youth to visit job sites where craftsmen, technicians, and other highly skilled persons are employed. (22)

These are valuable services for disadvantaged youth and "in-reach" recruits are probably more in need of this type of assistance than youngsters recruited through school, church, or civic organizations. Perhaps "in-reach" does yield many successful applicants for the

apprenticeship programs of the building trades. But the staffs of the centers appear to regard their functions as being more than merely increasing black apprenticeship participation. That the placement of minority group youth in apprenticeship was not always understood to be the goal of the Detroit center is indicated by a progress report issued in September, 1967. Twenty people had completed outreach classes and 1 of these had been placed in apprenticeship. The contract with the U. S. Department of Labor prescribed a goal of 200 minority youth being placed in apprenticeship. Under the category "Unfilled Slots" was reported: "180--199 if you consider placement as contract objective."

There also are indications that staff members may have engaged in political and civil rights activities which transcend the specific function of the centers. In reference to such activities, a respondent candidly stated: "We do a hell of a lot of other things beside apprenticeship and if they [the federal government which finances the projects] found out, we would be in trouble."

The federal government takes a dim view of activities beyond the contractual jurisdiction. The Chicago Urban League operates an On The Job Training Program and is encountering difficulty securing a contract renewal, because: "GAO report on Chicago Urban League's performance on present OJT contract has indicated major areas of miss-use of funds in violation of contractual agreement and apparent utilization of OJT staff for non-OJT activities." (131) Chicago's Neighborhood Youth Corps has also run afoul with the General Accounting Office: "In our opinion, the apparent inability of the corps in the school and summer components to have a discernible effect on the over-all dropout rate is, to some degree,

attributable to the enrollment of a considerable number of ineligible students." (87)

I could not determine whether the outreach programs were actually providing supportive services to youth with no conceivable chance of securing admission to apprenticeship or engaging in political and civil rights activities. But it seems reasonable to assert that not all of the efforts of the centers are aimed at increasing black apprenticeship participation. As with other external economies (or diseconomies), the effect of these activities is difficult to measure.

The Chicago outreach project has 17 members on its staff—a project director, a "head coach," 8 "coaches," a "tradesman specialist," an "industry specialist" and 5 secretaries. The "coaches" act as recruiters, counselors, and classroom instructors. The "tradesman and industry specialists" are individuals formerly employed by the Chicago Building Trades Council and the Chicago Building Construction Employers' Association respectively, who act as recruiters and advisors.

The staff of the Detroit project is considerably smaller—a project director, an assistant director, 2 recruiters, 3 part-time classroom instructors, and 2 secretaries. The 3 instructors are employed on a full time basis by the Detroit Public Schools and work evenings for the project.

Both programs employ essentially the same program in preparing minority applicants to pass the examinations for admission to apprenticeship. Trainees receive instruction in mathematics, reading comprehension, spatial relations, and spelling and are subjected to mock oral and written examinations in an effort to simulate actual test conditions. On

the average, classes are held 4 hours per week for 8 weeks. Both project directors emphasized that informal conferences with black apprentices who had been assisted by the programs were a vital factor in maintaining the interest of trainees.

The Chicago project has a loan fund of \$3,000 for examination fees, transportation, tools and other expenses incidental to apprenticeship. The Detroit center has not yet established a loan fund.

From its inception in January, 1966 through August, 1969, 2,214 minority youth came to the Chicago outreach project, an average of 50 per month. During the period June, 1967 through May, 1969, the Detroit project had 1,391 potential trainees, a monthly average of 58. Of these applicants, 743 dropped out of the Chicago program--345 voluntarily and 398 were dismissed. 292 left the Detroit project with no distinction being made in the reports between voluntary withdrawals and dismissals. The average number of trainees completing the Chicago program per month is 33 and the monthly average for the Detroit project is 46.

While the accuracy of these data is highly suspect, the Detroit project is either more successful at recruiting and retaining minority youth or less selective in its recruiting and training than the Chicago project. Moreover, the staff of the Detroit center is only about half the size of that employed by the Chicago project.

The Chicago outreach project reported that 1,591 (72%) of its potential trainees had been referred by the Chicago A.I.C. Conversely, the Detroit project claims to have received only 80 minority youth as a result of A.I.C. recruitment. This vast difference between outreach projects, while probably not entirely accurate and attributable to what

a federal official in Detroit described as "bad reporting," is indicative of an operational distinction. The federal government grants the funds for the operation of the Chicago project to the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security which in turn sub-contracts the program to the Urban League. The outreach project coordinates its recruitment activities with the A.I.C. "so the agencies compliment rather than compete with one another." (22) The outreach project refers all of its recruits to the A.I.C. for evaluation on the G.A.T.B. and they are counted as recruits and eventually as referrals and placements by the A.I.C. The Detroit project is financed directly by the federal government and operates much more independently of the A.I.C.

In December, 1967, Charles W. Jiggetts, Industrial Training Advisor of B.A.T., evaluated the T.U.L.C. project in Detroit. Mr. Jiggetts observed that while the project had been approved in June, 1967 and an advance payment had been made in August, a central office had not been established until November 27. Except for the classroom instructors, the staff of the center is paid for full-time work, but 3 members, including the director, had other full-time jobs. The staff was unfamiliar with apprenticeship standards, the types of occupations in the construction industry, and the hiring policies of the various trades. No commitments had been made with the city's J.A.C.'s for apprenticeship information. No performance records were being kept. Training classes were geared to improving the basic education of potential applicants rather than to passing the examinations for apprenticeship. (75)

To my knowledge, a comparable study of the Chicago Urban League's project has not been conducted. Most of the failures outlined in

Mr. Jiggetts' report appear to have been rectified by the T.U.L.C. and do not appear to exist in the Chicago program. Full-time staff members are apparently not holding other full-time jobs. However, they may be engaging in activities which transcend the specific functions of the projects. Respondents from both centers had considerable knowledge of apprenticeship standards, occupations in the construction industry, and the hiring policies of the various trades. The centers acknowledge the cooperation of all J.A.C.'s in obtaining information on apprenticeship requirements and application dates. The task was evidently more difficult for the director of the Detroit program--"a black woman affiliated with a CIO union." But she now reports that some J.A.C.'s have even allowed blacks who are over the age limitation to apply. Performance records (of questionable accuracy) are being kept by both projects. The training classes of both are geared to assisting minority youth in the passage of examinations for apprenticeship.

The Detroit project apparently did not solve its problems quickly. From June 1967 through July, 1968, only 43 minority group youth were placed in apprenticeship programs for the building trades by the T.U.L.C. project, while the contract with the federal government for \$94,000 prescribed 200 placements over this period of time. A second 1 year contract for \$84,000 was not approved until November, 1968.

In December, 1967, Charles Jiggetts noted:

In my opinion, the most knowledgeable people working in the minority area for apprenticeship were Mr. Ernest T. Marshall and Mr. Roy G. Philips. Both gentlemen work for EEO and Contract Relations Dept. of the Detroit Public Schools. (75)

I concur with Mr. Jiggetts' opinion. Apprentice Training Programs and Contract Compliance Activities: A Report for Member McDonald,

issued by the department in January, 1969 is a most realistic appraisal of the blacks' relationship to the apprenticeship programs of the Detroit building trades.

"Is T.U.L.C. doing the job? Not when only 1 out of 14 of their people passed the last plumber's test." Disappointed with the progress made by the T.U.L.C. program in significantly increasing black participation in the mechanical trades--also a shortcoming of the Chicago project--the department initiated its own outreach classes for the electrician's examination in 1968.

Personnel of the department tutored 30 black youth for the written exam, 21 passed. During the interim period between the administration of the written test and the oral exam, 1 applicant was killed, a couple were drafted, and others dropped out for various reasons. Fifteen blacks took the oral and 8 passed. Four of those indentured had also participated in the T.U.L.C. program. One can only speculate as to which program enabled them to attain admission.

In August, 1969, a letter was sent by the department to all applicants for the pipefitter's apprenticeship program announcing a "special Pre-Apprentice Class" of 14 hours instruction. Arrangements had also been made with pipefitting contractors for a limited number of minority youth to work in the trade as "Shop Helpers" while attending the classes. The department has attempted to arrange with other trades for blacks to be hired as unskilled workers with promotion to apprenticeship after completion of outreach classes and successful passage of entrance examinations. This was the first implementation of the plan.

TABLE 65  
PLACEMENTS BY OUTREACH PROJECTS

<u>Trade</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Detroit</u>
	<u>(Jan. '65-June '69)</u>	<u>(June '67-June '69)</u>
Asbestos Worker	--	5
Bricklayer	26	5
Carpenter	86	29
Electrician	97	5
Elevator Const.	--	8
Glazier	--	2
Iron Worker	33	17
Lather	1	--
Painter	96	2
Plasterer	--	--
Pipefitter	1	16
Plumber	28	
Roofer	76	15
Sheet Metal Worker	12	25
Sprinkler Fitter	--	--
	456	129

The number of black youth placed in the apprenticeship programs of the various building trades by the Chicago and Detroit outreach projects is listed in the above table. The Detroit project has a larger proportion (42%) of its placements in the 6 mechanical trades--electrician, elevator constructor, pipefitter, plumber, sheet metal worker, and sprinkler fitter--than the Chicago center (30%). The Chicago project has had little or no success with the nearly "pure white" asbestos workers, elevator constructors, glaziers, lathers, pipefitters, and sprinkler fitters. The Detroit project has made little progress with the asbestos workers, electricians, glaziers, pipefitters, plumbers, and sprinkler fitters where black participation has traditionally been low.

The Chicago project placed 22% of its recruits and 32% of the youth it provided with supportive services in apprenticeship. The



Detroit program was much less successful. Only 9% of its recruits and 12% of those receiving supportive services were indentured.

A better indicator of relative performance is the cost per placement. From January, 1966 through June, 1969, the total expenditures of the Chicago outreach program were \$522,000. The cost per placement was \$1,145. Total expenditures by the Detroit project during the period June 1967--June 1969 were \$150,000. The cost per placement was \$1,163. The outreach projects appear to be about equally efficient at placing minority youth in apprenticeship. This observation may come as somewhat of a surprise in view of the shortcomings of the T.U.L.C. program enumerated in Mr. Jiggetts' report and the difficulty encountered by the center in securing a contract renewal. The Chicago project may have encountered similar difficulties which are being hidden from public view.

The only readily discernible difference between the two outreach programs--the degree of coordination with the apprenticeship information centers--does not appear to influence operating efficiency. If both programs are not already doing so, it would seem that they should concentrate on youth with the best chances of passing the exams.

#### PRE-APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

The federal government under the auspices of the Manpower Development and Training Act finances pre-apprenticeship training programs. The grants are made to the national building trades' unions who in turn allocate the funds to local affiliates. The carpenter, cement mason, and painter locals in Detroit have conducted M.D.T.A. programs. The programs differ somewhat between trades, but, basically, are offered to

unsuccessful apprenticeship applicants, who attend classes and receive on the job training. Upon completion of the program, trainees are usually indentured automatically into apprenticeship.

In 1968, the Chicago operating engineers had 57 trainees 27 of whom were Negroes (47%). Difficulty in placing trainees with employers resulted in discontinuation of the program in 1969.

The Chicago carpenters' union refused to disclose information on its program. The reason was made apparent during the evening of the day of my encounter with the union. A televised report about Negroes and the Chicago building trades on the October 7, 1969 "Channel 2 Evening News" disclosed that "one of the most disappointing" is a "crash program for carpentry" which has only 24% black participation. The broadcast journalists were evidently more successful than myself.

The Detroit carpenters' program has been quite successful. According to a union official, other locals receiving comparable grants from the national union conduct one class of 8 weeks trade related instruction and 16 weeks on the job training for 15 trainees per year. The Detroit local conducts 3 classes each year consisting of 8 weeks instruction--a total of 45 trainees per year. From 1966 through 1968, 180 trainees received instruction, including 42 blacks (23%). The retention rate for pre-apprenticeship graduates is comparable to that for apprentices admitted via the regular admission process. Unfortunately, according to the union official, 150 carpenter apprentices were unemployed during July, 1969, and the program would have to be discontinued.

The Detroit cement masons had an M.D.T.A. program in 1968. Negroes comprised 9 of the 12 trainees. Problems were encountered in placing the

the trainees with contractors because of unemployment in the trade. Currently, there are no plans for resuming the program.

The pre-apprenticeship program conducted by the Detroit painters in 1968 had 20 trainees, 18 of whom were black. Fifteen of the blacks completed the 6 week program and 11 were placed with contractors and into apprenticeship. Unemployment in the craft has forced cancellation of plans to continue the program.

Black participation in the pre-apprenticeship programs of Chicago and Detroit has generally been favorable. The idea of the building trade unions extending assistance to those unable to qualify for apprenticeship is solid. Trainees receive, unlike in apprenticeship outreach programs, actual training for a trade by the people who know the skills necessary to perform well in a craft. Unlike apprenticeship outreach, the anticipations of great numbers of black youth for vocations which they have little likelihood of attaining are not raised. Completion of the M.D.T.A. pre-apprenticeship programs appears to cost far less than apprenticeship outreach. The Detroit carpenters' program reportedly received \$9,600 for 15 trainees--\$640 each. However, by training 45 people, the per unit cost was lowered to \$213. The per placement costs of the Chicago and Detroit apprenticeship outreach projects were \$1,145 and \$1,163 respectively.

The obvious drawback to pre-apprenticeship training programs is that the building trade unions must desire to conduct them. Most unions to which blacks have attained only minimal levels of participation have not been so motivated. The process of motivating them will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CONCLUSION

For the apprenticeship programs of 8 building trades--carpentry, electrical, iron work, painting, pipe-fitting, plumbing, sheet metal, and sprinkler fitting--the degree of black participation is available for the years 1963 through 1968 in both cities. In only one program, that of the Chicago painters, is black participation close to the proportion Negroes comprise of the urban labor force. Enrollment in these 8 programs constitutes about 60% of the total number of building trade apprentices in both cities.

TABLE 66

PERCENT OF NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN 8 BUILDING TRADE  
APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Chicago	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.5	4.3	5.5
Detroit	1.3	1.8	1.8	2.3	2.5	4.1
Difference	1.0	.8	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.4

The initiation of apprenticeship outreach activities in Chicago 1½ years earlier than in Detroit apparently had an effect. In 1967, the Detroit project had barely gotten off the ground according to Mr. Jiggetts' report. The Chicago program was in its second year of operation. Correspondingly, the difference between cities in Negro apprenticeship participation in the 8 building trades was higher than in any of the preceding 4 years. In 1968, the difference between cities was lower than in 1967 as the Detroit project began to function more effectively, the Detroit Public Schools conducted its outreach classes for the electricians' program and the carpenters' and painters' unions conducted

pre-apprenticeship programs but was still higher than in the years 1963 through 1966.

Between 1966 and 1968 in Chicago, the total number of apprentices in the 8 trades increased by 875 and the number of black apprentices increased by 86--10%. From 1967 to 1968 in Detroit, the number of apprentices in the 8 programs increased by 484 and the number of Negroes by 59--12%. While the proportions blacks comprised of the net increase in the number of apprentices do not equal the proportions Negroes comprised of the Chicago and Detroit S.M.S.A.'s in 1960--14.8% and 15.1% respectively--the participation rates are considerably higher than in prior years and indicate that efforts to increase the supply of black apprenticeship applicants have been successful.

But the ultimate goal is black participation at the journeyman level commensurate with Negro participation in the urban labor forces. Apprenticeship is not the only method of replacing retired journeymen and increasing the number of craftsmen. Given the present institutional framework, the proportion blacks comprise of direct admissions would probably not exceed the ratio they comprise of indentures, because a substantial number of directly admitted journeymen are former apprentices and blacks do not appear to have equal access to sources of informal training. Hence, the proportion blacks comprise of indentures provides a good indication of the length of time before the color-line will be eliminated in the building trades.

With the proportion blacks comprise of indentures being at a level below their participation in the labor forces of the two cities, one can only share the perspective of Horace Sheffield of the Trade Union

Leadership Council: "Even a cursory examination of progress in this area makes it clear that at the present pace it will be somewhere around 2168 before Negroes achieve their full equity in most of the apprentice-able trades." (158)

Expansion of apprenticeship information centers and outreach activities should increase the proportion blacks comprise of new indentures. But a financial commitment to social welfare and manpower development programs has not been made by government. Expectations of a change in priorities are dimmed by the multi-faceted "Southern Strategy" and a "tax payer's revolt" motivated in large part by racial considerations. No guarantee exists that government will expand apprenticeship information and outreach activities to even a degree necessary to insure black indentures proportionate to, let alone beyond, Negro participation in the urban labor forces.

There is no way of determining how many black youth have the potential to pass the exams and the desire to work in the building trades. Even if unlimited financial resources were available, it may be impossible to increase the proportion of black indentures far beyond Negro participation in the labor forces, especially in view of the inherent advantages to the relatives of journeymen and contractors in the admission criteria.

Many uncertainties exist as to whether the policy of apprenticeship information and outreach programs to increase the supply of black applicants for "color blind" entrance examinations can yield an expeditious solution to the color-line in the building trades. An acquaintance with the results of governmental policies to rectify other facets of the dual society makes one pessimistic. Dissatisfaction with the

pace and prospects of equalization launched a new wave of confrontations with the building trades in the summer of 1969 and perhaps a new era of public policy to insure blacks a just and lasting piece of the action.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE DEPARTURE

In 1967, F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs observed:

Virtually all efforts to supply Negro applicants to the building crafts [of Detroit] seem to center around the activities of Mr. Horace Sheffield and his work with the Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC). While not always successful in all of his efforts, it does seem that, where entry has occurred, Sheffield has usually been involved.... It has been apparent from our study that one obstacle to increasing Negro participation in these programs has been the limited knowledge of the nature of apprenticeship by civil rights leaders. Without a thorough understanding of the anatomy and physiology of the patient, it is difficult to prescribe realistic remedies. The TULC does have this understanding--both of apprenticeship in particular and of the labor movement in general. (101:143-44)

Acknowledged to be well acquainted with the status of the black and the Detroit building trades, it is instructive to follow the development of Mr. Sheffield's thoughts on this subject and equal employment in general.

A native of Alabama, Horace L. Sheffield came to Detroit as a young man and along with thousands of other black migrants that road led to the foundry of the Ford Motor Company's massive River Rouge complex. Active in the local union, he was instrumental in the formation of T.U.L.C. in 1957 whose primary objective at the time was to improve the position of the black worker on the job and in the union. It was felt that the U.A.W. hierarchy had neglected the Negro membership since it won control from the "Communists" in 1946. Mr. Sheffield is the administrative assistant to Nelson (Jack) Edwards, the first Negro member of the U.A.W. executive board. His activities with T.U.L.C. and that organization's failure to back U.A.W. endorsed candidates for Detroit



Common Council elections reportedly led to an abortive attempt to have him transferred to Washington. In December, 1967, he vehemently supported the moderate black leader, Reverend Roy Allen, in a struggle with the militant Reverend Albert Cleage for financial assistance from the New Detroit Committee. While Mr. Sheffield cannot be regarded as a spokesman for the U.A.W., perhaps the most powerful organization in Detroit, his thoughts are probably reflective of the leadership of Detroit's Negro community.

In January, 1963, Mr. Sheffield reported that T.U.L.C. had appropriated \$2,500 to recruit 40 "well qualified" Negroes for building trades apprenticeship. "We're carefully selecting boys whose qualifications are without question. And we'll apply only for apprenticeship programs where we know white boys are being accepted." (34)

In December, 1963, he observed:

In New York heads were bloodied over four jobs. We haven't got that kind of thing. First we started eight or nine months in advance of immediate contract. A committee was formed including university people to study the problem. We took youngsters in and showed them how to take the examinations, then we were ready and gave the unions 30 days notice. (35)

At an interview in June, 1964, Mr. Sheffield stated that Negroes should not be referred to jobs for which they are not qualified and should not receive preferential treatment. Negroes should wait for retirements and advancements and not push too hard. (36)

In December, 1964, he intervened with the Detroit Board of Education on behalf of I.B.E.W. Local 58, which had been suspended from the apprenticeship training school in 1963. The union had indentured 3 black apprentices--1.5% of the total--and agreed to inform the Apprenticeship Information Center when applications were being taken. (37)

In March, 1966, Mr. Sheffield's boss, Nelson (Jack) Edwards stated: "In Detroit, the city fathers, labor leaders, clergy--and even industry--would never permit grievances to ferment long enough for a Watts-type explosion." The writer of the newspaper report observed, after interviewing several Negro leaders, that "Efforts to equalize employment opportunities have been so successful that even most Negro leaders no longer consider this a major problem in Detroit." (124)

A week after the 1967 riot, interest in the color-line in the Detroit building trades was renewed. Mr. Sheffield said that the T.U.L.C. would put pressure on the building trade unions to increase black apprenticeship participation. Mr. Edwards stated:

Our concern is to make sure that Negroes fully participate in every aspect of American life. That is one reason why we in the labor movement must concentrate on getting more Negroes into building trades unions.

It was reported that "Edwards said an attack will be launched to get at least 32,000 Negroes into building trades unions within the next 10 years." (158)

Citing the prospect of a 200 year delay before blacks achieve full equity in most apprenticeable trades at the present pace of equalization, Mr. Sheffield took a decidedly more aggressive stance in September, 1968 by proposing that the state department of education take apprenticeship training out of the hands of the building trade unions:

Private individuals have no right to determine who or who will not be admitted to trades such as plumbers, ironworkers, glaziers, electricians and die workers.

The public schools should take over this function if it can not be resolved otherwise. (159)

During our discussion in July, 1969, the extent of the change in Mr. Sheffield's outlook was revealed. The optimism of 1963 had faded into a pessimistic appraisal of the policy of recruiting and tutoring black youth for union entrance exams. He disclosed plans to challenge in federal court the very right of a union to determine who can become a journeyman or an apprentice and no longer opposes "racial quotas as a matter of principle. If you don't have any or only a few [blacks], you have to establish a goal."

The change in Mr. Sheffield's attitude toward racial employment quotas was characteristic of many civil rights spokesmen in Chicago and Detroit. A typical response to my inquiries on the subject was: "We never used to think in terms of quotas, but now we do." The transformation appears to reflect the growing realization among blacks that the promise of the civil rights legislation of the 1960's has not been fulfilled and will not be realized soon unless radical changes occur. What is perhaps significant about the change in outlook is that it has taken place among blacks who have been active in the civil rights movement for many years with organizations like the Urban League and N.A.A.C.P. which are part of the so-called liberal establishment.

#### PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Preferential treatment connotes the hiring and promotion of black workers who are less qualified than white workers with whom they are in competition for job opportunities. Most whites and many Negroes vehemently oppose any formalized program such as a racial quota which results in

employment and advancement of individuals on bases other than actual or imputed productivity. Two reasons are commonly given.

In principle preferential hiring is unjust because it classifies persons by race other than as individuals in order to distribute favors and disadvantages. It is just as unfair an employment practice to discriminate against a qualified white worker because of his race as it is to discriminate against a Negro merely because of his race. (56)

The reverse discrimination argument as presented by Herbert Garfinkel and Michael Cahn implicitly disregards preferential treatment on behalf of whites as a factor contributing to the economic inequality between races.

Orley Ashenfelter studied the lower occupational status of Negro men at 43,000 firms in 1966 and concluded that the lower educational level of minority workers accounts for only about 1/3 of the difference in the occupational distribution with the remaining 2/3 being attributable to discrimination. Lester Thurow reached similar conclusions in a study for the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1969 and observed:

'Discrimination lowers black incomes, but it is difficult to eliminate. Direct attacks on discrimination generate political protest and pressure. Therefore, we [the federal government] will attempt to circumvent the discrimination problem. We will first use other instruments, such as education and training, to equalize black and white incomes and after this has been accomplished we will worry about discrimination. Unfortunately all of my research indicates that this strategy will not work.' (65)

If discrimination is, as the studies indicate, the primary cause of economic inequality between races, workers are generally classified according to race in the hiring and promotion process. Merely equalizing the demand for workers of both races as has been done in building trades' apprenticeship delays the process of equalization by denying blacks the same privilege previously enjoyed by whites—preferential treatment because of race.

In an aggregate sense the logic of the "reverse discrimination" argument appears faulty. The issue becomes more complicated when viewed in the context of the individual hiring and promotion decision.

It is generally accepted that native abilities are equally distributed between blacks and whites and that labor supply differences result from the influence of the dual society in all aspects of American life. It seems logical then that a white who has wantonly discriminated in order to gain a competitive advantage over blacks should be penalized. But what of the legions of unscratched white liberals who have never willfully discriminated against a black? An answer is that by the very nature of their participation in the dual society whites receive a competitive advantage in terms of education, job market information, and orientation and should relinquish this advantage which is attained by tacitly discriminating against blacks.

Garfinkel and Cahn also present the other traditional argument:

As a practical matter it is a poor idea for minority workers to accept a racially discriminatory policy which benefits them only so long as they possess sufficient political power. If Negroes can be preferred over others today, Puerto Ricans, or migrants from Appalachia, can be preferred over others, including Negroes, in the future. The constitutional principle of equal protection makes racial discrimination an invidious distinction whether applied against Negroes or against whites. That principle is an important bulwark of civil rights for all. (56)

Essentially the same logic was used 32 years ago by Justice Felix Frankfurter dissenting in New Negro Alliance v. Sanitary Grocery Co. 303 U.S. 552 (1938) the right of a civil rights organization to picket an employer in order to secure an agreement that a guaranteed proportion of blacks be hired and recently by Edward Banfield in his book The Unheavenly City which reputedly influenced presidential advisor Daniel

Moynihan's prescription of "benign neglect" of the race problem: (134)

Blacks are really no different than any other ethnic or racial group migrating to the cities and will eventually follow in the steps of the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Poles by developing a strong middle-class and joining the flight from the core city to the suburbs. The process of assimilation is inevitable. Preferential hiring and promotion of blacks is unnecessary and wrong, because other migrant groups did not receive such treatment and a dangerous precedent would be established which other minority groups would be sure to demand.

The events of the past 32 years let alone the past 300 years belie the validity of this argument. Unlike other immigrants, blacks came to this country as slaves and were forced to completely relinquish their culture and to adopt a role in society below that of any other migrant group. The stereotypes associated with a black skin color cannot be escaped through a name change, the adoption of a middle-class American dialect, or a nose bob.

The history of the black in the United States resembles that of the victims of another rape, the American Indians, more so than that of the Irish, Italians, Jews, or Poles. Government did little to help the European immigrants, but it never sanctioned enslavement or annihilation of them. Perhaps Congress would have granted blacks exemption from the 1964 Civil Rights Act's prohibition on government enforced employment quotas as it did for the American Indians if they were also near extinction.

Middle-class Negroes have moved from the central city toward the suburbs in cities like Chicago and Detroit but unlike other migrants

they have not been absorbed into non-ethnically identifiable neighborhoods. Racial succession not integration continues to be the rule. There is no evidence that the process of assimilation will be re-enacted and good reason to believe that it won't.

Politically, blacks are coming into their own in the central cities. But unlike other migrant groups which used city politics to lift themselves up, blacks are taking over at a time when the core cities are in a state of economic decline.

If the melting pot theory holds, it may take a painfully long time. The struggle to get even token numbers of blacks into the building trades of Chicago and Detroit was discussed in previous chapters. What is even more striking is that Negroes have participated in the union sectors of the Chicago and Detroit construction industries for many decades. The commission investigating the 1919 Chicago riot reported that the hod carriers' union had a large proportion of blacks and even a Negro president of an integrated local. (20:414) In 1929, Glenn Carlson reported that 50 to 60% of the members of the Detroit laborers' union were blacks. (15:191)

The debate on "preferential treatment" is an interesting exercise but an acquaintance with the development of public policy related to the dual society indicates that exercises in logic are sometimes intellectual onanism. The process of implementing the concept of preferential treatment in the building trades is a more fruitful discussion.

#### THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN

During the depression of the 1930's, the competition between blacks and whites for work on construction projects was most intense.

Comprising a racial minority of many trowel trade union locals, often relegated to segregated locals in the carpentry and painting trades, and almost totally excluded from the other craft unions, the skilled black construction worker was threatened with extinction.

In October, 1932, the Treasury Department ordered a non-discrimination policy on federal projects. In September, 1933, the Public Works Administration stipulated in its construction contracts that "there be no discrimination exercised against any person because of color or religious affiliation." (170:10-13)

When these voluntary compliance efforts failed, thereby foreshadowing the ineffectiveness of federal contract compliance ventures from President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 in 1941 to the present, the Public Works Administration initiated a racial quota system on all federally financed public housing. The quotas were employed by the P.W.A. from 1934 to 1937 and by its successor, the United States Housing Authority, from 1937 to 1942. Robert Weaver states:

... Experience had shown that a simple non-discrimination clause was not enough. There had to be a definition of discrimination. This was finally provided by establishing a prima facie basis of discrimination, the failure to pay Negro skilled workers a minimum percentage of the skilled payroll. The percentage was based upon the latest occupational census with slight variations adjusted to current population movements. (170:11-12)

Contracts stipulated minimum percentages of Negro participation in all trades. Few problems were encountered in filling quotas for the trowel trades, but in other trades the quotas often were not met. When the quota for each trade was not fulfilled, a job site quota was substituted. As a consequence about 75% of the blacks employed on U.S.H.A. projects were in the trowel trades, while less than 30% of all black



craftsmen were in these trades. (127:40 and 43) The quotas helped maintain pre-depression levels of black participation in the building trades, but the minimum percentage clauses did not open the mechanical trades to Negroes, because no effort was made to recruit and train blacks for non-traditional jobs.

Why were quotas abandoned and why was the next logical step, the use of quotas to increase black participation in all of the building trades, not taken? In 1944, Herbert Northrup observed:

Federal racial policy in public construction has encountered much opposition in Congress. It has been alleged that Nathan Straus, former U.S.H.A. administrator and John M. Carmody, former Federal Works Agency head, were both forced to resign because they attempted to enforce strict compliance with racial quotas. (127:43)

On June 27, 1969, 27 years later, the federal government announced plans to take the next logical step. The so-called Philadelphia Plan compels construction contractors bidding on federal projects exceeding \$500,000 in the Philadelphia metropolitan area to pledge 4% black participation now and 26% black participation in each trade by 1973. Philadelphia contractors would probably have little difficulty meeting the 4% requirement. The true test will come in the years ahead. If successful, the plan will be extended to other cities.

It would seem in view of the specific exemption for American Indians and the designation of the Philadelphia Plan as illegal by the late Senator Everett Dirksen, one of the chief architects of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, that Congress intended government enforced racial quotas to be illegal and that the courts would render this interpretation. (62)

In August, 1969, U. S. Comptroller General Elmer Staats offered the opinion that the Philadelphia Plan constitutes a racial quota and,

therefore, is illegal. Secretary of Labor George Schultz countered that the plan prescribes "goals" not "quotas." (40)

The difference between "quotas" and "goals" is really not decisive. A "quota" unlike a "goal" implies penalties for non-compliance. The Philadelphia Plan prescribes no penalty for contractors who fail to meet the pledged levels of minority participation. But as was discussed in regard to the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, withholding government contracts in urban areas where the union sector and the labor market of the construction industry are synonymous may not motivate unions to increase black indentures beyond the proportion qualifying on the entrance exams.

The Building and Construction Trades Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. passed a resolution condemning the Philadelphia Plan at its convention in September, 1969 and launched a drive in Congress which almost killed the plan in December, 1969. Reportedly, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. does not propose court action to challenge the legality of the plan, but, instead hopes that it will fall on its face. (123)

This could very well be the result. What is decisive is the manner through which the black craftsmen will be supplied. In July, 1969, Assistant Labor Secretary Arthur Fletcher asserted that the claim of contractors that black workers are not available will not be a valid excuse for non-compliance with the plan. The government will locate non-union black journeymen, unemployed apprentices, and unemployed graduates of pre-apprenticeship programs and say: "Here are the bodies; how are you going to use them?" (111)

The belief that there is a reserve army of blacks willing and able to step into the union sector as journeymen appears naive in view of the Chicago and Detroit experience discussed in Chapter VI.

Because few blacks have been indentured in many trades, unemployed apprentices or apprenticeship dropouts do not appear to be a significant source of supply. M.D.T.A. pre-apprenticeship programs have not been implemented in most of the trades with the lowest black participation and in trades which have had programs, the number of trainees has been small.

Three productive alternatives exist. Building trade unions might comply with the 1963 Kennedy executive order by demonstrating equal employment through greatly expanded black apprenticeship participation not merely by non-discriminatory examinations. M.D.T.A. pre-apprenticeship programs which virtually assure indenture might be expanded. But reasoning and persuasion have been unsuccessful thus far in eliciting the necessary cooperation of the unions. An alternative, the threat of which may persuade the unions to adopt the other courses of action, is to establish training programs outside the joint union management apprenticeship system along the lines of the Landis Award Committee of 1923. The threat of establishing a training source absent of union control appears very real to some construction trade unionists with whom I spoke, who reported that they had been assured by the "pre-labor" and presumably "pre-black" Kennedy and Johnson administrations that they would be allowed to clean up their own house.

This threat is probably the most significant aspect of the Philadelphia Plan because in and by itself achieving a proportion of blacks

on federal projects commensurate with black participation in an urban labor force may not readily break the color line in the building trades. In September, 1969, President Nixon announced a 75% reduction in federal construction expenditures. Tying a racial "quota" to a fluctuating federal budget leaves the pace of equalization uncertain. There is also the danger that the plan will encounter the same problems experienced by the Detroit Commission on Community Relations. Federal construction contract compliance staffs are quite small and may have difficulty preventing the development of a cadre of black federal contract specialists. A better solution exists.

#### CHICAGO PLAN NUMBER III

Shortly before 9 a.m. on July 22, 1969, 17 black youths wearing the red berets symbolic of the Black P. Stone Nation rushed into the office of the Chicago Building Trades Council shouting: "We're taking over. Get Out." The "troops" of the Coalition for United Community Action--an alliance of 61 black groups covering the spectrum of civil rights philosophies--ignited an assault which changed the black's relationship with the Chicago building trade unions and perhaps the strategy of the civil rights movement in general.

Between July 22 and August 14, when an injunction prohibiting mass picketing was issued, the coalition succeeded in shutting down 24 construction projects worth \$84 million in south and west side Chicago. The usual tactic was to have upwards of 500 members of the Conservative Vice Lords, Black P. Stone Nation, and Black Disciples swarm a project, persuade the workers to leave, and set up a picket line to keep the site

closed. By vastly outnumbering the construction workers, little physical violence or property damage resulted.

The coalition presented a list of demands to the trades council and the Chicago Building Construction Employers Association:

1. Provide immediately 10,000 on-the-job training positions to blacks.
2. Promote blacks with 4 years experience to foremen and superintendents on all jobs in the black community.
3. Require no tests for admission to the training program.
4. Abolish the union controlled referral system.
5. Expel racially discriminatory unions from the A.F.L.-C.I.O.
6. Eliminate segregated locals.
7. Allow representatives of the coalition to recruit and screen candidates for the training program.

The demands were naturally considered excessive by the trades council and employers association which issued a counter-proposal:

1. Admit 1,000 qualified blacks as journeymen.
2. Admit as apprentices 1,000 blacks who have partial skills and 2 years experience in a trade.
3. Recruit 1,000 blacks for a one month pre-apprenticeship program. Those meeting qualifications would be admitted as apprentices.
4. Admit to a special on-the-job training program 1,000 blacks who fail the apprenticeship exam.
5. The coalition would supply the applicants.
6. The program would be administered by a 5 man board composed of 2 union and 2 contractor representatives and 1 representative from the coalition.
7. Business conditions permitting, the programs would be expanded to increase Negro participation to the proportion they comprise of the Chicago labor force.

On September 4, the coalition rejected the offer. The primary reason according to a coalition spokesman was that while the offer purported to be opening up 4,000 "new jobs" for blacks, it actually meant only 2,000 "new jobs:"

If there are 1,000 qualified black journeymen, they are already working. The 1,000 partially skilled blacks are probably working above apprentice wages and are unlikely to drop to lower wages.

Mass picketing resumed at a site on the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus. On September 8, several coalition members were arrested for violating the injunction, but demonstrations supporting the coalition continued. The largest occurred on September 22 when 4,000 blacks rallied in Civic Center Plaza. That the coalition had won the support of the black community and, therefore, the tacit support of the Daley administration was evidenced by the permissive reaction of police to the demonstrations and the endorsement of the coalition by all 10 of Chicago's Negro aldermen.

Even more dramatic were "counterdemonstrations" by white construction workers. On September 25, an estimated 2,000 workers staged a demonstration in Civic Center Plaza. On September 26, an estimated 3,000 building tradesmen gathered in front of the United States Customhouse to protest a U. S. Department of Labor investigation of racial discrimination in the craft unions. Fights broke out as coalition spokesmen and their police escorts attempted to enter the building. Later that day, the workers gathered in Civic Center Plaza with a few scaling the Picasso sculpture and affixing an American flag at the top. A contingent entered the lobby of the Chicago Sun Times and Daily News Building and tore down a display--a memorial to Martin Luther King.

Less than a week later, on October 2, Mayor Daley became the mediator of the dispute at the request of the coalition which placed a moratorium on further demonstrations and the consent of the building trades council and employers association. Negotiations continued for the next 3 months with many inaccurate predictions by participants of an imminent conclusion. Finally on January 9, 1970 both sides were pleased to announce that through the assistance of the Mayor an accord called the "Chicago Plan" had been reached.

The agreement is essentially the September, 1969 proposal of the trades council and employers association with two notable differences. The goal of black participation in the trades commensurate with that in the urban labor market has been specified as to time--5 years. More importantly, the mayor has been installed as a member of the administrative committee. Given the political realities of Chicago, the mayor's active participation in the program increases the chances of its success. Mayor Daley would be unhappy to report to his black constituents that a plan he helped formulate and heralded as "a model for the country" to solve a problem which rallied the support of all factions of the black community did not work. Protracting settlement of the dispute was not pointless.

The reader will recall that the term Chicago Plan was used 5 years before in connection with the Chicago apprenticeship outreach project. The 1970 agreement is more properly labeled Chicago Plan Number III.

The first plan operated from the Civil War until about 1963. De jure racial discrimination was the general rule. Blacks attained

parity with whites in their traditional domain--the trowel trades, segregated status in the carpentry and painting trades--the usual Northern experience, and token levels of participation in other trades when constitutional precepts periodically became de facto--the Landis Award Committee of 1923 and the decision of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices in 1942.

Chicago Plan Number II began around 1963. Admission procedures became essentially free of de jure racial discrimination and government financed programs were initiated to increase the supply of black applicants. While this plan resulted in higher levels of black participation in building trade apprenticeships than ever before, the prospects for parity with whites in the foreseeable future were dim, because the rules of the game had been changed. Blacks did not receive the same consideration previously granted whites--preferential treatment because of race.

Although the third Chicago Plan is still in its infancy and an assessment is undeniably speculative, the pace of equalization should be increased substantially. Non-union black journeymen and blacks with 2 or more years experience in a trade willing to become apprentices do not appear to be important sources of supply, in view of previous experience in Chicago and Detroit. Parity with whites as union journeymen will have to result primarily from expanding black apprenticeship participation. The greatest promise of the agreement is that the competition between blacks and whites for openings in apprenticeship classes will be modified so that blacks receive preference.

A one-month program, analogous to M.D.T.A. pre-apprenticeship projects, will be established. The limited experience with M.D.T.A.



pre-apprenticeship projects in Chicago and Detroit indicates that blacks who complete training are virtually assured of indenture unlike those participating in apprenticeship outreach programs. Moreover, applicants "who meet the qualifications" will be indentured. A great difference exists between meeting qualifications and competing for a limited number of slots in an apprenticeship class. As a respondent from the coalition stated: "At most blacks will be competing with blacks."

Blacks who do not qualify or elect not to take the apprenticeship exams will participate in an on-the-job training program which will eventually lead to journeyman status via direct admission or apprenticeship. According to respondents, the federal government's Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (J.O.B.S.) program will probably be employed. Under J.O.B.S. minority group members are trained by an employer or group of employers with the government paying the cost of training. The employer must hire the trainee and pay him the customary wages and benefits of other employees. Training programs can last anywhere from 8 to 39 weeks. The program should include:

- A. On-the-job training for which the employer will receive \$20 to \$60 per week.
- B. A maximum of 80 hours initial orientation and counseling.
- C. A maximum of 320 hours job related basic education.
- D. Special counseling and job coaching.
- E. Medical and dental services.
- F. Supervisory and human relations training.
- G. Transportation expenses.

Trainees must have the opportunity to become journeymen:

All MA-5 J.O.B.S. contracts that offer employment and training in occupations that [are] ... apprenticeable trades ... must also contain a commitment on the part of the employer to continue training of the employee to insure the opportunity to advance to journeyman status. (122)

Chicago Plan Number III appears to have at last elicited the compliance of the unions with the 1963 Kennedy executive order via the infrequently used alternative of achieving representative minority participation. Left unanswered are questions of government financing and general economic conditions which will determine whether the goal of parity within 5 years is reached. But even if only the immediate goal of adding 4,000 blacks is attained over the next 5 years, 1,000 more blacks will have gained entrance to the Chicago building trade unions than did so in the previous 100 years.

The discussion of the Apprenticeship Information Centers in Chapter VIII should dispel the idea that a sufficient number of black youth able to become building trade apprentices is not available. Each year enough blacks pass the General Aptitude Test Battery--an examination which the U. S. Department of Labor and the Chicago locals of two of the most highly skilled building trades consider to be a sufficient demonstration of ability--to fill every building trades apprenticeship opening in Chicago and Detroit. Given the nature of the dual labor market, a substantial improvement in black indentures should further increase the supply of minority youth willing and able to become apprentices.

#### A DETROIT PLAN NUMBER III?

As early as August, 1969, a government respondent in Detroit reported that the city's building trades council and employers association

were informally discussing with civil rights people the possibility of implementing the J.O.B.S. program as a means of increasing black apprenticeship participation. But as has so often been the experience in Detroit, talk far outdistances action.

In October, the Ad Hoc Construction Coalition emerged as a seemingly united black front and presented a list of demands to industry spokesmen:

1. Upgrade immediately all black construction workers with 4 years experience to journeymen.
2. Cease harassment of black contractors and Local 124.
3. Allow black contractors to select the union of their choice.
4. Allow all black construction workers to join the union of their choice.
5. Deposit 50% of pension funds, union dues, insurance and other financial assets in black financial institutions.
6. Give blacks 50% of the construction jobs in Detroit.

The coalition threatened to close down construction projects if its demands were not met.

The trades council and employers association did not make a counter-offer, refused to bargain with the coalition, and stated that no construction projects would be closed if confrontations occurred. The hard line stance scared some coalition members. Tom Turner, president of the Detroit N.A.A.C.P. and the metropolitan Detroit A.F.L.-C.I.O., stated that he wanted to avert demonstrations, because "this city can't afford to have a Pittsburgh or Chicago" and withdrew from the coalition, because "it was not what the N.A.A.C.P. had anticipated." Frederick Prior, vocational director of the Detroit Urban League, concurred: "Boycotting is not in keeping with the Urban League philosophy." (27)

Samuel J. Simmons, assistant secretary for equal opportunity of the Housing and Urban Development Department, came to Detroit and added to the rhetoric by proposing a plan:

1. Train up to 1,000 blacks for construction jobs.
2. Give black contractors technical, managerial, and financial assistance.
3. Hire blacks with experience in the trades.

A state of lethargy ensued. Negotiations were on one day and off the next as the trades council searched for "responsible spokesmen" for the Negro community. Winter came and threatened confrontations lost any impact that they may have once had.

Shortly after the signing of Chicago Plan Number III in January, 1970, Mr. Simmons visited the city again and unveiled a Detroit Plan closely paralleling the Chicago agreement. On February 9, Secretary of Labor Schultz applied pressure by announcing that the Philadelphia Plan would be extended to Detroit and 18 other cities if they did not devise hometown solutions. But yet at the date of this writing (early 1970) Detroit Plan Number III remains bogged down in rhetoric.

#### PROSPECTS

Chicago Plan Number III has a chance of becoming "a model for the country." But the obstacles in each urban area differ and in some may be insurmountable.

George Meany has hailed Chicago Plan Number III as a "significant step forward:"

Its most important attribute, it seems to me, is that this multi-employer, area wide agreement is truly a home town product, developed by men aware of the problems, needs and practicalities

of this area. It is an achievable program that rests four-square on mutual trust. As such, it is vastly superior to any government imposed quota system--which is, of course, artificial and discriminatory. The Chicago agreement may well serve as a guide to building trades in other areas .... (52)

Altruistic concern for the welfare of blacks by Mr. Meany?

Basic philosophical disagreement with the concept of racial employment quotas?

No! Mr. Meany is motivated by the same ethic as a union respondent who somewhat apologetically stated why he supported Chicago Plan Number III: "All of us know that if we continue to sit here and do nothing the federal government will come to town and ram something down our throats." That something is not the Philadelphia Plan per se, but a government operated training program divorced from the control of the unions.

In October, 1969, Secretary of Labor Schultz observed that the Philadelphia Plan would not be necessary if cities formulate their own plans:

The Labor Department stands ready to direct substantial training funds into this effort.

I bid the cities, the community leaders of labor--to take a hard look at these problems and to take the initiative.

There is no solution like a home-town solution. (26)

In regard to Chicago Plan Number III, Schultz reiterated: "The best solutions are the hometown solutions." (21)

Concurrence of the leadership of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the U. S. Department of Labor with Chicago Plan Number III is helpful but by no means assures the adoption and certainly not the achievement of the goals of such a program in other cities. Establishment of a separate

government training program may be regarded as and given the lobbying position of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Congress probably is an idle threat to local unions. In view of his recent proposal that collective bargaining agreements not be subject to the approval of the rank and file, Mr. Meany admits what is apparent--national union leaders exercise minimal control over local union officials and the members electing them. The democratic election process at the local union level dilutes the impact of Mr. Meany's approval.

One need not hold a Ph.D. in organizational behavior to realize that the absence of a power broker like Mayor Daley and the lack of cohesiveness among Negro leaders contributes to the stalemate in Detroit's building trades dispute.

The political power of the black is in the central cities. While the political, social, and economic importance of the core cities to white America is declining, blacks must maximize what power they possess. Putting black men in city hall per se will not assure progress on the civil rights front. Perhaps city governments should be returned to the pre-reform era of big city bosses and machines.

Agreement among blacks on goals is not enough. A coalition of diverse civil rights organizations such as that in Chicago which is united on both goals and tactics is naturally more effective. Conditioned by the ghetto riots of the 1960's and the rhetoric of black militants, whites mistakenly overestimate the extent that concerted physical power can be organized within black communities. The courage and discipline exercised by Chicago youth organizations in shutting down construction projects were not the actions of rioters and orators. Detroit

does not have its Lords, Stones, or Disciples and plainly in the words of a black respondent has "nobody willing to put his head on the line."

The concept of inducing employers and unions to engage specified numbers of blacks at all levels of the organizational hierarchy has had limited success, notably the S.C.L.C.'s Operation Breadbasket under the leadership of Rev. Jesse Jackson a powerful member of the Chicago coalition. The goal has been achieved with some merchants operating within black communities, through the use and threat of consumer boycotts. Like ghetto merchants, the building trade unions contend that they have been singled out for confrontations, because their racial exclusiveness is most conspicuous. The evidence supports this contention. A recent survey of 441 of the largest U. S. corporations disclosed that blacks comprise 7.9% of the employees but only .9% of the managers and 1.2% of the professional staff members. (175)

Certainly, labor supply differences exist between races and the disparity in the occupational distributions is not due solely to de jure racial discrimination. But blacks are trainable. The solution is to make the cost of maintaining a dual labor market exceed the cost of integrating blacks into the economic mainstream. The burden of the dual labor market on G.N.P. is well documented, but government has not and displays no indication of making the necessary adjustments. Forcing the burden on individual producers has greater promise.

Blacks have the potential to wield considerable economic power. As Rev. Jackson observes:

We are the margin of profit of every major item produced in America from General Motors cars to Kellogg's Corn Flakes. If we've got his margin of profit, we've got his genitals. (74)

Chicago Plan Number III is to my knowledge the first agreement by a major sector of an urban economy to rectify its dual labor market in an expeditious manner. A sound principle is involved--if compelled to engage specified numbers of blacks, employers and/or unions will find "qualified" blacks or will make them "qualified."

The major problem confronting blacks is lack of organization. They may hold the genitals of the economy. But unless they stop titillating and start twisting, the dual labor market will be perpetuated.



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