

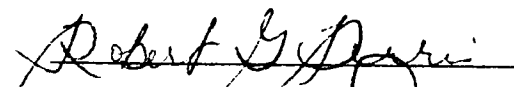
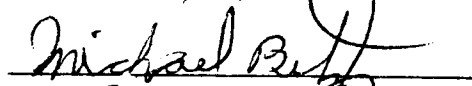
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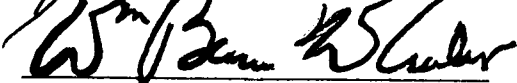
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Joseph A. McDonald entitled, "Textile Workers and Unionization: A Community Study." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.



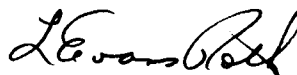
Donald A. Clelland, Ph.D., Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

TEXTILE WORKERS AND UNIONIZATION:
A COMMUNITY STUDY

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Joseph A. McDonald

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ABSTRACT

The textile industry has been the focus of numerous studies throughout its history. Its key role in the industrialization of Western Europe, New England, and the South has prompted intense investigation into many aspects of its nature. In the last few years attention has centered on the antiunionism of the industry and the low degree of organization of the workers. Turmoil over contract negotiations with the J.P. Stevens Company, national boycotts, and extensive media coverage have escalated the unionization of textile workers into a prominent issue but one which is poorly understood.

This study, employing a blend of historical and survey analysis, describes and explains factors which affect class consciousness and union attitudes among Southern textile workers by examining one Southern textile community. It examines political and economic factors related to the antiunionism of the industry, the relationship of this antiunionism to other distinctive characteristics of the industry, and the nature and correlates of union attitudes. Interviews with 200 workers randomly sampled from the community's city directory were conducted to provide the data.

The theoretical underpinnings of this study are found in Marx's theory of class and class consciousness and also in core-periphery theories of capitalist development. The latter relate the characteristics and success of the textile industry in the South to the unevenness of industrialization across the U.S.

The use of this theoretical framework in conjunction with the analysis of survey data attacks a number of weak areas in the literature,

namely: (1) the political and economic characteristics of the Southern textile industry as they relate to industrial capitalism; (2) class formation in peripheral industries and how this process differs from that in core industries; (3) the use and effectiveness of paternalism as a control system in class relations; and (4) the nature and correlates of union attitudes among textile workers.

Data analysis centers around the structural characteristics of the industry in the community and how they interact with personal attributes of workers to influence development of class consciousness and union attitudes. Important structural variables are mill size, type of ownership, and labor market segmentation. It was hypothesized that as the mills in the community grow in size and as outside capital continues to buy mills, the paternalistic authority system typical of textile work would come under increasing strain which in turn would affect the amount of deference and alienation expressed by workers as well as the degree of class consciousness and union support. Evidence on these points and on the development of a segmented labor market is suggestive but inconclusive.

Among the important personal attributes which are explored are age, education, religion, earnings, and gender. Regression equations show age to be the most powerful predictor of attitudes. Analysis also indicates that the rural background of the workers, with its traditions of individualism, deference, and brief schooling, acts as a strong depressant of class consciousness and union support. A path analytic diagram is used to place the structural and attributional variables into meaningful relationships with each other and provide greater clarity into

this much discussed but little understood issue of unionization in the Southern textile industry.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The textile industry has been the focus of numerous studies throughout its history. Its key role in the industrialization of Western Europe, New England, and the South has prompted intense investigation into many aspects of its nature.¹ In the last few years attention has centered on the antiunionism of the industry and the low degree of organization of the workers. Turmoil over contract negotiations with the J.P. Stevens Company, national boycotts, and extensive media coverage have escalated the unionization of textile workers into a prominent issue.

This study, employing a blend of historical and survey analysis, attempts to describe and explain the factors which affect class consciousness and union attitudes among Southern textile workers by examining one Southern textile community. It examines political and economic factors related to the antiunionism of the industry, the relationship of this antiunionism to other distinctive characteristics of the industry, and the nature and correlates of class consciousness and union attitudes.

This study grew out of an interest in the particular community to be described and its textile industry but it is also concerned with linking community and industry into a larger social structure of region, nation, and world and with joining broad theoretical formulations to more narrow substantive issues. Although such linkages often appear tenuous, they offer tremendous potential to broaden our understanding. In order to

¹These investigations range from Engles' The Condition of the Working Class in England (1845) to Mimi Conway's Rise Gonna Rise (1979).

elucidate these linkages the study delves into the history of the textile industry, the Southern region, and the community.

The community studied is Dalton, Georgia, located in the northwest corner of the state. It is a major center of tufted textile production with over 150 mills and 15,000 workers. As we shall see, Dalton is similar in many ways to other Southern textile communities but it also features certain unique characteristics which set it apart from them. These differences necessitated a rather detailed examination of Dalton in order to compare it with other Southern textile communities. Can the levels of class consciousness and union support found in Dalton in the survey be explained in the same way as they can be in these other communities or do the differences require an alternate explanation? This question raises a broader issue with which this study is concerned--the development of a framework for a general understanding of the textile industry and its working class that can be applied to specific textile communities with their unique features. This framework, emerging from the historical sketch of industry and region presented later in this chapter, emphasizes uneven development between regions and within the national economy.

The presentation and analysis of survey data collected from workers in Dalton is an important part of this study. Two hundred workers were interviewed in order to examine union attitudes, class consciousness, and other characteristics. The use of survey data alone, however, results in static portrayals of sociological concepts. Class and class consciousness become meaningful when treated in the manner of Marx and those inspired by Marx's views. E. P. Thompson in his classic The Making

of the English Working Class followed Marx in viewing class as the culmination of particular historical processes. Its development and qualities cannot be understood apart from these processes and thus to describe a class at one point in time is to divest it of life and transform it into a series of quantitative measures with no sense of direction from the past or to the future. By combining survey data with historical and political-economic analysis, this study portrays this class in this community as a dynamic entity.

The theoretical underpinnings of this study, as implied above, are found in Marx's theory of class and class consciousness and also in neo-Marxist theories of capitalist development as exemplified by labor market segmentation theories and dependency theory. The latter is used to relate the characteristics and success of the textile industry in the South to the unevenness of industrialization across the U.S.

The use of this theoretical framework in conjunction with the analysis of survey data attacks a number of weak areas in the literature, namely: (1) the political and economic characteristics of the Southern textile industry as they relate to industrial capitalism and the capitalist state; (2) class formation in peripheral industries and how this process differs from that in core industries; (3) the use and effectiveness of paternalism as a control system in class relations; and (4) the nature and correlates of union attitudes among textile workers.

The remainder of this chapter describes literature which has built up around the issues of interest in this project including the stories of three textile communities which have been the focus of separate

detailed studies. In order to understand the modern day Southern textile industry, it is helpful to review events in the growth of the industry in England and New England. This review will remind us that the industrial revolution occurred at different times in different places but with many of the same patterns reflected in each. The textile industry has always been on the front edge of industrial development so that its story is the story of emergent industrial capitalism. We will find that knowledge of prior stages in textile's history will assist us in understanding later ones. The review will point to themes recurring throughout this history which should be helpful in formulating a theoretical framework. The review forms a chronology of textile history which traces development and change from its origins in England to its current concentration in the South.

The Textile Industry in England

Cotton mills were among the first factories to appear in England. Richard Arkwright built one of the first mills in 1771 and was soon employing nearly three hundred workers. The technology of cotton spinning and weaving advanced rapidly; the fly shuttle, the spinning jenny, the spinning frame, the steam engine, and the power loom were invented and appeared in mills in the 1700s. The power loom was responsible for a sharp decrease in wages because it eliminated the need for skilled hand weaving. Children could operate it and produce quality material at a much faster pace than hand weavers. Soon large numbers of children, some of them six or seven years old, were working in the mills for periods up to sixteen hours a day.

By the 1790s the factory system was well on the way and life would never be the same. The long, unhealthy, and dangerous work coupled with low wages and great unemployment stimulated some reform efforts, the first of which was the Factory Act of 1802. The Act was directed primarily at the cotton mills and attempted to control working hours and health problems, especially for the children. The Act was largely ignored since no inspectors were appointed.

The conditions outside the factories were as bad as those inside. Engels investigated the life style and living conditions of factory workers (who worked mainly in cotton mills) resulting in his The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. He described a typical housing situation as follows (p. 87):

The working-class quarters of the towns are always badly laid out. Their houses are jerry-built and are kept in a bad state of repair. They are badly ventilated, damp and unhealthy. The workers are herded into the smallest possible space and in most cases all the members of (at least) one family sleep together in a single room. The furnishings and household equipment are poor, and there are some workers' families where even the barest essentials are lacking.

A few unions were started in the first half of the nineteenth century but they experienced little success. The unions that did arise were largely craft unions, thus only skilled workers were represented.

John Foster's study Class Consciousness and the Industrial Revolution (1974) is an analysis of the rise and fall of working class consciousness in the textile community of Oldham, England in the early 1800s. Our interest in this study is in the way in which it illustrates the political and economic development of the textile industry within advancing capitalism and the processes which shaped the working class and class conflict.

On the economic side, as Foster notes, what is needed to initiate a new form of economic organization (such as capitalism) or a new industry (such as textiles) is capital to put into new forces of production, a large supply of labor so that surplus value can be created from low wages, an expanding supply of raw materials, and a market large enough to insure steady sales. These conditions were present in the latter half of the eighteenth century and facilitated the emergence of the cotton industry.

On the political side, a new form of control is needed to circumscribe the new capital-labor relationship. According to Foster, three kinds of control were important as the textile industry emerged. One was "Puritanism," apparently a form of paternalism, which meant "binding the worker into the larger household of the employer and then asserting the moral priority of the overall group" (Foster, 1974:25). Foster claims that Puritanism, commonly defined as a set of religious ideas governing behavior, was really a product of the material forces of production which were undergoing change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These changes necessitated a binding of employer-employee in order to cover the emerging class split and control the workers' activities. This Marxist interpretation of the rise of Puritanism is basically at odds with the Weberian analysis of the capitalism-religion relationship and does not have to be accepted at face value in order to be of use in this project. When we discuss paternalism in the Southern textile industry, we can benefit by analyzing it, as Foster does Puritanism, in terms of class relationships.

A second form of control was manifested in new religious sects which appeared in the eighteenth century. The distinguishing mark of these sects, which were generally financed and directed by employers, was "the way they actively proselytized the general population instead of simply relying on the discipline of the employer household" (Foster, 1974:27). Children especially were the objects of intense religious training to prepare them to conform to the discipline of the factory. Liston Pope's study of religion in a Southern mill town points out the same function of religion in the class relations of the Southern textile industry (1942).

The third form of control was the state establishment which stretched its influence to as many areas and people at the local level as possible in order to maintain stability. The alehouse-keepers, in whose establishments the working people spent a great deal of time, were required to obtain licenses from the state. These could be refused or revoked if the houses allowed seditious activities. Teachers too were licensed and were required to sign various oaths attesting to their suitable (non-radical) character.

Given the emergence of these controls, how and why did conflict and collective action arise in Oldham? Foster emphasizes several related elements. One was the economics of the textile industry. By 1830 it was locked into "the hard, intractable tend to crisis" (Foster, 1974:109, emphasis in original). Demand fluctuated, entry into the field was relatively easy, there was a large labor reserve, and there was a declining rate of profit.

A second element was a tradition of radical opposition which had developed earlier in Oldham during the period of food and excise riots beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century. Two opposition groupings--composed entirely of wage-earners and craftsmen--had developed. Both were, in legal form, religious since, during much of the late 1700s, non-religious meetings were closely regulated or banned mandating that any protest groups take a religious form. When, in 1792, in conjunction with war there were rising food prices and a cut in wages, these opposition groups were in place and protest became more open. Riots and illegal strikes broke out. The pressure on living standards continued off and on for twenty years and each successive crisis strengthened the opposition. The focus shifted from prices to wages and the protest movement was revealed as a working class movement.

The third element in the outbreak of class conflict was that the controls were ill-suited to the pressures of industrial capitalism. "As soon as the basic area of conflict started to shift from prices to wages, the very tightness of the old systems of control (above all their outlawry of a separate labour identity) proved their greatest liability" (Foster, 1974:34). The controls necessitated that any opposition emerge underground. By growing outside the industrial framework, under religious guise, opposition was able to survive and become a general working class movement. Foster's dialectical framework is clear (1974:41): "The only groups capable of defending labour's existing standards were the previously outlawed radicals, with the very rigidity of existing controls (and the savagery of the establishment response) helping to build a new structure of allegiance around them."

Because of these three elements, Foster claims, a mass class consciousness (perhaps, he states, it was a form of trade union consciousness) developed across industrial towns in England in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and class conflict ensued.

Foster's study introduces many of the issues surrounding the textile industry which remain pertinent today: the evolution of authority relations from a pre-industrial to an industrial economy, the significance of a structural basis for collective action (demonstrated by the earlier development of a tradition of opposition at the time of the food and excise riots), and the importance of the competitive, crisis nature of the industry which removed the cloak of Puritanism from class relations. Foster also stresses the consequences of technological advances which doomed craft workers, particularly the skilled weavers, and thus broke the bargaining power that such workers were able to hold over conditions and compensation. As we turn to the industry's New England phase we will look for these and other themes which can be of service in studying the Southern textile industry.

As a final note on Foster we should characterize him as one who is far from disinterested in the outcomes he describes. One reviewer notes that his use, at times, of evaluative words suggests personal involvement. However, this same reviewer separates the evaluative quality of Foster's work from the "substantive quality of the evidence produced by Foster's research [which] is unusually impressive" (Cone, 1977:859).

We can find numerous other sources on the English textile industry. Some of the more important would be E. P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class (1963) in which textile workers play a prominent

part, Smelser's work on the industrial revolution (1956), and Andrew Friedman's recent analysis (1977) of class relations and class control within certain branches of the English textile industry. None are as relevant as Foster in providing insights into how textile communities, their mills, and their workers interrelate to form a particular environment in which conflict is or is not manifest.

The Textile Industry in New England

After the Revolutionary War the U.S. was independent politically but very dependent economically. Great Britain enjoyed a large industrial advantage and the U.S. was faced with the prospect of continued dependence unless it could build its own industrial infrastructure. The drive to industrialize began in New England and with the textile industry. The emerging New England capitalists stole, borrowed, or copied whatever textile inventions they could. They advertised for people familiar with the Arkwright spinner, then the most advanced machine for spinning (Dunwell, 1978).

The New England geography, with its many streams replete with rapids and waterfalls, was ideal for the needs of textile mills. Most of these sites were deep in the wilderness, requiring the construction of not only mills but housing, stores, and services for the people who would work in the mills. The system of paternalism between employer and employee was partly a result of these pragmatic necessities.

There were other reasons for paternalism too. It was effective in attracting entire families to mill sites which provided the mills with the women and children they desperately wanted (both for economic reasons and because many jobs required that the work be performed in cramped

spaces). The provided housing was often quite good relative to what the families were accustomed to and the company store allowed them to receive basic necessities on credit. The mill communities also began to offer educational programs that would promote those characteristics important in mill life: obedience, collective discipline, acceptance of monotonous and confining work (see Dunwell, 1978). Paternalism quickly became a total-as-could-be-effected control in the name of profit.

In 1815 the power loom, which mechanized the weaving of cloth, appeared. Previously hand weavers were utilized in a putting-out system which could not match the pace of spinning technology. This loom paved the way for the integrated factory with all operations for the manufacture of cloth under one roof, eliminating the need for the cumbersome putting-out system. Mass production began in earnest (Dunwell, 1978:32).

The power loom was introduced in the U.S. by a textile empire builder, Francis Cabot Lowell, after he returned from a tour of English mills. Lowell's Boston Manufacturing Company was the first modern American corporation and its huge capitalization (for that time) allowed it to outpace smaller companies. It was Lowell who developed the idea of employing young women from New England farms in the mills. He built attractive boarding houses run according to strict rules and in other ways structured an atmosphere that would appeal to the women and their families.

When Lowell's operation outgrew its location and water power, he prepared a new site and the town of Lowell resulted. This community was considered the very picture of a perfect work environment. As Dunwell observes (1978:48), "Lowell's first two decades stand out prominently in the panorama of industrial history. Never again would life and work be

so completely and benignly merged." A strike in 1834 smudged the picture and indicated troubles ahead.

For the New England textile industry as a whole the "trend to crisis" asserted itself in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Depressions in 1827, 1837, 1848, and 1857 bankrupted mills while the intervening periods of prosperity brought forth new ones. This period was one of increased competition and reduced profit margins which intensified the need for cheap and controlled labor.

Against this backdrop we will look at Daniel Walkowitz's Worker City, Company Town (1978) which provides a detailed portrait of Cohoes, New York, a major center of textile production in the mid-nineteenth century. We are treated to a tour of economic, political, and social processes which shaped class formation and class conflict.

Walkowitz's concern in studying Cohoes was in the comparison of its protest patterns with that of its neighboring city Troy. Troy was larger and more diverse with two major industries; iron and shirts and collars. Its workers had formed a strong union and engaged in several protracted conflicts with management.

This theme of emerging protest is guided by the ideas of Shorter and Tilly (1974) on the conditions facilitating collective action. Generally a poly-industrial city, they write, provides an environment more conducive to protest because of its more elaborate associational network which provides the impetus for organization and aids workers in adapting to the particular circumstances of industry and community.² As

²This is a controversial idea. According to Kerr and Siegal (1954) strike-prone industries tend to have isolated labor forces living in

Walkowitz describes it (1978:137), "Industrial workers settled into Troy and Cohoes establishing elaborate kinship groups in ethnic working-class neighborhoods. The church and other institutions facilitated the development of a supportive associational network. These institutions helped the workers adapt in the industrial city and were important preconditions for protest." Thus does Walkowitz stress the importance of structural conditions in the community in the nature of class relations.

He also emphasizes the characteristics of industrial capitalism. "The dynamics of industrial capitalism meant more than the introduction of new technology; capitalism also involved repeated efforts by manufacturers to impose a work discipline, increase productivity, and lower costs. Locked into the competitive pressures produced by continual price fluctuations, workers and manufacturers had to struggle within the marketplace and with each other to maintain or improve their competitive edge" (1978:5).

Within this framework Walkowitz attempts to explain how and why Troy became a "worker city" and Cohoes a "company town." He investigates factors related to the growth of monopoly capitalism, the specific pattern of the industrial growth in the two communities, and the technical characteristics of the different industries in the communities.

The deskilling and mechanization of the textile industry played a prominent part in Cohoes' growth into a "company town" because it meant that women and children could work at most of the jobs. Management searched for the cheapest labor and thus men were squeezed out of many

separate communities. Protest is more likely here, they state, than in the work force which is integrated into a multi-industry community.

positions. This search also resulted in greater ethnic diversity among the textile workers as immigrants from Europe and Canada flowed into the mills. The composition of the labor force was not favorable for unity because of the competition for jobs and the tremendous diversity.

The iron industry in Troy still required skilled and physically demanding work and thus was limited in the selection of workers. Those working at skilled and demanding jobs had leverage to push demands and a solid basis for organization. They did not have to compete with women and children or face an influx of immigrants. Instead the Troy working class formed a very solidary group that facilitated adaptation to work and community life for the new workers that did enter the iron mills. The fact that there were other industrial opportunities in Troy prevented the iron industry from monopolizing employment and gave workers another measure of leverage. Cohoes, in contrast, was a one-industry town. Workers had no place to turn, other than outside the area, for alternatives.

The late arrival of the French Canadians, compared to the earlier settling of the Irish in Troy, also played a part in the timing of protest. Not until these French-Canadians had adapted to the urban industrial life and established cohesive family, kin, and religious bonds in coherent ethnic neighborhoods did protest emerge. And, Walkowitz notes, the Irish of Troy had brought a tradition of resistance with them, including participation in labor combinations and anti-colonialism. The French-Canadians who settled in Cohoes lacked such a tradition and brought instead a strong individualism into the mills (Walkowitz, 1978:170).

A listing of the different factors positively affecting cohesiveness among workers and the emergence of protest would include poly-industrialism,

the existence of a labor tradition, the presence of a significant amount of skilled work in the production process, the absence of a strong paternalistic authority system, work which encourages an esprit de corps, proliferating organizations, and neighborhood bars.

Walkowitz, in raising these points, provides much to consider when examining why some groups or certain classes do form cohesive bonds. However, many of the points, while suggestive, need close scrutiny. It is not clear that the associational network was a decisive factor. Strong family, ethnic, and religious bonds would not necessarily be conducive for a strong class consciousness and might retard it. Nor does Walkowitz make clear why paternalism was a significant part of the class relations in textiles but less so in the iron industry. And the argument that adaptation must precede protest is not convincingly made. Leggett (1968) found that workers newly arrived on the industrial scene, the "uprooted," were more likely to rebel at industrial class relations. And Marx's writings can be used to hypothesize that recent arrivals, rather than those raised in the industrial setting, will manifest greater alienation and class consciousness (Lopreato and Hazelrigg, 1972:26).

We will turn to one more study in our survey of the New England textile industry. This study is Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City by Tamera Hareven and Randolp Langenbach (1978). Amoskeag was the name of a textile mill, one of the world's largest at the time, operated by the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in Manchester, New Hampshire. The mill was planned and built in the 1830s by a group of Boston entrepreneurs who purchased land by the Merrimack River for water power and constructed mill buildings and a community around them.

This community became Manchester and was controlled by the Amoskeag Company for one hundred years. Other industries were allowed in the area only if they followed strict guidelines, thus the economic well-being of Manchester reflected the economic well-being of the Amoskeag.

The authors stress the relative complacency of the working class for most of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth. Paternalism, they conclude, was an important part of this absence of conflict as was the background of the workers. The company built and established boardinghouses, churches, and welfare activities. Because so many of the early workers were young girls from farms, the company wanted an environment that would attract and hold them in the mill and satisfy fears of their parents. Strict rules of behavior were mandated for physical and moral protection.

Just prior to the Civil War, immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and Scotland began supplanting the young farm women. The latter three groups soon dominated the skilled positions. In the 1870s French-Canadians began arriving in Manchester seeking relief from near poverty farm conditions in rural Quebec. These immigrants, destitute and desperate for work, were viewed as ideal workers and were enthusiastically recruited. They constituted 35 percent of the Amoskeag labor force by 1910. Their background, the authors imply, made them particularly susceptible to the paternalism and welfare activities. And the growing ethnic diversity made cohesiveness among workers problematic because of the cultural barriers of language and religion and the skill differences in the mill. Hostility among workers was common.

The idea of adaptation through the existence of a working class subculture or associational network is not raised. Rather, the totality of control through paternalism and welfare programs is emphasized. The ties of kinship and ethnicity were, seemingly, barriers to identification with the working class.

Following World War I competition from overseas and the South coupled with overcapacity to produce brought profits down. Jobs were cut, wages reduced, and layoffs increased. The United Textile Workers organized the workers in 1917 and strikes occurred in 1919 and 1922. In 1935, the company closed its doors and the Amoskeag was dead. The authors stress the importance of changing economic conditions in the generation of protest. However, based on their descriptive material we can conclude that other factors had an effect too. The deskilling of work eliminated fractionations built around skill differences. The active recruitment of destitute immigrants revealed management's overriding concern with finding the cheapest labor and the economics of the industry--its overcapacity, its competitive pressure--necessitated callous treatment of the workforce. The paternalistic authority system was no longer effective in the face of the changing technology, the changing labor force, and the changing nature of the textile industry.

This study contains some of the same themes found in Foster and in Walkowitz and introduces others; for example, the impact of regional development. An industrially underdeveloped region embraced the textile industry only to send it South as industrialization continued. The instability of the industry, described in all three works, and changes in the nature of capitalism and its relationship to the state, described

in the next chapter, were instrumental in making New England a hostile environment for textiles.

We could look at other works on the New England phase of the textile industry. Carolyn Ware (1931) describes the early days of the industry concentrating on its economic characteristics. Thomas Dublin (1979) focuses on the women of the Lowell mills and their replacement by the Irish. There are also books devoted to textile labor unions and famous textile strikes. Foner (1965) describes in detail the strikes at Fall river in 1875 and Lawrence in 1912. The two studies presented in detail give us sufficient material, however, for an understanding of conditions in textile communities in New England prior to the exodus South.

The Shift to the South

From its beginnings the textile industry in New England was in competition with England and later was faced with competition from the South. The first wave of competition from the South came between 1880 and 1900 (see Table 1-1).

Many of the textile mills in the South originated there but the number was swollen by mills which could not competitively operate in the North East and scouted locations southward. The South had a number of advantages for textile mill placement among which were proximity to the cotton crop (although this advantage is often exaggerated since Southern cotton was mostly short-staple, good only for course goods manufacturing), cheaper power (through steam engines, coal, and electricity), newer and more advanced machinery (the Northern industry was restricted by its economic nature--old machines were not replaced because

Table 1-1. Cotton Goods Manufacturing.

Region	Number of Establishments		
	1880	1890	1900
North East	439	402	332
South	161	239	400

Source: U.S. Census, 1900, Report on Manufacturing Industries.

of the capital needed). And as McLaurin notes, "One factor never overlooked by historians of the industry, although emphasized to varying degrees, is the availability of cheap labor." (1971:13). Certainly it would be difficult to overlook this factor because it was obvious from a number of standpoints. Textile workers in the North had demonstrated a willingness to organize and press demands resulting in higher costs of production. Southern workers were portrayed to Northern entrepreneurs as docile, hardworking, extremely deferential, lacking in a labor tradition, and in fact hostile to unions.

Southern workers too were quite available. McLaurin (1971) describes this availability in terms of Southern agriculture and the crop-lien system evolving after the Civil War. Bankers and merchants were providing needed cash and supplies for cotton farmers who planted more and more cotton and watched prices plummet. The result was a rising tide of foreclosures dropping the farmers into tenancy. Few escaped to regain their former status as yeoman farmers. Instead they found that when they had paid for their tenancy in cash or crops little remained. This is not surprising since they were at the mercy of the bank or merchant

who had foreclosed and had to operate on his terms. Often this meant that they had to trade exclusively at one store and pay whatever price was placed on supplies delivered. It was not uncommon for merchants to dole out supplies for a year and then settle the account when the crop came in (see Wiener, 1978:79). The tenants were surprised, at first, when the value of the crop would equal the amount of supplies leaving no gain for a year's work. Faced with this situation, many tenants turned to the mills springing up around them. Their tenancy was a good training ground because they found themselves tied to company housing and company stores in much the same fashion as they had been tied to merchants and bankers.

The textile industry had demonstrated in England and New England that it possessed what Foster calls the "trend to crisis." Fluctuation in the market, in costs of production, and in competition alternately encouraged and punished expansion of productive facilities. This crisis character militated against capital intensity and made labor the nexus of profit margins and labor unions the hated intruder.

Under such compelling pressure the industry has had difficulty finding a home and has seemingly spent its existence looking for a new one. Each move, including the current migration to Mexico and Ireland, has been to a less industrially developed area. This pattern suggests the importance of the link between level of industrialization and types of industries (e.g., labor versus capital intensive, competitive versus monopoly type). Industrializing countries tend to move from involvement in primary industries toward secondary and tertiary ones. The composition of the labor force changes accordingly. Thus the pattern of modernization

and development within a world context is related to the placement of industries and to the composition of the labor force of particular countries.

The textile industry is often the first industry for a newly industrializing country or region. Fairly simple machines and a supply of unskilled labor, and thus a minimal capital investment, have been sufficient for its emergence. Labor organization typically will be non-existent or in its infancy and there will be little, if any, government regulation. Under such conditions these countries, or regions, have been able to quickly and successfully enter the textile products market. Entry barriers which have grown around other industries--huge capital outlays, expensive advertising and public relations, periodic massive retooling--are largely absent from textile production. The lower labor costs of these underdeveloped areas translate into lower production costs and thus lower prices than those in more developed areas.

This line of reasoning suggests that we look at national and regional development differences in industrialization as an important aspect of the history of the textile industry. Are there forces at work to create and maintain areas of underdevelopment in opposition to traditional modernization theories? The failure of some areas to industrialize as expected under these theories coupled with the needs of industry for areas of lower costs of production turns out attention to competing theories such as dependency theory, internal colonialism, and varieties of core-periphery analysis (labor market segmentation theory, O'Connor's scheme [1973]). These theories could be roughly classified together as neo-Marxist theories of capitalist development.

We will explore this matter in our analysis of the political economy of textiles in the next chapter. It is raised here as a prelude to the section on textiles and the South since it is the movement to the Southern region which most concerns us in this project.

The Textile Industry in the South

Literature on the Southern textile industry is extensive. It ranges from idyllic treatments such as Glenn Gilman's Human Relations in the Industrial Southeast (1956) which portrays managers as benevolent protectors of decency and honesty and workers as happy, fulfilled individuals to Fred Beal's Proletarian Journey (1937) where class conflict is the focus and capitalism the evil. Most work falls between these two extremes. The Mitchell brothers, Broadus and George, were responsible for much of the information on early union activity in the region (see their books of 1921, 1930, and 1931). Melton McLaurin (1971, 1978) has written more recently of this early period and questions some aspects of the Mitchell's analysis. He finds that George "seriously underestimated the pervasiveness of early union activity" (1971:xiv).

If the Mitchell brothers and McLaurin have been the pacesetters for union history in the Southern textile industry, Harriet Herring has been the leader in accounts of mill villages. Her detailed observations of these villages are great insights into the everyday world of the textile worker in the first half of this century. Especially valuable is the image of workers making the transition to industrialization and of management making this transition a time to bond the workers to the mill and community.

In Welfare Work in Mill Villages (1929) Herring examines the services and activities provided by 322 cotton mills in North Carolina in the 1920s. Schools, churches, recreational activities, health services, and housing are described. We will quote a lengthy passage which lists some of the reasons for welfare work and invokes the image of a mill village.

[The Southern cotton mills] have always brought rural people into villages and therefore can greatly accomodate and please them by providing space for gardens and cows and chickens. They have always offered many unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, and so have drawn employees of such low economic status that the latter could not readily provide themselves with homes, even if they had been willing so to invest their savings in a one-industry village. ✓ The mills have always recruited from the vast unskilled groups, of which there is seldom a shortage, and hence except for brief periods, they have never experienced the severe or continued competition for workers which has so greatly influenced industries in making expensive efforts to hold a worker once he has been trained. The mills have often started in rural areas, employing a rather illiterate class which had little vision in matters of educational outlook, so that the village needs have been better served by setting up elementary schools than by any sort of skilled social work. The mills have, in the early stages, usually been isolated in order to take advantage of water power, to escape town taxes, or to reassure the other residents of a town that physical as well as social distance would be maintained, and therefore they have accordingly seen the need for some sort of recreation or at least clubs or fraternal orders to inspirit a group of country people unused to play. They have always created more or less artificial communities lacking the various types of leadership that would be present in more casual, normal communities, so that they have always found the need of supplying leadership to the village. And, of course, most of the mill promoters were natural leaders of at least some degree of ability, for otherwise they would not have become heads of the mills. In some regions where the industry is older and has become urban, as in England and New England, these conditions relating to rural background, education, isolation, and housing no longer exist. In the South generally they are still present (1929:387-8). ✓

In 1949 Herring wrote Passing of the Mill Village, the story of the cotton mills selling their housing. There were, she tells us, a number of reasons for these sales but the most prominently mentioned was

cost relative to benefits. Just as the building of the mill village with its company housing was a function of the need for labor, so the decision to sell was a function of the changing face of the labor force. As villages had grown, non-company housing had become available and workers were desirous of their own personal property. Management hoped that such ownership would add stability to the work force and satisfaction to their lives thus decreasing turnover and interest in unions.

Other writers have added to the depiction of the milieu of textile workers in the South. Morland (1958) observed working conditions in mills, noting the pressures imposed by the job and the impact of being a textile worker. Workers tended, he found, to become isolated from others in the community and their children invariably became textile workers too. He described the first generation of mill workers in the South as follows:

. . . many tenants and farmers were barely able to eke out an existence, and it was this unsuccessful farming group that furnished the labor to operate the mills. At first only the poorer tenants were drawn to the factories. But as cotton and other farm products took a sharp drop in price because of the competition of foreign markets and the depression of 1893, even the more able farmers were forced to seek the better economic opportunities offered by the mills. As the need for labor increased with the success and growth of the mills, the circle from which labor was drawn grew wider. It began to tap the hill people who had been fighting a losing battle trying to cultivate corn and tobacco on their rocky hillsides. Labor scouts went far back into the mountains and induced entire families to leave their homes and travel at the expense of the mill to partake of the higher wages offered by the mill. These rural people poured into the mill villages by the thousands, welcoming the chance to work 12 to 14 hours a day for what seems to us today a mere pittance. Young children worked these long hours for as little as 10 cents a day. These dispossessed farmers were often badly disillusioned by what they found at the mill, but at least it was a living. (1958:15-6)

Morland then describes the mill workers he studied in a North Carolina community in the late 1940s.

Mill people have maintained many of their rural ways in a semi-urban environment. The older mill workers, almost all of whom came from the farm, look nostalgically back to farm life as ideal, but the younger workers, who have lived only in the mill-village sections, look rather toward the town for their values and ways of doing things. Because they have been a group set apart, largely separated from town and country both geographically and socially, mill people have formed a somewhat different set of values and attitudes from those of town and country. . . . But urban influences are beginning to have telling effects on this folklike subculture, for mill women want fewer children, government and factory compensation is beginning to replace a dependence upon family and neighborhood groups, . . . Radios, newspapers, movies, and television direct mill people toward values more closely related to town than to country. (1958:230)

Jennings Rhyne's Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages (1930) and Lois MacDonald's Southern Mill Hills (1928) are in the same vein as Herring's work, detailed description of all aspects of mill life. Rhyne's work, as Herring's, was a product of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. This Institute, under the direction of Howard Odum and Rupert Vance, devoted its attention to the study of the Southern Region, compiling a mammoth body of statistics and other descriptive material about its characteristics. Clearly, the study of the textile industry and the South has enjoyed great popularity.

For the most part, however, the types of community studies cited here have disappeared during the 60s and 70s (with the exception of Earle et al.'s restudy of Gastonia in 1976). Blauner's work in 1964 analyzed survey data on a nationwide sample of textile workers who were interviewed in the late 1940s. McLaurin (1971, 1978) has written about the nineteenth century Southern textile industry and the role of the

Knights of Labor. Billings' book in 1978 focused on the place of planters in the transition to industrialization in North Carolina. And the journal Southern Exposure has carried many articles during the seventies on textile workers and union battles. Thus the industry and its workers continue to be popular topics but the research focus has moved away from the study of textile communities.

Also, for all its popularity, there have been very few efforts toward theoretical conceptualization. This failure to incorporate a wealth of descriptive material into an explanatory framework is demonstrated by the lack of models which explain why the South has developed as it has. Only recently has attention been directed to this matter and it came about largely through attempts to understand the underdevelopment of Appalachia. The emergence of dependency theory and internal colonialism to explain growth in Africa and Latin America suggested the application of these or similar frameworks to Appalachia and to the South.

One of the few attempts in the past to incorporate theory into research of the textile workers is Liston Pope's Millhands and Preachers (1942). Reading this study today one is impressed with the quality and thoroughness of Pope's work. The changing face of the industry and the effect of a company-controlled community and its churches on worker behavior is clearly described and the reader is swept into the system of constraints circumscribing workers lives.

The book is set in Gastonia, North Carolina in the 1920s and revolves around a bloody confrontation which flared when the local mill was sold and new management practices implemented. Workers who had suffered through many hard times were pushed beyond their tolerance level

and violence erupted. The Communist-led National Textile Workers Union entered the community to organize the workers' efforts. Pope's narrative places these events as the culmination of his study, utilizing the bulk of the work to set the stage. We learn about the rural background workers brought to the mill, their ignorance of industrial society and their susceptibility to paternalism. At stage center in the paternalism are the churches of the community, organized and monitored by the mill. The church stood firmly behind the status quo of mill and community life, encouraging hard work and loyalty. Pope's Weberian framework emphasizing institutional interdependence led him to conclude that "Partially a source of industrial transformation sixty years ago, the religious institutions have become increasingly a product of that transformation and a guarantor of prevailing economic arrangements" (1942:332).

In a restudy of modern day Gastonia, Earle, Knudson, and Shriver (1976) suggest that the church's role has changed and is no longer subordinated to the interests of the mills. They criticize Pope for exaggerating the importance of economic factors and failing to recognize the role of the churches as independent promoters of social change. Nevertheless, they conclude (1976:343): "the large, middle-group of Gaston church leaders still believe that the highroad to social salvation is the saved, spirit-filled individual, who more or less automatically expresses the faith in society."

This restudy of Gastonia is not a convincing rebuttal against Pope's largely economic argument. The authors fail to acknowledge that simply because churches in mill towns are no longer extensions of the mills does not imply that they do and can act independently. Wiener,

quoting Gramsci, discusses the rise of industrialists in Alabama following the Civil War (1978:186):

It was a struggle for hegemony, in which fundamentally antagonistic ideologies "come into confrontation and conflict, until only one of them . . . prevails, gains the upper hand, propagates itself throughout society - bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a 'universal' plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups." The concept [hegemony] is based on the assumption that latent class antagonisms are fundamental in society; hegemony is the ability to confine the conflicts that arise to issues acceptable to the dominant class, in a way that prevents the emergence of an effective challenge to the ruling groups.

In this view, churches, schools, and elected officials do not need to openly colude in order to shape a particular environment. There is a convergence of interests existing as an outgrowth of the power of the dominant interests to set the agenda and control the destiny of the community.

The fact that Southern textile workers have organized, such as in Gastonia, is not solid evidence that class consciousness has developed. As McLaurin notes (1971:205), Southerners historically have exhibited signs of race and social consciousness rather than a class orientation. In textiles, mill management has often argued that they are collaborating with workers in order to protect employment opportunities of whites (McLaurin, 1971). Following the Civil War and the emancipation of blacks, the white population feared competition with the former slaves for the unskilled jobs in the region such as farm labor. Mill owners claimed that establishment of cotton mills would provide jobs for the whites and preclude competition with blacks who were to be excluded. Race consciousness was thus stressed to the detriment of class consciousness

and was an important tool of management control.³

Social consciousness implies differences in breeding, the idea of good, decent folk versus those of inferior stock. Poor whites or "poor white trash" was and is a term symbolic of this kind of consciousness. The term denotes impoverishment, economically and spiritually. Yeoman farmers and tenant farmers, both of whom were coming into the mills in the late 1800s, were more likely to identify with big bourgeoisie farmers and mill management than with these poor whites whom they worked beside.

The importance of the institution of slavery in determining the nature of group formation in the days prior to and immediately following the Civil War cannot be ignored. A man's status was measured by his relationship to slavery (Moore and Williams, 1942). Those whites with few slaves aspired to more, those with none hoped to own one or two. The fact that they were not slaves bound whites together.

So long as the Negro remained a slave, the poor white by definition remained superior, even though his economic position was no better or manifestly inferior. Nonslaveholders of all classes were continually held in line by the politically dominant class by emphasis upon caste rather than class. By the existence of a subordinate and servile caste, all whites became members of the dominant "class." (Moore and Williams, 1942:350).

After the Civil War the slave laborers became wage laborers and white workers were dependent on white entrepreneurs to protect their

³"Because of the white laborers' inability to overcome their racial prejudices, management was able to play the role of their protector against the blacks, while, at the same time, using the blacks as a threat to keep wages depressed and hours of labor unchanged" (McLaurin, 1971:65). McLaurin also reports many instances of mill management using or threatening to use blacks as strike breakers and as a reserve army (1971:60-6).

status. Competition with former slaves implied an equality that ran against the grain of most Southerners. Thus the evidence strongly suggests that the period following the Civil War was not a propitious time for classes, as embodied in relationships to the means of production, to become a meaningful basis of group formation within the textile industry or the region as a whole.

The Textile Industry and the "New South"

The story of the birth of the so-called New South has been told many times and with remarkable variety. In all of its variety, however, pain and conflict remain integral parts of the story. The decimation caused by the Civil War, the reduction of yeoman farmers to tenancy, the merchant-tenant clash, the subsistence level existence of farming, and racial strife were outcomes of historical processes embedded in the colonial economy of the Southern region. Each of these played a part in the growth of the Southern textile industry.

The ideology of the New South was nurtured by the increasing bankruptcy of the agrarian economy of the region and the struggle with the problems of industrialization. The leaders in the move to industrialization operated within a set of values which was partly aristocratic and partly a brutal individualism. Killian (1970:17) describes the aristocratic element (and the idea that it was really a myth);

Even during the colonial days the idea of a Southern aristocracy began to develop. In The Mind of the South W. J. Cash effectively branded this tradition as a myth. He described the process through which the impoverished sons of the English gentry as well as some indentured servants built great plantations, constructed stately mansions, imitated the life-style of English gentlemen and transmuted their plebeian origins into a cavalier heritage.

Cash (1941:154) described brutal individualism as the doctrine "that every man was, in economics at any rate, absolutely responsible for himself, and that whatever he got in this world was exactly what he deserved." This belief, grounded in Social Darwinism, was certainly a favorable one for an advance to industrialism by whatever means available. It advocated economic gain as a struggle in which some would lose. But the aristocratic ideology, even though built on myth, buffered the harshness of the individualism for it counseled a noblesse oblige toward the fallen, toward the less fortunate.

Likewise the emerging working class had identifiable ideological underpinnings. Cash (1941) refers to a frontier individualism which characterized many Southerners of the late nineteenth century. Nourished by isolation of farms and mountain communities, this individualism took shape as self-sufficiency, an "ask no quarter and give none" approach. Given this outlook on life, work in the mills was surely a severe blow but one which was stoically accepted. Potentially explosive relations with mill owners were capped by the admixture of the ideologies of the emerging bourgeois textile class and the working class of mountaineers and farmers. The latter's stoic acceptance was further encouraged by the expectation of a return to the land, as many hoped to do after lining their pockets with mill wages. But they were not to escape so easily. The depression of agricultural prices and hardship of mountain life made departure from the mills difficult as did the ties that were developed to the mill. Reliance on regular wages was certainly one tie but there was also the lure of the paternalistic relationship between owner and worker.

At first glance this paternalism seems in contradiction to both the economic individualism of owner and frontier individualism of worker (as Billings notes, 1979:123). But we have described the accompanying noblessee oblige of the owner which translated into a concern for and protection of the moral character and subsistence needs of those under him. This paternalism has deep roots in the earlier economic nature of the South as described by Genovese (1972). It was a mixture of concern and practical necessity but it was also infused with notions of inequality and natural superiority which sanctioned the differences in incomes and lifestyles already condoned by the ideology of economic individualism.

The frontier individualism of workers did not contradict the acceptance of a paternalistic relationship because this relationship was built on the same traditional authority which characterized the workers' backgrounds. Since the mills were family-like, the sense of individualism was not violated. Also important in cementing this paternalistic relationship was the notion of natural superiority of some over others stressed in the antebellum days of the South when slavery was justified on the basis of biology. After the war the feelings of animosity for the former slaves grew as they threatened the social structure in which only whites were full citizens. With the slaves free to choose their own paths (many impediments to a free choice existed of course), white insecurity turned into racism and the paternalism that had mediated the slave-master relationship was turned now to the planter-sharecropper and later mill owner-worker relationship. The poor whites, tenant farmers, and even poor white trash were the groups in need of moral sheltering and economic protection from blacks, it was claimed.

The unity among white Southerners, to which the freeing of slaves contributed, was, Killian notes (1979:23), solidly set in the myth of the Civil War as the heroic South being vanquished by the ungentlemanly tactics of incompetent Yankees, the myth of reconstruction as Southern gentlemen being trampled by "damn Yankees" and "bad niggers," and the myth of the "antiquity of segregation"--that it had a long tradition in Southern history which sanctioned it as the natural state of affairs.

These myths contributed to what Killian calls the minority psychology of the region in which all whites were "equal in contrast to the Negro." (1970:26). Thus the relationship between classes during the rise of the New South was smoothed by feelings of cohesiveness among the classes. The mill workers might detest selling their labor and time to the mill but this feeling was assuaged by the mill owner's protection from competition with blacks.

This brief look at the ideology of the New South provides insights into the issue of class in the South and the difficulties inherent in working class cohesiveness and organization. The background of the workers in the tenant-dominated economy which followed the Civil War, the infusion of Social Darwinism into class relations in the mills, the racial conflict, and the various myths described have contributed to a Southern culture, or regional subculture, which endures today (Reed, 1972).

This subculture is also a product of regional relationships in which the South has been exploited (in the technical sense of extraction of surplus value) and the Southern way of life attacked (by abolitionists, Civil Rights workers, Northern unions). As a result, says Hackney

(1969:906), "the Southern identity has been linked from the first to a seige mentality." Historically, being white has served as a unifying characteristic of people in the South and being Southern has served as a unifying characteristic of people in the U.S. Both fragment the unification implied in Marx's definition of class.

The Textile Industry and Unions

There are numerous sources of information on union activity in the Southern textile industry. We have previously mentioned works by the Mitchell brothers (1921, 1930, 1931) and by McLaurin (1971) on nineteenth century union drives. Pope's book (1942) describes the attempt to organize Gastonia mills in 1929 and Beal (1937) provides an account of that attempt from the point of view of the Communist-led National Textile Workers Union. We have also cited the journal Southern Exposure for its reporting of current labor struggles and unionization efforts.

Also available are Tom Tippet's When Southern Labor Stirs (1931), another account of the events surrounding the Gastonia strike, Richard Kelly's Nine Lives for Labor (1956) which eulogizes people who lost their lives working for the Textile Workers Union of America, and Herbert Lahne's The Cotton Mill Worker (1944) which traces union development in both the Northern and Southern textile industry.

Labor historians have provided much scholarly work on union activity within the industry. Irving Bernstein (1970), Ray Marshall (1967), and Jeremy Brecher (1972) cover the highlights of Southern textile workers' organizing efforts within their more general coverage of labor history. Bernstein's book and Southern Exposure (1976, Number 4) provide valuable bibliographies of additional sources for information on this topic.

In our analysis of survey data we will be especially concerned with the workers' attitudes about unions. Unfortunately, the literature on union attitudes is uneven and leaves many questions unanswered. Industrial sociology textbooks, although they typically describe unions and their functions, bestow little attention on attitudes about them (see Form and Miller, 1964; Schneider, 1969; Whyte, 1969; Berg, 1979). One would also look in vain through the issues of the last ten years of journals such as Industrial Relations for articles on union attitudes.

One can find reports of certain types of attitudes about unions in public opinion polls. Bok and Dunlop (1970) provide an overview of survey data on these attitudes gathered during the 1960s by Gallup, Harris, Roper, and the Opinion Research Corporation. Most frequently the questions tap the general public's perceptions of union power, union corruption, and strikes. Other questions compare attitudes of union members with those of the public at large. However, the responses for unorganized workers and for specific industries have not been reported separately. Thus, in general, these polls have not asked the questions of interest to us nor analyzed the data in ways that would benefit this study.

Getman and Goldberg (1977) surveyed workers before and after a union election asking questions which cover areas of interest here. They solicited workers' perceptions of the effectiveness and desirability of unions and their prospective vote in the election. We will return to their work in describing the generation of our survey questions.

More recently Kochan (1979) analyzed union attitudes gathered in the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey. He reports correlates of positive and negative attitudes which can be used in comparison with our data. He also reports very interesting findings regarding the impact of sex,

race, and region on union attitudes. Whereas 30 percent of the nonunion respondents in the survey stated they would vote for unionization, 67 percent of black and other minority workers, 40 percent of the women, and 35 percent of workers in the South claimed that they would vote for unionization.

Although there are journalistic accounts of textile workers and unions (Conway, 1979), empirical studies of labor unrest historically in the industry (Pope, 1942; Walkowitz, 1978), and analyses of survey data about job control and job satisfaction issues (Blauner, 1964), there is little past or current literature on textile workers' attitudes about unions or the correlates of union support. Manis and Meltzer (1963) approach these topics indirectly in their article on class consciousness among textile workers in New Jersey.⁴ They found unexpectedly that class consciousness was associated most strongly with income in the intermediate range and with high church attendance. They found no relationship between current unemployment and class consciousness. Both this study and Kochan's alert us to possible errors, exceptions, and weaknesses in traditional views of unionization.

Theoretical work on textile workers and unionization exists, but it is best characterized as confusing and unsatisfactory. The following list contains suggested explanations, selected from the literature, for the lack of organization among textile workers.

⁴They defined class consciousness in terms of an assumption that the more class-conscious individual tends to: (1) perceive the class structure in dichotomous terms; (2) perceive the criteria of class placement in economic terms; (3) perceive relations between classes as antagonistic; and (4) perceive the class system as neither desirable nor inevitable (p. 179).

1. Lack of associational network (Walkowitz, 1978). We have already discussed Walkowitz's ideas on lack of associational networks. But why should textile workers not have these when steelworkers do (or did in his study)? Walkowitz mentions skill levels, level of mechanization, worker background, and paternalism as affecting associational networks. This concept is similar to that of occupational community and labor force integration (see Simpson, 1980) and is also related to Lockwood's ideas on the deferential worker (1966). However it contradicts Kerr and Seigle (1954).

2. Lack of labor tradition (Nolan and Jonas, 1977). This is a matter of previous exposure to industrialization for individual workers and of recency of industrialization for geographical areas. Low-Beer's work (1978) supports this line of reasoning but Leggett's concept of "uprootedness" among automobile workers does not (1963, 1968). The question for textile workers is at what point and under the influence of what factors does a labor tradition begin?

3. Heterogenous labor force (Hareven and Langenbach, 1978). This view holds that heterogeneity, especially ethnic heterogeneity, impedes worker organization. This so-called problem, however, has been overcome on many occasions (e.g., in Lowell in 1912). And heterogeneity has rarely been a factor in Southern mills which tend to form very homogeneous working classes.

4. Production of anti-union culture by textile owners (Russell, 1979). This production is certainly not unique to Southern textiles. In fact, a renewed emphasis on antiunionism is appearing in all types of industries. Of interest to us is what characteristics of the textile industry facilitate this production?

5. The social character of textile workers (Barkin, 1960). This character is of practical concern to labor organizers but cannot provide the starting point for a satisfactory analysis of unionization unless one believed there is no connection between personality and material conditions.

6. Religion (Pope, 1942). Pope demonstrated that religion is a powerful force in the lives of textile workers, yet Manis and Meltzer found an unexpected positive relationship between union attitudes and religion (1963). Where does religion stand in an explanatory scheme for union attitudes?

7. Paternalism (McLaurin, 1971). The textile industry has not monopolized paternalism. It has appeared many times in many places. At the least we would have to relate it to the previous six explanations in order to understand when and where it appears.

8. Women in the industry (Walkowitz, 1978; McLaurin, 1971). The influence of a large percentage of women in a labor force on unionization is unsatisfactorily explained in most accounts. At issue is the reason why a high percentage might cause problems. Is it the character of women, the competition between men and women, the historical development of sex roles, the discrimination of unions, or the nature of technology within an industry?

9. One-industry communities (Tilly and Shorter, 1974). The difficulties of organizing one-industry communities have been overcome many times (for example, in mining communities) and thus this explanation by itself is not satisfactory. It also runs counter to Kerr and Siegel's hypothesis (1954).

10. Characteristics of the industry (Walkowitz, 1978). We have mentioned the importance of these characteristics under several of the other items in the list. Points to include under this heading are the competitiveness of the industry, the profit margin, the technological characteristics (such as skill level, danger level, amount of strength required), the stability of the market for the goods produced, and the capital and labor intensity.

This overview of explanations that have been offered for lack of unionization in Southern textiles is incomplete. Many others could be cited (Southern culture and union strategy, e.g.) but these ten are sufficient in demonstrating the inadequacy of each alone. Only the tenth one, characteristics of the industry, incorporates some of the others and thus it seems more fruitful than the others as a focal point in building a comprehensive framework for understanding this unionization problem.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine class consciousness and union attitudes among textile workers in a Southern community. This examination entails historical research, because we assume that the historical development of the textile industry as well as of the South offers insights into this matter, and survey research, because the nature and correlates of union attitudes are poorly understood.

The search through the literature of textile history revealed a number of recurring themes: the competitiveness of the industry, the labor intensity, the one-industry communities, paternalism, high proportions of female workers, and frequent movement to less industrialized

areas. The search through union literature highlighted the fragmented quality of the explanations offered to date for unionization problems and the need for a more comprehensive one. Overall the literature points toward the importance of industry characteristics and uneven regional development in explaining why the industry, including its labor force and its antiunionism, is the way it is.

The next chapter will build on this one by moving toward a theoretical framework. The focus on industry characteristics and regional development which arose from the literature review will continue. The framework, by emphasizing processes at work in industrial development and regional growth, rejects those approaches attributing lack of class consciousness and pro-union sentiment solely to the characteristics of Southern workers or Southern culture. These are seen as part of a larger context which will be elucidated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The first chapter suggested that we need to link what is essentially a community study to a broader context. The review of literature suggested that this context should include the nature and growth of industrial capitalism and the unevenness of regional development.

Analysis which moves in this direction is called political economic analysis because it examines the class basis of capitalism and the way in which class intersects with power. Class, like power, implies domination and relationships of inequality. If we can determine the nature of this domination and these relationships then we can locate particular structures, such as the textile industry, within them. In simple terms, we ask what is the relationship of the textile industry to the economic system in which it operates and what is its relationship to power as embodied in the state?

We are assuming that political economic analysis of the textile industry is necessary for an understanding of class consciousness and unionization. Comparison of approaches described in Chapter I support this assumption. Those accounts which describe unionization and class consciousness in terms of single factors such as social character or paternalism leave many questions unanswered. We need to know the causes of the social character and the paternalism. Clearly there are antecedent conditions not elucidated. Desire for a more complete answer dictates that we expand our focus to include other pieces of the puzzle to construct the biggest picture possible. Foster's study, by using a political

economic approach, ties the textile industry in Oldham to larger economic and political structures and demonstrates that events in Oldham were not occurring in isolation.

There are not many perspectives which enable us to view events from the standpoint of a widescale social structure. Functionalism and conflict theory are two that do take a macro stance. The problems of change, conflict, and historical development which are at the center of this study are in the margins of the concerns of functionalism. Turning to conflict theory we find a wide array of approaches, all of them involving some debt to Marx's political economic analysis. Those approaches falling into the general category of core-periphery analysis seem especially suited for handling the type of problem raised in this project. The world-system model, involving relations among nations, is relevant to the movement of the textile industry from developed to less developed areas (or from core to peripheral areas in world-system parlance). For national and sub-national analysis, James O'Connor's three-sector model of capitalist society is a good starting point for looking at textile's relationship to economy and state. Internal colonialism and dependency theory can assist in looking at the unevenness of regional growth.

The remainder of this chapter will place the textile industry within a political economic framework and explain how this framework can assist us in understanding the distinctive characteristics of the industry such as the success in the South, the high proportion of female workers, and especially the antiunionism.

In the Periphery

O'Connor divides the modern capitalist economy into three parts-- the state sector, the monopoly sector, and the competitive sector. Others (such as Gordon, 1972; Bluestone, 1971; Bibb and Form, 1977; Bonacich, 1972) have devised similar segmentation schemes but have not included the detailed examination of the state's role that O'Connor provides.

A basic theme of all these approaches is that modern industrial capitalism tends toward segmentation of industries into a core, or monopoly sector, and a periphery, or competitive sector. The industries in the core are productive, profitable, and capital intensive whereas those in the periphery are less productive, less profitable, and labor intensive. The capital intensity of the core is a barrier to entry thus making most industries in this sector oligopolies which can set and raise prices without fear of strong competition. Increases in prices of raw materials or labor can also be passed along to the consumer. Because of this oligopolistic nature, their generally high profits, and their high visibility (Bluestone, 1971), core industries are usually unionized.⁵ Unions are affordable, good public relations, and can help control the labor force.

The opposite conditions exist in the periphery. Bluestone (1971: 299) states:

Where an industry is so established that entry is free and open to new, unorganized firms, we can expect weak unions and most probably low wages . . . Such is the case in textiles, apparel and related products, cigar manufacturing, fertilizer manufacturing, and so forth.

⁵These descriptions of core and periphery represent ideal types. Some industries occupy intermediate positions. See Beck et al. (1978) for an example of a division of the U.S. economy.

Table 2-1 presents data demonstrating that the textile industry generates lower profits, lower expenditures for plants and equipment, and lower returns for stockholders, thus exhibiting peripheral characteristics.

The low profits are understandable when we note that there are 5000 textile companies and over 6000 mills within the U.S. Burlington, the largest, handles only 7 percent of the industry's business (Southern Exposure, Spring 1979). Clearly, the price manipulations which occur among oligopolies are impossible.

The capital investment required to enter the business is relatively small (Olsen, 1978). At times of rapid sales growth, new mills emerge. Using low-paid labor and obsolete machinery, the new competitors keep industry prices low and intensify the need to maintain a minimal level of spending for capital investment and labor. Many mills are able to continue in business by specializing in one phase of the product cycle: dyeing, finishing, knitting, weaving, or cutting, for example. Other mills subcontract for their services, thus placing the specialty mills at an obvious disadvantage compared to larger, more diversified mills which are able to develop some capital improvement programs, produce some innovations and weather fluctuations in demand (Olsen, 1978). Thus the trend of the industry has been gradually toward merger and integration, away from the independent, family-owned, small size mills.⁶

Dunn and Hardy foresaw this trend when they analyzed the industry in 1931 (p. 83), "The struggle for the survival of the fittest, the lure

⁶At least that was the trend until a ban on mergers was imposed on the industry in 1968. Between 1960 and 1969 there were 719 mergers. The ban was lifted in 1976.

Table 2-1. Corporate Data (After Federal Income Taxes).

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Profit per Dollar of Sales (Percent or Cents):									
All manufacturing industries	4.0	4.2	4.3	5.0	5.5	4.6	5.4	5.3	5.6
Textile mill products	1.9	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.5	1.3	2.3	2.4	2.6
New Plant and Equipment Expendi- tures per Dollar of Sales:									
All manufacturing industries	4.5	4.0	3.7	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.3	4.5
Textile mill products	2.6	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.7	3.3	2.4	2.6	2.7
Profit on Stockholders Equity:									
All manufacturing industries	9.3	10.3	10.6	13.1	14.9	11.6	13.9	14.2	15.7
Textile mill products	5.1	6.6	7.5	9.6	8.2	4.4	8.0	8.7	9.0

Source: Federal Trade Commission, Quarterly Financial Reports.

of larger profits, the pressure of the banks, the desire for control of production and for high prices, will force more and more mills into consolidations." Until concentration becomes much greater, however, even the larger mills will operate within low profit margins.

Although the larger mills can engage in capital improvements, the industry remains a labor intensive one. Fluctuating demand makes capital improvements risky with the result that a significant portion of the machinery in use is obsolete (Olsen, 1978). Further retarding capital improvements is the fact that during past periods of prosperity the industry has overexpanded and overproduced. Dunn and Hardy (1931:13) described the increased demand stimulated by the war and the failure to stop development after the boom was over.

Despite all the idle looms and spindles, new plants and extensions have been added each year. Even in 1929 new plants were being constructed especially in the South. The small units in the industry and the relatively small amount of capital required to enter at least certain branches of the trade, have stimulated the haphazard addition of new plants even at the time when the industry as a whole complained of overproduction.

These crises of overexpansion reveal a basic contradiction. It is in the interest of machinery manufacturers and bankers to expand continuously even though this creates havoc for profits and wages. Management must play the expansion game out of fear of falling behind competitors. Marx noted this contradiction as a basic law of capital accumulation.⁷

The low profits of the industry have translated into low returns to stockholders. This has not always been the case, however. Returns

⁷"Over-production is specifically conditioned by the general law of the production of capital: to produce the limit set by the productive forces." (Marx, 1978:455)

on investments were quite high in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Northern mills were experiencing difficulties at this time but the Southern capitalists continued to reap benefits which came primarily at the expense of the workers (see investment and wage information in McLaurin, 1971). Today wages and returns on investment are low for peripheral industries. As described by Bluestone (1971:103), "The working poor are being exploited by the economy as a whole rather than by the individual firms employing them."

One further depressing effect on the textile industry is world competition. Because it is labor intensive and does not require the huge capital investment of some other types of industry, textiles is an attractive business to less industrialized countries (the Far East, e.g.). By employing inexpensive labor they are often able to produce more cheaply than the traditional textile countries. Often, too, the industry is partially subsidized by the government. U.S. imports of textiles from these countries have risen over \$2,125 million since 1969. The 1977 import figure was \$5,926 million resulting in a trade deficit of \$3,359 million for the year (Standard and Poor's Industry Surveys). This represents a significant loss of market for domestic textiles and also attests to the excessive world capacity.

As we will see in a later section of this chapter, the core-periphery split seems to have its origins in the Progressive Era when the new corporate conglomerates helped form policies, centered around a state-assisted stability, favorable to their interests. It was at this time that the crucial distinction between core and periphery evolved, namely control of the market. This control allows large-scale capital

expansion, investment in research and development, giant advertising and public relations expenditures, acceptance of a role for labor, and other characteristics differentiating core from periphery. The state aid coming out of the Progressive Era enhanced market control by insuring demand for products taking much time and money to produce (defense goods, e.g.) and subsidizing industries by creating favorable conditions for sales (creating and maintaining a highway system to support auto sales, e.g.).

Controlling the market is obviously an important distinction between core and periphery. Without the controlled market the time and investment put into products by monopoly industries is too great a risk. In textiles the fluctuating market is a factor in the industry's capital to labor ratio and its competitiveness. Control of the market is an important goal of the industry now so that it can derive some of the benefits enjoyed historically by those with core status. The largest firms (such as Burlington and Stevens) are expanding and attempting to capture more and more of the market. They are fighting for import quotas and favorable overseas tariffs so they can lessen the market fluctuations and decrease the risk of capital expansion. The industry thus is undergoing change toward a growing concentration of power in the hands of fewer firms. These changes should be of significance to all aspects of the industry--its labor intensity, its union stance, its management strategy (use of paternalism, e.g.), and public relations. We will return to this issue of the changing structure of the industry throughout this project.

The Textile Industry and the State

Just as the economic position of textiles can best be understood in relation to advanced industrial capitalism, so can its political position be assessed most clearly in terms of its relationship to the capitalist state. O'Connor's work will show us the interconnection between the state and the competitive sector.

The state has intervened directly in the industry in the form of protective tariffs and indirectly in the form of assistance programs for the poor, disabled, unemployed, and elderly. These latter programs benefit all industries but are especially important for peripheral industries which lay off workers more often and pay them lower wages.

This benefit to peripheral industries should not be taken as evidence that the state is extremely concerned about this sector. The close ties between industry and the state are most clearly evident in the relationship of the state and the monopoly sector (O'Connor, 1973). This becomes evident when we look more closely at who benefits from what O'Connor calls the accumulation function and the legitimization function of the state. Simplistically stated, the state must insure favorable conditions for profit for the monopoly capitalists through outlays of social capital (such as government subsidized roads, railroads, and industrial parks, and outlays for political stabilization of world capitalism). In turn the state must deal with those who are the victims of this union of the state and the monopoly capitalists by convincing them that the system is operating in their best interests. O'Connor calls outlays for legitimization social expenses. In return for relatively small social expenses the state insures large accumulation for the

capitalists. O'Connor notes that as monopoly industries grow and therefore as social capital grows, so also do social expenses thus leading to a fiscal crisis. The state must spend more and more for legitimation.

Who supports these efforts of the state most strongly and benefits most significantly? Certainly not the competitive industries which: (1) continue to fight the unions which the big capitalists and the state now find compatible with their interests; (2) retain an antiwelfare posture even though public assistance programs support the class structure of the peripheral industries with their large reserve armies; and (3) deplore the internationalist perspective adopted by the state and monopoly sectors.⁸ Anything which increases cost (e.g., collective bargaining and payments into social security and unemployment funds), threatens profits for the competitive industries.

Domhoff (1978) cites research which has shown that business people who are isolationist, antiwelfare, and antilabor are more likely to be associated with the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and with smaller and more regional corporations. The more moderate views are expressed by those in large companies and associated with the Committee for Economic Development (CED).

This relationship between the CED and the NAM is instructive. Domhoff calls the NAM secondary in importance in the state policy-formation process, serving as a naysayer and often losing on highly visible issues. The CED, on the other hand, is one of the "Big Four" of the policy network. It was founded in the 1940s by corporate leaders concerned about postwar

⁸See "Keeping the Unions Out," a six part installment in Textile Industries 1973-1974. See Hunter (1959) for tariff attitudes of textile owners.

depression and intent upon promoting plans favorable to the business world. These corporate leaders have often served in both Republican and Democratic administrations and on the Council of Economic Advisors.

Though not perfectly, the CED-NAM relationship parallels the relationship between the monopoly and competitive sectors. The CED promotes the interests of the monopoly sector and is an important power in the state's policy formation. The NAM is of secondary importance and generally fights the internationalist, moderate labor policy of the state and monopoly sectors as being detrimental to the highly competitive nature of the competitive sector (see Domhoff, 1975; Woodhouse and McLellan, 1966).

The CED and the monopoly industries are both important within a world capitalist system. Both must look ahead to plan and protect an environment conducive to the interests of monopoly capital. This importance is evidenced in the subsidies the state doles out to protect the large industries and the use of the CED members as official and unofficial policy makers. The competitive firms are less central in a world system. Their well-being is not as important for the maintenance of a stable system and their executives not as significant in policy matters.⁹

In summary, textiles' position in the competitive or peripheral sector of the economy is basic to an understanding of the economic and political factors at work in the industry's past and present. Economically the industry is more competitive, more labor intensive, and less profitable

⁹The periphery does have its roles to play within the capitalist system: (1) it can be pointed to as evidence of free enterprise (legitimation value); and (2) peripheral industries provide raw materials and unfinished goods for the core.

than core industries. Individual firms must struggle to survive. Politically their interests are subordinate to the needs of monopoly capital. The industry's antiunion ideology, employment of "marginal workers," and success in the South must be viewed from this perspective.

Class Formation and Segmentation in Textiles

In looking at the rise of the textile industry in the South and in New England, we see differences in the way in which a class of wage laborers for the mills was formed. In the South the class structure of the agrarian economy gave way before the onslaught of industrialization. By the late 1800s yeoman farmers had been reduced in great numbers to tenancy. The uncertainties of tenancy and the need for cash to regain land once owned made these farmers (and those about to drop into tenancy) available for work in the textile mills. The technology of the industry, requiring unskilled labor, qualified them for employment and in fact encouraged the entire family to join the industrial work force. Also drawn to the mills were the "poor whites" who had been "pushed into the least productive areas of the South by the ever-advancing plantation well before the war and Reconstruction. Ignorant, poverty-stricken, and beset with malaria, hookworm, and other diseases, they had succumbed mentally to their environment, accepting their condition as inevitable." (McLaurin, 1971:18). Later workers were recruited from the mountain areas bordering the mills. The agrarian and mountain heritage of this evolving class of workers became an important element in the authority system of the factories.

In New England, many mills first employed middle class farmers' daughters, well educated and working for the adventure of it or until they

married. In a short while the industry began employing the poor, especially immigrants, who would work for cheaper wages. Changes in working class composition occurred as skilled positions, first in spinning and later in weaving, became unskilled ones filled by women and children. Ethnic cleavages emerged among groups of workers in the middle and latter parts of the nineteenth century. These cleavages deserve attention because they affected unionization efforts.

How do we account for these cleavages within the working class? Among other factors we particularly emphasize two requirements of capitalism: (1) the need for profit; and (2) the need to keep labor costs and labor unrest at a minimum. These needs have resulted in much of the ethnic and racial segmentation that has characterized textile communities in particular and the American labor force in general. These needs have placed culturally different groups in tension and stimulated ideological justifications on the part of the capitalists and workers for discriminatory behavior. Both the slave trade and the importation of immigrants can be analyzed along these lines (e.g., see Geschwender, 1978; Wallerstein, 1976; and Feagin, 1978). Thus in such nineteenth century textile communities as Manchester, New Hampshire and Cohoes, New York, the French-Canadians were imported as cheap and compliant workers and found themselves at odds economically and culturally with the existing work force (Walkowitz, 1978; Hareven and Langenbach, 1978). They tended to live in separate neighborhoods and worship in separate churches. Other ethnic groups such as the Poles and Greeks were relegated to the unskilled positions which further exacerbated ethnic tensions.

The textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912 was evidence, however, that an ethnically diversified work force could be organized successfully as a class. More typically, though, unions organized on a trade rather than industrial basis which simply reinforced the cleavages. And yet this ethnic antagonism within the working class of textiles was based upon and reflected class conflict. We cannot ignore the primacy of class because it enables us to understand these antagonisms. Ethnic conflict was in reality the efforts of the working class which existed prior to the influx of immigrants to confront the capitalists' tactic of introducing cheaper labor. Immigrants, blacks, women, and children were management tools for improving accumulation and thwarting organization. As such, they were caught in the middle of the class warfare. Class struggle thus appeared in different guises as capitalism responded to internal pressures generated by its needs.

Class formation in the textile industry has varied between the South and New England and has also diverged from the pattern displayed in the core sector. The industry's position in the competitive sector has enabled us to understand that as a marginal industry it is subject to different pressures, economically and politically, than monopolistic ones. Theories of labor market segmentation seek to explain how these differences lead to variations in class formation between the two sectors. Most workers would prefer monopoly sector employment because of the higher wages, job security, and career opportunities. Thus this sector can attract the workers it wants. Typically, the desired workers are white males who are considered more stable and dependable and more likely to be socialized into the American dream. Blacks, women, teens, and immigrants are

considered inferior workers, more likely to quit, be late, or show other unsatisfactory work habits. The periphery is willing to tolerate (and in some cases encourage) these habits for the sake of low wages that can be paid and the presumed difficulty in organizing workers with such habits.

As the textile industry has become more concentrated and a smaller number of mills has gained control of a larger share of the market, we see that this same type of core-periphery dichotomy is developing internal to the industry. The larger mills have advantages because of their size and market control. They can afford capital improvements and work on becoming more capital intensive. They can attract "bigger names" to sit on their boards and establish ties with banks and other industries. Thus economically and politically they are separating from the smaller, less diversified, privately held mills.¹⁰ In short they are assuming a position intermediate to the monopoly and competitive sectors.

The wages of these core mills are still low, yet they can offer advantages that smaller mills cannot: greater job stability and career advancement possibilities. This puts them in a position similar to monopoly industries; within the textile labor market they can attract the workers they want thus stimulating the development of a segmented market.

The implication of this argument is that the textile industry produces internal segmentation of the work force as a natural consequence of the internal dynamics of peripheral industries. It is logical to assume

¹⁰From 1973 to 1978 Brulington, number one in the field, increased its sales by half a billion dollars while closing 32 plants and reducing its work force by 20,000. George Ball (former U.S. representative to the U.N.), Alexander Calder (Chairman of Union Camp), and John McKinley (of Texaco) are on its board of directors.

that this segmentation is reflected in differential life chances and overall satisfaction of workers and that these variations generate differences in workers' feelings of alienation, religiosity, emotional stability, and class consciousness. Some of these consequences can be expected to further reinforce instability in the workers' lives and lock them more tightly into peripheral employment.

Thus far we have discussed segmentation on two levels: the national, inter-industry level as described by O'Connor and the regional, intra-industry level as described in the preceding paragraphs. We can add a third level, the individual mills, where internal segmentation through skill level (and thus level of importance to the company) occurs. Friedman (1977) has used these latter two levels in effectively analyzing several English industries and the persistence of poverty amid affluence in the geographical areas around them.

Class viewed as we are viewing it, as an historical and complex process, means that the specification of class formation and class boundaries is one step in the task of identifying actual groupings for conflict. Conflict in the textile industry at times has corresponded to class lines but at other times racial, ethnic, and skill differences among the working class have hindered class conflict and collective action. Foster (1974) and Walkowitz (1978) provide accounts of conflict in two different textile environments and reveal the various ways in which differences among the working class and reactions of the capitalist class affect its development and outcome. We must conclude on the basis of such accounts that a second step in identifying conflict groupings is the historical examination of particular textile labor markets. What

issues and characteristics are divisive, to what extent have the capitalists utilized these potential divisions, and what has been the outcome? Foster's study is a good example of such an approach.

Having sketched the general political and economic outlines of this industry, we can now turn to an examination of its distinctive characteristics: (1) the concentration of the industry in the South; (2) the high percentage of female workers in the industry; and (3) the low degree of unionization. These characteristics, although frequently described, have not been adequately explained.

The Textile Industry and the South

The study of the peripherality of the textile industry within advanced industrial capitalism flows logically into a consideration of the relationship of the South as a region to this economic system. Two distinct lines of thought are evident in the literature on this topic. One comes from the analysis of internal colonialism and the other from theories of capitalist development or core-periphery analysis. We will examine both and assess their ability to explain the Southern condition.

The notion of the South as a colony received prominence in the works of Howard Odum and Rupert Vance at the University of North Carolina. They described the South as a region of an extractive economy, cheap wages, and one lacking in capital accumulation. Money to finance construction flows from other regions (principally the North) and profits flow back out again (Vance, 1932; Odum, 1936). The South, Vance noted, had concentrated on primary production, producing raw materials for Northern industry which reaped huge financial returns from manufacturing with these materials.

Webb (1937) added to the analysis of the South's "colonial economy" as he railed against the giant corporations and their imperial control of the South and West. Others took up the theme; "The South actually works for the North; mortgage, insurance, industry, and finance corporations pump the money northward like African ivory out of the Congo," claimed Maverick in 1938 (p. 64).

The stress in these and other ruminations on the Southern economy is that the region has had a colonial economy; the notion of the South as an internal colony came later (see Lewis et al., 1978). As formulated by Gonzalez-Casanova (1965), internal colonialism involves a "relation of domination and exploitation of a total population (with its distinct classes, proprietors, workers) by another population which also has distinct classes (proprietors and workers)." A colony also has these characteristics (among others listed by Gonzalez-Casanova): (1) it is a territory without self government; (2) its inhabitants do not participate in elections of higher administrative bodies; and (3) colonial inhabitants belong to a race and culture different from that of the dominant people.

These last three characteristics of internal colonialism do not square well with the condition of the South presently or in the past.¹¹ Nor does it seem particularly well suited for the analysis of areas within the South, such as parts of Appalachia. By using the concept of the colonial economy rather than that of internal colonialism we recognize that the economic characteristics of the South, but less so the political

¹¹There are other depictions of internal colonialism but these three characteristics seem central.

and ethnic, have corresponded historically to a colonial model. But why has the South been the seat of such an economy? We will turn to core-periphery analysis for a possible explanation.

The North industrialized much more rapidly than the South giving rise to differences in class structure, capital accumulation, and economic and political power. The colonial economy of the South, as described by Vance and others, is thus an issue of uneven development. If this were the crux of the matter, then we would expect differences to diminish as the South travelled the road to industrialization already taken by the North. But as dependency theories and theories of internal colonialism point out, underdeveloped countries or regions do not typically follow the same road. They occupy a different space within a world or national framework and are subject to forces which do not allow them to traverse the path taken by others before them. These countries or regions become frontiers for resources and labor for the developed or "core" areas which, having a monopoly on economic and political power, exploit the periphery in the name of productivity and accumulation. The crux of the matter is thus the needs of the core economy which translate into the subordination of a region, in this case the South, in the name of class interests. The subordination is mitigated by the fact that the South, unlike the colonization of Third World countries, has enjoyed political participation in the national polity. Thus in terms of a world economy the South is not a peripheral region, but rather an area of peripherality within the core sector.¹²

¹²Wallerstein (1979:97) uses the concept of semi-periphery to describe those countries which act as a buffer between core and periphery.

Two recent analyses claim that differences between North and South have rapidly diminished and that we are now exaggerating them. One of these studies emerges from a functionalist perspective (McKinney and Bourque, 1971) and the other from a conflict framework (Fox, 1978). McKinney and Bourque present data demonstrating a convergence between the South and the non-South in the areas of urbanization, industrialization, occupational redistribution, income, and education. "The evidence indicates that in these sectors the South has been changing more rapidly than the rest of the nation for the past forty years and moreover is becoming increasingly indistinguishable from the rest of American society" (McKinney and Borque: 399). This analysis, however, proceeding from a set of assumptions quite different from ours, offers little insight into our approach.

Fox's work does have a direct bearing on this project. He states (1978:68):

The unevenness of development among the major regions of the U.S. reached an extreme at the end of the nineteenth century. Since then, the development of the major regions has become increasingly similar. I argue that the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism at the turn of the twentieth century initiated a shift in the principal spatial unevenness of development from regional unevenness within the U.S. to U.S. participation in uneven development on an international scale. The increasingly drastic international differentiation between the advanced and the underdeveloped countries has provided opportunities to reduce the unevenness of development among the major regions of the U.S.

In terms of world system analysis the South, historically a peripheral region within the U.S., has benefited from worldwide unevenness. The change to monopoly capitalism shifted competition from a national to an international level and lessened intra-national differences. This declining difference thesis is certainly not at odds with a core-periphery framework but suggests that differences in class structure

and union attitudes might be smaller now than is generally assumed. The thesis does not claim a complete lack of differentiation has occurred. The movement southward of top 500 corporations is strong evidence of the continued subordination of the South as is the fact that 24 percent of employees in nonagricultural establishments in the U.S. are union members compared to 7 percent in North Carolina, 7 percent in South Carolina, 13 percent in Georgia, and 13 percent in Mississippi.

When the South did begin to industrialize in earnest following the Civil War, it is not surprising that certain developments would occur. (1) Its natural resources, and our concern is with cotton, would influence the direction of early industrialization. The processing of this crop into cotton yarn and thread and into woven goods was thus a possibility which became reality because of: (a) the relatively small amount of capital needed to begin such enterprises, and (b) the cheap labor available from the surplus farm population (most of them tenant farmers). And (2) its efforts to attract more industry by advertising the climate, the cheap and docile labor, and tax breaks would attract weaker industries which would do the region the least good toward its goal of reaching industrial parity with the North (Herring, 1941). This promotion, as Herring notes (1941:3), also attracted industries similar to ones already in the region since the existing labor force, markets, and related industries could make the transition easier. The South, as a peripheral region, developed and attracted industries of a similar nature. In doing so, it served to benefit the capital accumulation process of Northern and Southern capitalists while insuring continued peripheral status.

When we look at the class structure of the South as industrialization proceeded, we note the increasing importance of these Southern capitalists, the textile bourgeoisie. Even though the industry is characterized as a peripheral one, these capitalists have developed the type of relationship with their individual states that the core capitalists enjoy with the nation-state. Their strength emanates from the weakness, or peripherality, of the region. Whereas they compare unfavorably with core capitalists, they are in the forefront of the Southern economy. Thus they are important to their states and can wield considerable influence in policy.

In summary, to characterize the region as an internal colony is to undermine the concept of internal colonialism. And the concept of a colonial economy does not adequately reveal the role played by the development of the capitalist economic system and the importance of peripheral areas for the core to exploit. The best explanation for the success in the South of peripheral industries such as textiles seems to be in terms of uneven development stimulated by economic necessities of a profit system.

The Textile Industry and Women

Since its beginnings the textile industry in the U.S. has employed a high percentage of women. Why is this the case? Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby (1976) offer four reasons for the large number of females entering textile mills in the early years of its existence: (1) it was women's work before it was mechanized; (2) women could be paid lower wages than men; (3) male labor was in short supply; and (4) there was opposition to men leaving the farm. Reason (2) was undoubtedly the most

important for the textile capitalists and would have resulted in high female employment even in the absence of the other three conditions. Figures from 1831 show 38,927 women in the industry compared to 18,539 men.

Certainly the industry's technology played a part in encouraging this employment of women. The industry mechanized rapidly in the late 1700s thus deskilling much of the work. Women and children could easily operate the machines and produce the same quality work in less time than the skilled craftsmen. To this situation we can compare industries such as iron which retained large numbers of skilled positions throughout the nineteenth century. These positions, requiring great physical strength and stamina, were not thought practical places of employment for women and children.

During the growth of the industry in the South in the late nineteenth century, women and children dominated the labor force. In 1880 less than 35 percent of the workers in mills in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina were males over sixteen years old (McLaurin, 1971). By 1905 the percentage of males grew but was still below 50 percent. These figures reflect the fact that as tenant farmers moved into the mills they brought their entire families with them. The mills encouraged this practice by instituting the "family wage" whereby a husband, wife, and their children were paid as a unit. Thus the labor of women and children became necessary for a family's survival. As McLaurin asserts, "the 'family wage' was used as a cover for the low wages paid individuals." (1971:23).

Today approximately 54 percent of the production workers in the industry are female. Other industries which have an equal or higher percentage are apparel, leather, and tobacco. All of these industries (with the exception of the cigarette branch of tobacco manufacturing) are considered peripheral in nature and thus, according to dual labor market theory, are expected to form labor forces composed of peripheral workers. Industries considered to be core employ a very small percentage of female workers (see Bluestone, 1971). With the possible exception of iron and steel foundries and coal mining, the technology involved should have no bearing on female employment. Instead it is the peripheral or core character of an industry which affects the percentage of women employed. This reinforces the dual labor market theory claim that competitive industries will employ minority workers which in the case of Southern textiles has meant women since blacks, until recently, have been excluded.

The South has obliged the industry by providing it with the kind of labor market needed: low levels of wage expectations, education, and union knowledge and high levels of deference and women needing to supplement their husbands' incomes. A peripheral industry has sought out and found a peripheral labor market. Politically incapable of forging an environment suitable to its needs, as the monopoly sector has done, the competitive sector has taken advantage of the uneven development between North and South.

Women are also employed in textiles and other peripheral industries because management has assumed that they will be less likely to organize. But women have often taken leadership roles during Southern strikes and been important members of unions. Women are notable, certainly, in the

organizing of other industries and, given their high representation in the textile industry, can be expected to be in the forefront of the battle to unionize Southern workers.

The Textile Industry and Unions

We are now in position to explain why the textile industry is today, and historically has been, extremely antiunion. The explanation lies in the industry's characteristics relative to the U.S. economic system as a whole. We will add to the analysis of segmentation begun earlier in this chapter.

During the last years of the nineteenth century the U.S. economy experienced a period of rapid consolidation. Weinstein (1968:63) writes, "By 1904 the top 4 percent of American concerns (the great majority of which were corporate in form) produced 57 percent of the total industrial output by value. By any standard of measurement, large corporations had come to dominate the American economy by 1904."

Then during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the period labeled as the Progressive Era, the liberal state evolved. According to Weinstein (1968) and Kolko (1963) this evolution was primarily the result of the perceived need of the new corporate conglomerates for stability and protection from the vicissitudes of the market and of labor relations.

One organization, The National Civic Federation founded in 1900, took the lead in the social reforms which brought about the liberal state and gave the Era its name. This organization was composed primarily of big business representatives and Weinstein's analysis places big business as embodied in the NCF at the heart of the liberal reforms.

The liberal state, with its social programs, its theme of social responsibility, and its modified stance toward labor, was a state to meet the needs of corporate capitalism. Under corporate capitalism fierce price competition was eliminated, foreign markets were increasingly penetrated, and the state became an important instrument in the control and expansion of the market economy. Although the liberal state as evolved during the Progressive Era did take labor into account in the need to stabilize the system, it did not grant full legitimacy to labor organizations until the 1930s. Then, under pressure from the Depression and the militancy of some of the younger workers, labor was brought into the fold under the same kinds of conditions important in generating the Progressive Era.

The same policies responsible for attempting to synchronize the activities of the government and of private corporations to guarantee recovery and sustain economic growth were responsible for developing the means to make labor a stable factor of production, that is, to make it possible to predict its price with a degree of accuracy sufficient to enable the undertaking of corporate and state planning. When corporate and government leaders understood the critical importance of coordinating their efforts in order to prevent disaster in the economic crisis of the early 1930s, they immediately recognized the importance of bringing unions into partnership. For if workers were to continue to struggle around their needs without regulation, the whole enterprise of state capitalist planning could be disrupted. From the point of view of the national economic and political leadership, the economic crisis was an emergency akin to war. (Aronowitz, 1973:238)

Even actions in the Progressive Era, or shortly prior to it, such as the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which appeared to curb the power of big business and assist smaller businesses were in reality an aid to big business. As Galbraith notes (1978:195), the antitrust laws were and are usually leveled at the smaller and weaker firms which cannot as easily control their markets: "Should it become known that in response to their weaker (and more competitive) position they have come

together to discuss prices, and thus to win some of the ability to control prices that the automobile majors possess as a matter of course, the law would be upon them like a tiger. It exempts the market power of the strong. And it partly disguises this exemption by attacking efforts by the weak to acquire like power."

The antitrust laws also add legitimacy to the idea of the market as the arbiter of prices or the value theory of prices. According to Galbraith (1978:196), "the antitrust laws are harmless to the large firm. And meanwhile these laws add to the illusion of control by the market. What the theory asserts as to the paramountcy of the market, the law affirms."

The conclusion to be drawn from Weinstein and Galbraith is the same one articulated by O'Connor: labor laws, antitrust laws, in sum the laws covering economic organization, serve the interests of an economy dominated by conglomerates who were able to successfully promote political developments surrounding the growth of corporate capitalism in the Progressive Era. And what about industries not conglomerated and thus still subordinate, to some degree, to the market? These industries, comprising the competitive sector (in O'Connor's terminology) or the market system (in Galbraith's terminology) are quite different in form and needs as we have indicated. As competitive industries they cannot administer prices easily (because of antitrust laws) or transfer increased costs of production to consumers. Thus efforts to hold prices down are very important.

As labor intensive industries the principal cost to be controlled is, of course, the cost of labor. Thus these industries have a difficult

time in an environment created for monopoly capitalism in which labor's right to collectively bargain is recognized. The Wagner Act, which legitimated unions and provided stability for the large producers, came at the expense of profits for the competitive industries. The NAM, identified earlier as the seat of power for the competitive sector, fought hard for modifications to this Act to protect the needs of this sector. The resultant Taft-Hartley Act, especially Section 14-B, has greatly encumbered organizing activities in these competitive industries.

The attempt to modify the corporate capitalism environment has been one reaction to the liberal state. Other reactions have been the search for areas which are better suited to the need to control labor and minimize costs and the perpetuation of the antiunion stance characteristic of the days prior to the segmentation of the economy. The areas searched for are those which economically and politically represent a throwback to these pre-Progressive Era days. The South, for example, has historically had less economic diversity and a smaller representation from monopoly industries and has been the only region to embrace Section 14-B of Taft-Hartley. The move South for the textile industry is thus a reaction to changes in U.S. capitalism which have compelled peripheral industries to move to peripheral areas in order to survive.

At the heart of the textile industry's move South are the issues of wages and worker control, and thus class relations. Competitive industries can best endure in areas where class relations are not antagonistic, where conflict is masked or not yet transparent (Thompson, 1963:198). Historically class relations in the South have been shrouded in paternalism. Many have noted the similarity in the paternalistic relationship of master and slave, planter and plantation worker, and

mill owner and millhand (Cash, 1941:200; McLaurin, 1971:16; Woodward, 1971:223). But the class relations within the textile industry are more surely related to the institution of tenancy which spread quickly over the South following the Civil War preceding the rise of the textile industry in the 1880s. In 1880 over 35 percent of the farms in the South were operated by tenants. This figure rose to nearly 50 percent by 1900 (Loomis and Beegle, 1950:316). Many, if not most, of the tenants were former yeoman farmers who had been victims of falling cotton prices and had lost their farms to bankers and merchants who had extended credit to them (McLaurin, 1971:13).¹³ Unable to regain their land and under the yoke of a subsistence living, tenant farmers were prominent among the members of the working class in the textile industry in the late 1800s.

Under tenancy these former yeoman farmers had become laborers. They worked land owned by another to whom they paid cash or a share of the crops. If the owner were a merchant, there was usually an agreement that all supplies must be bought from that merchant's store (Wiener, 1978:77-83). The tenants were completely dependent on the landowner and merchant for the right to remain on the land and for the amount of cash or crop to be made in payment for working the land. Under such

¹³Here we can connect the South to the world economy for much of the South's income was derived from exports. Falling exports affected prices and income and thus the entire Southern economy. Odum, writing in the 1930s, comments as follows (1936:63): "This falling off of exports itself offers multiple dilemmas. It may deprive the South of its place in the world markets. It will certainly throw the South back into intolerable deficiency of income, throwing a million and a half families tragically out of gear . . .".

circumstances a paternalistic relationship is very likely (Newby, 1977: 13). The property rights held by landowners conferred other rights and privileges on them and defined a class boundary. In the prevailing Social Darwinistic ideological framework, property indicated superiority and demanded respect. Tenants, in return, were granted the privilege of working the land.

As these merchants and landowners built textile mills, they established property and class relations almost identical to those of tenancy. The millhands worked on property owned by another under his authority. They lived in housing and shopped in stores owned by the mill. The rights and privileges and exchanges characterizing tenancy remained in place and thus the transfer of the paternalistic relationship from tenant farming to mill seems quite natural. Although tenancy is prominently mentioned by historians and others tracing the development of Southern industry, its role in buttressing the class structure of the South and facilitating worker control has not been emphasized enough.

The class relations of a tenant economy fostered a paternalistic control strategy and deferential behavior in the tenants.¹⁴ This paternalism and deference became characteristic of the cotton mills. This was very important to the textile industry which has historically moved in search of cheap and controllable labor. The fact that mills were often built in wilderness areas or small rural communities (just as they had been in the Northeast) enhanced control. With no alternative employment available, living in company housing and buying on credit in company stores, workers were virtually entrapped in a paternalistic web.

¹⁴See Morland (1958:251).

The political economy of the industry is reflected in its location in the peripheral sector of the economy and its continual relocation in search of a favorable labor market. Low wages and worker docility are imperatives generated by its relationship to modern industrial capitalism. Unions are the enemy. The industry has been aided in its fight against organization by characteristics of the South and the industry: the plantation economy followed by high rates of tenancy, the small, rural communities lacking alternative employment, the unskilled work for which the industry often hires women and children, the absence of danger or dependency which stimulates comraderie in other industries. Many of these characteristics, in fact, are part of Lockwood's description of the environment of the deferential worker (Lockwood, 1966). All are part of the heritage of antiunionism of the textile industry and the low degree of organization among textile workers. Only 10 percent of Southern textile workers are unionized. The question of worker responses to the class relations of the textile industry today and of their perceptions of unions remains unanswered. Do the workers remain deferential to the authority of mill owners? If so, does this deference affect union sentiment? And how do and how will changes in the South and in the industry affect the workers? Today's workers, especially younger ones, are removed from the background of tenancy and isolation. They have been exposed to the mass media. The outlines of the mill towns have changed; the mill housing has been sold, the stores and churches are no longer possessions of the mills. Absentee ownership is common as are very large mills. Capital investment is growing and management and production are experiencing greater rationalization (see Southern Exposure, Vol. III,

No. 4:79; and Vol. VII, No. 1:107). Examination of one textile community will not provide answers to these questions but perhaps it will lead to refinements in our current perceptions.

Summary

This chapter has presented an examination of the political and economic position of the textile industry within advanced industrial capitalism. The work of O'Connor has provided a framework for this analysis by suggesting that competitive industries occupy a specific niche within the American economy and suffer a disadvantageous relationship to the state. It is within this context that the distinctive characteristics of the textile industry can be best explained.

The section on dual labor markets suggests that it might be fruitful to apply this perspective to the textile industry. This would acknowledge the trend toward larger diversified mills existing on a substructure of smaller specialized ones and lead to an examination of the consequences of such a development for workers' class consciousness and unionization.

This chapter has stressed the primacy of class in analyzing the history of the industry. This concept is the leading edge of an analytic framework for such an endeavor. In the next chapter we will apply this political economic framework drawn upon in the first two chapters to the research site.

CHAPTER III

DALTON AND THE SOUTH: PRESENT AND PAST

The site for this investigation of textile workers is Dalton, Georgia. This chapter will describe the blend of political-economic forces and historical events which have shaped this community, its industry, and its workers. Such a task will require a number of excursions into Southern history and the origins of the community's textile industry.

Dalton: Community and Industry

Dalton is a community of 23,000 people in the northwest corner of the state. It is the county seat of Whitfield County, population 60,000, and the home of some 150 textile mills, most of them involved in the tufting, dyeing, and finishing of carpet. Sixty-two percent of the domestic value of carpets is produced in an area encompassing Dalton and 50 miles in any direction from Dalton (McGregor and Maxey, 1974). The second largest concentration is in southern California which produces 16 percent.

Out of a total employment of 24,856 in Whitfield County, 15,000 are employed in textile mills (County Business Patterns, 1976). Of these, approximately 84 percent are production workers, the rest being management personnel. Fifty-eight percent of the people employed in the mills are male. By comparing different sources of information, we estimate that 2,000 of the production workers commute to work in the mills from outside the county.

Other industrial employment opportunities for workers are largely confined to supportive functions for the carpet industry such as production of textile machinery, rubber for carpet backing, and chemicals for dyeing. There is one oven manufacturing plant and one jail works.

In Whitfield County 27.5 percent of the land area is farmland (1974 Census of agriculture). There are 424 farms averaging 117 acres each. Poultry production ranks first and beef second in sources of farm income. Soybeans and corn are the chief income producing crops.

The structure of the textile industry in the area is presented in Table 3-1 as follows:

Table 3-1. Textile Mills in Dalton.

Type of Mill	Total No.
Floor covering mills	127
Weaving mills	6
Finishing mills	4
Yarn and thread mills	11

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, County Business Patterns, 1976.

Most of the floor covering mills buy yarn from the yarn and thread mills although a few of the bigger mills spin their own. Many of the mills will also send all or a portion of their carpet to finishing mills for dyeing and finishing, thus supporting mills specializing in these functions. Specialization occurs in the type of carpet produced too. The generic term for the output of the floor covering mills is

tufted carpet or tufted textiles. Some mills produce a variety of tufted carpets while others produce only scatter rugs or bath mats or indoor-outdoor carpet.

The procedure for tufting carpet is as follows. Synthetic yarn, arranged on scaffolding, is fed into a tufting machine which pushes the yarn through a backing material and then pulls it back through producing a "tuft." This backing material with its tufts emerges from the machine in long rolls which are taken to dyeing vats for coloration and then processed through backing machines which apply a rubber compound to strengthen the tuft and stiffen the carpet. After the backing is attached the carpet is rolled through an oven to bake the backing in place. Cutting machines are placed at the end of the ovens and the carpet is cut and stored in rolls. There are variations on this process for different types of tufted products. The variations may involve the stitching of a border on bath mats and scatter rugs or the use of dryers after the dyeing process. Often a plant will have separate mills for tufting or finishing or, as indicated above, send their carpet to a specialty mill for part of the processing. Most of the work involved in this production process is semiskilled or unskilled. Maintenance of the machinery requires the highest skill level.

The size of the mills in the area varies from one or two employees to over 1,500. Table 3-2 gives the size breakdown for 1977.

The four largest mills in the area are illustrative of the divergent paths mills can take as they develop. One of these mills began as a plant with six employees and one tufting machine in 1954 (Textile World, 1968) and is still owned and operated by the same person. Another of the mills was one of the earliest in the County, beginning as a bedspread

Table 3-2. Size and Number of Textile Mills in Dalton.

Employees	No. of Mills
1 - 4	53
5 - 9	25
10 - 19	32
20 - 49	26
50 - 99	26
100 - 249	20
250 - 499	4
500 - 999	3
1000 and over	3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, County Business Patterns, 1977.

mill in the early 1930s. It was sold to one of the textile conglomerates in the 1960s. Another was started in the 1960s and quickly grew into one of the most profitable. It is now owned by RCA, but day-to-day operations remain in the hands of the founders who are now large shareholders in RCA. And the last of the four was begun locally in the 1940s and became a joint stock company in 1970. The founders remain in control of the operation. A number of the smaller mills have also been taken over by outside capital ranging from Quaker Oats to Armstrong Cork.

The industry supports an organization called the Carpet and Rug Institute which, according to an institute brochure, "represents and speaks for the American carpet and rug manufacturing industry." This Institute is located in Dalton.

Whitfield County contains a small non-white population of 3.8 percent. Mean family income in the county in 1970 was \$9,700, tenth highest in a state of 156 countries. Average income for the state was \$9,491

with 16.7 percent of the people below the poverty line. In Whitfield County 11 percent were below this line. One hundred thirty-eight people in the county reported incomes over \$50,000 in 1970. Only six counties had a higher number. The county ranks thirteenth in size of population.

Dalton: The Past

Dalton was incorporated in 1847 and became the county seat when Whitfield County was formed in 1851. Northwest Georgia, where this county is situated, was the last portion of Georgia to be settled by whites. It was occupied by Cherokee Indians until the 1830s when they were forced to cede the land to the state. By 1838 remaining Indians in the area were rounded up and removed to Indian lands.

The late settlement of this area was partly due to the Indian "problem" as it was referred to but also to the fact that the rich farmlands were located in middle Georgia as were the most favorable locations for transportation, industry, and trade (Coleman 1978:33). Augusta, Macon, and Columbus, forming a line across the midsection of the state, were the early growth centers as settlers pushed inland from Savannah and the coast. These three sites were at the fall lines of rivers coursing down from northern Georgia and thus offered the twin attractions of water power and transportation.

A few statistics will demonstrate that Dalton and Whitfield County were not important participants in the plantation economy of the antebellum days. In 1860 Georgia claimed 902 plantations of more than 1000 acres, 206 more than any other state; 6363 Georgians owned 20 or more slaves. By comparison Whitfield County could boast of only 2 plantations of over 1000 acres and only nineteen Whitfield Countians owned 20 or more slaves.

The total number of slaves in the state in 1860 was 462,198, not much less than the total number of whites which was 591,550; 41,094 of these whites were slaveholders. In Whitfield at this time there were 1732 slaves and 318 slaveholders. Table 3-3 presents these and other comparisons between the state and Whitfield County.

Table 3-3. Slaveholding, 1860.

Category	Georgia	Whitfield County
Slaves	462,198	1732
Slaveholders	41,084	318
Slaves/slaveholders	11	5
Whites	591,550	8314
Slaves/whites	.78	.21

Source: U.S. Census, Report on Agriculture, 1860.

Also by way of comparison we can look at figures on farm size and value for Whitfield County and three counties in the piedmont area in the middle of the state in 1860. Whereas farms of over 100 acres comprised 78 percent of the total farms in Greene County, 72 percent in Burke County, and 65 percent in Meriwether County, they made up only 25 percent of Whitfield County farms. And Whitfield County farms averaged a cash value of \$2,974 compared to \$5,976 for Burke, \$4,856 for Greene, and \$3,551 for Meriwether.

Clearly farming as big business was not a characteristic of Whitfield County as the Civil War was about to begin. We belabor this point because it is important when we discuss the transition to industrialization

in the area. Most literature on industrialization in the South centers around the plantation economy, with its particular class structure, versus the industrial economy with its particular class structure. How was this transition made with what effect upon class relations?

Specifically, was the textile industry spearheaded by a rising class of middle class merchants who wrested power from the plantation owners or, in fact, were the plantation owners behind the emergence of the industry in realization of the changing economic scene following the Civil War? This question is still being debated today. The two arguments have different implications for social structure.

In essence, planter-led industrialization (called revolution from the top), represents a smooth transition with great continuity to the past. Political and economic power, although changing in form, remain centered in the same class. Industrialization is begun, in fact, for that very reason: the maintenance of power by the landowning class. The weakness of this argument seems to lie upon this very point. It attributes great foresight and daring to a class of conservative pseudo-aristocrats. And yet, threatened by economic doom in the unstable cotton market, these men were certainly in a situation demanding change and still had the leverage to push for and control industrialization.

The rise of a merchant middle class, on the other hand, represents a significant change in power holdings and, it could be said, in cultural form. According to some versions, these men were more forward-looking or progressive and carried within them the ideals, values, and lifestyle of the New South.

The question for us is where does northwest Georgia fit into this argument? In an area with a low level of capitalist farming, not dominated

by a planter class and planter interests, what are the steps to industrialization? Before confronting this question, we must look more closely at what this area was like from its settlement by whites at the midpoint of the nineteenth century until the turn of the century.

There are two basic sources of information on the area of Whitfield County that we can utilize. One is the Census and the other is the official history of the County written in 1936 under the auspices of the Whitfield County Commission. This latter document tells of the German colony that settled in what is known now as north Dalton in 1844. The settlement was called Cross Plains and in 1845 ten families resided there. From its beginning Cross Plains, incorporated as Dalton in 1847, was a shipping center. Cattle, wheat, grain, and copper from the mines in Ducktown, Tennessee were taken here for shipping to Chattanooga or other towns in Georgia. According to the official history, in 1847 Dalton was the largest town between Knoxville and Augusta so "there was no little wealth centered at this point" (74). The leading citizens of the area foresaw Dalton becoming what Atlanta was soon to become--the trade and transportation center of the region as well as its cultural exemplar. The railroad no doubt played a prominent part in the formation of grandiose expectations. A state-built road running from the Chattahoochee River to Chattanooga was completed in 1851 and it passed through Dalton before turning northwest toward its northern terminus. This road, called the Western and Atlantic, was the basis of Dalton as a shipping center. Soon, however, a hamlet at the southern terminus of the line was taking shape as the hub of regional activity. Situated on the Chattahoochee and at the junction of railroads from east, west, and south, this emerging

city, later to be called Atlanta, was perfectly placed to become the region's most dynamic city. At the same time, other communities, such as Dalton, were deprived of the chance.

And yet, its position on the railroad assured its success as a local trade center. In 1860 there were 10,047 people in the county including 1,809 in Dalton. There were 520 farms with a cash value of \$1,546,585. There were twelve manufacturing establishments with products totaling \$126,150 for the year. Among the products produced were carriages, flour, cabinets, leather goods, sawed lumber, steam engines, and sheet iron. Eighty-three "hands," all male, were employed in production.

By late 1863, Dalton and Whitfield County found themselves in the eye of a hurricane. Sherman was encamped in Chattanooga planning a Spring thrust into Georgia. The confederates wintered in Dalton and as Spring arrived fought defensive battles in Dalton, Resaca, and New Hope, under General Joseph E. Johnston. According to the county's official history, few buildings were left standing as fighting moved toward Atlanta.

By 1870 the community had been rebuilt. The population had remained quite stable over the decade and numbered 10,117. There were now eighty-eight manufacturing establishments employing 290 "hands" with output valued at \$463,163.

By 1900 the county population totaled 14,509 but the number of manufacturing establishments had fallen to sixty-one. Nevertheless, employment in these places had grown to 859. Crown Cotton Mill had begun operation in 1885 as the largest manufacturing plant in the county.

An opera house was also opened in that year.

Table 3-4 shows population growth in the county from 1860 to 1920:

Table 3-4. Population Growth in Whitfield County

Year	Population	Change From Preceding Year	Percentage Change
1860	10,047	--	--
1870	10,117	70	.6
1880	11,900	1783	17.6
1890	12,916	1016	7.8
1900	14,509	1593	12.3
1910	15,934	1425	9.8
1920	16,897	963	6.0

Source: U.S. Census, General Population Characteristics, Georgia, 1970.

This table certainly does not demonstrate an unusually high rate of growth. The area surrounding Atlanta, which began growing into a community after the Dalton area, was being populated at a much faster rate. Other counties in the South which were becoming or were to become textile centers were also showing a higher rate of growth as Table 3-5 indicates.

Table 3-5 shows population increases in three areas of the South in order to place Whitfield County's growth in some sort of perspective. Gaston County was destined to be the site of a bloody textile strike in 1929. Greenville County became the heartland of the textile industry in the 1950s and Atlanta was growing into the largest Southern city. Compared to these figures, the growth in Whitfield County from 1860 to 1920 was quite moderate. In those 60 years the area grew by 6.8 percent while

Table 3-5. Population Growth in Three Southern Communities.

Year	Gaston County, N.C.	Greenville, S.C.	Atlanta, Ga.
1860	9,307	21,892	9,554
1870	12,602	22,262	21,789
1880	14,254	37,496	37,409
1890	17,764	44,310	65,533
1900	27,903	53,490	89,872
1910	37,063	68,377	151,084
1920	51,242	88,498	192,186

Source: U.S. Census, General Population Characteristics, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, 1920.

Gaston County grew by 450 percent, Greenville County by 304 percent, and Atlanta by 1911 percent. And yet in 1860 there was a goodly amount of similarity, especially among Atlanta, Gaston County, and Whitfield County. In population size they were separated by less than one hundred people. And in manufacturing they were distinguishable primarily by the large number of liquor establishments and flour and meal establishments in Gaston County (see Table 3-6).

However, whereas the three areas in Table 3-6 experienced accelerated development as the century moved toward its end, Whitfield County was establishing a more modest pattern. It was not going to become the thriving metropolis dreamed of earlier. Nor was it destined for the oblivion which was the fate of some localities following the Civil War. The slow death of the plantation economy due to the freeing of the slaves and dependence on one crop meant a similar fate for communities rooted solely in that economy. The growth and prosperity of Whitfield County was not tied to plantation economics and thus the changes affecting

Table 3-6. Manufacturing Establishments in Three Communities in 1869.

Products Sold	Whitfield County, Ga.	Gaston, N.C.	Atlanta, Ga.
Agricultural implements	--	2	--
Boots and shoes	--	1	3
Carriages	1	1	1
Cotton goods	--	3	--
Flour and meal	2	14	2
Furniture	2	--	--
Gold mining	--	1	--
Iron	--	1	1
Leather	2	6	1
Liquors	--	19	--
Lumber	3	6	1
Machinery	1	--	4
Saddle and harness	--	2	--
Tin, copper	1	--	2
Wood carding	--	1	--

Source: U.S. Census, Census of Manufacturers, 1870.

many areas of the South did not intrude seriously there. Its location on the railroad and the main highway between Atlanta and Chattanooga ensured its value as a local shipping and distributing center. We will see later that events around the turn of the century were to intrude upon its pattern of growth and alter its course of development. We will return now to the question of the plantation economy and industrialization.

Dalton: The Periphery of the Plantation Economy

To this point we have outlined the growth and economic characteristics of the Dalton area from mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century and have made several comparisons with other areas of the South. We now want to place the Dalton area within the context of the class structure predominant in a plantation economy and make an argument for the

importance of the fact that this area was not in the center of that economy.

Plantations define a particular type of class structure with accompanying class relations. This is due to the fact that plantations, whether in the South or in South America or in any other frontier area where they typically grow (see Thompson, 1975), are founded upon forced labor. This is one characteristic which separates a plantation from a "big farm" or a manor. Without forced labor, the plantation would be unable to meet its labor needs because the plentiful lands in a frontier area make laboring for someone else unattractive and unnecessary.

Above the forced labor class in the antebellum South was a buffer group which shielded the plantation owners from direct relations with their slave laborers. This buffer group was composed of yeoman and poor whites who benefited from the institution of slavery; it prevented them from having to compete with blacks and thus they constituted supportive elements for the class structure.

The plantation thus infused the class structure determined by it with a caste-like nature. Notions of biological superiority and inferiority were ideological pillars holding the class relations in place. These biological notions were not confined to slave-slaveholder relations but also defined relations between planters and poor whites. The poor white was considered of weak stock, descended from a generally inferior class of white lackeys such as the indentured servants (Thompson, 1975:278). This background, it was claimed, accounted for their laziness and undependability.

The class structure of the plantation society was clearly anything but fluid. Moore and Williams (1945) remark that near the end of the

antebellum period the class lines tended to "freeze." There was little mobility between the planter class and the class of yeoman farmers and merchants, and no mobility upward from the class of slave laborers. The absence of mobility thus protected the planter class as well as the poor whites. The planters in their superordinate role dominated the plantation but their influence surely stretched far beyond the boundaries of their lands. Politically and economically they were a force behind most of the development of the antebellum South. Roads and canals, shipping points which became villages and towns, seaports, and available capital were all tied to the plantation. Growth and prosperity depended on the successful marketing of the plantation crop.

Under these conditions of planter hegemony, it is not surprising that industrialization was of great interest to the planter class. The 1910 Census contains a wonderfully frank appraisal of the emergence of the textile industry in the South (p. 28): "Before the Civil War the people of the South were almost exclusively engaged in agricultural pursuits. The ruling classes looked with disfavor upon manufacturing and discouraged the introduction of the industrial arts save as they were necessary to meet local wants."

Part of the motivation behind opposition to industrialization was the threat of competition for labor which cotton mills would cause. Wiener documents these concerns as they affected the development of the "New South" after the Civil War in Alabama. He writes (1978:156):

Although the planters wished to defend their position of status and power in a fundamentally agrarian society against industrialists, there was a crucial economic issue dividing planters and industrialists in the postwar period: the allocation of Alabama's black labor supply. Cotton agriculture was highly labor-intensive, and the planters' greatest fear was that they would find themselves lacking sufficient black labor to operate plantations. The

threat of a labor shortage was a key political issue for the planter class through the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

The planter's fears about black labor and cotton mills was unwarranted because of the policy of the mills immediately following the Civil War to exclude black labor. To what extent this was the result of planter-industrialist collusion is unclear. What is clear is the dependence of a plantation economy on forced labor. Following the emancipation of the slaves, plantations gave way to smaller yeoman farms and the growth of tenant farming. In turn these developments spurred the expansion of the merchant class. But the above passage from Wiener highlights class dynamics at the time of the Civil War and reveals the fetters upon industrial development that the particular social relations of production in the plantation economy caused. With these relations came the traditions and customs and the ideology of the plantation way of life. These translated into a determination to defend the plantation system against the encroachment of a "New South." Those areas central in the antebellum planter social system were particularly stubborn in their defense while those areas away from the center were more open to change. Northern capital and industry were welcomed in areas such as Atlanta which were relatively unfettered by the class relations and ideological baggage of the plantation. Areas such as Macon in the heartland of the plantation economy were less receptive (Coulter, 1960:356). As many Georgians of the traditional past, this program seemed treason to the Lost Cause" (Coulter, 1960:355).

Thus as we look at the state of Georgia around the time of the Civil War we see a certain geographical division in economic activity

and in class structure. This type of division in the South and in individual states within the South has been noted by other writers such as Shugg (1968) and Davis and Moore (1945). In Georgia the piedmont area stretching across the midsection of the state and encompassing fall line cities such as Augusta, Macon, and Columbus held the fertile land important for the plantation economy and also the water power which was important for industry.

The southern and northern parts of the state had timber, mountains, and swamps. In an agrarian society, the middle of the state therefore represented the top of the hierarchy of valued lands. We would expect the fringe areas to be occupied by a higher percentage of adventurers, loners, outcasts, and certainly small farmers. The poor whites were clustered in large numbers in the mountainous terrain of the north and the pine barrens of the south.

Within this context of geographical division, Dalton stood in a peripheral or perhaps it would be better described as semi-peripheral area. This is a crucial aspect when analyzing industrialization in the area. In peripheral areas industrialization did not involve a derailing of the planter express. There were other fetters perhaps, and this is not to say that such areas were not dominated by agrarian interests following the Civil War, but power in these areas was not so centralized, nor tradition so solidly established as was the case in the planter economy. Thus following the Civil War Dalton was able to implement industrialization without serious impediments and with considerable diversity, setting the stage for its later move into textiles.

Pausing to reflect on what these descriptions of the South and the geographical divisions in the state of Georgia mean for an analysis of a modern day working class, we arrive at the following conclusion. Dalton, because of its geographical location, was neither the site of large scale agricultural pursuits nor an industrial center in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These were characteristics of the piedmont area.

Thus the area did not have a large class of slave laborers prior to the Civil War, nor a large class of industrial wage laborers following the war. The area was not destined to become a large manufacturing center. The facts seem clear on that point. But due to a strange turn of events around the turn of the century, it did become a large manufacturing center, the center, in fact, of tufted textile manufacturing in the world. These events led to other events which quickened and burst into a small industrial revolution in the 1940s. All of the dynamism and all the perils of industrialization experienced by other areas of the South in the fifty years between 1880 and 1930 transpired in Dalton in the span of fifteen years, roughly 1945 to 1960. The community's history had both prepared it for industrial activity and set limits on the level of this activity. The pattern of development springing from the beginnings of the community in the 1840s, nurtured by its geographic location, had shaped a certain level of economic activity. This structure and this level were suddenly and rudely shaken. Diversity in economic activity was replaced by uniformity, power was uprooted and the community suddenly felt a terrible strain upon its ability to handle population growth and economic activity. A textile working class was forged overnight from a

social structure of small farmers, poor whites, mountain folk, and the small and diverse working class existing until that time. This radical transformation is a focal point in the delineation of the modern day working class in the community. We will keep in mind that the development of the community made this transformation possible for it is argued that without the type of history described it would not have occurred.

The Rise of the Tufting Industry¹⁵

To fill in the detail of this radical transformation we must return to the last years of the nineteenth century and a young girl named Catherine Evans. In 1895, fifteen miles from Dalton, Catherine Evans quilted a bedspread by imitating the design of one she had seen at her cousin's house. By making cuts in her stitches she produced "tufts" of yarn that stood up from the spread. Washing and drying helped lock the tufts in place. This tufting process was not easy work and it was not until a year later that she made another bedspread. Then in 1900 her sister-in-law saw one of her spreads and asked Catherine to make one for her. Soon other people were requesting spreads and Catherine developed methods enabling her to produce them at a faster rate. By 1909 she was swamped with orders and began to teach others to tuft. She would mark designs on the cloth and neighbors would complete the tufting. By 1920 others had joined in the business and spreads were being shipped to stores in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. As demand continued to grow so did the problem of finding people to tuft. "Haulers" were

¹⁵Thanks to Thomas Deaton for allowing me to read portions of his manuscript on the early days of the tufting industry.

soon driving into Alabama and Tennessee to drop the yarn and cloth in homes and to pick up the finished product.

As sales grew husbands began to join in what previously had been a female dominated enterprise. A full-time industry was ready to emerge. The industry remained a cottage-based one through the 1920s but events in the 30s brought about significant changes. One of these events was the National Recovery Act Minimum Hourly Wage Law in 1933. Prior to this law, those tufting the bedspreads in their homes averaged 5 to 10 cents an hour (McGregor and Maxey, 1974). The new law set minimum payment at 32.5 cents. This law was important to the future of the industry in several ways. One, it demonstrated that politics affected, and would continue to affect, the industry and therefore the industry would need to develop mechanisms and strategies for protection. The immediate strategy in response to the minimum wage legislation was to solicit the assistance of the local Congressman in slowing down implementation and permitting lower wages for training. Secondly, it stimulated more intense efforts to construct machines to replace the hand tufting. Earlier old sewing machines had been modified to produce a tuft and now the industry proceeded at full speed to launch itself into the world of mechanization.

Sweeping changes in the nature and organization of work as well as the class structure followed. Work was removed from the homes and placed in mills and workers were introduced to the routine of the factory and the division of labor. More workers than the Dalton area could supply were needed to meet production demands. The area became a microcosm of change introduced by industrialization; it was, in fact, a minor industrial revolution with impacts on the community and the workers that are still being felt today.

One of the natural impacts of the move to mechanize the industry was the emergence of a textile machinery industry in the area and of other supportive businesses such as dyeing and finishing houses. The creation, modification, testing, and maintenance of tufting machines is obviously facilitated by close areal association as is the mixing of dyes and the actual dyeing process. The existence of these supportive industries was and continues to be a major factor in the success of tufting in the area insuring its competitive edge over other areas.

Careful planning has also played a part in holding the industry in the area. The county built a unique water treatment system which provides water of the pH level needed for dyeing, laundering, and finishing of the tufted products, and removes harmful impurities (iron and manganese). In addition this system is specially designed to remove waste material generated by the tufting process from the sewerage. If this service were not provided, the mills would have to bear the burden and expense of on-site treatment of waste.

The emergence of a labor force to supply the industry has natural and planned elements. Some mill housing existed in both the north and south ends of town in the 1930s. It had been built for workers entering the community to work in the Crown Cotton Mill and the American Thread Company earlier in the century. This mill housing, as has always been the case, was an inducement to workers to move to the area as well as a means of securing control over them.

The supply of labor was a function of the economy of the area and its interrelationship with geography. The land in north Georgia consists of rolling terrain and hard clay. Incomes from farming (cotton was the primary crop) were modest in the best of times and with the invasion of

the boll weevil and falling cotton prices following World War I and with the advent of the Great Depression, times were hard indeed for farmers. In 1900, 48 percent of the farms operating in the county were tenant farms. By 1930, 54 percent were tenant farms. In the four Georgia counties contiguous to this one, tenancy as a proportion of total farms was 48, 63, 68, and 49 percent in 1930. In the entire five county area there were 5,135 tenant farms. In 1950, this figure was 2,181, a reduction of 2,954.¹⁶ Meanwhile, in this same twenty year period textile employment grew by 3,262 in Whitfield County. In the absence of precise evidence, it is reasonable to assume that a large number of these people were former tenant farmers which would provide a solid basis for paternalism and deference in the mills.

With the development of better machinery capable of producing wider bedspreads, the industry began to turn its attention to the production of other products. During World War II shelter halves, parachutes, and airplane wing covers were among the products coming off the machines. It was after the war that carpet production became the focal point of the tufting business.

In the South, as in the nation generally, the end of the war released capital for investment in non-war-related enterprises. The war itself had boosted the capacity for industrialization, especially the facilities and manpower. The war left the region with a new outlook on industry. As Tindall has observed, one of the major impacts of the war was (1967:701),

¹⁶And rates of tenancy had fallen to 19 percent in Whitfield County and to 17, 39, 41, and 18 percent, respectively, in the four contiguous counties.

"the demonstration of industrial potential, new habits of mind, and recognition that industrialization demanded community services. The South had acquired certain essential ingredients of economic 'take off'."

The end of the war also marked the expansion of consumer goods markets such as the one for tufted products. The consumer was freed from rationing and restricted buying and carpet became one of the symbols of postwar buying power. It changed from a strictly luxury item for the rich and status conscious to one available to an increasing number of people. It was on its way to becoming an expected and required part of living. The expanded production facilities increased its availability and reduced its cost. Carpet in the late 1940s and early 1950s was both a product of and a symbol of a highly industrialized society with an orientation toward consumption. The Dalton area was in the center of a fortuitous combination of circumstances involving both cultural and economic changes.

The expansion of the tufting industry is illustrated by the fact that the number of mills in the area grew from 16 in 1947 to 53 in 1958 to 158 in 1972. Such rapid growth is seldom without its problems and the Dalton area is no exception. We will explore more fully later how the rapid influx of people into the area created a strain on the community, the people moving in, and the people already there. Adjustments to new ways of living, new people, and new activities were required. New wealth emerged and with it new appetites but there also came an expansion of those living in relative poverty.

By 1951 the tufting industry had sales worth \$133 million. Cotton was still the sole fiber utilized. Shortly would come the use of rayon,

wool, nylon, and acrylics. The introduction of man-made fibers, especially continuous filament yarn perfected by DuPont in 1958, enhanced the prospects of the industry. No longer was it necessary to face the rapid price fluctuations of natural fibers and undertake the expensive and time-consuming process of removing dirt and oil. In 1964 the industry broke the billion dollar mark in sales and as R. E. Hamilton, past director of the Tufted Textile Manufacturers Association, remarked, "Everybody and his brother has become interested in us. Marketing people from everybody under the sun come calling" (quoted in Coram, 1968:359). Also coming into the community in the 60s was outside capital to buy into or take over established mills. It was quite clear that there was fast money to be made and the community acquired the reputation of having the highest number of millionaires per capita in the state (or the nation according to some versions). Success stories were written in newspapers and magazines, relating the overnight prosperity being achieved.

In the 1970s the industry suffered through the recession of the middle of the decade and felt the impact of an energy shortage. In January 1975, the unemployment rate in the county was 16 percent and averaged 12.8 percent for the year. A shortage of natural gas in 1976 forced production cuts in some mills and highlighted the need for alternative energy sources for the mills.

Currently with housing starts down and automobile production sagging, the industry is again faced with difficulties. Shipments of carpets are expected to decline by 3 percent in 1980 (CRI estimate). Prospects for the 1980s, however, are considered good. The CRI predicts that shipments will increase by 5 percent a year through the first half

of the new decade. And despite the ups and downs of the last decade, carpet sales totaled nearly five billion dollars by 1979.

The Political Economy of Tufted Textiles

A prominent characteristic of the tufting industry is its competitive character. This competitiveness exists because of the lack of severe impediments to entry for new firms. In outlays for buildings, equipment, labor, and advertising, the tufting industry falls far short of the requirements of the capital intensive industries. Although capital investment in the industry is steadily rising, it is still possible to begin a new mill with little capital overhead. There are some mills, recently started, that operate from small warehouses, employ few workers, and have virtually no machinery because they buy yarn from a yarn mill and then commission others to tuft, dye, and finish the yarn. According to industry knowledgeable, these mills usually fail. Many other mills are precariously balanced on the edge of bankruptcy as they try to compete with old machinery and without an established market.

Overall the large number of mills competing in the market puts downward pressure on profit rates for all mills and threatens those on the margins with extinction. Added to this condition is the fact that the textile market suffers from frequent, and often extreme, fluctuations. Sales of tufted products vary closely with changes in the construction industry and automobile production, both of which provide a significant part of the demand for these products. Generally, purchases of textile products are among the first to be curtailed by consumers with inflation-depleted paychecks or pink notices in their pay envelopes. This curtailment often proves fatal to those mills on the edge. At each downturn

of the economy a number of mills fail. The more stable mills weather the storm by dropping shifts, cutting hours, or implementing layoffs. Then as the economy picks up steam again a new crop of fledglings enters the fray. Thus there is an almost constant element of instability in the tufting industry.

The instability of the tufting business is paralleled by instability for those employed in the mills. The failure of mills, the reduction of hours, and the layoffs, create unemployment. Those working in mills perched on the edge of failure are the most obvious victims.

There are a certain number of carpet mills which have demonstrated long term stability. They have grown in size, purchased the most modern equipment, established sales offices in other parts of the country, and captured large shares of the market. They may reduce hours and lay off workers occasionally but they offer more benefits. In this respect, they can be considered better places of employment.

We could perhaps divide the other mills into types: those fairly stable but with smaller shares of the market, those jolting along with the economy and often faced with cutbacks in employment but in no serious danger of failing, and those in imminent danger of failing. Such divisions should correspond roughly to the desirability, in terms of working conditions and benefits, of employment in the different mills. Ignoring for the moment the difficulty of making this kind of division, we can ask an interesting question about it. Are workers in these divisions distinctive in any way? In other words, is there labor market segmentation in the industry such that workers with certain characteristics are more likely to work in the top division mills, workers with other characteristics more likely to work in the bottom division?

We could make a few presumptions about this matter. To the extent that workers view mills in the top division, or divisions, as preferable places of employment, these mills will attract more applications for work. To the extent there are more applications than there are opportunities for work in these mills, some applications will be rejected. Our question asks on what basis these rejections occur or, on the other hand, what characteristics make a worker desirable?

Several mill management personnel and observers of the industry indicated in interviews that there is a shortage of "good" workers in the area. By "good" they meant workers who are dependable in their work habits and loyal to the company. Too many workers, they said, would train for a job and then be erratic in their attendance. Others would work well for a while and then quit. We will assume that this concern about "good" workers exists across the industry. How then do the mills judge "goodness?" On what basis are workers considered to be "good?"

Answers that immediately come to mind are race/ethnicity, sex, age, and education. Ethnicity is not a significant factor in the Dalton area, however. Blacks make up only 4 percent of the population in the county and less than 3 percent of the textile workers. Over the last few years there has been a moderate influx of Mexicans into the area, many of whom have illegally entered the country. Their employment is difficult to ascertain but we would expect them to be working in lower division mills since their legal status makes their dependability questionable. There is a qualification to be made here, however. There are some jobs in all mills which are particularly undesirable and incapable of attracting permanent "good" workers. For these jobs, typically the dirtiest, most monotonous, lowest paying ones, mills probably hire workers who would be

considered poor prospects for any other job. Thus, even in the upper division mills there are certain jobs which have a high turnover and are filled by anybody who wants them.

One could hypothesize sex as a criterion for judgment but an argument could be made for either sex as the preferable one. Mills could prefer males reasoning that females would be more likely to miss or quit work because of pregnancy or sickness among their children or because they are supplementing their husbands' paychecks. One could argue that females are preferred by the mills because they believe them to be less aggressive and less of a threat to organize and because they can pay them lower wages.

Age could be a factor in judging the "good" worker. Management might prefer older males to younger ones fearing that the latter have not developed stable work patterns that take time to evolve (or habituation to the routine of the mills), have not the same family responsibilities, and might look more favorably on unions. Older females might be preferred over younger ones because they are less likely to have small children to tend, less likely to leave for reasons of marriage or pregnancy, and more likely to have stabilized their lifestyle and settled into a rather fixed pattern of activities. Older workers in general could be viewed as less idealistic, resigned to the need for stable employment and the realization that mill work is to be their career.

Warner and Low (1947), in their study of Yankee City, found discrimination against those with education. The factories preferred poorly educated workers who they believed would be satisfied with the low skilled jobs. There was also a preference for newcomers to the community

because they were thought to be insecure and thus manipulatable. However, Leggett (1963) did not find this to be true in his study of auto workers.

This issue of lifestyle stability, being settled in the community and into a fairly constant pattern of needs and obligations so that steady employment and stable work habits are necessary, may be a key one.

If this is the case, then friendship networks would be important for the mills in the recruitment of labor. Those workers with roots in the community and steady work habits could be utilized to add to or replace members of their labor pools. This practice might also contribute to a family or community atmosphere in the mills. If these friendship ties are monopolized by the upper division mills, then less stable workers will turn to other mills and some type of labor market segmentation should be evident in the labor force of the community.

The competitiveness of the tufting industry and the fluctuating market generate pressures toward labor intensity. The competitiveness means lower rates of return and thus less capital to commit to buildings and machines. And the fact that profit can still be realized with old equipment and in dilapidated buildings further discourages investment in these areas. The fluctuating market adds risk to capital expenditures for all mills, even those in the most advantageous positions, but especially so for lower division mills.¹⁷ Thus labor constitutes a large portion of the cost of production in the tufting industry.

Under these conditions keeping labor costs down is a major strategy in generating profits. At the same time the wages paid must be high

¹⁷Industry sources state that five to ten mills fold with every recession.

enough to attract the needed workers. The crux of maintaining low wage levels is thus a labor force with modest aspirations and/or few alternatives. These kinds of labor forces have long been characteristic of rural Southern communities. Workers in these areas are often from farm or mountain backgrounds and accustomed to hardship and deprivation. The communities around them are likely to be dominated by one industry such as lumber or textiles. Low wages are not surprising given these circumstances. And though some, in the manner of Jeeter Lester in Tobacco Road, remain vehemently opposed to moving from the soil, for others it is a promise of deliverance from a heavy burden. These workers then give birth to a new generation of workers who have no close ties to the soil, no agrarian heritage, and thus can take to the mills unfettered by the past. Although they may dream of other employment, we shall see that the workers in Dalton claim to be relatively happy about their work and optimistic about the chances for their sons and daughters to advance. They have modest expectations for income and few alternatives for employment. These are ideal circumstances for the textile industry and exemplify why, through history, textiles and rural communities have gone together.

It is possible, however, for large communities, such as Greenville, South Carolina, to maintain a thriving textile industry. Only the most careful planning and nearly hegemonic control by the textile barons will accomplish this task (see Russell, 1979). Size, thus, is not the central variable in the success of textile mill communities. Rather it is the extent to which aspirations and alternatives can be controlled. This is most easily done in a smaller community but is possible in a larger one.

A final characteristic that is part of competitive industries is a strong, overt antiunionism. Unions are facing tough opposition elsewhere

but rarely to the degree that has been experienced in textiles. Part of this antiunionism seems to be economic (fear of reduction in profits), part is cultural (embedded in Southern ideology), and thus part is psychological (an adamant refusal to lose a battle). We explored this relationship between unions and the textile industry in the last chapter.

For now we will mention that the industry in Dalton is not unionized and no serious attempts in that direction have been undertaken. In interviews with management, industry knowledgeable, and workers, however, it is clear that unions are a matter of constant concern. Some workers revealed that management in their mills had held seminars in which the disadvantages and negative consequences of unionization were explained. This concern and these seminars appear to be more characteristic of the larger mills. There is good reason why this might be so: if unionization is attempted, it is almost certain that the larger, more successful mills will be targeted first.

The ideological support for a strong antiunionism in the community takes two forms: one form is the claim of free enterprise which, for management, means the right to run their mills without interference, and the second is the claim of economic survival, that unions would kill the industry. Both of these arguments appear in workers' comments on unions, indicating the existence of some degree of collective conscious in the community. Unions are mistrusted and feared. This negative imagery surrounding unions has a long history in the South and the fact that it has worked so well to the benefit of the textile industry presumes an element of intent or ideological hegemony on the part of textile leaders, community leaders attempting to attract industry and/or dependent on the

support of textile leaders, and state leaders in the same position.

In Dalton the textile bourgeoisie constitute what is often called an occupational community. Since the birth of tufting at the turn of the century they have demonstrated clear signs of such a community--a distinct ideology, the recognition of a common bond and the need to organize, the formation of associations to protect and serve their interests. Their first association, the Bedspread Association, was formed in the 1930s. Its chief function was to protect patterns but its focus changed with the coming of the Minimum Wage legislation of 1933. The Association realized the importance of lobbying efforts to promote industry interests locally, state-wide, and nationally. In 1945 the Bedspread Association became the Tufted Textile Manufacturers Association and in 1970 this organization merged with the American Carpet Institute to become the Carpet and Rug Institute, headquartered in Dalton. This Institute serves as the "Action Voice for the U.S. Carpet and Rug Industry" (quoted from an Institute brochure). Among its objectives are: (1) to act as a public relations counsel for the industry; (2) to maintain contact with Government agencies and be the focal point for presenting the Industry's views in regard to regulations or legislation, proposed or enacted, of particular interest to the industry; and (3) to sponsor programs for the training and inspiration of personnel at all levels within the Industry. These objectives, among others, appear in the By-Laws of the Institute.

In 1971 a Washington Office was established which "gave formal recognition to the overwhelming importance of the industry's relations with the federal government. The monitoring of legislative and regulatory activity by Congress and federal agencies has become the most important function of CRI" (quoted from a CRI publication).

One of the most interesting developments within the tufting industry since the 1940s has been the concentration of production in a decreasing number of mills and the takeover of some of these and other smaller mills by outside capital. These developments can affect class relations, class consciousness, deference, and alienation and thus are important for us to consider. Subsequent chapters will deal with these specific affects so here we will note the more general implications of the changing industrial structure in the tufting industry.

When a mill is bought by a company located outside the community, a greater percentage of the profit will also begin to flow outward from the area. Local owners certainly spend part of their income in the community, deposit money in local banks, and probably support local events and programs and hold some concern for the quality of life in the community as embodied in schools, recreation programs, and cultural events. Outside owners, however, spend less of their income locally and have little reason to be concerned over the quality of life issues above.

Outside ownership is often a prelude to outside management personnel taking over day-to-day operations in the mills. This change in management can result in a more impersonal management-labor relationship and the replacement of informal, personal techniques with more bureaucratic-rational ones. Such changes helped precipitate the bloody Gastonia strike in 1929 (see Pope, 1942).

Finally, outside ownership threatens the tie between industry and community. The persons who began the tufting industry and those succeeding them have manifested an obvious pride in the community's role in the industry's history. This pride could serve as a constraint on a

mill entertaining thoughts of moving or acting in ways detrimental to the community. As yet mills have little reason to move given the elaborate supportive environment but the point remains valid. Companies owned and operated by people living in or moving from areas outside the community cannot feel the same kind of commitment and loyalty that insiders do. Thus these companies are greater threats to leave or otherwise act in total disregard of the community's well-being.

The last item in this analysis of the political economy of the research site pertains to power. The tufting industry, as noted, maintains a close watch on legislative activity in the state and especially at the federal level. We might speculate on the amount of influence it can exert. First, we can quickly dispatch with the matter of community power. There can be little doubt about the influence of the industry here. The growth of the community and the good fortunes of those benefiting from its growth, either politically or economically, are a function of tufting. Structurally, the social system of the area is highlighted by a convergence and interdependence of the economic and political arenas.¹⁸ Only those political decisions made in the context of favorable outcomes for the tufting industry are imaginable. Whether or not tufting personnel hold public office or are visible in the decision making process is unimportant. The industry, in fact, given these circumstances, can be expected to expend its energies at the state and national levels where the agenda is not set and where favorable outcomes are very much in doubt.

At these levels the industry becomes one of many contending groups and the issues become more complex in their effects. Among issues

¹⁸e.g., the county-built water treatment system geared to the needs of tufting.

important for the tufting industry are tariffs (the industry's interest in the export market has skyrocketed in the last few years), foreign import quotas (England is attempting to restrict imports of carpet and carpet fibers), OSHA reform, and consumer legislation (bills requiring disclosure of carpet characteristics and creating performance standards). Concern about such matters is disseminated to members of the industry through a monthly newsletter published by the CRI.

How much influence the industry can exert is unclear and dependent on the issue and the other contestants. The matter is complicated by the fact that on many occasions the tufting industry's interests converge with those of other industries. The OSHA legislation is an example. Thus the influence of tufting is not clearly ascertainable. A more satisfying measurement of power would stem from circumstances in which the tufting industry's interests were clearly separated from those of other groups. Such circumstances, unfortunately, do not readily present themselves.

Class Consciousness, Unionization, and the Tufted Textile Worker in Dalton

Marx expected workers, such as these operatives, to develop class consciousness and instigate class conflict. The low wages, poor working conditions, repetitive work, and lack of alternatives would be stimuli for collectivization. Yet textile workers in the South have been slow to organize. We have mentioned some reasons why this is so: the rural background and individualism; the placement of mills in small towns. Nevertheless, textile workers in the Carolinas have raised their voices in protest on occasion and a number of their mills have been organized. If, as Marx said, the development of class consciousness is an historical

process dependent upon concrete circumstances, then what are the circumstances in Dalton which are depressing class consciousness or might encourage its later development? Let us summarize previous observations.

1. The tufted textile industry has developed in isolation from other branches of textiles. It was not transplanted from New England or the Carolinas and thus is not a part of the history of those branches and their labor struggles.

2. The tufting industry and its labor force have enjoyed a brief existence. First and second generation workers predominate and their origins are the farms and mountains of the surrounding countryside. Prior to the tufting industry there was little industrial opportunity in the area, thus the history of industry for the area and the workers is the tufting industry.

3. The suddenness of the appearance and growth of the tufting industry upset the pattern and pace of the community. The community was faced with, and unprepared for, a large influx of people needing housing, supplies, and services. The incoming people were faced with the lack of preparation for their arrival and with the transition to a new way of life which included living with and working with a large number of new people.

4. The tufting industry faces a growing dominance by a small number of large mills. Similarly, a growing number of workers are employed by these mills. Industry sources predict that these mills (four or five depending on whom one talks to) will control 70 percent of the tufted market in ten years and the number of mills will be reduced to under one hundred. Similar developments have been noted for the entire

textile industry. At the same time, outside capital has entered the tufting industry and many mills are now operated from headquarters in New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. These four points can help account for the lack of a more significant trade union consciousness among these workers and also uncover tendencies toward its greater development or further stagnation.

We will return to these points in Chapter VII and explore in greater detail their implications for class consciousness and unionization. We will also keep them in mind in presenting our variables and hypothesis in the following chapter.

Summary

In this chapter we have outlined the historical and political-economic featured of the research site in keeping with the method of study features in Chapter II. In the next chapter we turn to the methodology of the study. But the material in this chapter will play an important part in that and the data analysis chapters. We will return again and again to the characteristics of the community and its tufting industry which affect class consciousness and union attitudes.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND PRO-UNION SENTIMENT:

THEORY AND METHOD

In this chapter we will explain in detail what is to be analyzed and how it is to be done. Our study is an attempt to: (1) uncover the impact of the Southern region, the nature of the textile industry, and the history of the community on class consciousness and union attitudes, and (2) ascertain the manner in which individual characteristics of workers affect class consciousness and union attitudes. The first three chapters have been concerned primarily with task (1). In this chapter we will explain how the second task follows from the first.

We have stressed that, as a peripheral industry, textiles has sought areas where it could find less expensive labor and escape worker organization. The South, less advanced industrially and with a labor force emerging from agrarian and mountain environments, supplied these requirements when the industry fled New England. We know that today only a small percentage of textile workers belong to unions but this fact could be reflective of many circumstances, the attitudes of workers being only one. We know that peripheral industries are less likely to be organized but to what extent do worker attitudes contribute to this fact? Concerning textiles, our analysis of the political economy and the discussion of the research site strongly suggest that the attitudes will be negative. We will find out whether or not this is true and also explore variations in responses.

The Dependent and Intervening Variables

Class consciousness and union attitudes have been labeled previously as the main focus, and the main variables, of this study. We can envision class consciousness as a determinant of pro-union attitudes. The positing of such a relationship recognizes that, although similar, class consciousness and union sentiment are certainly not identical. Class consciousness is a complex process involving the evolution of certain conditions associated with the rise of capitalist manufacturing. When measured in survey research it consists of the reported orientation of workers toward other workers, management, and militant activity. Workers are then graded on level of class consciousness whereby the concept becomes partitioned into stages. If the concept were treated as an all or nothing one, it would become worthless in sociological research since presumably nearly all U.S. workers would fall into the "nothing" category. Viewed as a stage phenomenon, however, class consciousness becomes a predictor of union attitudes. For example, workers who identify with management are less likely to favor unions than those who see irreconcilable differences with them. In terms of time, we expect that attitudes toward unions grow out of work experiences (tempered by individual attributes) and the resulting perceptions which are measured by class consciousness. These perceptions then affect orientation toward unions.

We shall note shortly that studying class consciousness in this manner has a rather long history in sociology. It is not, however, completely consistent with the Marxian concept of working class consciousness. In Marxian theory, for example, there are steps beyond union consciousness which are not relevant here.

We will now introduce two intervening variables which will assist in our investigation of class consciousness and union sentiment. The first is alienation. For Marx, alienation refers to the objective conditions of labor in the capitalist mode of production. What will be examined here are the resultant negative feelings produced by these conditions. These objective conditions as well as the subjective reactions of workers are part of the evolution of class consciousness. Thus in our analysis, as in Marx's, alienation precedes class consciousness. Alienation among American workers is frequently studied and alienation among textile workers forms one focus of the famous study by Blauner (1963). We will examine alienation as a dependent variable and also assess its relationship to class consciousness and union sentiment.

The second intervening variable derives from the concept of paternalism which has received prominent attention in this work and others concerned with textile workers. Paternalism is a type of authority system prevalent in textile mills. A consequent of paternalistic relationships is the promotion of deferential attitudes toward authority and thereby the deterrence of unionization. Thus a measure of deference should be helpful in looking at paternalism in the mills and in accounting for class consciousness and union sentiment. We will look at deference in terms of the work setting, especially the authority relations characterizing the mills.

Operationalization of Dependent and Intervening Variables

Union Sentiment. There is little precedent in the literature for questions on unions. In Chapter I we described the lack of empirical research in this area. We did find two fairly recent research projects on union attitudes, one by Getman et al. (1977) and the other by Kochan (1979). Polls by Harris and Associates in 1975 and 1976 also contained questions on unions. All three of these sources suggest questions useful in exploring this issue.

The questions developed for the study attempt to tap attitudes toward different aspects of union performance, from influence on wage and working conditions to interference with worker freedom and union existence--are unions necessary at all and would you vote for one (see Appendix, questions 50-7)? They are designed to measure positive and negative attitudes and also to elicit the degree of approval or disapproval. We recognized the problem of worker perceptions of danger in discussing unions. We attempted to minimize this problem by stressing anonymity of responses and participation and by sensitizing the interviewers.

Class Consciousness. Even a brief review of the literature on class consciousness reveals the confusion in defining and measuring it. In 1966 Morris and Murphey (p. 215) concluded that "despite the central position of class consciousness in the study of stratification, there is a great deal of vagueness, unclarity, and disagreement as to what class consciousness is as a theoretical construct, and as to how it can be measured empirically." It is still true today (Buttel and Flinn, 1979: 39), ". . . it is obvious that a rather disparate set of concepts and

measures have been employed in this area of research."

We will look at some of the difficulties in handling this concept by returning to the starting point for most analyses, the writings of Marx. Here are some of his comments on the emergence of class and the beginning of class consciousness.

Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. (1847:150)

Large-scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their bosses, unites them in a common thought of resistance - combination. (1847:150)

The first stage in the development of a Klasse für sich from a Klasse an sich is the concentration of workers under factory roofs and the realization that their common position produces common interests. This realization is possible only as workers reject competition among themselves (which would include rejecting any pre-existing ideologies stressing individualism, for example). Research generally has ignored this requirement but it would seem a key point in examining cohesiveness, especially in those industries with low skill levels and a large reserve army on call.

In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in a hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. (1852:126)

The workers are aided in their transformation to a Klasse für sich by the emergence of common life styles, interests, and values, all deriving from their common lot under a specific mode of production. In

a passage immediately following the one above, Marx speaks of the identity of interests begetting a community. The workers feel as one and oppose their interests and values to other classes. Some have operationalized this stage by asking workers about their organizational affiliations and neighborhoods of residence, reasoning that association with other workers indicates the formation of such a community. This may or may not be true; direct questions on attitudes, interests, and community feelings seem preferable to this indirect method. We must note here, however, that Marx's writings lend themselves to varying interpretations and thus to diverse operational strategies. This is especially true in those instances, such as the development of class consciousness, where he did not give detailed descriptions and explanations and investigators must fill in the detail themselves.

From his comments on a community of interests, Marx proceeds to discuss the growing opposition between classes and the different forms it takes.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the work-people of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; (1848:29-30)

The organization into a class leads to organization as a political party and then to revolution. Marx wrote these passages in reference to events of a specific time and place. We do not expect them to accurately reflect other times and places and, in fact, they were not accurate in predicting subsequent events of his day. Even a cursory glance at the American working class today tells us that revolution is not imminent

and that investigation of class consciousness should concentrate on the incipient stages of this process: the perception of common interests, the abandonment of individual competition, the growth of a sense of community and opposition. A check of the literature, however, reveals that as much or more attention is spent on "degrees of militant egalitarianism" or "desires for an alternative society." To search for evidence of revolutionary militance among American workers is to tilt at windmills. It is also an injustice to Marx's historical methodology. Bottomore and Rubel, in their introduction to Marx's writings, present a reply Marx wrote to a critic concerning this methodology. Although it is long, it is worth inclusion here.

He has to transform my sketch of the origins of capitalism in Western Europe into a historical-philosophical theory of a universal movement necessarily imposed upon all peoples, no matter what the historical circumstances in which they are placed. . . But I must protest. He does me too much honour, and at the same time discredits me. Let us consider an example. In Capital I have referred on several occasions to the fate which overtook the plebeians in ancient Rome. They were originally independent peasants, cultivating their own plots of land. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. . . Thus, at a certain moment, there were on the one hand free men stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other hand, the owners of all this accumulated wealth, ready to exploit their labour. But what happened? The Roman proletarians did not become wage earners, but an idle mob, more abject even than the erstwhile "poor whites" of the southern States of the USA. Beside them grew up a system of production which was not capitalist, but was based upon slavery. Thus we see that events of a striking similarity, but occurring in different historical contexts, produced quite different results. The key to these phenomena can be discovered quite easily by studying each of these developments separately, but we shall never succeed in understanding them if we rely upon the passe partout of a historical-philosophical theory whose chief quality is that of being supra-historical. (1956:22)

The message is clear. Marx's concepts have utility to the extent that they shed light on specific circumstances. Research has shown

repeatedly that the working class of the U.S. does not have the kind of class consciousness about which Marx wrote. Thus the concept must be modified to take differing conditions into account. One modification is to view class consciousness in terms of degrees or stages, terminology we have used earlier in this paper. How far have workers traveled toward a Marxian class consciousness? Why this far and not farther? Or why this far rather than an earlier stage? Thus in operationalizing the concept we want to focus on those stages which preliminary investigation indicates to be most likely. For textile workers, prior research and field work at the survey site reveal low levels of conflict between management and workers and the probability of low levels of class consciousness. And since we are using class consciousness in a Marxian sense, our questions should be worded as closely as possible to Marx and asked as directly as possible. The questions on class consciousness in the questionnaire were constructed with these thoughts in mind (see Appendix, questions 33-9).

The questions were also influenced by prior work which conceptualizes class consciousness as a series of stages. Leggett (1968) employs this approach, as do Morris and Murphey (1966), Lopreato and Hazelrigg (1972), and Buttel and Flinn (1979). All base their work on Marx yet all offer a unique perspective, evidence again that Marx did not fill in the detail which is necessary for empirical investigation.

Unfortunately, class consciousness has not proved compatible with Guttman type scaling. Many respondents indicate consciousness in later stages and not in earlier ones. As Buttel and Flinn (1979:47) describe the situation, "The failure of these items to yield an adequate intact

Guttman scale and the modest level of class consciousness measured depicts the current nature of working class consciousness in the United States-- it is multi-structured and inconsistent."

Thus, rather than expend energy attempting to devise categories and formulate questions which will form a Guttman scale, the focus here is on construction of a Likert scale. Rather than expecting movement through stages of growth, we are expecting fragmentation. A summated scale tells us which workers with which characteristics demonstrate the most fragments of class consciousness. This does not preclude, of course, taking those items which appear to indicate different levels of consciousness and testing for their scalability. But we will not assign a high degree of importance to scalability.

A final characteristic of our questions on class consciousness is that we are grounding them in the specific and immediate circumstances of the respondents' work environment. This seems a better strategy than asking questions phrased in terms of "American society" or "the" working class. It is within their local communities and mills that workers carry out their day-to-day lives and develop attitudes about their work experience.

Alienation. Alienation is also difficult to operationalize. Marx discussed this concept at length in Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 but the term itself rarely appears in his writings subsequently. Apparently he wished to dissociate himself from the abstract, philosophical character of the term (Giddens, 1971). He did not, however, abandon the idea of alienation. It remained for him an important element of the workers' development of class consciousness. Here are a few of Marx's

statements from the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts:

Labour produces not only commodities: it produces itself and the worker as a commodity - and this at the same rate at which it produces commodities in general.

This fact expresses merely that the object which labour produces - labour's product - confronts it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer. (1844:63)

The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labour becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently, as something alien to him . . . (1844:64)

An immediate consequence of the fact that man is estranged from the product of his labour, from his life activity, from his species-being is the estrangement of man from man. (1844:69)
(All emphases in original work.)

It is through work that man expresses his being so the estrangement of labor alienates man from his work, himself, and his fellow man. Everything produced by his work is appropriated by others. The worker himself is reduced to a commodity to be bought and sold.

The difficulties of measurement are obvious. These statements are not easily translated into questions for workers. Marx did open the door to empirical analysis of alienation, however, with statements such as the following:

What, then, constitutes the alienation of labour? First, the fact that labour is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself, but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. . . His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labour. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it. (1844:66)
(All emphases in original work.)

Here we see Marx stating that alienated labor involves a number of different dimensions. Seeman (1959) identifies five: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. In later

research he operationalizes some of these as a series of questions for workers. These dimensions were also used by Blauner (1964) in his study of alienation in different industrial settings. Their questions for workers are suggestive but require some modification. Our questions, when possible, are directed specifically toward the textile worker and the textile work setting. Nevertheless, we are basically following Seeman and Blauner in defining alienation through questions on the meaning of work, the intrinsic value of work, and the power and direction of the worker over the work setting (see Appendix, questions 20, 23, 24, and 25).

Deference. Deference is an attitude and a type of behavior spawned in workers by paternalism. Paternalism is a relationship involving power differentials which are legitimated and maintained on the basis of traditional type authority. For the purposes of this study, paternalism will be viewed as a class relationship between the textile bourgeoisie and the textile workers. Class relationships are typically relationships of inequality which the superordinate class wishes to maintain. They could be maintained by coercion, but, as Weber noted, an authority system is more stable and reliable when a belief in its legitimacy is cultivated (1964:325). And as Newby states (1978:26-7), historical evidence clearly suggests that employers "have recognized that a labour force that identified with the system that subordinated it was in the long run more reliable and more efficient than a group of workers who gave their grudging consent under the threat of sanctions."

This cultivation of legitimacy has taken the form of paternalism in the textile industry. The bourgeoisie has assumed the posture of a

natural and legitimate source of authority operating for the benefit of all. Workers are expected to assume a posture of deference, accepting the class relationship as legitimate and identifying with the interests of the bourgeoisie. This paternalistic relationship is often portrayed as a natural outgrowth of the ideology of the Old South. McLaurin (1971: 55) claims, "The Southern operative suffered from an acute "great man" complex, accepting the role of the benevolent protector that the entrepreneur had created. Although partially caused by lack of education, much of the acceptance stemmed from the almost feudal social system of the Old South." The mill owners were convinced, McLaurin continues, that they were the natural superiors of the workers and had risen to the top because of their inborn talents.

The ideology of the Old South is, of course, not alone responsible for paternalism and deference. They have appeared at many different times and places but particularly in the initial phases of industrialization. The prevalence of paternalism in the early years of the textile industry in England (Foster, 1974) and New England (Hareven and Langenbach, 1978) is well documented. But it is in the textile industry in the South that paternalism is most firmly rooted, at least in the minds of writers.

This project will seek empirical evidence of deference among textile workers by asking a series of questions concerning such aspects of deference as acquiescence to paternalistic beliefs and subserviance to management decisions. The questions were influenced by English sociologists such as Newby (1977), Lockwood (1966), Martin and Fryer (1975), and Blackburn and Mann (1975) (see Appendix, questions 43-8).

The Independent Variables

The questions formulated around the dependent and intervening variables enable us to describe the extent of deference, alienation, class consciousness, and union sentiment among the workers. But we are also interested in variation in responses. Our earlier analysis of the South and the textile industry and a review of literature, especially in the area of class consciousness (e.g., Manis and Meltzer, 1963; Buttel and Flinn, 1979; Rinehart and Okraku, 1974) suggest the following variables as important predictors of the dependent and intervening variables.

Size and ownership. We have noted in several places that changes are occurring in the textile industry and its tufting branch. The larger mills are attempting to stabilize the market and centralize production to eliminate the fierce competition and fluctuating market which make capital investment, research and development, advertising and public relations, and unions problematic. For the industry as a whole, these changes should impact significantly on management authority and labor relations. Rationalization of production becomes increasingly stressed as the stakes become higher. The personalistic control characteristic of textiles is precluded as management becomes bureaucratized and the workers swell in number. These changes are occurring at the same time that the workers are becoming separated from the traditional, folk-type society and socialized into more of an urban-industrial one. Thus paternalism begins to lose its effectiveness as a device screening the conflict of labor and management because of changes in the industry and changes in the region.

In both the industry and its tufting branch, outside capital has and is playing a role. Others have noted the effect of the change in

management personnel and policy that accompanies takeovers (see Pope, 1942; Gouldner, 1952; Warner and Low, 1947). In general, we expect the distance between management and labor to increase and paternalism to decline. As with increasing size, informal rules are replaced by formal ones, the workers' roles become more structured (or formalized), and thus the likelihood of alienation, class consciousness, and pro-union sentiment grows.

The effect of these changes in size and ownership may not be as pronounced in Dalton because of the recency of industrialization noted in Chapter III. Thus paternalism may retain a stronger hold on management practice and on workers in Dalton than in the industry in general.

Turning now to personal attributes, we will select certain ones which, on the basis of our first two chapters and the relevant literature, should contribute to variation in worker expressions of union sentiment, class consciousness, alienation, and deference.

Sex. Women were often excluded from the labor organizations of the nineteenth century and faced a long period of secondary status in unions thereafter. Only recently did a woman attain a seat on the executive council of the AFL-CIO. This exclusion, of course, is part of a larger historical pattern of male dominance.

We noted earlier that the traditional background of the workers studied here, in the sense of the authority relations characterizing the rural South and in the sense of women's traditional role as secondary citizens, should have a depressing effect on alienation, class consciousness, and union sentiment for all workers but especially for women. On the basis of his Roper study data, Blauner (1963) concluded that

"women in the industry are not dissatisfied with such work. Work does not have the central importance and meaning in their lives that it does for men, since their most important roles are those of wives and mothers."

Wages. American workers have typically joined unions and expressed discontent because of so-called bread and butter issues rather than ones of revolution or even worker control (there are exceptions certainly, e.g. the I.W.W.). In textiles we noted the tendency to organize after wage cuts and stretchouts which threatened income and security. There is a great probability that what is usually called class consciousness in sociological research, this project included, is actually a form of trade union consciousness. Thus we expect workers' wages to have an impact on union sentiment as well as on the intervening variables. Those earning higher wages might feel less of a need for unions, have a less well developed sense of class (or trade union) consciousness, and experience less alienation (see Buttel and Flinn, 1979). The higher wages might also make them complacent participants in the paternalistic authority system as manifested in greater expressions of deference.

Years in textiles. The longer a worker has toiled in the mills the longer he or she has had to become habituated to the work and the authority structure. A longer period of servitude also locks one into a dependency on the mill work to meet obligations accumulated over time. Thus we expect that length of employment will be negatively associated with pro-union sentiment, class consciousness, and alienation. These long-term workers could be the ones most likely to notice and complain about changes in the mill such as bureaucratization and more rational production methods. In general, however, the longer the workers have

labored in the mills the more likely their origins, and thus their socialization settings, were the traditional farm and mountain communities and the more vivid the comparison of mill work with the hardship of this traditional life.

Age. Age should have effects similar to length of mill experience. Older workers will more likely be locked into commitments and habituated to the mill routine. Their experiences of hardship in the past should mitigate the effect of low wages and dull jobs today. Younger workers, influenced by the mass media emphasis on the consumer society, are more likely to find the mills harsh and unrewarding. It is quite possible that age and years in textiles are so highly correlated that we do not need two separate variables since their influence and effects are basically the same.

Education. Anything which holds the workers to traditional Southern rural values of individualism and deference and limits their exposure to alternatives in both values and in employment opportunities works against class consciousness and pro-unionism. Lack of education is an example. Those with more education have a chance to perceive their situation more clearly and compare it with others. These people we expect will express greater support for unions, exhibit more signs of class consciousness, and be less deferential. This expectation differs from that of some other studies (see Buttel and Flinn, 1979:32) but is consistent with our analysis of the peripheral characteristics of the textile industry and the Southern region. Buttel and Flinn note that education is related to income and that those with little schooling will

be trapped in low skilled, low paying, and unstable jobs which make them more alienated and class conscious. More highly educated workers have more skilled positions and greater security.

Our study concerns workers in a peripheral industry in a region more recently industrialized. We do not expect education to be related to skill level or job stability for textile workers because of the generally low educational levels of all textile workers and the preponderance of low skilled jobs. It is doubtful, for example, if an eighth grade education or if even 10 percent of the jobs necessitate any skill that is learned in school. The consequence of education for these workers should be to challenge, however slightly, the traditional way of life and raise questions about the nature of the labor-management relationship.

Religion. In studies of workers, religion is typically viewed in the Marxian sense of a depressant of activism (see Buttel and Flinn, 1979; Pope, 1942; Manis and Meltzer, 1963).¹⁸ This would appear to be an especially relevant view in areas of fundamental religion in which the focus is on "the life hereafter" and the acceptance of one's position in life and the events in the world as "God's will." Such a religious orientation should be inconsistent with alienation, class consciousness, and pro-unionism but compatible with paternalistic authority and deference.

Skill level. We have stressed the generally low skill requirements of textile work. Discussions with management and workers, nevertheless,

¹⁸Manis and Meltzer found the opposite of what they hypothesized.

revealed some skill distinctions which might have some bearing on workers' attitudes. If the few relatively skilled positions (certain machine operators and mechanics) receive higher wages and more autonomy, the effect of education and years in textiles might be offset. Thus we include skill level for greater analytical clarity. Generally, skill level is considered to be negatively related to class consciousness, alienation, and pro-union sentiment, and thus positively related to deference (Buttel and Flinn, 1979). This is how we will view it. However, it is quite possible that increasing skill level has the same consequences we suggested for education and thus might positively affect class consciousness and union sentiment.

Operationalization of Independent Variables

Measurement of wages, years in textiles, gender, education, and age was accomplished by straightforward questions. All workers interviewed were paid by the hour, as appears to be the rule in tufting but not other branches of the textile industry, and thus there was no piece-work to contend with.

For skill level measurement, workers were asked to name their jobs and a list of all jobs mentioned was submitted to two textile mill officials for skill ranking on a six point continuum.

Religiosity was measured by five questions covering church affiliation, church attendance, strength of belief in the Bible, life after death, and use of religion in day-to-day affairs. These questions were formulated in conjunction with a review of studies of Southern religion by Photiades (1967; 1968) and Ford (1961).

Information on the structural variables of mill size and type of ownership was gathered by recording the name of respondents' mills and then turning to the Georgia Manufacturing Directory (1978-79) for size of establishment and ownership. In cases where this information was not listed (about 5 percent), help was sought from the Carpet and Rug Institute. Only three mills, out of fifty represented in the sample, could not be classified on size and ownership.

There are many additional variables and characteristics associated with textile workers that one would like to explore but there are also considerations of length of interview for both respondent and interviewer which suggest the need for limits. We did add other questions thought useful for analytical and descriptive purposes. These can be found in the questionnaire and concern such items as worker backgrounds, plans for the future, job satisfaction, willingness for sons and daughters to work in the mills, and membership in organizations. We will discuss some of these in the following chapter.

Statement of the Hypothesis

The general picture that emerges from our analysis in Chapters I, II, and III, and from our description of variables is that workers from traditional backgrounds in the rural South as indicated by strong, fundamental religious beliefs, little education, and advanced age and years in textiles should demonstrate the least amounts of class consciousness, alienation, and pro-union sentiment and the greatest amounts of deference. This view is congruous with Lopreato and Hazelrigg's summation of Marx's argument (1972:25): "the probability of class consciousness grows with the rise of urbanism and industrialization of localities so that the workers

in urban industrial centers are more likely to be class conscious than their rural counterparts." The textile industry, in choosing localities not highly urbanized and industrialized, has maximized chances for easily controlled workers.

Wage level, skill level, and gender should also affect responses apart from the effect of the variables in the preceding paragraph. And mill size and type of ownership should affect the work setting and thus exert some influence on worker responses.

In Figure 1 the variables of the study are arranged in the manner in which they have been described and related in this Chapter. The expected directions of the relationships are stated below in what is the hypothesis for our data analysis.

Hypothesis: For the workers in our sample, pro-union sentiment is:

- (a) positively associated with class consciousness, alienation, mill size, absentee-ownership, education, and being male; and
- (b) negatively associated with deference, wage level, skill level, religiosity, age, years in textiles, and being female.

Survey Construction

In order to test this hypothesis as well as gather other data for analytical and descriptive purposes, a questionnaire was constructed for administration to workers in the Dalton community. The process of questionnaire construction and the problems of phrasing questions which are intelligible to the respondents and meaningful within the context of the workers' environment were ameliorated by the fact that the author

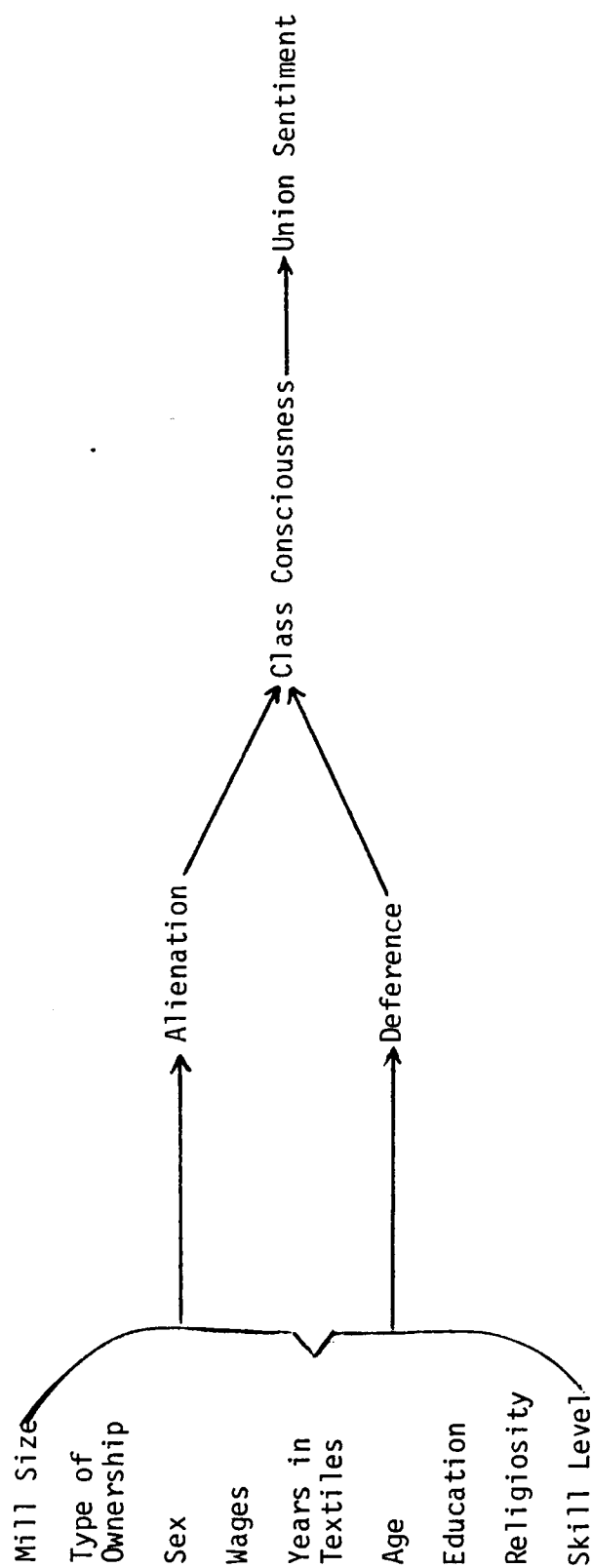


Figure 1. Variables of the Study

lived in this community for four years and worked with low income families many of whose members had worked or were working in textile mills.

Prior to developing the questionnaire the author returned to the community and interviewed management personnel and other industry knowledgeable including an historian writing a book on the community, a professor of textile management at the local community college, a psychologist, social workers, and an official of the organization representing the tufted textile industry. Buttressed by these contacts in the community, a questionnaire took shape. These interviews were also helpful in adding to our knowledge of the community and our understanding of the factors affecting worker attitudes.

The first version of the questionnaire was pre-tested in Dalton by the author and several hired interviewers. Names of mill workers were randomly selected from the City-County Directory and fifteen workers were interviewed. Six of these interviews were conducted in greater depth than the others in order to explore areas neglected by the survey instrument. These pre-tests were beneficial in highlighting weaknesses and omissions and resulted in the revision of the questionnaire into its final form.

Data Collection

Each year the city and county governments of the Dalton area jointly commission a directory to be compiled with names, addresses, occupations, employers, and telephone numbers of all people over the age of eighteen living or working in the greater Dalton area. It excludes rural residents not working in the area but includes those who work in the area and commute from other places. This directory is the most comprehensive list and

description of textile workers in the area mills that could be expected and therefore was used as the sampling frame for the study. The most recent directory available was the 1979 edition compiled in the summer of that year and thus workers sampled from it in May and interviewed from May through September had at least one year of experience at the interview time. This fact is consistent with the needs of the project in that we are assessing the responses and perceptions of workers to their work environment. Workers newly hired would not possess the familiarity with this environment that the questions assume.

A computer generated list of random numbers was used for the sampling. Only those identified as holding production jobs in a textile mill were eligible (e.g., machine operator, creeler, winder, tagger, hyster driver). Truck drivers employed by the mills, office workers, and management were excluded. Early inspection of names sampled showed that simple random sampling was resulting in a wide distribution of mill sizes and the proper proportion of males to females (based on 1970 census data).

We drafted a letter explaining that a study of textile workers was in progress and that participation, although completely voluntary, was hoped for so that we might learn more about the lives of such workers. The letter stressed the anonymity of responses and participation and was mailed in advance of contact by an interviewer.

The hiring of interviewers was problematic. Initially six students from the local community were hired. Three of these quit either after the pretest or early in the data collection process, citing difficulties in contacting respondents, or frustration at being turned down, or lack

of time. The remaining three quit shortly thereafter for the same reasons. Undoubtedly, the interviewing process was more demanding than expected and the interviewer training sessions, although they attempted to stress difficulties and setbacks, were not sufficiently effective. After an unsuccessful attempt to hire through the state employment agency in the area, a permanent interviewer was found. This person had been coordinating census interviews and was looking for additional employment. His experience in interviewing and his availability resulted in his administering the final 150 interviews. The data gathering period lasted from mid-May through September.

After 130 interviews had been completed, we were surprised to find that the average age of females in the sample was fifty-four years and that only one woman under thirty years had been interviewed. For reasons discussed in Chapter V, we decided that the problem lay in the Directory and a decision was made to locate more young females through door-to-door canvassing of working class neighborhoods and apartments. Twenty-eight interviews were conducted in this manner. Although this strategy meant abandoning a completely random sampling, it was deemed necessary as the arguments in Chapter V will show.

Although the introduction to the Directory claims that the persons listed constitute all those working and/or living within the Dalton area, it was obvious in examining the Directory that this was not true. People working in the area but living outside it, either in rural areas of the county or in other counties, were underrepresented. The Directory contained roughly 3,500 names of textile workers compared to the 15,000 reported to be working in mills in the county in the period in which the Directory was compiled (not all the mills are in the immediate Dalton

area, of course). The 3,500 figure, according to calculations from census data, is approximately the number of people working in the mills who live in the Dalton area.

The apparent problem, revealed in a telephone conversation with an official of the company which compiled the directory, was that workers living outside the Dalton area were found by seeking employment rolls from all businesses in the area. Even a brief glance in the Directory was sufficient to conclude that either some businesses were not contacted or did not comply. It is not surprising that larger mills did not wish to publish a list of their workers which would then be available to union organizers.

This undercount presented a problem. Either a strategy was needed to include workers living outside the city, since the Directory contained only a partial and unrepresentative listing of them, or these workers would have to be eliminated from the sampling. Prior to making a decision a number of knowledgeable in the industry were contacted and each argued strongly against the idea that workers living in the city differed from workers living outside. These outside workers very rarely lived on farms, according to these sources; typically they lived in suburban neighborhoods or small communities scattered throughout the county.

Three pretest interviews were conducted with workers from the county and no obvious differences in attitudes or characteristics on the major dependent or independent variables were found. On the basis of best evidence, therefore, we found no reason to modify the random sampling process in order to include a proportional number and unrepresentative sample of rural residents. Those who lived outside the immediate Dalton

area were excluded from the sample. This decision, we later discovered, was fortunate since the residences of the county residents were often identified through box numbers and rural routes which would have caused great difficulty in locating them.

One further observation about the Directory is the less than adequate listing of apartment dwellers. For reasons that are unclear, many of these people were listed without occupations. Since apartments are frequently populated by younger couples and singles, there was a danger that the sampling was missing these types of textile workers. This danger was another factor in the decision to canvass several working class apartments.

The final sampling technique was a simple random sample modified by drawing a quota sample from selected sites underrepresented in the original sampling frame. This element of nonprobability sampling reduces the assurance of inference to the population of textile workers in the area, but without this element the sample was known to be biased in ways described above.

A primary determinant of sample size is the requirement of the method of data analysis being used. Here we are looking at relationships, for example between religiosity and union attitudes. We also want to determine the relative contribution of a number of independent variables on each of our dependent variables. The variables, as indicated in Figure 1, have been arranged in time order and the attempt was made to measure them at an interval level. Given these circumstances the type of data analysis used is multiple regression. Using multiple regression one "should have at least 100 subjects, preferably 200 or more." (Kerlinger

and Pedhazur, 1973:446). The final sample size of 208 represents the maximum number of interviews financially feasible.

Data Handling

As interviews were mailed in by interviewers they were coded and typed into the computer. This procedure allowed periodic inspection of the data to check for distributions of key variables such as age, sex, and mill size. When the last interview was completed in September, the data were ready for analysis. In the next chapter we will look at an overview of the sample, describing some of the more important variables and interesting characteristics.

Ten percent of those sampled could not be located either because they had moved or their addresses were incorrectly listed in the Directory. Thirty-six persons, or 15 percent of those asked, refused to participate.

CHAPTER V

THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CARPET INDUSTRY

In this chapter we describe the characteristics of the working class in the community as represented by our sample. We will devote particular attention to the sex and age composition because of the unusually high proportion of female workers in this and other textile industries and the age problem of our sample reported in Chapter IV.

Apart from the sections on sex and age composition, the material is primarily descriptive with little analysis provided. The chapter attempts to delineate a general sketch of these workers and provide summary information on questions which reveal attitudes about work, class relations, and community. Correlations among the independent variables are presented in Table 5-1 and are referred to throughout the chapter. We will examine these and other statistics in subsequent chapters.

Men and Women in the Mills

One of the first images that comes to mind when thinking of the textile industry is that of women working in the mills. In Chapter III we discussed this relationship between sex and textiles and noted that low wages, low skill levels, the perceived passivity of women (arising out of historical conditions of male domination), and the concept of a family wage were important historically in the making of the textile labor force with a high percentage of women.

These factors remain a part of the industry today and thus women continue to be a significant part of the composition of mill workers.

Table 5-1. Correlation (Pearson) Matrix for Independent Variables.

Independent Variables	Age	Wage	Owner-ship ^a	Reli-gion	Years in Textiles	Educa-tion	Mill Size	Sex ^c	Skill Level ^d
Age		-.08	-.07	.39***	.73***	-.44***	-.08	.08	.07
Wage			-.43***	.07	.04	.09	.52***	-.34***	.04
Ownership				.07	-.12*	-.02	-.49***	.09	.01
Religiosity					.28***	.10	-.04	-.14*	.02
Years						-.31***	-.03	.02	.05
Education							.03	.01	.05
Mill size								-.10	.01
Sex									-.11

a1=absentee owned; 2=locally owned.

bReligion is measured by the question on use of religion in life (question 19): 1=strongly agree that religion influences daily life, 6=strongly disagree.

c1=male; 2=female.

d1=least skilled; 6=most skilled.

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Even the concept of the family wage continues to have contemporary significance. Management personnel and workers mentioned in interviews that women worked in the mills to supplement their husbands' and/or family's income. The implication is that men working in this community which is dominated by textile mills cannot support their families on their wages. This situation is hardly unique, of course, but contributes more significantly to the composition of a labor force in a one-industry textile community than it would in a more diverse area. In Dalton workers' wives are very likely to seek employment in a textile mill; 46 percent of the females employed are at work in mills. Although a figure for place of employment of working class wives is not available, one would assume it to be higher.

Within the textile industry in the community, approximately 45 percent of the workers are female. This figure illustrates both need and opportunity for women to work in the area. As the community industrialized in the 1930s people rushed to the area in search of opportunity. From 1930 to 1950 the county grew by almost 15,000; from 1950 to 1970 another 21,000 were added. The mechanization of tufting had, of course, undermined the cottage production of the countryside. Entire families had worked on the tufting designs brought to them by "haulers." With the work moving under mill roofs these rural families were stripped of income-producing labor and faced with the problem of what to do next. The cottage industry which had given them a certain amount of economic security had also put them under a yoke of dependency which drove them to the mills when this system withered away. With them came mountain families and farmers who, like many of those in the cottage industry, had fought a losing battle with the land. They discovered that there were places in the mills not only for the men but for wives and older children as well. This opportunity was clearly a function of the technology of textiles. In mining or steel towns such opportunities were quite limited.

Low wages that have become a tradition in textiles pressured wives and children to seize the chance for work in the mills and supplement the family income. There were undoubtedly some unmarried women (single, divorced, or widowed) who worked in the mills in the 30s and 40s but one can see forces at work increasing this subgroup of single women. Unlike the situation in Lowell and Manchester and other New England textile communities in the nineteenth century, there is little evidence that young single women rushed to the mills from the farms. Instead, the single women in the mills seem to be a product of conditions in the

industrializing community. Under any conditions of living there are divorces and deaths breaking up families. Under the conditions facing newly arriving families in Dalton, there were added pressures on family stability: new financial arrangements to respond to, new working conditions to adjust to, new people and events to cope with. We can only guess at the effects of these conditions on early workers but one probable outcome was the frequent breakup of families. Social workers and psychologists in the area testified about the high incidence of family and individual instability among mill workers of today and did so in terms of the rapidity of industrialization in the area and the difficulty of adjusting to mill work. Family breakup, of course, increases the pressure on women to enter the mills and increases the supply of single women in the labor force.

As the children of the early workers grew to working age they added to the number of single women in, or potentially in, the labor force. Thus the conditions of industrialization--its rapidity attracting workers to the area, the pressures on family stability, the technology considered suitable for women, the one-industry dominance, the low wages--created a pool of women, some married but many single, with the need and opportunity for work. This was of tremendous value to the industry, enlarging their supply of labor and creating conditions for a reserve army which stimulated downward pressure on wages and poor conditions for unionization. The industry attracted labor and supplied conditions under which that labor would be of most benefit to them.

That these kinds of conditions are important in the formation, and lack of formation, of class consciousness is evident. Daniel Walkowitz (1978), as described earlier, compared two towns in New York, Troy and

Cohoes, as they industrialized in the nineteenth century and found that differences in the technology of their respective industries and in the labor forces that were the product of the particular circumstances of each town produced radically different working class characteristics. Cohoes was a cotton mill community with an unskilled work force, 60 percent female. The unskilled nature of the work and the fact that women and children were considered prime candidates for employment attracted large numbers of people to the area creating a reserve army competing for jobs with those in the mills and among themselves. There was little opportunity for solidarity to develop.

In Troy, the iron industry held sway. There were many skilled positions involved and the work was considered too demanding for women and children. These conditions decreased the potential labor supply and resulted in less diversity within the working class. A sense of community developed among the workers. They knew they were important in the productive process and had leverage to push demands. Accordingly, they formed a union and engaged in protracted conflicts with management. Their protests were further enhanced by the presence in the area of several other industries competing for labor. The strong sense of community among workers also resulted in a network into which new workers could be channeled to facilitate adaptation to a new life. This kind of network was never visible in Cohoes.

Walkowitz's study reminds us that the structural conditions generated by the development of the textile industry have a remarkable similarity from time to time and place to place as our theoretical outline noted. And women remain a central part of these conditions. This

sentence from Women of Lowell written in 1898 (p. 50) remains relevant today, "Thus it happened, that if a woman did not choose to marry, or, when left a widow, to re-marry, she had no choice but to enter one of the few employments open to her, or to become a burden on the charity of some relative."

Historically, men have monopolized the higher paying and more skilled positions in the textile industry (see Walkowitz, 1978 or McLaurin, 1971, e.g.). But psychologically they have had to cope with the job characteristics and labor force composition. The danger and/or extreme difficulty which encourages a strong comraderie and necessitates dependence among the workers in mining or steel mills does not exist in textiles. Instead there is competition with women for jobs and pay for not all men can work in the more skilled positions. Men are often doing the same work that women today or children in the past do or have done. They also face the fact that their incomes are insufficient for their families' needs and that their wives must work to supplement them. For both men and women thus the textile industry has generated conditions with adverse effects on economic and emotional stability.

Table 5-2 presents statistics comparing male to female workers. On many characteristics they are quite similar. A higher percentage of women, however, have been laid off, a smaller percentage are married, would vote for a union, or ever discuss unions. Men make higher wages and work in larger mills. Over 50 percent of the fathers of both female and male workers were farmers or textile workers. Women average slightly more years in the textile industry but fewer years in their current mill indicating greater mobility from mill to mill. We will have additional comments about differences in marital status in a later section.

Table 5-2. Comparison of Males and Females in the Sample.

Variables	Females	Males
1. Average number of years worked in textiles	17.3	16.7
2. Average number of years worked in current mill	5.8	8.1
3. Percent ever laidoff	36.5	22.3
4. Percent ever on welfare due to money problems caused by mills	24.9	28.6
5. Mean age	44.7	42.3
6. Mean years of education	8.6	8.6
7. Percent now married	44.8	87.5
8. Mean hourly wage	4.07	4.64
9. Mean mill size	604	717
10. Percent having fathers who were textile workers	21.9	18.8
11. Percent having fathers who were farmers	32.3	33.0
12. Percent ever discussing unions	12.5	19.6
13. Percent definitely or probably for a union at their mill	33.3	43.8
Number in sample	96	112
Percentage of sample	47	53

Age

As indicated in Table 5-2, the mean age of male workers in our sample is forty-two years and of female workers, forty-five years. Prior to changing our sampling, as described in Chapter Four, the mean ages were, respectively, forty-five and fifty-four years with only one woman under thirty included in our sample. We need to look at factors affecting the age structure of the labor force and our sample.

First, it is possible that older persons are more likely to work in the mills and that they will continue to work longer than workers in other industries. There is no fixed age of retirement and few pension

plans. Most jobs are not physically demanding. Eleven workers in the sample are sixty-five or older; two women are seventy-nine.

Secondly, it is probable that the original sample was biased toward older workers. There is strong evidence that young workers were underrepresented in the Directory. If they had begun work less than one year prior to the sampling they would not have been identified by the directory as textile workers. If they were living at their parents home it is quite possible that they were missed because a significant portion of the information in the directory, as indicated earlier, comes from neighbors or landlords who might know where the head of the house works but not where a young wife or a son or daughter works. This possibility is especially strong when we note the relative scarcity of young women in the original sample. It appears that their husbands or fathers are more likely to be listed than they are. And it also appears that those living in apartments are less likely to have an occupation listed by their name but more likely to be young. All of these considerations give weight to the argument that older workers were more likely to be identified in the city directory.

As indicated earlier, we identified the potential problem of a non-representative age distribution prior to the completion of the interviewing and devised several ways of countering it. Older men and women were asked if they had a son or daughter working in the mills and younger husbands if they had wives in the mills. Attempts were then made to interview these alternatives rather than the initial person contacted. Then several working class apartments were identified and a door-to-door canvassing undertaken. These methods resulted in the inclusion of more young workers (seventeen of them).

On the other hand, we earlier constructed a hypothetical scenario in which older workers were preferred by the mills. The results of our sampling give a measure of credibility to this notion, and several sources in Dalton provided an analysis of the age structure of the working class which is compatible, though not identical to, this scenario. According to these sources the ages of the current work force are a reflection of the fact that the industry began attracting large numbers of workers in the 1940s. The children of these workers, however, are not as attracted to the mills as their parents and frequently look for better jobs even if this means leaving the community. The result is an age distribution skewed toward older persons. In addition, women typically enter the mills at a later age than men because of child bearing and many do not enter until their children have left home. Thus the average age of the women in the mills is higher than that for men. In addition, these sources mentioned the problem of younger workers moving in and out of the mills and from mill to mill. This instability does not make older workers preferred but does result in some young workers becoming unacceptable to mills because of their poor work records.

We do not have to accept the details of this argument, but it contains fascinating ideas that fit in with our scenario. It gives us reason to suspect that our original sampling gave us a representation of the more stable work force in this industry. Let us examine this analysis and its relationship to our scenario.

First we must cast doubt on the implication, strongly given by one source, that social mobility of children has affected the age structure of the work force. It is difficult to believe that any substantial mobility upward from the textile working class occurs inter- or

intra generationally. The possibility of geographical mobility out of the area exists as young workers look for opportunities elsewhere. This outward movement is probably offset, however, by movement into the community of those hearing reports of availability of work in the area. Thus there is little reason to suspect that young men do not work in the mills, but there is evidence that they do not work steadily. Thirty-one of the men (53.4 percent) in our sample have been in their mill less than five years whereas only eight (13.8 percent) have been in textiles less than five years. This indicates mobility from workplace to workplace and thus most likely indicates periods of time during which young men are not employed and thus not identified in the City Directory as textile workers.

There are additional considerations for young women. There is perhaps some tendency for younger women to fill positions outside of textiles especially in the retail trade, eating and drinking, and personal service sectors which might prefer them over older women. On the other hand, there are few places likely to express a preference for young men over older ones. Childbearing and the welfare system may also drain young women from the mills. Childcare is not readily available in the community and women with children under six are not required by the welfare program to register with the employment office as are other women. Thus there are reasons to suspect that the average age of women in the mills is higher than that of men as mill management claims and the data show.

The above arguments suggest that the average age of men and particularly of women in the mills is lower than it was in our original sample, but not as low as we might initially think. Part of the problem

lies in the procedural inadequacies of the city directory and part in the mobility pattern of young workers which is undoubtedly matched by residential mobility resulting in exclusion from the directory. An attempt was made to overcome these problems through changes in sampling.

A breakdown of the age structure of the sample is presented in Table 5-3. Correlations of age with other variables are in Table 5-1 (p. 137).

Table 5-3. Age Structure of the Sample (in Percentages).

Age	Males	Females	Total
Less than 20	3.6	0	1.9
20-29	24.1	19.8	22.1
30-39	17.8	21.9	19.2
40-49	17.0	12.5	14.9
50-59	19.6	30.5	24.5
60-69	17.8	13.5	15.8
70 and over	0	2.1	1.0

Education

Both the male and female workers in the sample average 8.6 years of education. Forty-five, or 21.8 percent, are high school graduates. Nine reported some college or vocational educational experience while fifty-one (25 percent) reported six or less than six years of schooling (Table 5-4). In the county overall, 30.4 percent of the males and 29.2 percent of the females are high school graduates.

The correlation matrix (Table 5-1, p. 137) shows age as the variable most highly correlated with education; younger workers have spent more years

Table 5-4. Years of School for the Sample

Years	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-3	13	11.7	4	4.2	17	8.3
4-6	16	14.4	18	19.0	34	16.5
7-9	29	26.2	29	30.4	58	28.1
10-11	23	20.7	29	30.4	52	25.3
Total	111		95		206	

in school. Interestingly skill level, as suggested in Chapter IV, is not related to education nor is wage.

There is a very small correlation (.12, $p < .05$) between education and intention to vote for a union. There is a negative relationship between education and approval of son or daughter working in the mills (-.31, $p < .001$) and between education and expressions of job interest (.13, $p < .05$). Obviously, however, education does not have a large bearing on any of these issues.

Religion

The impact of religion on Southern workers has been studied frequently. Pope (1942), Ford (1961), Blauner (1964), Photiades (1978), and Earle et al. (1976) have either centered their attention on religion or made observations about its place in Southern culture. Generally these writers have found Southerners and Southern workers very religious, especially in a fundamental sense (see Ford, e.g.) although this religiosity is not necessarily reflected in such characteristics as church attendance or membership (see Photiades, 1978).

Marx, of course, described religion as a narcotic, inducing complacency in workers and erecting a barrier to collectivization. Blauner (1964) emphasizes this role as does Pope (1942). Manis and Meltzer (1963), however, in a study of New Jersey textile workers found that the respondents attending church more frequently were those who scored higher on their class consciousness index.

The predominance of the Baptist religion in the South is well known. One way to judge its importance in the Dalton area is to look in the telephone directory. Forty-three Baptist churches are listed

with eleven Methodist, six Church of God, four Church of Christ, two Presbyterian and two Seventh Day Adventist, and one each for Catholics, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Jews.

Forty-four percent of the respondents reported that they are not church members. Of the 115 who are members, 88 are Baptist. Fifty percent of the respondents do not attend church. Overall church attendance averages 2.4 times per month. Again we note Photiades' finding (1978) that religious fundamentalists are often infrequent churchgoers.

As an indicator of religious fundamentalism, one question asked, "How do you feel about this statement--everything in the Bible is completely and literally true?" One hundred sixty-nine (81.6 percent) respondents strongly agreed, twenty-six (12.5 percent) mostly agreed, and seven (3.4 percent) agreed somewhat. Only five workers (2.4 percent) expressed any degree of disagreement.¹⁹

Another question measured the influence of religion on day-to-day affairs. This question resulted in a better distribution of responses than either the attendance or fundamentalism question. Sixty-nine workers (33.2 percent) strongly agreed that their religion influenced almost everything they did but fifty-two (25.0 percent) expressed some degree of disagreement.²⁰

There was also a wide range of responses to a question on the importance of life after death. This question, however, seemed to confuse

¹⁹There is a correlation of .20 ($p < .05$) between the fundamentalism question and church attendance which does not support Photiades' conclusion (1978).

²⁰There is a correlation of .35 ($p < .001$) between this question and church attendance. Thus church attendance is related to the importance of religion for these workers.

many respondents as reported by the interviewers. An inter-item correlation matrix of the questions on religion revealed that this question correlated poorly with the others. The matrix also indicates that construction of a religiosity scale is impractical. The few coefficients that are relatively high are unimpressive given the poor distribution on most of the items.

One final question on religion was asked in order to ascertain whether respondents consciously view religion as a constraint on unionization. In response to the question "Do you think that people who are very religious should be opposed to unions?," 23 (11.2 percent) gave a yes answer, 108 (52.4 percent) gave a no answer and 75 (36.1 percent) responded "don't know." A large number of respondents commented that the question was strange or illogical, that religion had nothing to do with unions.

Overall then religion is not perceived as a constraint on organizing. Nevertheless we find a correlation of $-.22$ ($p = .001$) between church attendance and intention to vote for a union and one of $-.17$ ($p < .01$) between use of religion in day-to-day affairs and intention to vote for a union. Those using religion more often in their daily lives are also more likely to find their jobs interesting ($.25$, $p < .001$), rate their mills highly ($.15$, $p < .01$), and approve of their children working in the mills ($.23$, $p < .001$).

Jobs

The 208 respondents gave thirty-four different job titles. Seven of these titles could not be identified by two industry knowledgeable who ranked the remaining twenty-seven on a six point skill continuum. These rankings are shown in Table 5-5 with category (6) being the most skilled

positions and category (1) being the least skilled.

Table 5-5. Job Titles and Distribution for Sample.

Category	Male	Females
(1) Lead man, janitor, folder	2 (1.9%)	4 (4.3%)
(2) Twister, wrapper, stocker, stamper, order puller, creeler	8 (7.6%)	15 (16.3%)
(3) Sampler, shipping, roller, single needle operator, odd jobber	16 (15.2%)	13 (14.1%)
(4) Mender/inspector, winder, dryer, serger, binder, sewer	14 (13.3%)	37 (40.2%)
(5) Latex compounder, hyster driver, lab technician, expeditor	15 (14.2%)	4 (4.3%)
(6) Machine operator, maintenance/ mechanic, supervisor	50 (47.6%)	19 (20.6%)
Total number of respondents	105	92

There are interesting differences in job allocation by sex. Sixty-one percent of the males, compared to twenty-five percent of the females, occupy jobs in the top two skill categories. There are no women in maintenance or supervisory roles in the sample. Instead, women predominate in category (4) jobs which are directly involved with handling yarn.

In spite of differences in types of jobs held, males and females differ very little in their perceptions of mill work. Of the women surveyed 66.7 percent and of the men 67.9 percent find their jobs interesting all or most of the time; 58.3 percent of the women and 58.0 percent of the men would be happy to have their children work in the mills, and 75.0 percent

of the women and 73.2 percent of the men plan to work in the mills until retirement.

In response to the question "Do you ever feel that you are competing with other workers?," only 12.3 percent of the males and 13.6 percent of the females stated that they felt this way all or most of the time. Of the women sampled 77.1 percent and of the men 66.6 percent reported that they rarely or never felt competition. Thus even though there are differences in jobs and wages among the workers, especially between men and women, these differences do not appear to be divisive or matters of contention. Also 68.7 percent of the women and 83.1 percent of the men stated that they thought differences in pay among the workers were fair.

Over 73 percent of the workers interviewed are on the first shift, 17 percent are on the second and 9 percent are on the third. Many of the smaller mills do not have second and third shifts and mills that do have them terminate them or reduce the manpower during economic slumps such as the one occurring during the interview process.

In 1947 Roper Poll, reported by Blauner (1964), 51 percent of the textile workers sampled (from the North and South) stated that they would choose a different occupation if they could start their careers again. In our sample, 54.8 percent would choose a different occupation with 35.1 choosing textiles again and 10.1 percent uncertain.²¹

²¹ Compare these figures with the 67 percent who state they are satisfied with their job and 64 percent who rate their mills as good or great places to work for insight into the difficulty of measuring job satisfaction (see Rinehart, 1978).

The workers sampled have labored in the mills an average of 16.9 years and in their current mills for seven years. These figures indicate a substantial amount of mobility within the industry, some of which is due to layoffs which encourage workers to apply at other mills. Furthermore 28.8 percent of the respondents reported layoffs in their careers, 27.9 percent reported financial problems due to layoffs, and 26.4 percent reported periods of time on welfare (including foodstamps) during layoffs.

In response to a question on speed of work, 11 percent of the workers asserted that they were unhappy all or most of the time with the speed required; 30.8 percent reported unhappiness some of the time and 58.9 percent claimed rarely or never to be unhappy about speed. In the Roper Poll (see Blauner, 1964) 37.0 percent of the Southern textile workers thought they had to work too fast. Also from the Roper Poll, 16 percent of the Southern textile workers complained that their jobs were too simple for them whereas in our sample 6.7 percent said the jobs were too simple all the time, 5.8 percent said most of the time, and 13.9 percent said some of the time. Strict comparisons with the Roper data are difficult because of the greater variety in response categories used in this study.²²

Of the workers surveyed 77.1 percent acknowledged that they often or very often talk with other workers while on the job; 63.9 percent have discussed wages, 67.3 percent have discussed working conditions and 16.3 percent have discussed unions (there is a correlation of .18, $p < .005$,

²²This does seem to suggest either a change in working conditions in textiles or that conditions within tufting are easier.

between discussing unions and intent to vote for a union). Conversations with management and workers revealed no serious restrictions on worker conversation because of noise or physical separation or management policy.

Off the jobs the workers are not as conversant. Only 25.1 percent associate with other textile workers during their leisure time. There are other indications that there is not a strong sense among workers of a *gemeinschaft* or community feeling. Only 38.9 percent think that workers definitely or probably agree with politics (while 25.9 percent think that workers and management definitely or probably agree).

Management constitutes a significant presence in the workers' lives; 75.5 percent of the sample reported that they see management people often or very often. Only 1 percent never see management people in their mills. Of those sampled 26 percent acknowledged that they sometimes seek help on personal matters from management and 70.2 percent think management would definitely or probably help a worker with a personal or family problem. When asked "Do you think that management is more impersonal now than when you started working in this mill?," 25.9 percent responded definitely or probably yes while 70.7 percent replied definitely or probably not.

Wages

Table 5-1 (p. 137) reveals interesting information about wages. They are not correlated with age, years in textiles, education, or skill level. Obviously input of human capital is not very important. Variables which are correlated with wage are mill size, type of ownership, years in the mill, and sex. A regression of wages on these four variables resulted in the findings reported in Table 5-6.

Table 5-6. Regression of Wages (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Millsize	Independent Variables				R ²
	Sex ^a	Years in Mill	Ownership ^b	Skill level ^c	
.40*	-.24*	.17*	-.17*	.05	.41

*Significant at .01 level.

a male = 1, female = 2.

b absentee owned = 1, locally owned = 2.

c least skilled = 1, most skilled = 6.

As mentioned earlier, we are dealing with low educational levels and perhaps it is unrealistic to expect returns. An eighth year of school should not add much human capital compared to a fifth or sixth. The low correlation between wage and skill level is less easy to explain. We computed partial correlations to discover whether a relationship was being masked by differences in sex, mill size, ownership, years in textiles, or years in the mill. All were insignificant.

We explored the matter of wages with industry personnel and knowledgeable. We found that some mills start everyone at the same wage and grant increases (typically 10 cents) twice a year. Thus wage level reflects seniority in the mill (as our correlation shows) and the starting wage a particular mill offers. The lack of correlation between age and wage is understood within this context since most workers change mills one or more times and thus drop back to lower wage levels.

Some plants claim that starting pay varies with the skill level but the variation cannot be very large given that wages in our sample range only from \$3.00 to \$7.00 with 90 percent making under \$5.45. Only five workers earn over \$6.00 an hour. Differences in starting pay might vary 10 to 20 cents.

It is interesting to look at some individual cases. The highest paid worker in the sample earns \$6.83 an hour and is employed by one of the larger, absentee-owned mills. This person is a tufting machine mechanic and has worked in textiles for twenty-six years and in the present mill for nineteen years.

Two workers earn \$6.15 per hour. One is a dyeing technician who has worked in a privately-owned medium size mill for thirteen years, the other is a machine mechanic who has worked in a medium size absentee-owned

mill for ten years. The one worker who earns \$6.25 an hour is also a machine mechanic who has labored eighteen years in a small to medium size, absentee-owned mill. Although we found no correlation between skill level and wage, it would appear that mechanics do have an advantage either in starting pay or chances for longevity in their jobs.

When we look at wage conditions for machine operators we see a complicated pattern and another reason for the low correlation of wage and skill. Even though machine operators are rated as highly skilled as machine mechanics, there are wide discrepancies in pay among the operators. One operator reported making \$3.10 an hour after seventeen years in the same mill. Another earns \$4.30 after seventeen years. A third reports an hourly wage of \$5.61 after five years. Part of the reason for discrepancies is tied to differences in size and ownership but a larger part is due to size, type, and function of machines.

The standard machine operating job is running a tufting machine. But workers also label their jobs as machine operation when they control a cutting or dyeing machine or some other smaller machine. This point was discovered after the culmination of the interviewing and thus our data makes no distinction between tufting and other machines.

The data on wages has interesting implications for theories of labor market segmentation. Through a mechanism other than education some workers obtain employment and are placed in jobs in large and absentee-owned mills where wages and benefits are higher. Others find employment in smaller and locally-owned mills. Gender does not make a difference, although women are paid less regardless of size or ownership. Age does not make a difference. Marital status is not associated with size or ownership.

In dual labor market theory and research, white males dominate the higher paying, more stable jobs and blacks and other minorities are relegated to peripheral jobs regardless of their education, skill, training or experience. Our data does not indicate this or any other kind of criterion by which workers are channeled into some mills rather than others. We cannot conclude that segmentation of the labor market is absent although we can rule out certain bases of it. We do find that women are victims of a segmentation process within mills; they are paid lower wages than men even for the same work and are more likely to be working in less skilled positions and more likely to have been laidoff at some time in their career.

The implication of the analysis of wages is that the pathway to a higher paying job involves being male and working for an absentee-owned and larger mill. Human capital explanations are not relevant in explaining how people gain advantage in the job market.

Race

When the textile industry surged in the South following the Civil War, blacks were excluded from mills and mill management utilized racial fears as a control mechanism, threatening white workers with replacement at any sign of trouble (McLaurin, 1971). Southern Exposure (Vol. III, No. 4:76) reports that, as of 1976, 20 percent of the industry's work force is black. Many of these blacks bring pro-union sentiment into the mills and have played important roles in union struggles. Management continues, however, to fan the flames of racial tension by implying that a union vote will result in black takeover of mills.

In 1970, 2,133 blacks were living in Whitfield County. Nine hundred nine were in the workforce and 251 were employed in textile mills thus constituting 2.1 percent of the work force of 1,200. In our sample of workers there are 20 blacks, representing 9.6 percent of the total number of respondents. There are several possible reasons for the higher percentage in our sample. One is that ten years have passed and there may be more blacks working in the mills. Secondly, no black refused to be interviewed. Thirdly, 847 of the 909 employed blacks of 1970 lived in the city compared to only 8,189 of the 22,995 employed people as a whole. Thus blacks constituted over 10 percent of the workforce living in the city and possibly also within our sampling frame. Given these circumstances, especially the last, it is not surprising that twenty black workers were in our sample.

Table 5-7 presents selected statistics on the black workers.

Table 5-7. Selected Statistics for Black Workers and Total Sample.

Statistics	Blacks	Sample
Mean age	41.3	43.5
Mean education	9.9	8.6
Mean wage	\$4.46	\$4.37
Mean years in textiles	11.2	17
Mean mill size	995	665
Would definitely or probably vote for union	14 (70%)	80 (38.9%)

Background, Family Characteristics, and Housing

Of the sample surveyed 70.6 percent reported their birthplace as either Whitfield or a nearby county. Another 25.5 percent were born somewhere in the South and the remainder outside the South. As they were growing up, 32.7 percent had fathers who were farmers and 20.2 grew up in a textile family (father and/or mother employed in the Crown Cotton Mill or the American Thread Mill prior to the tufting boom was a common report). Yet another 27.4 percent described their fathers as low-skilled or unskilled workers in such areas as construction, mining, or lumber.

When we turn to the marital status of the workers, we are confronted with large differences between males and females. Overall, 141 of the workers are married but when we look at the figures by sex in Table 5-8 we see the following:

Table 5-8. Marital Status of Workers

Marital Status	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Married	98	87.5	43	44.8
Divorced	5	4.5	27	28.1
Widowed	2	1.8	19	19.8
Never married	7	6.3	7	7.3
Total	112		96	

The large percentage of divorced and widowed women reflects the fact that it is more likely that a divorced or widowed woman, compared to a married one, will work. The 1970 census data for Dalton shows 1,360

women with children under six. One hundred sixty (11.8 percent) of these did not have a husband in the home. One hundred twenty-nine of the 160 (80 percent), compared to 486 of the 1,200 (40 percent) who did have husbands present, were in the work force. Thus in sampling from employed women we can expect a higher percentage of women without spouses than exists in the population of women as a whole.

Of the 98 married males in the sample, 50 have working wives and 27 have wives who also work in a textile mill. Of the 43 married females, 35 have working husbands and 25 have husbands who also work in a textile mill. Thus 52 workers, or 25 percent of the sample, live in a family in which both husband and wife work in textile mills. Of the 141 married workers, 37 percent have spouses who are also textile workers and 60.3 percent have spouses who work somewhere (compared to a nationwide figure of 47 percent of married couples who have both husband and wife working).

One hundred five of the workers sampled own or are buying homes. The residence pattern of these and the remainder of the sample forms a crescent with workers concentrated in areas south, east, and north of the community. There are no bars, garden clubs, or other kinds of evidence which might indicate neighborhood solidarity or identity. Workers, in fact, seem to move quite often.

Class, Community, and Industry Imagery

When asked about the class structure of Dalton, respondents revealed, not surprisingly, a general unfamiliarity with "class imagery." Of those surveyed 11.5 percent answered that there are no classes in Dalton, 37.0 percent did not know about the class structure, and 51.4 percent provided some description of this structure. Fifteen respondents prefaced their

remarks with a statement to the effect that they could not answer because they did not socialize much.

Money was the number one criterion for division into classes, closely followed by character, education, family, and style of life. Although encouraged to name the one most important criterion, nineteen respondents gave more than one. Eleven mentioned race as the major class variable. When asked if management and workers are on the opposite sides of the fence, 32.9 percent responded definitely or probably yes, 6.7 percent responded don't know, and 61.1 percent responded probably or definitely no.

There were 48.1 percent of the respondents who thought their mills definitely make a big profit and another 30.3 percent who thought they probably did. Some speculated that profits were suffering because of the poor economic conditions at the time of the interviews.

Workers were unsure about the influence of the carpet industry on Washington policy. Some 13.1 percent thought the industry definitely has influence, 34.6 percent thought they probably do and 32.7 percent did not have an opinion. Many stated that the industry is often at the mercy of the national economic trends and federal policy. When asked about their probable reactions to layoffs, 64.9 percent replied that they would not be angry at the company and most of these explained that it would not be the mills' fault.

One might assume that in a community of 150 textile mills, the textile mill owners would be singled out as holders of power. However, 41.8 percent of the respondents declared that they did not know who the powerful were in the community. Of the 121 who gave a response, 81.6 percent did indicate directly or indirectly that the mill owners were

the most powerful people. Sometimes actual mills and their owners were named, sometimes the category "mill owners" was given, and occasionally "big business" or simply "the wealthy" were cited as the locus of power.

Mill Size and Ownership

The mills represented in our sample range in size from twelve employees to 1508. A breakdown of size, number of mills, and number of employees is presented in Table 5-9.

Table 5-9. Ownership and Mill Size.*

Mill size	No. of mills in sample		No. of workers in sample
	Absentee	Local	
1-100	5	19	36
100-206	1	8	35
207-650	3	4	41
651-1200	3	3	47
1201-1508	2	0	42
Total	14	34	201

*Four mills were not listed in the Georgia Manufacturing Directory nor were they known to officials of the Carpet and Rug Institute.

This table indicates that a greater percentage of mills are absentee-owned as size increases. The Pearson correlation between size and ownership is .49. And Table 5-1 (p. 137) reveals strong correlations between wage and mill size (.52) and wage and ownership (.43). There are also significant correlations between number of benefits received by workers and mill size (.28) and benefits and ownership (.15).

We reported earlier that industry sources predict a rapid concentration of power within the larger mills and a substantial decrease in the total number of mills. The drive to obtain more control of the market, which we discussed in Chapter II, is in motion. Conditions thus seem favorable for some kind of core-periphery segmentation within the tufting industry, implying differences in stability of production, ability to invest in new machines and advertising, and ability to hire workers.

There is evidence to support some aspects of this hypothesized segmentation. Wage benefit differences are one sign. The larger mills do advertise and invest in new and sophisticated machines, employ a technical staff of engineers to assist in planning, and utilize management consulting firms.²³ It should become increasingly difficult for smaller mills to compete in the product and perhaps the labor market. However, we find no relationship now between ownership or size and variables such as age, sex, education, and reports of layoffs, or any other evidence to suggest that the labor market is segmented.

Summary

This chapter has presented a summary of a significant portion of the descriptive data gathered in the survey. We now have a better grasp of the kind of people we are studying--their demographic characteristics, their basic views of work, community, and industry.

In the next chapters we will attempt to explain why these workers hold ~~the~~ views they do and why these views vary. At times ~~we~~ will find

²³Reported by industry sources.

it helpful to return to the descriptive data presented here.

We will close this chapter with several quotes from workers in order to convey the variety of opinions held and the manner in which they are expressed.

From a young male: "I'd be fired for voting for union but I'd vote for it. The problem is no one will stick together to support a union. I think unions are being bought out."

From a young female: "Workers ought to be happy with what they got. I don't know anything about unions and I don't want to have anything to do with them."

From an older female: "The poor people, those who work the hardest, are those who make the least money."

From a black female: (On why she would support a union)
"I'm female, black, and people won't listen to me. I need someone to speak for me."

From a middle-aged man: (On wages) "We have generally learned to accept them as they are."

From a young male: "Our mill listens to our problems and I don't need a union. Too much money would go to the union."

From a young male: "I live on credit cards and that's the only way a poor man can live. I make \$97 a week and there are many workers in the same boat. Everyone in my plant would support the union."

CHAPTER VI

DEFERENCE AND ALIENATION

In this chapter we begin a more detailed examination of the data from the survey of workers. We will describe the extent to which deference and alienation are present among the workers and how they are related to the independent variables. We will explore their impact on class consciousness and union attitudes in the following chapter.

The Deferential Worker in Dalton

Our questionnaire contains six questions investigating worker deference. These questions are printed below.

1. If someone in your mill were having personal or family problems, would management do all they could to help the person?
2. Some people say that management people in the mills know what is best for the mill and therefore workers should not question their policies. Do you agree?
3. Some people say that obedience to authority is one of the most important characteristics of a good textile worker. Do you agree?
4. Some people also say that management in the mills is more concerned about making money than about the well being of the workers. Thinking about your mill, do you agree?
5. Many workers are being laidoff now. Do you think they have the right to complain about this?
6. If you were laid off, would you be angry at the company?

The distribution of responses on these six questions is shown in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1. Distribution (in percentages) of Responses to Deference Items.

Responses	Question # (%)		
	<u>#1</u>	<u>#5</u>	<u>#6</u>
Definitely yes	27.1	29.6	9.20
Probably yes	43.5	19.4	7.20
Don't know	10.1	9.2	1.00
Probably no	14.5	20.4	17.40
Definitely no	4.8	21.4	65.20
	<u>#2</u>	<u>#3</u>	<u>#4</u>
Strongly agree	11.9	40.8	27.3
Mostly agree	12.4	35.4	19.5
Agree somewhat	9.5	11.2	13.7
Disagree somewhat	19.9	4.4	8.3
Mostly disagree	21.9	3.9	17.6
Strongly disagree	24.4	4.4	13.7

Question three, on obedience to authority, would seem to reveal a strong degree of deference in the workers. Yet question four indicates a perception on the part of the workers that management does not necessarily act in the workers' best interest. Questions five and six disclose that workers believe in their right to complain yet they are not likely to complain. These patterns suggest an ambiguity about the worker-management relationship with workers uncertain about their and management's role.

Inter-item correlations and a factor analysis were used to explore the patterns among the questions. The correlation matrix is reproduced in Table 6-2 and the results of the factor analysis are reported in Table 6-3. Questions five and six are significantly correlated and have the highest loadings on factor one. Both are concerned with whether or not

workers really think that management in their mill is acting in their best interests and to what extent they are hostile or subservient to management decisions. Question four is significantly correlated with questions five and six but does not load highly on factor one and does not seem logically to accompany five and six. Thus we decided to combine these two questions in a scale labeled the Hostility Scale.

Table 6-2. Inter-item Correlation Matrix for Deference Items.

Item	Question					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1		.14*	.14*	-.32***	-.11	-.19**
2			.30***	-.16*	-.06	-.14*
3				-.02	-.05	-.04
4					.19**	.30***
5						.40***

*p < .05.

**p < .01.

***p < .001.

Table 6-3. Principal Components Factor Loadings and Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix* for Deference Items.

Questions	Factors		Communality
	1	2	
1	-.45 (-.09)	.11 (-.49)	.28
2	-.31 (-.08)	.35 (-.16)	.23
3	-.27 (-.007)	.60 (-.03)	.46
4	.58 (.25)	.09 (.62)	.44
5	.47 (.64)	.26 (.05)	.41
6	.60 (.62)	.26 (.26)	.46
Eigenvalue	1.36	.63	

*In parenthesis.

Questions one and four are significantly correlated and load most highly on factor two following rotation. Both focus on worker's acceptance or rejection of paternalistic beliefs. None of the other questions load highly on this factor and thus questions one and four were combined to form a scale labeled the Paternalism Scale. Both scales were computed by adding the numbers corresponding to worker responses on the questions (one through five for questions one, five, and six; one through six for question four). Individual scores thus range from two to eleven for the Paternalism Scale and from two to ten for the Hostility Scale.

Pearson correlation coefficients for the scales and independent variables are shown in Table 6-4.²³ These bivariate correlations support the hypotheses concerning age, religiosity, and to a lesser extent the ones concerning wage and education.²⁴ We hypothesized skill level as positively associated with deference but speculated that it might, as education does, vary negatively with it. The data indeed support the speculation.

The hypotheses about sex, mill size, and ownership received no support. We must reexamine notions that the Southern woman is more deferential in the workplace than the Southern man. The reasoning behind our expectations about size and ownership was that the larger mills and absentee-owned mills would manifest different management practices

²³The variable Years in Textiles was eliminated from this and subsequent analysis because of the high correlation with age (.73) and the multicollinearity problem.

²⁴Because the religiosity items had poor response distributions and low inter-item correlations, the one item with a relatively good distribution was used as a measure of religiosity (question 19 in Appendix, concerning use of religion in daily affairs).

Table 6.4. Correlations of Hostility Scale and Paternalism Scale with Independent Variables.

Scale	Age	Wage	Sex ^a	Religiosity	Ownership ^b	Mill Size	Education	Skill Level ^c
Hostility Scale	-.40**	-.14*	.05	-.20**	.10	-.06	.22**	.15*
Paternalism Scale	.26**	.13*	.01	.18**	.05	-.07	-.09	-.18

a1=male, 2=female.

b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

c1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

*p < .05.

**p < .01.

involving greater impersonality and a reduction in the paternalistic relationship and thus changes in the immediate work setting of the workers. However, we find no correlation between size and ownership and worker reports of frequency of contact with management (question 41) or reports of help sought from management (question 42). Apparently increasing size and absentee ownership have not resulted in significant changes in worker-management relations or the organization of the workplace.

There are strong correlations between mill size and wages (.52) and ownership and wages (.43 with absentee-owned mills paying higher wages). Since deference, as measured by both scales, increases with wages, size and ownership do exert some indirect influence on deference.

Theoretically, attitudes as expressed in the Paternalism Scale precede those of the Hostility Scale. Workers' backgrounds shape a predisposition to acquiesce in a paternalistic ideology. When faced with a subsequent management decision in the mills, their reactions should be significantly affected by the strength of their acquiescence. Thus in using multiple linear regression on our data, the Paternalism Scale is regressed on the independent variables and the Hostility Scale is regressed on the independent variables and the Paternalism Scale.

For the Paternalism Scale, the multiple regression reveals that age, wage, skill level, and mill size contribute significantly to variance (Table 6-5).²⁵ The regression also indicates that the association between the Paternalism Scale and education and religiosity disappears when other variables are controlled. In all the variables account for only 12 percent of the variation in the Scale.

²⁵This suggests that mill size, with controls, does affect relations of production.

Table 6-5. Multiple Regression of Deference Scales (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Independent Variables	Age	Educa- tion	Reli- gion	Wage	Sex ^a	Mill Size	Owner- ship ^b	Skill Level	Paternalism Scale	R ²
Paternalism	.20*	.00	.09	.21*	.01	-.17*	-.04	-.16*		.12
Hostility	.30*	.10	-.05	-.17**	-.10	.02	.02	.07	-.18*	.25

*Significant at .05 level.

**Significant at .01 level.

^amale=1, female=2.

^babsentee-owned=1, locally owned=2.

Cranked on six point scale with 1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

For the Hostility Scale, the regression reveals age to be a dominating factor, accounting for over half the explained variance. A worker's score on the Paternalism Scale is the only other variable to contribute significant variance. Wage accounts for a little over 1 percent and the remaining variables less than 1 percent.

Clearly our independent variables do not account for a very large amount of the variation in deference as measured by either scale. In order to build a better picture of the deferential worker, we will present a profile developed by looking at other variables from the questionnaire which correlate significantly with both scales.

We find that the deferential worker is more likely to be white than black, is more likely to find the job interesting and the mill a good place to work, is just as likely to talk with other workers but less likely to discuss wages, working conditions, and unions, is less likely to have experienced financial problems, and is less likely to support an organizing campaign. All of these characteristics are an expected part of deference although an argument could be made concerning race. In most of these relationships it is impossible to specify the cause and the effect with any certainty. Are workers deferential because they like their jobs, or do they like their jobs because they are deferential?

We suggested in earlier chapters that the ties of workers to agrarian social structure should have an important influence on deference. Correlations and crosstabulations were used to examine the relationship of fathers' occupations and deference. We grouped workers into those whose fathers were farmers (N=63) and those who were not and found little difference in the degree of deference. Unfortunately father's occupation

is not a good measure of the exact nature of the social structure in which the child was raised. It does not discriminate between those fathers who were tenant farmers and those who were not or between those fathers who had been tenant farmers but later became factory workers. When we separated fathers' occupations into farmer, textile worker, and other the findings remained non-significant.

Those workers buying or owning their own homes might view their work differently than others because of the obligation and commitment undertaken by home ownership. The Pearson correlations computed for home ownership and the two scales indicate greater deference among homeowners. Controlling their age, the relationship disappears, however.

Finally deference among women was analyzed because of the large number of divorced, widowed, and single women in the sample. These women might have different obligations and financial responsibilities than married ones and thus manifest different degrees of deference. The Pearson correlations computed for the scales and marital status were .23 (for the Paternalism Scale) and $-.24$ (for the Hostility Scale)²⁶ ($p = .01$) which indicates that the financial responsibility of the unmarried might lead to more deferential relationships with management.

The Alienated Worker in Dalton

Our analysis of deference casts doubts upon the pervasiveness of alienation in our sample.²⁷ We neither saw nor heard of events in Dalton

²⁶Marital Status: 1=married, 2=other (single, widowed, divorced); N=43 for (1), N=53 for (2).

²⁷An obvious problem with finding alienation is that those workers who do experience severe alienation might leave the mills.

which could be labeled as indications of alienation such as protests over the control of the workplace or resistance to deskilling and the division of labor. The questionnaire contained five questions which were formulated to measure alienation. They are printed below.

20. Are you ever unhappy about the speed at which you have to work?
21. Do you ever feel that your job is too simple or not challenging enough?
22. Do you ever wish that you felt a greater sense of accomplishment from your work?
23. Do you ever wish that you knew more about how carpet is made at your plant and how your job fits into the process?
25. Do you ever feel that you put more of yourself into your work than you get out of it?

The distribution of responses on these items is tabulated in Table 6-6 below:

Table 6-6. Distribution of Alienation Items*

Responses	Question # (%)				
	20	21	22	23	25
All of time	4.3	6.7	11.1	4.8	13.9
Most of time	6.7	5.8	14.9	7.7	14.9
Some of time	30.8	13.9	34.1	21.2	31.3
Rarely	7.2	9.1	5.3	6.7	5.8
Never	51.0	64.4	34.6	59.6	33.7

*N=208 for all questions except no. 25 where N=207.

We have commented on some of these alienation questions earlier (Chapter V). In three of the five items well over half of the workers

report that they are rarely or never unhappy or discontented. Yet items 22 and 25 indicate some desire for greater meaning in work. One interpretation of these observations on the distributions is that workers do not place great expectations on work and do not define it as the central activity of their lives. Thus the seemingly repetitive, dull, and meaningless nature of it (e.g., see Blauner, 1964; Conway, 1979) does not elicit alienated responses. If meaningful work were a realistic possibility for these workers, then their alienation from textile jobs would probably be much greater. Over one-quarter of them do experience a lack of meaning and reward in their work all or most of the time (as indicated in questions 22 and 25) and one-half would choose a different occupation if they could start over (question 9 in Appendix). But there is no meaningful alternative in textile communities and for people with these levels of education and skill and their job appraisals reflect these limits. They have adjusted their expectations for work to their situation.

Job appraisals are not merely a function of workers' recognition of the parameters of the labour market. Their evaluations also are affected by expectations of work, expectations which are shaped by experiences on and off the job. Unfulfilled hopes might be expected to produce dissatisfaction with work, but this condition is minimized by a progressive scaling-down of occupational aspirations. This long-term process tends to bring job expectations into rough correspondence with labour market realities. (Rinehart, 1978:7)

Inter-item correlations and a factor analysis were produced for the five deference items with the results shown in Tables 6-7 and 6-8. Item 23 is the only one not consistently correlated with the others. The factor analysis also suggests that all items except number 23 cluster around a common factor which we will label as our alienation scale. Cronbach's Alpha for the scale is .59. Bivariate Pearson correlations

Table 6-7. Inter-item Correlation Matrix for Alienation Items.

Item	Item				
	20	21	22	23	23
20		.71*	.24**	.03	.30**
21			.38**	.06	.27**
22				.23**	.24**
23					.08

*p < .01
 **p < .001

Table 6-8. Principal Components Factor Loadings and Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix* for Alienation Items.

Item	Factors		Communality
	1	2	
20	.38 (.42)	.18 (.06)	.18
21	.49 (.41)	.01 (.25)	.24
22	.76 (.44)	-.35 (.70)	.70
23	.19 (.05)	-.22 (.29)	.08
24	.53 (.69)	.44 (-.08)	.48
Eigenvalue	1.28	.43	
% of variance explained	74.9	25.1	

*In parenthesis.

of the alienation scale with the independent variables and the deference scale are listed in Table 6-9.

As it was for deference, age is a very important aspect of alienation. Wage, religiosity, and education are also significantly correlated with our scale. Sex, type of ownership, mill size, and skill level,

Table 6-9. Correlations of Alienation Scale with Independent Variables and the Deference Scales.

Scale	Age	Wage	Sex ^a	Religio- sity ^b	Hostility Scale	Owner- ship ^c	Mill Size	Educa- tion	Skill Level ^d	Paternalism Scale
Alienation Scale	-.35**	-.17*	.06	-.21**	.30**	-.10	-.07	.23**	.02	-.41**

a1=male, 2=female.

bUse of religion in daily life (item 19).

c1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

d1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

*p < .01.

**p < .001.

however, share little variation in common with the measure of alienation. The lack of correlation between sex and alienation signifies once again that the stereotypical picture of the Southern female is in need of revision. Men and women hold similar attitudes about the nature of their work. Male workers are not less deferential or more alienated than female workers.²⁸

The lack of correlation between alienation and mill size and ownership is not surprising given our earlier analysis of deference. We are again led to the conclusion that the work setting in the larger mills and in absentee-owned mills does not differ greatly from that in other mills.

The lack of correlation between skill level and alienation could be the result of several factors mentioned previously. Although some jobs are rated as more highly skilled than others, few positions offer a skill challenge. Differences in skill among these workers are quite small and thus we do not expect these differences to lead to much variance in attitudes about jobs. Secondly if, as we have suggested, expectations for meaning from work are low then lack of meaning should not affect the workers.

The association of alienation with religiosity and education follows the pattern we found for deference (indeed there are high correlations among the three scales). And as with deference the partial correlations of these variables with the alienation scale are insignificant ($-.08$ and $.11$, respectively, with age controlled).

²⁸This finding is not due to differences in wages as partial correlations controlling for wage demonstrations.

We do find alienation to be associated with the immediate work circumstances. Experiencing financial problems and expressions of job interest and mill rating are significantly correlated with alienation (.20, -.42, -.28, respectively).²⁹ For the latter two there is no clear cause and effect. It could be strongly argued that alienation affects job interest and mill rating rather than being affected by them. We also find that those who are less alienated are more likely to believe that management would help with a worker's personal problems and less likely to ever discuss wages, working conditions, and unions with fellow workers. The less alienated are also less likely to support a union ($r = .30$). There is no association between worker background (farm, textile, or other) and alienation, but there is between marital status of females and alienation.³⁰ Once again these findings parallel those for deference. Married women express greater alienation reflecting again the financial pressures on the widowed, divorced and single.

The final step in our analysis of alienation is the computation of a regression equation with the results displayed in Table 6-10. The entire array of independent variables accounts for 18 percent of the variation in alienation. Age and wage account for 16 percent of the variation.

A regression equation was also run with the Paternalism Scale among the independent variables. Since we argued that attitudes as expressed in that scale precede those of the Hostility Scale, we can argue similarity for the Alienation Scale. The regression (Table 6-10)

²⁹Questions 13, 5, and 6 in Appendix.

³⁰ $r = .25$, $p < .05$.

Table 6-10. Multiple Regression of Alienation Scale (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Independent Variables	Age	Educa- tion	Religio- sity	Wage	Sex ^a	Mill Size	Ownership ^b	Skill Level ^c	Paternalism Scale	R ²
Without										
Paternalism	-.28*	.12*	-.11**	-.19*	.00	.00	.02	.00		.18
With										
Paternalism	-.22*	.11	-.08	-.12**	.00	-.06	-.03	.05	-.32*	.27

*Significant at .05 level.

**Significant at .10 level at entrance into equation.

a1=male, 2=female.

b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally-owned.

cranked on six point scale with 1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

indicates the Paternalism Scale to be the most significant contributor to variance.

Discussion

Age is the dominating factor in alienation and deference. Older workers are less alienated and more deferential than younger ones. Older workers express greater job interest, greater faith that management will assist workers with personal problems, higher ratings for their mills, and they report fewer financial problems. They are more religious, less educated, and earn approximately the same wages as their younger counterparts.

The impact of age on alienation and deference is a direct one. It does not operate indirectly through education or religion, although it is significantly associated with all three. Surprisingly, education and religion have no association with alienation and deference when age is controlled.

Two observations about education seem relevant. One is that the educational system entered by these workers in their rural settings might simply reinforce the deference engendered through this setting (see Reed, 1972:87). The schools can function to place workers where needed and with the proper characteristics required by area industry (see Bowles and Gintis, 1976). A second observation is that the low educational achievement of the workers might account for its insignificant differential impact on deference and alienation. Among older workers in our sample we are comparing the effects of two or three years of schooling with the effect of six or eight years. It is understandable if such differences have little impact.

Religion, as measured here, is quite homogeneous across these workers. There is little variation on two of the four religion questions and 76 percent of those who reported church membership were Baptists. Although use of religion (question 19) and church attendance vary by age, apparently differences in religious intensity are not significant enough to affect relations with mill management.

We have previously commented on the lack of support for the hypotheses relating sex, mill size, and ownership to alienation and deference so we will proceed to an analysis of why age is so important.

In the construction of our hypotheses we spoke of age in terms of habituation and the effect of conditions in earlier days in Southern communities--the traditionalism, the roots of many in tenancy, the lack of exposure to mass media. Prior to entering the tufting mills, these older workers had little exposure to the world of industrial work. Mills were often havens from the hardship of farming and tenancy. Years of working in the mills have done little to counter the effects of the past. Younger workers have been exposed to more education and to the mass media, both of which can stimulate greater desires, introduce new options, generate relative deprivation, and increase awareness of how lives are affected by industrialization. Thus their attitudes about work have been shaped under different conditions which have not stimulated as much deference or encouraged acceptance of mill work.

We can find added insight into the character of workers coming from tenant farming and other types of rural backgrounds in John Kenneth Morland's Millways of Kent. Morland's fieldwork in this North Carolina textile community took place in the late 1940s, the time when the mills in Dalton were rapidly appearing. His discussion of the personality

traits of the textile workers who left tenancy and farming to work in the mills is helpful in understanding the influence of age.

The first trait Morland describes is "acceptance of life as it is." These workers were basically passive, accepting life as it is and adapting when necessary. They were encouraged, by a background which included strong religiosity and paternalistic authority, to leave everything to God and express little concern over changing existing conditions.

A second trait is "noncompetitiveness" which further encourages dependency and submissiveness. A third trait is "weak self-confidence and self-assurance," a fourth is "anxiety," and a fifth "hostility to strangers" (which, however, seems somewhat contrary to the other traits in its probable effect on deference and alienation in the mills).

Morland explains these traits as outcomes of "the manner in which mill people are reared and to the total situation in which they find themselves" (1958:251).

Robert Blauner, in elaboration of the effects of workers' backgrounds on their character, also stresses the roots in traditional elements of society (1964:80).

Because of their social backgrounds and isolation from the main currents of American culture, their aspirations, needs, and prospectives differ from those of more modern workers . . . Workers with traditional orientations do not value control and self-expression as much as do more modern industrial workers; the absence of these factors therefore does not result in felt self-estrangement.

The quotations and other ideas from Blauner and Morland reinforce the argument expressed here. The background of workers helps mold a character structure which defines and restricts their subjective experiences in the mills. Age explains degree of alienation and deference

because it indicates the depth of rootedness in the traditional values and socialization found in rural Southern society emanating from the class relations of plantation economics and tenancy.

Circumstances in the mills and mill communities have done little to challenge the effects of this background. The paternalism, the lack of an occupational community, the absence of jobs requiring courage and comraderie, the isolation and lack of industrial diversity are all characteristics of the milieu of the deferential worker in Lockwood's classification scheme (1966). Blauner too suggests that the job characteristics of textile workers add to their submissiveness and confer an inferior status on the workers (1964:79).

As the background of workers, the mills, and the communities change will the subjective reaction of workers to their conditions change also? Blauner concludes his chapter on textile workers by looking to the future when the isolation of mill villages and the paternalism of mill management has declined. "As the traditional worker develops a more modern outlook, alienation and dissatisfaction are likely to increase (1964:88)." The data here indicates greater alienation and less deference among younger workers but in many ways they continue to resemble the traditional worker of whom Blauner and Lockwood speak. Although today's workers may be removed in time from the environment of their parents, their educational institutions, their religion, their communities, and their class relations remain, in part, rooted in that environment. The culture surrounding textile mills and communities has changed very slowly. As Blauner notes (1964:88) it is not entirely through momentum or habit that this is so. We must recognize the influence of the textile industry itself on the

nature of schools, religion, family, and community. This influence was obvious in the days of mill villages when industry ties with the total life of the workers were highly visible. Although many of these ties have disappeared (houses have been sold, preachers are no longer paid by the mills), should we conclude that all have? Obviously not.

We have described how the tufting industry created a working class and wrenched the community in a different direction. We can feel quite certain, as Barkin contends (1960:464), that:

Mill management officials and executives in key positions keep a watchful eye on the [local] government. They further maintain their controls through elective positions and their pre-eminence through donations and philanthropic projects. They at times contribute property for school, church, and community undertaking and make donations to finance local activities.

In Dalton the local hospital was originally built under the direction of the Crown Cotton Mills and expansion of the facilities in the 1960s was supported by donations of over \$500,000 from textile mills (Coram, 1968:360). The community is also proud of its extensive recreation program which includes a large softball league with games played on fields named for textile mills, "each of whom gave \$10,000 toward building costs" (Coram, 1968:361). In 1964 the community initiated a Creative Arts Guild "supported for the most part by citizens connected with tufting" (Coram, 1968:361). Mayors and editors of the local newspaper have often been mill executives (Textile Leaders, 1965:660).

An article in Textile Leaders (1965:661) about a past leader in the tufting industry describes him as "a charter member and past president of the Dalton Rotary Club, vice-chairman of the Official Board and a Sunday School teacher at the First Methodist Church, a director of the Dalton Chamber of Commerce, and a director and for many years an

active worker in the Whitfield Community Chest." In addition, he was the editor of the local paper in the 1940s.

A junior college began operation in the community in the late 1960s with buildings adorned with names such as Bandy and Westcott, prominent families in tufting history. A new high school has recently opened and has attracted state-wide attention for its design and diversity of programs. The construction of such a showcase would have been impossible without the support of the industry and, of course, textile management and other related courses hold a prominent place in the curriculum of both the high school and college.

We are not attempting to weave a Domhoffian web of community power but rather to illustrate with a few examples what we would expect anyway, namely, that the tufting industry has a vital interest in all aspects of the community. The general direction of the industry's input is unquestionably to conserve those elements and conditions upon which the industry relies to exist. One essential element is good labor (docile, loyal, dependable) for the mills.

This description of industry and community interconnection demonstrates the problem of assessing change in the community. Although we may predict increasing alienation and decreasing deference on the basis of changes in worker background and within the industry we must allow for the ideological and cultural web in which these changes must occur. The major institutions and the ideas that guide them are largely a product of the history, the needs, and the money of the tufting industry. Alienation and lack of deference are deviant outcomes in terms of the industry's needs and these outcomes could properly be selected as an object of study.

Summary

For the workers in our sample, deference and alienation are matters of age and, to a lesser extent, wages. We have interpreted the impact of age to be in its relationship to the origins of older workers in the earlier, more rural, social structure of the area. These older workers do not seem significantly different from those described by Blauner (1964) or from the traditional deferential worker in Lockwood's scheme (1966). This interpretation suggests that the older workers may have entered the mills with more deference and greater defense against alienation. We cannot predict with any certainty what twenty years or more of mill work will do to the younger workers but there is a real possibility that they will be less deferential and more alienated than the older workers of today.

CHAPTER VII

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND UNION ATTITUDES

The previous chapter on deference and alienation was the beginning of the investigation of class relations within the tufting industry. We continue that investigation in this chapter by focusing on class consciousness and union attitudes. We also continue to emphasize that classes are historical phenomena that develop in conjunction with certain processes and under certain conditions. Marx emphasized the transformation from a cottage to a factory-based industry in giving rise to a Klasse für sich among workers. As they gathered under factory roofs they set aside individual competition, recognized their common situation, realized their collective exploitation, and organized for action against the class responsible for their condition. Marx viewed this development of class consciousness as an inevitable outcome of capitalistic growth.

Studies of class consciousness among American workers, of course, have failed to confirm Marx's theory thus turning attention to conditions inhibiting class consciousness. The intervention of the federal government, the union struggles resulting in higher pay and worker protection, and the separation of ownership and control are among the reasons cited for the failure for a radical working class movement to develop in the U.S.

In Chapter III we reviewed the conditions in the making of the working class in Dalton. We looked at those concrete circumstances affecting class consciousness and union sentiment among the community's textile workers and selected four points which seemed particularly

important. We will repeat and enlarge these points as a preface to the survey data.

First is the isolation from other branches of textiles. This isolation has resulted in a lack of a sense of belonging to a community of textile workers. A higher percentage of workers think it is proper for auto, steel, and mining workers to strike than think the same for textile workers in North Carolina. The endeavors of other textile workers and thus their past exploitation have little impact on tufted textile workers and their consciousness.

Second is the brief existence of the tufting industry. This should have several significant impacts on worker consciousness. It means that the working class has not had much time to develop a sense of history or of common interests or traditions. There has been little time for the occurrence of incidents which live in the memory of a class and serve as rallying cries, such as a "Bloody Harlan" or a Lawrence. The industry and the working class also missed the period of the most overt exploitation of workers and the greatest marshalling of antiunionism among owners, politicians, courts, and the public and the period when workers had no welfare programs for injury, unemployment, and old age. E. P. Thompson speaks of severe conditions in nineteenth century England contributing to the transparency of the process of exploitation (1963:198). These conditions and this transparency are not obvious in Dalton.

The tender age of the industry also has consequences for changes in the methods and technology of the workplace. Generally the history of industrial growth is a history of changing forces of production. Skilled labor gives way to mechanization or what Braverman calls "the

degradation of work" (1974). This deskilling process usually portends significant changes in class relations and class composition. In textiles the weavers were the aristocracy of labor in the early 1800s and commanded higher wages because of their centrality in the production process. The introduction of mechanized weaving resulted in their demise into competition with machine operators, many of them women and children. This change augmented management power by stripping weavers of their centrality and adding to the competition for the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. But it also sharpened the antagonism between classes and prompted thoughts of organization to protect jobs, reduce competition for jobs, and curtail the wage cuts that followed deskilling. Thus these changing productive forces meant changing class relations and heightened the sensitivity of workers to imbalances in these relations. In Thompson's words, this process contributed to the transparency of exploitation.

When we look at the history of tufting these kinds of changes related to a deskilling process are not evident because of the recency of the industry's development. The cottage era was followed immediately by the mechanized era. There was no intermediate stage of manufacture during which workers held craft or craft-like positions. Even in the cottage days, workers merely followed patterns on cloth and possessed little skill that could be used as a lever against management. Thus in the makeup of the carpet working class there are no, and have been no, skilled artisans suffering a backslide into semi-skilled or unskilled work and no overt management strategy of trying to deskill the workforce.

Third is the community disorganization following the rapid growth of the industry. An article in Textile World in 1968 by Robert Coram

extolled the community and the tufting industry but noted some problems.

It all happened so fast, and so unexpectedly . . . that almost everyone was caught unawares. Dalton was like one of those gold-rush towns during these years. Multimillion dollar plants were being built and then undergoing expansions before the paint was dry. Hundreds of people were pouring into town. And as Mr. Hamilton [a mill official] says, "If you bring 100 families into Dalton you affect the entire town." He says this involves at least 200 children and will call for more classrooms, plus another barber shop, a beauty shop, a service station, a bigger grocery store for the families. (p. 359)

Only later in the article is the more immediate problem of a critical housing shortage mentioned and the emotional and financial strain of beginning this new life receives no attention. Among the conditions facing newly-arriving families in Dalton were pressure on family stability, new financial arrangements to respond to, new working conditions to adjust to, and new people and events to cope with. Social workers and psychologists in the area, as indicated in Chapter V, testified to the high incidence of family and individual instability among mill workers today which they claim is a response to the rapidity of industrialization in the area and the difficulty of adjusting to mill work. Family breakup, of course, increases the pressure on women to enter the mills and is associated with greater deference and less alienation among these women as we found in the last chapter. Thus family breakups are functional for working class control.

These pressures on the new class of mill workers could produce several reactions. Workers could express their dissatisfactions collectively against mill owners. Or they could look at their situation, compare it to the alternatives, and endure it complacently. Or they could manifest frustration in non-political and non-economic ways such as through drinking, carousing, and other steam-venting pursuits or defuse

it through religion. Given the background of the workers, the first option does not seem likely. We have seen that the older workers, many of whom were members of the early days of the tufting industry, are the most deferential and least alienated. The class relations of the rural society and the paternalism of the mills made them unlikely candidates for class conflict. Thus we expect that workers entering the mills in the early chaotic days of the industry would turn to religion and to rowdiness. Certainly, we have found that the older workers are more religiously oriented and the psychologists and social workers interviewed attest to the violence and alcoholism characterizing the community. The working class, indeed, has adapted to the disorganization created by the rapid industrialization of the community in ways which have not threatened the tufting industry but have generated other manifestations of frustration and unhappiness.

Fourth is the growing concentration of the industry and the entrance of outside capital. These have contradictory implications for class consciousness and unionization. The impersonality that is a part of larger organizations, the necessity for more bureaucratic structure in them, and the importation of outside management is a challenge for the traditional, paternalistic relationship typical of textile communities. On the other hand, the growing concentration of power in the larger mills could lead to the provision of higher wages and more benefits in these mills because of the greater ability to supply these and the deeper concern about unions. We found in the last chapter that higher wages are associated with greater deference and that the larger mills do pay better wages. We will explore this point again in this chapter.

For the most part, these four points suggest reasons why we should not expect class consciousness and pro-union sentiment among these workers. These reasons are in addition to more general ones involving the absence of a radical working class movement in the U.S. and the low degree of textile worker activism in the South discussed in Chapter II.

Some of the descriptive data from the survey also illustrates the improbability of finding class conscious workers here. Two-thirds of the workers find their jobs interesting, three-fourths agree that the Bible is literally true, that differences in income between workers and management are fair, and that their children can rise to management positions, and over one-half would like their children to work in the mills. Less than half think their jobs are too simple, discuss unions, have heard of J.P. Stevens, believe it is right to complain about layoffs, or would vote for a union. Less than half think workers share political viewpoints, two-thirds believe that workers and management are or might be on the same team, less than half believe that textile workers should strike if they have grievances.

Nor are conditions in the community, neighborhoods, and mills conducive for class consciousness. Only nine workers belong to any group in the community other than the church. Only a fourth of them talk regularly with other workers off the job. And, working at machines, as many of the respondents do, prevents active involvement with other workers (Blauner, 1964:69).

If we conceptualize class consciousness as a series of progressive steps involving gathering under factory roofs, setting aside individual differences, recognition of common interests, opposing these interests

to those of another class and so on, we would surely conclude from this sort of evidence that these workers have not progressed very far. Yet there are signs of discontent. Over a third of the workers do believe that they are on the opposite side of the fence from management and that the mills are more interested in making money than in protecting the welfare of workers. Less than a half gave a "no" response to unions. Only a fourth think that management authority should always be deferred to. Discontent was also expressed in solicited and unsolicited worker comments. Thus on the one hand we find scant evidence of class consciousness and alienation among the workers and on the other definite signs of unrest and discontent. Let us explore this matter further by turning to the specific questions on class consciousness and union attitudes.

Class Consciousness in the Tufting Industry

The questions on class consciousness, as noted earlier, were influenced by such researchers as Leggett (1968), Morris and Murphey (1966), Lopreato and Hazelrigg (1972), and Buttel and Flinn (1979), all of whom conceptualize class consciousness as a series of stages. The questions focus primarily on the workers' immediate work settings. The nine questions formulated are printed below and the distributions of the responses are reproduced in Table 7-1.

1. Do workers tend to agree with each other when talking about politics?
2. Do you think that workers would agree with management about politics?
3. Do you think that differences in income between owners and managers are fair?
4. Do you think that differences in income between managers and workers are fair?

5. Do you think that differences in income between some workers and other workers are fair?
6. Is it true that full teamwork between management and workers is impossible because they are really on opposite sides of the fence?
7. Is it right for auto, steel, and mining workers to go on strike for better wages and working conditions?
8. Is it right for textile workers in the J.P. Stevens mills in North Carolina to go on strike for better wages and working conditions?
9. If workers at your mill had a grievance--for example, if they wanted more money or better working conditions--would they be right to call a strike if management did not cooperate?

Table 7-1. Distribution, in Percentages, of Responses to Class Consciousness Items.

Response	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Definitely Yes	9.1	3.8	51.9	53.8	60.1	13.0	24.5	23.6	25.5
Probably Yes	29.8	22.1	23.1	27.4	16.3	19.2	25.0	22.1	26.9
Don't Know	25.0	42.8	8.2	3.4	1.9	6.7	25.5	38.9	8.7
Probably No	16.8	24.5	10.1	8.2	7.2	28.4	13.9	8.7	22.1
Definitely No	19.2	6.7	6.7	7.2	14.4	32.7	11.1	6.7	16.8

The distributions show that workers are not very bothered by income differences, have given little thought to the relationship between political issues and class, and are uncertain about strikes. As a class, these workers are low in consciousness.

An inter-item correlation matrix was computed for these items as well as a factor analysis. Results are shown in Tables 7-2 and 7-3. The selection of items for scaling is not clearcut. Items 3,4, and 5 form a cluster with item 6 a possible member. The factor analysis suggests

Table 7-2. Inter-item Correlation Matrix for Class Consciousness Items.

Item	Item								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1		.31**	-.12	-.03	-.03	-.06	-.08	-.03	-.12
2			-.06	-.19*	-.05	.08	.08	.10	.13
3				.35**	.33**	-.19*	.09	.03	-.01
4					.30**	-.28**	-.17*	-.27**	-.26**
5						-.24**	.01	-.05	-.05
6							.26**	.32**	.19*
7								.71**	.45**
8									.48**
9									

*p < .01.
 **p < .001.

Table 7-3. Principal Components Factor Loadings for Class Consciousness Items (Varimax Rotation in Parentheses).

Item	Factors			
	1	2	3	Communality
1	-.05 (-.12)	.29 (.02)	-.58 (.64)	.42
2	-.19 (-.12)	-.22 (-.10)	.44 (-.50)	.28
3	.15 (-.09)	.59 (.61)	.13 (.10)	.39
4	.47 (.27)	.43 (.57)	.07 (.13)	.41
5	.21 (.01)	.47 (.55)	.19 (.01)	.30
6	.44 (.33)	.19 (.38)	.15 (-.03)	.25
7	.74 (.81)	-.33 (-.04)	-.06 (.01)	.66
8	.82 (.86)	-.23 (.07)	-.08 (.06)	.74
9	.56 (.56)	-.11 (.11)	.02 (.01)	.33
Eigenvalue	2.05	1.10	.62	
% variance explained	54.4	29.2	16.4	

that item 6 be excluded. However when the factors are rotated (varimax) this item becomes more important. Conceptually, items 3, 4, and 5 center around the negative evaluation of differences among owners, managers, and workers. Item 6 is clearly compatible with this aspect of class consciousness and thus we decided to include it in the computation of a scale which is labeled the Opposition Scale since it does involve opposition of interests. The Alpha coefficient for the scale is .61.

Another cluster is centered around 7, 8, and 9. All three items concern attitudes about strikes. Items 4 and 6 are possible additions to this scale but the factor analysis (including rotation) does not justify their inclusion and they are conceptually different from the other items. The Alpha coefficient for the three-item scale is .77. We will label this scale the Activism Scale.

Bivariate Pearsonian correlations computed between each of the scales and the independent and two intervening variables are shown in Table 7-4. Age, religiosity, and education are significantly related to activism. Wage, which is associated with deference and alienation, is not associated with activism. The relationship between activism and religiosity and education disappears when age is controlled. Having previously analyzed the correlates of deference and alienation, we are not surprised that sex, skill level, ownership, and mill size are not related to this scale.

Only wage and education (among the independent variables) are significantly related to the opposition scale. Opposition declines as wages and schooling increase. Age has no bearing in the matter. Since the scale is centered around a wage issue it is not surprising that

Table 7-4. Correlations of Class Consciousness Scales with Independent and Dependent Variables.

Scale	Age	Wage	Sex ^a	Religio- sity ^b	Owner- ship ^c	Mill Size	Educa- tion	Skill Level ^d	Hostility scale	Aliena- tion	Paterna- lism scale
Activism scale	-.34**	.01	-.01	-.13*	.02	.06	.18**	.02	.37***	.31***	-.37***
Opposition scale	.06	-.16**	.09	-.07	.03	.05	-.15**	-.01	.11	.25***	-.30**

a1=male, 2=female.

bUse of religion in daily affairs.

c1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

d1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

*p < .05.

**p < .01.

*** p < .001.

wage level is a correlate. Those with higher wages are less likely to express objections to wage differences. Overall, variation in this scale is not strongly related to our array of independent variables although it does show a fairly strong association with alienation and deference as does the Activism Scale.

The correlations do indicate that the scales are measuring different aspects of worker consciousness. Unhappiness over wage differences and a sense of opposing interests are quite different from accepting the legitimacy of strikes. We should note too that the activism scale represents a reaction to a hypothetical event, "If workers at your mill had a grievance . . ." or to events removed from the workers' immediate environment while the opposition scale measures reactions to an existing situation. Over 50 percent of the workers would definitely or probably favor a strike under certain conditions but less than 20 percent express opposition to existing wage differences in their mills. This means that the chief barrier to collective action for these workers is not so much their willingness to respond to grievances but is rooted in their perceptions of work and of class relations as expressed in the deference and alienation scales. They do not perceive that they are in a situation which calls for remedial action.

Regressions of the opposition and activism scales on independent variables and the alienation and deference scales is reported in Tables 7-5 and 7-6. Each Table shows two regressions, one with alienation and deference included and one with them excluded. We find that the independent variables do not account for as much variation in either scale

Table 7-5. Multiple Regression of Activism Scale (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Independent Variables											
	Educa- tion	Religio- sity	Wage	Sex ^a	Mill Size	Owner- ship ^b	Skill ^c	Patern. Scale	Host. Scale	Alien Scale	R ²
Age											
-.34*	.04	-.02	-.05	.01	.07	-.04	-.03				.14
-.20*	.01	-.04	-.06	.04	.02	-.05	-.09	-.24*	.19*	.10	.25

*Significant at .05 level.

a1=male, 2=female.

b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

Cranked on six point scale with 1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

Table 7-6. Multiple Regression of Opposition Scale (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Independent Variables											
	Educa- tion	Religio- sity	Wage	Sex ^a	Mill Size	Owner- ship ^b	Skill ^c	Patern. Scale	Host. Scale	Alien. Scale	R ²
.03	-.12*	-.09	.19*	.03	.10	-.06	-.02				.06
.15*	.15*	-.05	-.09	.04	.06	-.07	-.06	-.20*	-.07	.20*	.16

*Significant at .05 level.

a1=male, 2=female.

b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

cranked on six point scale with 1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

as they did in the alienation and deference scales.³¹ When the alienation and deference scales are added, however, they do account for a substantial amount of variation.

It has become quite obvious that age is the central factor affecting worker attitudes about work and class relations. Since it is the major factor in explaining alienation and deference scales, the presence of these scales in a regression equation suppresses the effect of age. When these scales are removed the effects of age become visible.

In looking for other possible effects on these scales we found that background of the workers (farm versus other; farm versus textiles versus other) is not associated with either one, nor is homeownership. Married women are neither more nor less likely to manifest opposition or activism than single, widowed, or divorced ones.

A profile of the activist worker reveals unsurprising results. He or she reports more financial problems ($r = .14$), less job satisfaction ($r = -.18$), is less likely to think that management would help a worker with a personal problem ($r = -.24$), is more likely to discuss wages, working conditions, and unions ($r = .22, .20, \text{ and } .23$, respectively), and is more likely to think that his or her mill turns a big profit ($r = .16$). Being activist is also associated with willingness to vote for a union ($r = .54$).

On the other hand, the Opposition Scale is not associated with reports of financial problems, discussing unions, job interest, or perceptions of profits. Nor is the Opposition Scale associated with whether

³¹ Recall that there are two deference scales, the Paternalism Scale and the Hostility Scale.

or not workers vote for a union. Thus we will exclude this scale from subsequent analysis.

We will discuss the analysis of class consciousness again following an examination of union attitudes.

Union Attitudes in the Tufting Industry

Solomon Barkin, one-time head of the research and education department of the Textile Workers Union of America, wrote an article entitled "The Personality Profile of Southern Textile Workers" which appeared in the Labor Law Journal in 1960. Writing from the perspective of one dedicated to organizing these workers, Barkin detailed the major problems impeding organization. The article gives us a point of departure for assessing union attitudes in Dalton.

Barkin's first contention is that textile workers are resigned to not sharing in the American Dream and therefore acquiesce to the existing mill culture. People convinced either intentionally or not that they are fated to be, or that it is in the natural order of things for them to be, textile workers are not going to embrace attempts at change. Barkin's explanation of this acceptance is that "All institutions in his community are designed to insure his acquiescence and submissiveness to the prevailing way of life and to his employer" (1960:459). We can again stress the role of the small, socially and economically homogeneous community where textile mills are located and where social control is facilitated.

Even under these conditions, however, complete cultural hegemony is never attained and some workers become restless and unhappy. Barkin suggests that real restlessness is expressed primarily among younger

workers in the form of outmigration. Incited by new and diverse forces, such as the mass media, an increasing number of these people are "leaving the textile mill community without, however, altering the way of life of those remaining within. If anything the outmigration appears to have reinforced the homogeneity of the mill population and its acquiescence to the existing mill culture" (1960:459).

Barkin's second contention, implied to some extent in the first, is that textile workers live in a world in which obedience to authority is a way of life. Unquestioning conformance to authority is expected within families and reinforced through church teachings.³² The mills use this deference to authority to their advantage but we see that paternalism in the mill is built upon authority relations in the family, church, and school. Supporting a union is tantamount to denying the legitimacy of this traditional authority. And thus, Barkin argues, many workers who would be inclined to support unions are unable to withstand the pressure of family, employer, and community.

Thirdly, Barkin cites economic pressures adversely affecting unionization. Mill officials typically emphasize that workers cannot expect wages and benefits typical of other industries. They cite foreign competition and low profits in support of their position and underscore it with threats of mill closings, layoffs, and shortened hours. We could add that their antiunion strategies are becoming more sophisticated as

³²"In 1953, 74% of Southern respondents to an NORC poll agreed that "the most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents." (Reed, 1972:85). Also, "two institutions, the family and the church, are more powerful in the South than elsewhere in the United States." (Reed, 1972:87)

exemplified in the retention of law firms specializing in labor relations and in the seminars and textile journal articles devoted to keeping unions out.³³

Fourthly, Barkin raises the issue of the workers' lack of knowledge of and experiences with formal associations. Unions must overcome other barriers and then contend with people who need education in the ways of collective behavior.

Although Barkin wrote his article over twenty years ago, it remains a reasonable assessment of the problems facing unionization in a textile community such as Dalton. Census data do show that many young adults leave the community, presumably in search of opportunities other than those offered in Dalton. One management official supported this argument in explaining the average age of workers. This average is high, he claimed, because many younger workers depart for other areas in hopes of obtaining better jobs. Additionally, and not mentioned by Barkin, workers critical of the mills may often leave by force. Several workers reported that they or someone they knew had been fired for agitating other workers, meaning they had spoken of unions. In response to the question "If workers at your mill had a grievance would they be right to call a strike?" over a dozen respondents said it would result in the strikers being fired. One worker stated "They'd be fired. I was fired when our group sought a union at the _____ mill."

This theme of being fired was found even more frequently when the workers were asked about voting for a union. A prevalent response was

³³See Russell, 1979; Raynor, 1977, for discussions of law firms and seminars. See the six-part installment in Textile Industries (1973-74) entitled "Keeping the Unions Out."

"Not if I would be fired--but if not I'd vote yes," or "I would vote for it if the majority would vote for the union. I'd be fired otherwise" and "I'd probably go along with the others," and "If confidential, I'd vote for the union." Fears of being fired and fear of voting in the minority are apparently pervasive.

We have discussed obedience to authority which is the focus of Barkin's second contention. One quarter of the workers strongly or mostly agree that management authority should be deferred to. Three quarters believe that obedience to authority is one of the most important characteristics of textile workers. There is a correlation of $-.41$ between the Paternalism Scale and willingness to vote for a union. We have seen, however, that younger workers are less traditional in their approach to authority and they are more likely to vote for a union ($r = .32$ between age and union vote). This relationship between age and union support becomes more interesting when compared to the findings of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey. For this sample of 804 workers from all areas of the country, the correlation between age and union support was $-.09$ ($p < .10$). This finding supports the thesis that it is the traditional background of older textile workers, and not age per se, which produces the deference and limits the alienation, class consciousness, and union support.

Barkin's description of economic pressures affecting unionization is applicable to Dalton also. Of the seventy-one workers who gave a reason for their "no" response to a union vote, twenty-two stated that they were "satisfied now," some of them implying and some indicating directly that they should not expect more. Eight expressed fear of

retaliation in the form of firings, lay offs, and shortened hours. Through these and other opinions voiced by the workers, economic fear emerges as one aspect of antiunionism.

Lack of knowledge of and experience with formal organizations, which Barkin emphasizes, is apparent in Dalton. Only nine workers (4 percent) reported membership in any organization or group in the community (church membership excluded). Many prefaced their answers to the block of union questions with comments such as "Well, I really don't know anything about unions." Slightly more than one-fourth were unable to give a reason for their response to the union vote question. These workers have not had experience with organizational membership and the community provides little opportunity for them to become joiners.

We can conclude that Barkin's ideas are compatible with what our investigation has revealed. Whereas he is concerned with the problems of organizing these workers, however, our concern is understanding the problems. In further pursuit of this understanding, we will turn to the survey questions on unions.

The seven union questions are printed below and workers' responses are reproduced in Table 7-7.

1. If textile workers belonged to a union, would their wages be higher than they are now?
2. Do unions unjustly interfere with the right of businessmen to run their companies as they see fit?
3. Do unions make sure that workers are treated fairly by management?
4. Do you think that workers in some industries need unions?
5. Do you think that all unions should be abolished?

6. Would you be willing to listen to a union official talk about unions?
7. If an election were held in your mill, would you vote for the union?

Table 7-7. Distribution of Responses to Union Items.*

Items	Question Number (%)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Definitely Yes	28.8	14.4	25.5	35.6	7.2	49.0	20.2
Probably Yes	38.9	26.9	34.6	31.7	2.9	20.7	18.3
Don't Know	14.9	40.4	26.4	18.8	22.6	4.3	25.0
Probably No	13.0	11.5	9.1	7.2	19.7	10.1	14.9
Definitely No	3.8	6.3	3.8	6.3	47.1	15.4	21.2

*N=207 for all questions.

These responses do not indicate an intense aversion to unions but do reflect lack of association with and knowledge about them. The "don't know" response often constituted one-fourth of all responses to a particular question. The 38 percent who responded "definitely yes" or "probably yes" to the voting question (number 7) corresponds closely to the findings of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey which found that 35 percent of unorganized workers in the South would support unionization.

The responses presented above were inter-correlated and subjected to a factor analysis (Tables 7-8 and 7-9). Both techniques revealed a clustering of all items except number two. The factor analysis resulted in one factor accounting for 100 percent of the variance. The Alpha-reliability coefficient of the six items is .84.

Table 7-8. Inter-item Correlation Matrix for Union Items.*

Item	Question						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1		-.16	.42	.45	-.33	.38	.50
2			-.21	-.25	.27	-.16	-.37
3				.53	-.40	.30	.50
4					-.65	.43	.54
5						-.36	-.42
6							.61

*All probabilities are less than .001 except for 2 and 1, and 2 and 6.

Table 7-9. Principal Components Factor Loadings for Union Items.

Item	Factors 1	Communality
1	.59	.35
2	-.36	.13
3	.63	.39
4	.79	.62
5	-.65	.42
6	.60	.36
7	.79	.63
Eigenvalue	2.89	
% of variance explained	100.0	

Correlations of the Union Scale with the independent variables and intervening variables are presented in Table 7-10. Regression results are presented in Table 7-11 and a path analytic model showing all

Table 7-10. Correlations (Pearsonian) of Union Scale with Independent and Intervening Variables.

Scale	Age	Wage	Sex ^a	Religio- sity ^b	Owner- ship ^c	Mill Size	Educa- tion	Skill Level ^d	Host. Scale	Alien. Scale	Activ. Scale	Patern. Scale
Union Scale	-.32**	-.02	-.19*	-.17*	.08	.02	.17*	.09	-.49**	.36**	.55**	.41**

a1=male, 2=female.

bUse of religion in daily life.

c1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

d1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

*p < .01.

**p < .001.

Table 7-11. Regression of Union Scale (with Standardized Regression Coefficients).

Age	Educa- tion	Religio- sity	Wage	Sex ^a	Independent Variables					Act. Scale	R ²
					Mill Size	Owner- ship ^b	Skill Level ^c	Patern. Scale	Host. Scale		
-.23*	.08	-.04	-.13	-.21*	.10	.09	.03				.14
.02	.04	.00	.02	-.20*	.04	.09	.00	-.17*	.13**	.12**	.43

*Significant at .05 level.

**Significant at .10 level.

a1=male, 2=female.

b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.

cranked on six point scale with 1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.

significant determinants of union sentiment is depicted in Figure 2.³⁴ One of the more striking findings is that gender is important for the expression of union attitudes when it was not for the Paternalism, Hostility, Alienation, and Activism Scales. Why is this so?

At the heart of the explanation must lie the evolution of sex roles and the specific nature of this evolution in the South. Historically we find changes toward greater equality between the sexes and increasing industrialization. Labor force participation by women grows and organizations of workers become increasingly open to women (see The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey which found women slightly more likely than men to favor unions).

In Dalton the women show signs of their increasing participation in industrialization. They express as much alienation and no greater deference than their male counterparts. The social structure in which they live, however, is still characterized by stratification of roles and male domination as illustrated by wage and job differences between the sexes. In rural areas and in areas of lagging industrialization the traditional sex roles remain quite apparent.³⁵ Unions are a matter for

³⁴Significance here refers to the .10 level. The variable "wages" is placed forward of the other independent variables because the regression on wages in Chapter V clearly indicates this positioning.

³⁵"Insofar as any skilled jobs are available, strong sex segregation saves them for men and relegates women to many of the more oppressive chores. Thus, the workers lack not only a large fund of skilled laborers for leadership but they also lack the ground swell of resentment from the unskilled ranks, since the women seem more apt to swallow their burden silently. This may be especially the case in traditional Southern society where women play more compelling roles in the family and treat their work as a perfunctory and secondary activity" (Peterson and Demerath, 1965, in introduction to re-publication of Millhands and Preachers, p. xlv).

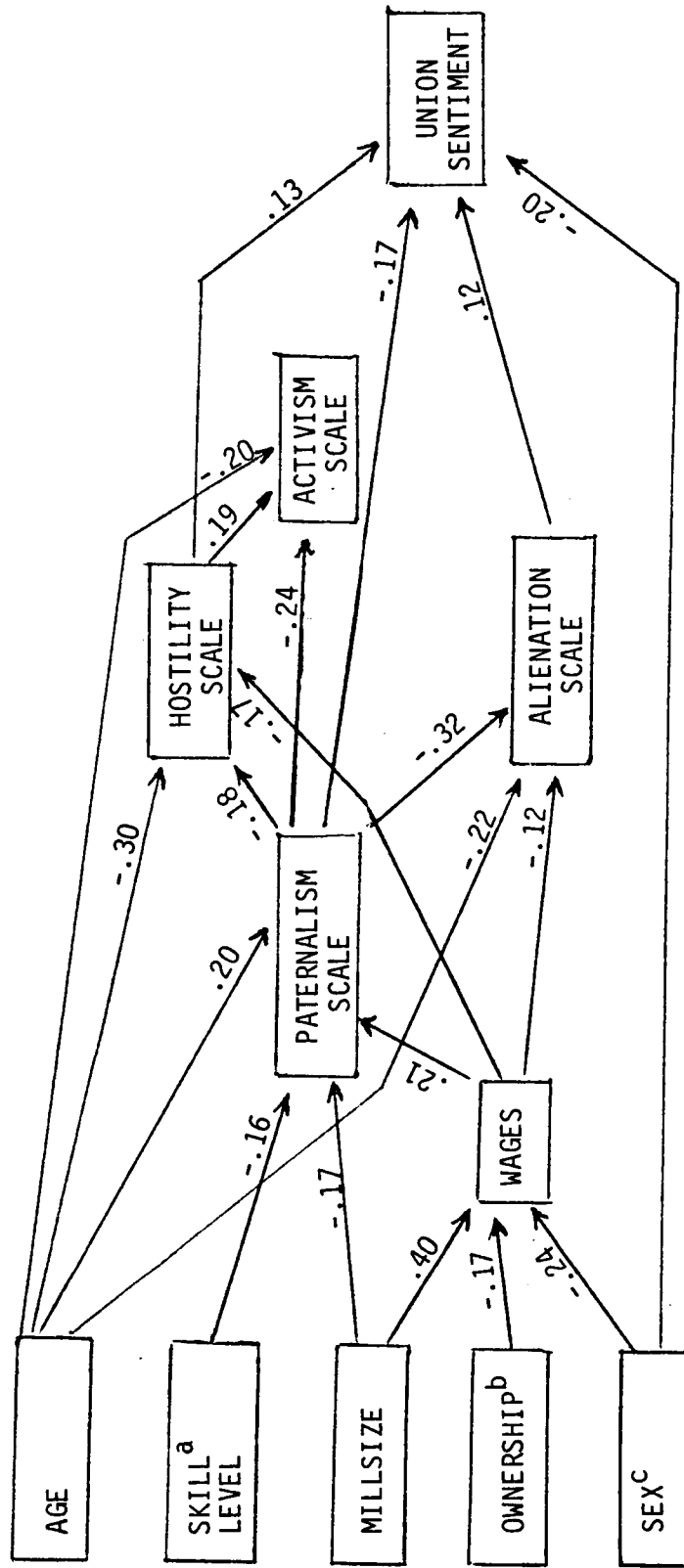


Figure 2. Path Analytic Model ($R^2 = .43$)

a1=least skilled, 6=most skilled.
 b1=absentee-owned, 2=locally owned.
 c1=male, 2=female.

men. We see this clearly when reviewing the distribution of responses by sex to the union questions. Women replied "don't know" much more often than men. This holds true for the three activism items as well. Women are not as likely to favor unions as men because they either know less about them or are not as willing as men to voice an opinion.

There is also a significant relationship between marital status of women and union support ($r = .27$) with married women expressing more pro-union sentiment. Thus the high number of divorced, widowed, and single women in the sample (constituting 55 percent of the women) depresses this pro-union sentiment for the women overall.

The regression of the Union Scale and the path model emphasize the importance of attitudes expressed in the Activism, Paternalism, Hostility, and Alienation Scales. Workers who are less deferential and less contented with the nature of their work, and more militant, are more union oriented. Attitudes expressed in the Hostility Scale mediate between the Activism Scale and age, wage, and the Paternalism Scale. We also see that age is very important through every intervening variable although it does not have a direct effect on union sentiment.

As with deference, alienation, and class consciousness, however, we find little evidence that the increasing size of mills and the take-over by outside capital affects union sentiment. Although we have devoted space to an examination of these matters, we will explore them again. The argument derived from the literature takes the following form.

Organizational size is related to organizational structure. Growing size means greater bookkeeping activities and more supervisory personnel. The distance in levels of personnel between owners and workers

grows. The growth in size and complexity requires extended rules and bureaucratization. Rule by individual is replaced with rule by regulation. Recruitment and tenure of workers becomes the province of a "personal branch" of the organization. There grows a chain of command for requests and grievances. The increasing division of labor breaks up the one-to-one relationship between management and worker that characterizes small and paternal organizations. Whereas the efficiency of the organization may be served by these changes, the worker's role is narrowed as the division of labor deskills and compartmentalizes labor and restricts the worker to small segments of the production process.

The nature of authority relations changes with increasing size. The rationalization of production undercuts the paternalism which characterizes early industrialization. Foster's study (1974) as well as Hareven and Langenbach's (1978) and Walkowitz's (1979) detail the traditional authority relations in the early years of the textile industry in England and New England. These relations gradually gave way, partly as the result of the consequences of size.

The takeover by outside capital and institution of absentee-ownership are similar to growing size in their effect on organizational structure. Rationalization of production and decreasing personal relationships ensue. Gouldner (1954) and Warner and Low (1947) describe the effects of replacement of supervisory personnel who utilize personal techniques with those using "by the book" methods. Pope (1942) emphasizes the takeover by absentee-owners in generating tension leading to the Gastonia strike in 1929. All available evidence suggests that replacing managerial staff and techniques with more rational and impersonal ones breaks the congenial and cooperative relationships encouraged by a paternalistic

strategy and stimulates a tension-filled, conflictual one.

For these reasons we hypothesized that the larger mills and absentee-owned ones should be related to greater class consciousness, pro-union sentiment, and alienation, and less deference. Our findings have failed to support this hypothesis. Assuming that our reasoning is valid, what factors can be enlisted as explanations for this lack of confirmation?

First, it is possible that mill size has an effect but one which diverges from our hypothesis. Kochan (1979) found union attitudes to be strongest in middle-sized establishments and weaker in both small and large ones. Presumably the larger places granted greater compensation and the smaller ones retained an informal, family atmosphere and thus both discouraged class conflict. Thus we tested for this effect in analyzing deference, alienation, and class consciousness and found no evidence of it. Similarly when we partitioned mill size into five size categories, no indication that medium-sized mills have any special effect on union attitudes was observed. As a variation on this idea, mills were divided into four groups: (1) small- to medium-sized, local ones; (2) large, local ones; (3) small- to medium-sized, absentee-owned ones; (4) large, absentee-owned ones. Again no differences were found.

Secondly, we can look again at wages and benefits. Both are significantly correlated with mill size and ownership and both are significantly correlated with some of our scales, wage with the Alienation Scale and the two deference scales, and benefits with the Hostility Scale, two deference scales, and the Alienation Scale. The higher pay and benefits counter other opposite effects of mill size and ownership.

For example, those in larger and in absentee-owned mills are more likely to believe their mills make a big profit and perception of big profits is associated with less deference and greater pro-union sentiment. Those in larger mills are likely to view their mills as more impersonal now than they were in the past and this perception is associated with less deference and greater alienation. Thus the larger and the absentee-owned mills exert contradictory effects on worker responses to their situation, some effects promoting deference and antiunionism and some challenging deference and stimulating union sentiment.

Thirdly, conditions in the larger mills have not altered as much as predicted. The organization of work remains similar to that in smaller mills. We discovered that most of the big mills are actually composed of several different plants corresponding to different phases of production. Carpet is tufted on one site, dyed and finished at another, stored and shipped from yet another. Thus a mill employing 1,500 workers may be composed of three different production sites of 500 workers each. It is likely that such a mill structure reduces the impact of increasing size.

Fourthly, changes in management personnel and style as a result of outside takeover have been minimal. One industry knowledgeable reported that some earlier takeovers had resulted in outside supervisory people relieving local personnel with much disgruntlement ensuing but that most mills either had been aware of the potential problem or had for other reasons left mill organization intact.

Thus our data show that mill size has contradictory affects on paternalistic attitudes and thus no impact on union sentiment. In addition, absentee-ownership has no effect on paternalistic attitudes independent of mill size.

Wage exerts a small indirect impact on union sentiment through its effect on the Paternalism, Hostility, and Alienation Scales. Skill level has a very minor impact through its effect on the Paternalism Scale. Once again, education and religion have no effect when other variables are controlled.

Discussion of Class Consciousness and Union Sentiment

Our data demonstrate the association of certain kinds of attitudes and worker characteristics with attitudes about unions and expressions of class consciousness. The important focus of this project, however, is not on attitudes or worker characteristics. Information on these points was gathered as an indication of the effect of conditions in the textile industry, the South, and the Dalton community on class development and class relations.

We have noted in other places that conditions in the South, and in the mills, and in this community are not conducive to the formation of a Klasse für sich. The workers in our sample are part of an historical movement of class relations involving a plantation economy, tenancy, and cotton mills, all organized around paternalistic authority relations. The workers are part of an industry and area recently industrialized.

We observed that the neighborhoods in the community are not *gemeinschaft* in nature. They are not organized around activities or clubs or places for the residents to gather. The interviewers noted, in their attempts to find certain respondents or addresses, that many people did not know their neighbors. Many of the workers live in rental housing where there is great transiency. The community offers few organizations for working people to join.

In the mills, as we have noted, work is tied to machines which places restrictions on active intercourse with others. There is frequent contact with management (question 41). One's work does not require skill, daring, or a team effort which could stimulate comraderie and a sense of occupational community.

Thus there is a minimal structural basis to support the kinds of collectivization envisioned by Marx. It is not surprising that workers do not have an imagery of group boundaries centered around productive relations. The important groups to them appear to be family and, to a lesser extent, church. They tend to judge differences in the community in terms of personal characteristics.

There have been few situations in the community or the mills for antagonisms to develop: no union organizing, no strikes, no large-scale disturbances. Such events can often spark collective reaction. The workers in Dalton expressed problems as individual ones to be handled by individual means. The isolation and recency of the industry probably serve it well in this respect. The unions are concentrating on the Carolinas and tufting has no history of overt class antagonism around which organization could rally.

There are significant relationships between supporting a union and expressing activism and whether or not workers discuss unions, perception of mill profits, perception of community power, belief in management's willingness to assist workers with problems, mill ratings, and expression of job interest. Thus we can identify the workers more likely to support unions and activism by using these items which vary together along with characteristics such as age and wage. Among these

attitudes and characteristics, however, there is often no clear cause and effect. Only age stands out as a key variable in understanding these tufted textile workers.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Textile workers in the South present a theoretical problem to those who would understand class relations and a pragmatic problem to those who would either organize them or prevent them from organizing. Let us look at these interrelated problems in the light of the findings of this research project.

Theoretically, how are we to locate Southern textile workers in the class structure and indeed in what class structure is it to be? We have discussed class structure in terms of the textile industry, the South, and labor market segmentation theories. Class in the textile industry involves the relations of production described by Marx. Workers sell their labor power for wages. This labor power is used to produce textile products which are sold for profit. The nature of the class relations within the textile industry is tempered by the fact that labor constitutes such a large portion of the costs of production relative to less competitive industries. Thus we expect that class relations in the textile industry might differ from class in monopolistic type industries. In particular the rigid control of wages and suppression of union activities have assumed an historically important position in textiles.

Theories of labor market segmentation recognize differences between monopoly and competitive industries and the consequent fractionization of the working class. Industries such as textiles are typically labeled as peripheral in these theories. Peripheral industries have reacted in certain identifiable ways to the corporate capitalism--liberal state environment.

One of these reactions has been the migration to less industrialized areas where, it is hoped, class relations will be less antagonistic and wages and union activities more easily controlled.

The industrialization of the United States has been uneven with the South lagging behind the North. The agricultural focus of the South throughout the nineteenth century and the slavery and tenancy which were part of the region's plantation economy have significantly influenced its class structure and culture.

The paternalism at the core of the slaveholders' ideology rested primarily on the master-slave relationship but extended itself outward to encompass the white lower classes . . . [P]lantations became increasingly self sufficient and more enclosed as productive-consuming units . . . there was considerable progress toward regional self sufficiency. Locally, this development meant the dependence of yeoman and poorer whites on the plantation market . . . For the most part, these planters do not appear to have exploited their economic opportunities with anything like ruthlessness but to have considered them part of a wider social responsibility. Many of the yeoman and even poor whites were related to the planters . . . The distinctly Southern sense of extended family cannot be understood apart from the social structure at the center of which stood the plantation, and it provided impetus for social cohesion, ruling-class hegemony and the growth of a paternalistic spirit that far transcended master-slave and white-black relationships (Genovese, 1969:100-1).

Basically we have analyzed the textile industry in terms of a conjunction of class in these spheres: industry, labor market segmentation, and the South. The need of the industry to control wages and union activities, the dual economic structure which has encouraged migration of competitive industries to less developed areas, and the deferential culture of the South, lead us to assume the presence of strong antiunionism within the industry and a lack of strong positive union sentiment among workers. Our data do not repudiate these assumptions. Management personnel were strongly antiunion. Only 20 percent of the workers would definitely vote for a union.

Yet our framework also stresses the importance of differences between the South and Northeast: differences in level of industrialization, differences in historical class relations, differences in level of unionization. In sum our framework posits less support for unions among workers in the South. Let us review our findings and their fit with the theoretical framework in terms of: (1) a comparison with other data on union attitudes; (2) the possibility that changes in the South may be more significant than we have assumed so that Southern workers, who once were more antiunion than their Northern counterparts, have now "caught up"; and (3) textile history as reviewed in Chapter I.

Thirty-eight percent of the workers in our sample reported some degree of pro-union sentiment (would definitely or probably vote for a union). This is approximately the same percentage that Kochan (1979) found among a sample of nationwide unorganized workers. And Kochan reports union support among 35% of the unorganized Southern workers. How can we reconcile these findings with the historical and political economic analysis that Southern workers are at the conjunction of a set of characteristics involving the textile industry, uneven development, and a deferential culture which makes them more antiunion than other workers? Three points seem important.

First, responses to the union question in the NORC data, as reported by Kochan, are not divided into different degrees of support (definitely would, probably would, etc.) as ours are. Kochan states (1979:25) "39 percent of unorganized blue-collar workers would support unions." Our statement is "20 percent would definitely support a union and 18 percent would probably support one." Which of our numbers (20 or 18 or 20 plus

18) should be compared to Kochan's? Kochan does not report the level of union support among workers in the North.

Secondly, who are these workers that are being compared? What percentages are textile workers? How many of these unorganized Northern workers are transplants from Appalachia or other areas of the South? How would Northern and Southern textile workers compare? Workers in different industries face different circumstances and presumably manifest different degrees of support for unions (Kerr and Siegel, 1954). Workers in rural communities should be quite different in background and approach to unions than those from urban environments (Lockwood, 1966).

Thirdly, a completely different picture emerges if regional comparisons are widened to include inferred union attitudes of unorganized workers. In Chapter II we cited statistics on union membership demonstrating that Southern states are low in percentage of organized workers. Thirteen percent of nonagricultural workers in Georgia and Mississippi are in unions; 7 percent in North Carolina and South Carolina are union members. In contrast, 39 percent in New York, 34 percent in Pennsylvania, and 24 percent in Massachusetts belong to unions. For a rough measure of union support among all workers in these areas we could add these percentages on union membership to support found among unorganized workers in general by Kochan. Thus in New York, union support could be estimated at 63 percent for all workers, in Pennsylvania at 60 percent, and in Massachusetts at 54 percent.³⁶ These percentages compare with estimates of 47 percent

³⁶E.g., the figure for New York is computed as follows: the 39 percent union membership figure is added to percentage of support among the 61 percent of the workers unorganized using Kochan's figures of 39 percent. Thus we have $39 \text{ percent} + (.39 \times .61) = .63$.

in Georgia and Mississippi, 40 percent in North and South Carolina, and 38 percent in Dalton. Thus there is considerable doubt about concluding that there are no differences in union attitudes between Northern and Southern workers.

What about the possibility that changes in the South have been so extensive that there is little difference between regions? In Chapter II we cited two recent analyses claiming that differences between North and South have rapidly diminished and that they are generally exaggerated. Our description of Dalton, and indeed the South, provides a rebuttal to such a general conclusion. Some areas of the South may fit this thesis of declining difference but other areas, such as Dalton, resemble an earlier period in the history of the North. Also, the effects of the plantation society serve to distinguish the evolution of class and class relations in the South from that of the North, especially in terms of paternalism and deference. As for the textile industry itself, a study in 1973 by the University of South Carolina compared wage rates between Northern and Southern textile workers and found an hourly wage gap differential of 52 percent.³⁷ This gap jumped to 59 percent when benefits were considered with Northern workers averaging \$5.55 an hour compared to \$3.49 for Southern workers. Southern textile workers certainly have not "caught up" with the North.

The third area of concern in evaluating our theoretical framework in light of the findings is the relevance of textile history. Our historical review showed fluctuations in organization and consciousness among

³⁷See Alfred Watkins. "Good Business Climates: The Second War Between the States." Dissent (Fall, 1980):476-84.

workers depending upon circumstances and events. Let us review some of these circumstances and events that we listed at the end of Chapter I and briefly comment on their relevance. (1) Walkowitz's notion of the importance of an associational network has obvious relevance. The workers of Dalton do not have this kind of network and thus no organizational basis. (2) The lack of a labor tradition is apparent in Dalton as indicated by the lack of knowledge about unions and the J.P. Stevens Company. (3) The idea of a heterogeneous labor force hindering organization, and therefore of a homogeneous one encouraging it, is obviously not relevant. Culturally, these workers are extremely homogeneous with little apparent effect on solidarity. (4) The production of an antiunion culture is not an obvious phenomenon in Dalton. Management can well afford to maintain a low non-union profile in the community given the lack of significant unrest. This production is likely if workers should agitate since management is in position to mobilize quickly as we have shown. Thus management is in the favorable position of being able to hide their antiunionism and appear benign to workers. Repressive tactics used in other communities have not been needed here. (5) The social character of textile workers has been forged from the rural/tenancy background and includes a large measure of deference and contentment with (or adaptation to) the status quo. We earlier concluded that Barkin's assessment of this character and its effect on organization in applicable to Dalton. (6) We did not find religion to be a factor in workers' responses perhaps because of the religious homogeneity among the workers. (7) Paternalism remains a visible reality in Dalton as we have discussed at length. (8) Women are less willing to vote for a union in

Dalton although they are not more likely to oppose the union and do not display any more deference than men. (9) The problem for workers in one-industry communities is serious judging by this study. The lack of alternative employment and the opportunity to compare wages and working conditions with others is an obstacle to development of a realization of exploitation and opposition. (10) The characteristics of the industry in Dalton are very similar to our description of the political economy of peripheral industries which results in their strong antiunionism. The conditions of work do not promote a sense of community among workers but rather resemble the conditions described by Lockwood in his essay on the deferential worker (1966).

It is impossible to determine how much significance each point contributes to the absence of a working class movement in Dalton. Each is important to consider in analyzing union attitudes in the community and thus the historical survey was useful in directing our attention to them. Our historical survey also tells us that these points cannot be considered in isolation from one another. They are tied together by the evolution of the core-periphery split in the U.S. economy, the uneven development between North and South, and the characteristics of the textile industry. Our theoretical framework is based on the conjunction of these historical developments. In general, the class relations, industry characteristics, community characteristics, and worker attitudes in Dalton fit admirably into this framework and the history it is based upon.

What can we conclude about the theoretical approach employed in this study? To what extent did it enhance, detract from, or otherwise affect its quality? Such judgment is necessarily biased to some degree

when rendered by the author. Nevertheless it seems safe to suggest that the use of our theoretical framework added depth to the analysis of the textile industry and textile workers not found in other studies cited and related the topic to larger contexts.

Praxis

What have we found out about these workers which would be of interest to those wishing to organize them or to those wishing to maintain non-unionization?

First, we have found that deference continues to be an important variable in understanding class relations in the industry. A deferential view of class relations impedes class consciousness and the development of pro-union sentiment. This suggests that textile management can continue to successfully utilize a paternalistic control strategy. Newby, however, proposes that such a strategy will result in dialectical change (1977). The "deferential dialectic," as he calls it, represents a contradiction within the paternalistic relationship which threatens its success. Workers defer to the authority of management, believing that they should do this but also that they will be taken care of. Management, however, makes decisions based on rational calculation of self-interest, not worker interest. Workers, accustomed to the fatherly environment, may be confused or agitated by the failure to obtain what they expect under such an environment. This then is the dialectic: management exacting loyalty and cooperation from workers but by doing so creating expectations which are continually threatened. The paternalistic relationship is thus inherently contradictory and will eventually fail.

Newby's argument is an economic one. It interprets the use of paternalism in terms of promotion of economic self-interest, namely accumulation of profits. Inevitably there are accumulation crises leading to layoffs or wage cuts or greater rationalization of production which result in the employer reneging on the rights and obligations of the paternalistic relationship. Whereas paternalism initially disguises class conflict, its breakdown highlights it.

The paternalism of the mills is an attempt to bind the workers to their condition as wage laborers just as the paternalism of slavery was an attempt to bind slaves to their condition as slave laborers. In both cases relations of domination and subordination are created and legitimated in an effort to stabilize a situation seen to be fraught with instability. Genovese notes an unintended consequence to the paternalism in the master-slave relationship which parallels the reasoning in Newby's argument.

Paternalism defined the involuntary labor of the slaves as a legitimate return to their masters for protection and direction. But, the masters' need to see their slaves as acquiescent human beings constituted a moral victory for the slaves themselves. Paternalism's insistence upon mutual obligations-duties, responsibilities, and ultimately even rights - implicitly recognized the slaves' humanity . . . thus the slaves, by accepting a paternalistic ethos and legitimizing class rule, developed their most powerful defense against the dehumanization implicit in slavery. Southern paternalism may have reinforced racism as well as class exploitation, but it also unwittingly invited its victims to fashion their own interpretation of the social order it was intended to justify. And the slaves, drawing on a religion that was supposed to assure their compliance and docility, rejected the essence of slavery by projecting their own rights and value as human beings. (Genovese, 1976:5,7)

The parallel with Newby is that both writers see a legitimization crisis for paternalism, emerging from contradictions internal to culture for Genovese, induced by accumulation crises for Newby.

The increasing rationalization of production apparent in the textile industry and its tufting branch might afford a favorable environment for such dialectical processes. We have seen, though, that increasing size and absentee-ownership have not yet produced much change in the workplace in Dalton. Whether these changes will occur and affect the paternalistic class relations in the mills is a crucial issue for organization of workers.

We have also found that these workers are not strongly alienated as measured by responses to survey items. We must be cautious in interpreting these findings, however. Rinehart (1978) notes that workers evaluate their jobs relative to the possibilities presented in the labor market:

The "choice" that is presented to most workers is that between work which is intrinsically unsatisfying and no work. A job, any job, is preferable to none at all, and this necessarily affects evaluations of work . . . Job appraisals are not merely a function of workers' recognition of the parameters of the labour market. Their evaluations also are affected by expectations of work, expectations which are shaped by experiences on and off the job. Unfulfilled hopes might be expected to produce dissatisfaction with work, but this condition is minimized by a progressive scaling-down of occupational aspirations. This long-term process tends to bring job expectations into rough correspondence with labour market realities (p. 7).

Certainly the workers in our sample do not display strong expectations for meaning and fulfillment in work. However, Rinehart stresses that the attitudinal offerings of workers demonstrating satisfaction with work are inconsistent with their workplace behavior which involves continuous conflict with management and other signs of dissatisfaction with work. Therefore, questionnaire responses cannot be relied on as the sole indicator of the presence of alienation.

In this study, survey responses have been supplemented with an historical look at conditions in the mills to assess the objective conditions which Marx associated with alienation. We noted the deskilling of weaving and spinning in the early nineteenth century and the existence from that time on of predominantly semi-skilled work in the mills with workers having little control over speed of work, no input on decisions about their work, a narrow range of activities, and contact with a segmented product. This description, judging by tours of several mills as well as interview data, fits tufting as well. No in-depth investigation of workplace organization and behavior was undertaken, however, to investigate the attitude-behavior discrepancies discussed by Rinehart.

The conclusion about alienation among these workers is that the objective conditions for work correspond to Marx's notion of alienation, but that these conditions have not led to much verbal expression. Behavioral discrepancies were not seen but they were not a focus of the study. Given this qualification, alienation is probably not an issue in organizing the workforce unless and until expectations about intrinsic rewards from work are raised.

Organizers should see promise and management a threat in the level of worker support for strikes. Over 50 percent think workers would definitely or probably be justified in calling a strike under certain conditions. There are, however, strong fears of retaliation from management which could be used as a weapon to hold workers in line. Such a strategy could, of course, backfire and sensitize workers to class conflict.

Level of worker support for unions is unclear in its implications. Attitudes about the various aspects of unions are very favorable until

the question about voting for a union is posed at which time doubt appears. More workers support a strike than think they would vote for a union. Thus voting for a union is correctly placed as the final step in our model and is the ultimate decision for these workers.

These doubts and fears about strikes and unions should be a matter of concern for organizers and management. Unions would need to overcome ignorance about unions and fears of mill closings in pursuing an organizing campaign. Management would need to maintain these and/or create a counter-argument to union-provided information.

Chapters V, VI, and VII discussed in detail the worker characteristics associated with deference, alienation, class consciousness, and union sentiment. Rather than repeating our findings, we will turn our attention to the general environment affecting the characteristics of the sampled workers. This environment poses a number of obstacles to collectivization. Among these are (1) the lack of economic diversity and the availability of alternative employment for workers which would reduce their dependency on mill work and alter the context in which their appraisals of work are made. This lack of diversity appears to be a characteristic of most textile communities. (2) Another obstacle is the continuation of the traditional, paternalistic work setting despite increasing size and absentee-ownership. (3) There is an absence of both a labor heritage and a sense of community among workers. As mentioned in Chapter III, the first part of this problem is pronounced in Dalton due to the recency of the industry and its geographical separation from the Carolina textile industry. Conditions for textile workers in general, however, remain similar to those described by Lockwood as producing

traditional workers of the deferential type. According to Lockwood (1966:17), deferential workers lack a "high degree of job involvement and strong attachments to primary work groups that possess a considerable autonomy from technical and supervisory constraints and pride in doing 'men's work' and a strong sense of shared occupational experiences." Instead they typically display a weak occupational culture and few of the earmarks of a traditional, working class community. They tend to work at jobs that involve frequent contact with supervisory and management personnel thus providing a solid base for a paternalistic authority system. Their image of society is grounded in status concerns involving family and race. Differentiation for the deferential worker is a hierarchical model but class is not an important dividing point. The workers in our sample are not far removed in many of these ways from the traditional, deferential worker. (4) The rural/tenancy background has been a point of emphasis throughout the study. Lopreato and Hazelrigg (1972:26) state an hypothesis which they derive from Marx: "(1) Alienation and (2) class consciousness are more prevalent among workers recently arrived on the industrial setting than among those reared in an industrial setting." Marx's reasoning was that the new arrivals emerged from a traditional social structure where rights and obligations were set in a paternalistic mold supported by tradition and religion. The factory, on the other hand, substituted a cash payment relationship with the other reciprocal responsibilities implied in paternalism stripped away. Recognition of self-worth, which Genovese claims is implied in paternalism (1976:7), falls before the rationalization of the employer-employee relationship. The worker sells his labor power for cash. The

employer, paying the wages, has no further concern for and accepts no other responsibility for the worker. The worker thus feels an immediate sense of alienation, of being a commodity. Our study, with its review of literature, seriously undermines this hypothesis by revealing that migration to the factory did not involve an immediate severance of the paternalistic relationship to which workers were accustomed. The placement of mills in rural settings necessitated employer recognition that the workers were humans with needs for room, board, and activities. Management has also learned the control value of paternalism and thus it continues to mediate the passage from rural/tenancy background to the mills.

These four points are related to both the characteristics of the textile industry and the characteristics of the South. This suggests that a study such as this one actually involves five interrelated levels of analysis: (1) characteristics of the U.S. economy; (2) characteristics of the textile industry; (3) characteristics of the Southern region; (4) characteristics of the textile community; and (5) characteristics of the workers. In one way or another our study has attempted to deal with all five levels. In any study there are certain matters which need more attention than they are granted or certain problems one wishes would disappear. This is especially so when dealing with a multi-level analytical model. We will turn our attention to these matters and problems next.

Problems in the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

There were several issues raised in this project which could not be fully resolved. One of these involves the consequences of tenancy for workers. More research is needed on the class relations of tenancy

and their parallel with class relations in the mills. Unfortunately, deference and tenancy assumed importance subsequent to administration of the survey and thus our information on worker background is poor. Nor were we very successful in explaining variance in deference, either because of measurement problems or because we failed to explore all relevant variables.

Another issue which remains cloudy is the effect of industry changes (increasing size and absentee-ownership) on workers. Our analysis revealed contradictory effects and thus the overall consequences of these changes are unclear.

Also unclear are the effects of urbanization and the mass media on workers. Much of the descriptive data on textile workers is over twenty years old and thus changes in lifestyle, education, and attitudes have not been documented over time. In general, more research in other textile communities is needed to provide a basis of comparison for this study. This would also aid in determining to what extent Dalton and tufting are unique and whether or not the isolation from other branches of textiles and the recency of tufting significantly affect the working class and class relations.

This project and future ones similar to it could benefit from first-hand, in-depth investigation of the workplace. The question of class relations, workplace organization, effects of changing size and ownership need this kind of observation. The attention paid within the last decade to the deskilling process (Braverman, 1974; Edwards, 1979; Montgomery, 1979) would give this task a solid theoretical grounding.

There were variables which appeared briefly in the study but remained largely unexplored.³⁸ They represent possibilities for future analysis of our data. We have, for the most part, adhered to analysis of the variables presented in Chapter IV.

A Note on Measurement

Is it worthwhile to attempt to measure such concepts as deference, alienation, and class consciousness by means of a questionnaire? There are several possible responses to this question.

The answer should certainly be no if the questionnaire is not accompanied by other modes of analysis. Surveys provide fruitful but limited data. They are not very satisfying for those looking for depth and breadth.

On the other hand, some argue that a questionnaire cannot be used to measure concepts such as class consciousness. It is not an attitude in individuals or the sum of these attitudes. It is a class recognizing its interests, organizing, and engaging in class conflict to overthrow the capitalist mode of production. Or it is that which advances proletarian hegemony (Wenger: 47) and therefore requires no corresponding psychological manifestation in workers. Defined in this way, class consciousness is measured only by events and questionnaires are irrelevant. Such a position has a certain appeal. The application of the term "class consciousness" to most modern day workers, including these textile workers, sometimes seems to border on the ridiculous. Yet what is to be done? Once an historical analysis of class relations has been undertaken,

³⁸E.g., race, job satisfaction, mill ratings, marital status, financial problems, class imagery, perceptions of community power.

does knowledge of workers' reactions to these relations add nothing? Are we to dismiss those we are subsuming under the name "working class" as irrelevant for an investigation of class consciousness? This study answers these questions with a clear no. While sympathetic to the general idea argued by Wenger, we do not view worker attitudes as irrelevant. We have paid homage to the idea that there are many things to know about workers and many ways to investigate them. If we keep in mind that concepts such as alienation and class consciousness have specific referents within Marxist theory which questionnaires do not fully explore, then they are useful tools of sociological research.

Final Comments

This project, in large part, has been a descriptive one, detailing textile history, Southern history, community history, and workers' attitudes. The historical material was included in order to better understand the context in which the attitudes were formed.

Many of the conditions and events depicted in Chapter I have significant parallels with conditions and events in Dalton. History may not repeat itself but the political economy of the textile industry has been quite predictable--moving from the primary industry in a geographic area to increasing peripheralization, from strong paternalism to labor conflict. These historical patterns suggested the application of core-periphery theories to the project. At the same time, the differences between Dalton and other textile communities suggested modifications of the general framework in light of specific conditions in this community.

There have been several underlying points of emphasis running through this study which could be called themes. The use of the concept

of class has been one such theme. In core-periphery theories and in historical description, class has been the lens through which we have focused our attention. We have found class analysis to be a powerful organizing and explanatory device.

The transformation of authority relations in the mills has been a second theme tied into the first. Conditions within textile communities, as we have noted time and again, have encouraged the formation of paternalistic-deferential class relations which are threatened by the peripheralization of the industry. The relationship between tenancy as a class phenomenon and mill work as a class phenomenon has been a third theme and the emphasis on uneven development has been a fourth.

These four themes can be cited as key aspects of this study and guides to an analysis of the textile industry and textile workers. Thus this study has, in part, been a lesson in how to approach the industry and its workers. It is hoped that the approach has demonstrated enough value to be employed in the study of other textile communities and other industries and thus can be that very rare commodity--a vehicle for comparative and cumulative knowledge.

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APPENDIX

Column	code	questions
5-6	_____	(1) What is the name of the mill where you work?
7-8	_____	(2) What is your job title in the mill?
9	1 first 2 second 3 third	(3) What shift do you work on?
10-12	_____	(4) Would you mind telling me your hourly wage?
13	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(5) Using this card (give respondent card 1), how interesting would you say your job is? Is it interesting . . . (read responses out loud as respondent looks at card)
14	1 great place 2 good place 3 average place 4 poor place 5 terrible place	(6) Using this card (hand out card 2), how would your rate your mill as a place to work? (from this point on do not read responses unless instructed to or unless respondent needs prompting)
15	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(7) Using this card (hand out card 3), do you think you would like your son or daughter to work in a textile mill?
16-17	_____	(8) How long do you plan to work in the mills? (record number of years or phrase, e.g. 'till retirement')
18-19	_____	(9) What kind of work would you get into if you could start all over?
20-21	_____	(10) How long have you worked in textiles? (record years)
22-23	_____	(11) How long have you worked in your present mill?
24	1 yes 2 no	(12) Have you ever been layed-off from work at your present mill?
25	1 yes 2 no	(13) Have these lay-offs (do not read lay-offs if respondent answered 'no' to number 12; go on to next part of sentence) or have reduced hours ever caused you financial problems?

column	code	questions
26	1 yes 2 no	(14) Since you have been working at this mill, have you ever had to apply for some kind of assistance, such as foodstamps or unemployment or rent and utility assistance or welfare? (if yes, circle which ones)
- Now I would like to ask a few questions about your religious beliefs -		
27	1 yes _____ 2 no _____	(15) Are you a member of a church? If yes, which church? (record exact name of church)
28	_____	(16) How often did you attend church services last month? (or if last month was not typical, ask how often they usually attend church during a month)
29	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(17) Using this card (hand out card 4), how do you feel about this statement - Everything in the Bible is completely and literally true?
30	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(18) Some people say that what happens in this life is not very important compared to the life hereafter. Using the same card (number 4), how do you feel about this? Let me repeat that sentence - Some . . .
31	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(19) Now I would like you to stop a second and think about your dailey activities. Using the same card (number 4), would you say that your religious beliefs influence almost everything you do? (repeat if necessary)
- Now let's go back to your job. For the next few questions, I'd like you to answer using this card (hand out card 1 or tell them to use card 1 if they are still holding it)		
32	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(20) Are you ever unhappy about the speed at which you have to work?
33	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(21) Do you ever feel that your job is too simple or not challenging enough?

column	code	questions
34	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(22) Do you ever wish that you felt a greater sense of accomplishment from your work? (remind respondent that we are still using card 1)
35	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(23) Do you ever wish that you knew more about how carpet is made at your plant (or about whatever this respondent's plant does) and how your job fits into the process?
36	1 paid vacations 2 paid holidays 3 bonuses 4 profit sharing 5 retirement plan 6 paid insurance 7 _____	(24) You are, of course, paid wages for your work. What other benefits does your mill offer? (read each of the benefits listed and circle the ones received; ask if there are others and write them in)
37	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(25) Using card 1 again, do you ever feel that you put more of yourself into your work than you get out of it? (if respondent has difficulty with this then say, What I mean is, are the benefits of working here high enough for the amount of work you put in?)
38	1 there are no classes 2 don't know 3 _____ _____ _____ _____	(26) Some people speak of the U.S. as being a class society, that is, composed of different classes of people. What do you think the classes are in Dalton? (if the respondent names or describes classes, list them on separate lines)
39	1 money 6 job 2 family 7 race 3 education 8 don't know 4 character 9 _____ 5 style of life _____	(27) What is important in determining what class a person is in? (prompt if necessary by reading the list; circle everything mentioned; if give other responses, fill in by 9)
40	1 very often 2 often 3 sometimes 4 rarely 5 never	(28) How often do you talk with other workers in your mill while you are at work? (there is no card here)
41	1 very often 2 often 3 sometimes 4 rarely 5 never	(29) How often do you talk to other textile workers when you are not at work? (breaks during work and driving to and from work do not count)

column	code	questions
		(30) When you talk to other textile workers, do you ever talk about
42	1 yes 2 no	(a) wages?
43	1 yes 2 no	(b) working conditions?
44	1 yes 2 no	(c) unions?
45	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(31) Using card 1 again, let me ask you this. You work in the mill with a lot of other people. Does working together give you a feeling of friendliness towards one another?
46	1 all of the time 2 most of the time 3 some of the time 4 rarely 5 never	(32) Still using that card (number 1), do you ever feel that you are competing with other workers in your mill for the better jobs, or better pay, or attention from management, or anything else?
47	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(33) Now using card 3, do workers like yourself tend to agree with each other when talking about politics?
48	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(34) Using card 3 again, do you think that workers would agree with management about politics?
		(35) Not everyone in your mill makes the same amount of money. Owners make more than managers, managers make more than workers, and some workers make more than other workers. Do you think these differences are fair, for example, what about the difference in income between (still using card 3)
49	_____	(a) owners and managers (put number from card 3)
50	_____	(b) managers and workers
51	_____	(c) some workers and other workers
52	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(36) Some people say that full teamwork between management and workers is impossible because they are really on opposite sides of the fence. Is this true? (you may need to repeat this; also remind that they are still using card 3)
53	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(37) Workers in the auto, steel, and mining industries frequently go on strike for better wages and working conditions. Are they right to do this? (still using card 3)

column	code	questions
54-58	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(38) Textile workers in North Carolina are striking to get better wages and working conditions from the J.P. Stevens Textile Company. Have you heard of the J.P. Stevens Company? Yes No (circle which) Do you think they are right to do this? (ask this question whether or not they have heard of Stevens)
56	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(39) Still using card 3, if workers at your mill had a grievance-(for example, if they wanted more money or better working conditions - would they be right to call a strike if management did not cooperate?
57	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(40) Is it possible for the children of textile workers like yourself to grow up to be owners or managers in a textile mill? (still using card 3)
58	1 very often 2 often 3 sometimes 4 rarely 5 never	(41) (there is no card here) How often do you see management people in your mill?
59	1 very often 2 often 3 sometimes 4 rarely 5 never	(42) Do you ever seek advice or help on personal matters from management people? (no card)
60	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(43) If someone in your mill were having personal or family problems, would management do all they could to help the person? (instruct them to use card 3)
61	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(44) Using card 4 now, Some people say that management people in the mills know what is best for the mill and therefore workers should not question their policies. Do you agree?
62	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(45) Using card 4 again, Some people say that obedience to authority is one of the most important characteristics of a good textile worker. Do you agree?
63	1 strongly agree 2 mostly agree 3 agree somewhat 4 disagree somewhat 5 mostly disagree 6 strongly disagree	(46) Some people also say that management in the mills is more concerned about making money than about the well being of the workers. Thinking about your mill, do you agree (still using card 4)?

column	code	questions
64	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(47) Returning to card 3, Many workers are being layed-off now. Do you think they have the right to complain about this?
65	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(48) Still using card 3, If you were layed-off, would you be angry at the company?
66	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(49) Do you think that management is more impersonal now than when you started working in this mill? (card 3 still)
- Now I would like to ask a few questions about unions -		
67	1 yes _____ 2 no	(50) Does anyone in your family or any of your close friends belong to a union? Which one?
68	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(51) Using card 3, If textile workers belonged to a union, would their wages be higher than they are now?
69	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(52) Using card 3, Do unions unjustly interfere with the right of businessmen to run their companies as they see fit?
70	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(53) Do unions make sure that workers are treated fairly by management? (card 3)
71	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(54) Do you think that workers in some industries need unions? (card 3)
72	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(55) Do you think that all unions should be abolished? (card 3)
73	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(56) Would you be willing to listen to a union official talk about unions? (card 3)

column	code	questions
74	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(57) If an election were held in your mill, would you vote for the union?
75-76	_____ _____ _____	(58) Could you tell me what is your main reason for supporting (or opposing, depending on how they responded to 57) unions?
77	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(59) Using card 3 again, Do you think that people who are very religious should be opposed to unions?
- We are just about finished now. Let me ask 4 more questions and then get a little background information on you.		
78	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(60) Using card 3, Do you think your mill makes a big profit?
79	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(61) Still using card 3, Do you think the carpet industry has much influence in Washington?
80	1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no	(62) Are some people in this community more powerful than others? (card 3)
1	_____	(62a) If yes, which people?
2-3	_____	(63) Do you belong to any groups or organizations?
4	_____	(64) And now I need a little background information. Would you tell me where you were born?
5-6	_____	(65) And how long have you lived in Dalton? (years)
7-8	_____	(66) Would you mind telling me the date of your birth?
9-10	_____	(67) And how many years of school have you completed?
11	1 married now 2 divorced now 3 widowed now 4 never been married	(68) Are you now, or have you ever been, married?

column	code	questions
12	1 yes 2 no	(69) Do you have any children?
13	1 yes 2 no	(70) Does your husband/wife work?
14	_____	If yes, where?
15-16	_____	(71) What kind of work did your father do when you were growing up?
17	1 yes 2 no	(72) Do you own your own home?
18	1 male 2 female	(73) circle the proper sex
19	1 white 2 nonwhite	(74) circle the proper race

- thank you very much for taking the time to talk with me -

After the interview is completed and you have left the premises, please fill out the following:

1. How would you rate the respondent's willingness to talk about the questions?
 1. excellent
 2. good
 3. average
 4. poor
2. How would you rate the respondent's comprehension of the questions?
 1. excellent
 2. good
 3. average
 4. poor
3. What was the condition of the respondent's housing?
 1. good
 2. fair
 3. poor
4. What was the length of the interview? _____
5. Your name _____
6. Respondent's number on your list _____
7. Do you have any observations or comments about the interview?

VITA

Joseph A. McDonald was born in Atlanta, Georgia on March 6, 1948. He graduated from Dykes High School in June of 1966 and that fall entered Washington and Lee University. In June of 1970 he received an A.B. degree, with a major in sociology, and then entered the Graduate School of the University of Georgia in Athens. He received his M.A. in Sociology in March of 1975.

In September of 1973, prior to completing his M.A. program, he began teaching at Dalton Junior College in Dalton, Georgia. He was also employed as a social worker in Dalton from September of 1975 through August of 1977 at which time he entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He received his Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Sociology in August of 1981 and accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Newberry College in Newberry, South Carolina.

He is married to the former Mary Laurance Grant of Atlanta, Georgia and has two sons, Christopher Grant, born June 21, 1977, and Jeffrey Bryan, born January 31, 1979.