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Black out-migration from West Virginia in the context of racial discrimination in employment in the coal industry: 1935-1955

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Black Out-Migration From West Virginia in the Context of Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Coal Industry: 1935-1955

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ABSTRACT

This research assessed two major theories of black labor migration patterns, Marx's theory of exploitation and Bonacich's labor market segmentation. These theories have been applied to the coal producing counties of southern West Virginia. Institutional discrimination of black workers, coupled with the exploitation of coal miners in general, created the social relationship of super-exploitation.

This study investigated the conditions the coal companies utilized to aid and abet the exploitation of black workers and ultimately push black labor out of West Virginia. Also, this thesis examined the migration patterns of black workers into West Virginia from the failing southern agricultural industry and the out-migration from the industrydue to labor market segmentation.

The primary methodology for this research was existing sources of data. U.S. Census records, mine reports, and labor reviews were analyzed to complement the theory of this project. These data sources were extended by interviews with a sample of black mine workers who were working in the mines during the time the study encompassed.

INTRODUCTION

West Virginia at the turn of the twentieth century became a "boom state" in effect due to the growing demand for coal. Migration was at an all time high and jobs were in demand, but only for a select few. Black migration into the state began to rise in this time period because of heavy recruitment from coal companies and the declining economy of the South. These economic forces created the demand for a larger labor force in the West Virginia coal fields. This increased demand for labor was a major pull-factor in the migration of black southerners to this coal producing state. Although the demand for coal increased, managers and recruitment agencies selectively hired black labor for a number of reasons. First, the institutional discrimination against black workers based on race and also on class combined to form a special relationship of super-exploitation. Second, black workers and immigrants were recruited for employment in the coal industry as strikebreakers within the reserve army of labor. And last, in regard to the increasing reserve army of labor in West Virginia, the flood of incoming immigrants and blacks made it more difficult to effectively organize the workers in the coal industry.

The primary push factor in migration patterns to West Virginia for blacks was due to economic crisis in the southern states and the decline of the agricultural industry in this region. The coupling of increased mechanization of agriculture in the South and increased demand for factory production in the North left many southern black sharecroppers and tenant farmers without stable work. Historically, conditions of slavery and institutionalized racism created the highest unemployment rates for blacks. As West Virginia gained economic dominance as an industrial producer of coal, the migration pattern of the black population shifted from the southern region of the country to West Virginia.

The specific demand for cheap black labor in the coal producing counties of West Virginia was short lived. Black workers were competing with immigrants and white workers for positions in the mines. In the mid-nineteenth century, immigration to the United States was at an all time high, and these immigrants were looking for employment. In the 1910s, the reserve army of labor increased which reduced the demand for labor. Immigrants were competing for coal jobs and black workers were the last to be hired and first to be fired during this time of labor surplus in the coal industry. Around 1930 the migration of blacks out of West Virginia increased until it peaked in the 1950s.

This thesis examines the issue of black migration rates in the coal producing industry in West Virginia. In an attempt to explain the issue, two complimentary theories, Marx's theory of exploitation and Bonacich's theory of labor market segmentation were assessed. The primary methodology for this project will be using existing data. These data sources were complimented by interviews with a sample of black workers living in the coal producing counties of West Virginia who were employed by the mines during the time period described in the framework of this study.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Beginning with the period after the Civil War, many Southern black workers found themselves under the same oppression as slavery. Sharecropping and tenant farming were the two biggest industries in the South at the time and landowners needed cheap labor. Contracts were drawn to enable black freedmen to work on the plantations for wages, shelter and food, and were offered once a year to families who used to be the landowners' slaves. Yet the exploitation and oppression on the part of employers mirrored the days of slavery. The routine use of fraud, violence and intimidation on the part of the landowners was a tactic to secure year round labor for the land. Yet the reality was the black workers were reduced to doing chores and duties not mentioned in the contracts and rarely got paid when their contract was up. Landowners exploited the labor for their capital gain and generally would not hire the same families back. This lack of work in one region of the South pushed black workers to move to other areas, though usually not far (Jones,1992).

Family ties kept croppers in close proximity to where they previously worked. Usually because nuclear families were not the norm in the South during this time, children and women did not work in the fields in the postbellum South, so farming as a mainstay did not provide economically to the families. Because of this, the men often took alternative wage earnings jobs, usually with the railroad. But in maximizing earning potential, these workers went into an economy where labor supply was high and wage earnings extremely low. Again the men had to leave the household for extended periods of time to make better wages, this time to work on more productive ventures such as water transportation.

These jobs in transportation paid higher wages but also made enemies of white lower class workers. The prejudices against black workers were reinforced when white workers saw their wages reduced because “dumb niggers”[1] could perform the same job. Before the Civil War, freedom had been a great leveler for the white working class. They had just as many rights as the rich, but after the war, they were just as vulnerable to the economy as freedmen. This was the beginning of the perpetuation of racial prejudice that characterized the South during and after the Jim Crow years. The poor whites felt that they had to be better than someone else, or they were as bad as black laborers.

Throughout this time in the South, the low wage economy of sharecropping and cotton began to decline. The South was now falling behind and nonagricultural industry (mainly from the North) began recruiting heavily. Coal mining was one of these industries. The reason for the heavy recruitment in coal was the boom of the industry. Coal was in high demand, and there were not enough workers to mine it. Coal mining was a laborious job, which was one of the reasons recruiters sought out black labor. Coal operators had preferences to the kind of labor they wished to hire; they wanted employees who were easily transported, hard workers, and used to working for low wages. According to Shifflett (1991) black workers were preferred because they were accustomed to the hard labor.

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[1] This term is used throughout research in context of interviews and books, it is not the view of the researcher.

The work black migrants to West Virginia were hired to do were the most difficult of jobs, mainly manning coke ovens. This was hot, arduous work that previously was filled by poor farmers from around West Virginia, but this was not without its reward. The opportunity to graduate to the mines and advance in position was available. There was no reason given for why black workers were hired to perform at the coke ovens, but Shifflett stated, "Coal companies wanted a judicious mixture of whites, blacks and immigrants to provide for their own economic increases, mainly keeping wages as low as possible."

Even though the work was hard, wages and opportunity for advancement increased if a Southern black took a job in the mines. Because a worker's fares were advanced, recruitment procedures required a newly hired employee to sign a contract stating he would work for the company at lowered wages until the debt of his transportation was paid. This was more beneficial to black workers than the yearly plantation labor they were used to because they were paid regularly rather than at the discretion of the landowner. These promises of higher wages and better opportunity brought black Southerners to West Virginia by the thousands. One study done in 1930 found that of all black miners roughly fourteen percent were born in the state.

Along with professional recruitment methods used by coal companies, many men migrated because they were persuaded by family members. Miners would write home encouraging letters stating they were much better off in the mines than in their previous jobs. This enthusiasm brought a secondary group of miners into the workforce who could use assistance from their family who had already migrated.

THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

Migration of black Southerners and their families to the coal camps of West Virginia brought about a change in the demographic composition of the state. Until the late 1910s West Virginia was six percent black, mainly farmers who were native to the state. According to the 1920 census, the population began to change in the Southern region of the state. In many of the coal counties of southern West Virginia, the black population increased from the state average to above fifteen percent. Fayette, McDowell, Mingo and Raleigh counties were all affected by the migration of new black miners.[2]

The new demographic composition of these mining counties brought different miners together. In the earlier part of the 1940s black and white miners worked together in and outside the mines without much confrontation. But slowly, the companies began to segment the workers according to class, and then by race. Primarily, black workers were brought in to perform the hardest jobs at lower wages, yet they were never afforded the opportunity to advance in the company as white workers were.

When the Southern miners migrated to West Virginia, they expected a different experience away from the racial segregation of the South. But what they found was a majority of white farmers who had moved into the coal industry shortly before they did. The average work experience the new miners had was less then one year and rarely had any men done work in the mines.

[2] The census data for these counties indicated they had the highest increase in the black population in West Virginia, yet the data was not complete enough to include.

Labor market segmentation has had a long history with economic conditions in the United States. But since the research focuses on the early part of the twentieth century, the researcher will explain the trend of segmentation beginning at this time. The economic downturn the United States enabled many large corporations to buy out smaller capital firms to increase profits, and ultimately to develop new methods of managing employees. These large corporations were considered the core market due to the effect they had on the economy. Since they were large enough to employ hundreds of workers, they managed many industrialized areas, expanding their market and using innovative new technology. On the outside of these large firms were the periphery firms, namely the small family owned operations that could not afford to use technology and employed a few workers.

Central hiring departments were established by the core firms to control worker solidarity and insure the employment of "non troublemakers". The department had taken control of what used to be foremen's responsibilities to workers and utilized their power as management to manipulate the labor force into not organizing. This new personnel departments increasingly created artificial divisions and distinctions among jobs that pushed a hierarchy to result around the same position. This new type of management existed for no other reason than to forestall unionism (Gordon, Edwards and Reich, 1982).

Reasons for forestalling unionism were purely economic; with no union the workers could not ask for better wages. The Southern coal fields of West Virginia were now becoming occupied with more core firms due to consolidation. This swing helped the core firm owners accumulate more wealth and spread waged labor until the reserve pool[3] was as large as the working group itself. The ease with which these larger companies encouraged black migrants was for their benefit, to divide the workforce and keep collective consciousness to a minimum.[4]

Toward the beginning of the migration, black and white workers were segmented by class, both were made to work long hours in the mines loading coal for sometimes only eleven cents a ton. Black miners became integrated and assimilated into the coal mines because of the class consciousness they shared with whites. Some miners knew they could leave when they achieved their individual daily wage (what it would take to feed their family), but black miners had the added responsibility of extended family living in their homes and therefore were forced to work longer hours. This situation enabled the companies to take advantage of the black miners' money loss and create more exploitation by allowing them to work longer hours for less pay[5].

This too was a tactic developed by core firms to discourage organization. The personnel departments manipulated hiring practices by employing different racial and ethnic groups to further divide and create competition among workers. Groups of different races and ethnicities were segregated within the same position just as the white workers were, to ensure that racial consciousness would discourage organizing.

This exploitation began to turn more toward the black miners when the industry owners and managers segregated the workers in a more institutionalized manner.

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[3] The reserve pool is referred to the Marxist theory on exploitation when the labor force was divided and the reserve pool is utilized for breaking strike lines.
[4] Theme derived from research of long swings in capitalism which defines the conditions in which capitalists seek to increase profit by buying out smaller firms and deliberately segmenting labor to keep costs down(Gordon, Edwards and Reich,1982).
[5] This was concluded by interviews conducted by the researcher and an interview with W.A. Henson which is located in the Oral History Dept. at Marshall University.

Increasingly white miners were taken away from the arduous labor underground and promoted to working outside or as supervisors, while the black miners they had worked with were overlooked for these positions. The positions these white miners occupied also increased the level of prestige and pay the workers were entitled to. Black workers were forced to remain in the most dangerous positions in the mines due to their contracts, these were coal loading, coke oven operation and brakemen.

Coal loading was considered one of the most dangerous positions in the mine. This position required a miner to work underground the entire day, often in rooms less than three feet tall, blast explosives and load the small chunks of coal onto a railway car. Generally there were two to three men in a room and each was assigned to a separate corner. This division was beneficial to the company because when men were alienated from one another, they worked harder. But roof falls, methane gas and constantly changing geological conditions were dangerous. The increase in segregation of miners inside the mines created segmentation among black and white miners which the owners capitalized on.

Coke oven operation began as mine operatives fired crude coal into small more porous material that was better for household operations. Coke was less expensive than coal to sell and manufacture, so coal companies invested less money into this aspect of the mine, and miners. Operating coke ovens was hot strenuous labor that was mainly carried out by black employees. Shifflett (1991) describes this as being because of the stereotypes black workers encountered before they entered the mines. Black labor was notorious for working at low wages and for long periods of time in hot conditions, which to the recruiters for coal companies meant their labor could easily be exploited in the coke operations.

Coke ovens were operational around the clock and had to have supervision. Miners' only task was to shovel coal into the oven and push carts full of coke into the coal yard to be shipped. This area of coal employment required no experience and as more blacks occupied these positions, there was less opportunity for advancement.

The least desired position in the coal industry in the early 1940s was a brakeman, also occupied mainly by black labor (Trotter, 1990). The brakeman's job was to sit between train cars filled with coal and make sure they didn't lose control. Many workers lost limbs and often died due to faulty brakes.

Segmentation among the miners began to show in the early 1940s due to lack of advancement of black miners and the over advancement of white miners in the same positions.

> *"While I was a brakeman, the company made me train dozens of young white men to be motormen. Finally I insisted on being promoted to motorman myself. They accused me of being strong headed and fired me. Well, I was strong headed, and when they re-hired me two days later because they needed me back, they re-hired me as a motorman. At the time, I felt that they wanted to keep me on as a brakeman because I was their best teacher for the new men. But later I got to thinking that they must have felt it didn't matter too much if I got myself killed one of those times braking for those greenhorns."*[6]

This discrimination that began as a class based structure to keep the price of labor down in the coal mines had turned into racial segmentation. The dual labor market theory

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[6] Excerpt from interview conducted by Paul Nyden for his dissertation (1974) with Bill Worthington, the first black miner for Blue Diamond Coal Company to be a motorman.

explains this segmentation in the context of race in terms of income inequality among different sectors of the primary and secondary market. The primary market consisted of the owners of the means of production who hold a monopoly over much of the competition. They decide wages, who they will hire and the tactics to keep the workers segmented. The secondary market consisted the employees of the primary market who are exploited, degraded and segregated to earn the primary market a larger profit. The primary market is characterized by high earnings and control over the employees' actions, which Edna Bonacich (1972) explained as a determinate of the ethnic antagonism among black and white workers. This antagonism among the workers would guarantee black miners would integrate more slowly into the mainstream culture of their occupation. The antagonism experienced by black miners was characterized by a conflict among black and white groups of miners which stemmed from the feeling of being degraded by the companies and by the white miners. And this was what the companies wanted, the groups fighting amongst themselves and not realizing the high level of exploitation each was subjected to.

Institutional racial discrimination by coal company owners proved to be beneficial immediately. The price of labor was drawn down by the employment of black Southern workers and kept down by the white workers' need for a job. But as profits for the companies rose, so did the antagonism between black and white workers and capitalists discovered there had become too much antagonism to become even more profitable. The companies began experiencing high turnover rates because of worker (particularly black worker) dissatisfaction due to irregular working conditions imposed by the corporations.

The mobility of the workforce led to the implementation of regular work schedules and also proved to be a better means of exploiting the workers.

With a stable workforce, employees were more rigidly differentiated into the hierarchical division of labor according to skill and position. This fragmentation of labor allowed the capitalist to segregate the workers according to race and ethnicity without much resistance. The management began to selectively introduce new means of production into the workplace and became more profitable for segmenting the workers.

Not only were job responsibilities being reduced, but wages were cut selectively depending on the position they held. During the years 1935 to 1941, miners' wages were set solely on how much coal they could produce in a day. A miner from Elk Ridge remembers being paid $.225 on every ton he mined from his room in the mine, on average he produced fifty tons a day, or $11.00. As stated before, the miners had no set schedule or shifts, a miner was expected to work until he mined enough coal for the company, sometimes leaving home before dawn and returning after dark.

The hourly wage had been implemented in most of the mines, which was less money than many of the miners were used to making. Hours of labor were cut to seven a day, five days a week in the "usual place of work" (Monthly Labor Review, 1941). In other words, once a miner was on coal company property, he was not paid until he reached the mine site, also lunch hour was not included and accidents were not paid for. Records of wage sets for positions employed were not published by the coal companies, but investigation into accounts of coal companies and personal testimony shows that black miners were paid ten to twenty cents less per day than whites in the same position

(Trotter, 1990). The segmentation by race made it easier for the companies to exploit the workers because they were feuding among themselves.

Overtime was now being implemented in the mines, with stipulations. The only men who could receive overtime (time and a half pay) were those employed in powerhouses, substations, and pumps operating twenty-four hours a day. These were often white men who were placed in these positions from inside the mines. Others who were involved in transportation of men were granted unlimited overtime also. The positions that did not warrant any overtime were occupied by black workers, coke oven operators, coal loaders, brakemen, and trip riders (Monthly Labor Review, 1941).

Segmentation continued to delineate jobs into semiskilled categories which resulted in more relaxed safety standards. Safety in the mines was a priority on paper for the companies, yet in practice, it was often overlooked. Before 1941, regulations on safety in the mines was left to the discretion of the company. This meant foremen were required to inspect the mines and equipment in accordance with the company's rules, usually every day. But the companies used the supervisory positions to dictate which mining team was more important, W.A. Henson, a retired black miner from Raleigh County stated that his mine was inspected twice to three times a week instead of once a day. The men inside the mines rarely discussed the problem because they assumed every mine was being inspected equally.

With the inception of the Appalachian Coal Agreement (1941), safety committees were established for each mine, yet the company had control over what regulations to follow. As a tactic to control the subordinate workers, the committees were composed of miners no less than forty years of age and with no less than fifteen years experience, which meant these were usually white men inspecting and reporting on the segregated workers' conditions. This system was an accomplishment on paper, but for the men employed in these inspector positions, there was no monetary compensation above their daily wage and safety hazards were often overlooked.

Low safety standards and overlooked hazards resulted in high accident rates. The safety committees employed by the companies did not inspect as fully as was needed, so accidents began to erupt. "Bumps", the largest producer of fatalities among miners began to regularly occur in the late 1930s when pillars were removed from mine shafts. A bump is a sudden violent expulsion of coal from one or more pillars accompanied by earth tremors and loud noise. These bumps could have been avoided if the safety committees were not being exploited for their experience in the mines and not compensated for the extra responsibility.

While management was trying to increase profit the miners feared for their personal safety daily. Groups of miners went into the mines and rooms they occupied together and were the backbone of safety to individual miners. In this way, the miners were combating the segmentation of the company because they worked well together, but the company still had them segregated by race and ethnicity. Miners who did work together felt responsible for one another in the poorly lit, noisy and constricted environment. But the dangers were not something the miners could control, roof falls, rib rolls, and flooding were conditions the miners had to face and if someone was injured, often the mining group would blame the accident on personal error, and not the fault of the lax safety regulations of the company (Althouse, 1974).

Miners inside the ground had a shared knowledge of danger and many could anticipate certain accidents, yet the anxiety of natural disasters was still in the distance. Although bumps were becoming the largest killer of miners, roof falls were 57.06 percent of all accidents occurring in the mines at this time. A roof was perceived to be the number one threat to miners' safety in a poll taken by Ronald Althouse (1974). Often the roof in a mine would fall because coal was soft (not as concentrated) or a vein was thin and had been drilled through. These hazards should have been a priority for the mine safety committees, but were almost always neglected. The timbers put up to support the roof were put too far apart or the coal too soft to support the room, which caused collapse, but these could have been inspected and declared unsafe.

Unsafe conditions did not stop with the unseen roof falls and bumps, there were also problems with water leakage, rib rolls, and dust, all of which could have been declared unsafe by the safety committee. Water leakage posed its own problems in the mines, at times the water was knee level and men had to work with electrical appliances in it because the shaft had not been shut down. Again, this safety measure is considered "dead time" the miners did not get paid for, so they worked the extensive hours it took to get paid. Exhausting work such as wading through water tempts miners to disregard safety procedures and may have put the entire group in jeopardy.

Dust in the mines was exhausting and unsafe for the miners also, it could ignite and create explosions that could cause catastrophe:

> *"Dick Lee, an elderly black miner from Alabama with years of experience, bored and loaded three holes without bothering to make an undercut (cutting solid coal) and carelessly tamped them with a small amount of coal dust instead of dirt or clay. The fire from the shot blew out of the hole, ignited the gas*

> *and coal dust in the air and caused a catastrophic explosion at Stuart, West Virginia mine." (Shifflett, 1991)*

This was an example of what many miners feared, exhaustion from working in poor conditions, clouding their judgment and costing lives.

The amount of danger miners faced can be examined by the total number of accidents that occurred in the mines, both fatal and nonfatal. The average accident occurred inside the mines and as stated before were roof fall, haulage or handling accidents. Of the 548,958 employees of the mines in West Virginia between 1948 and 1952 , 974 miners were fatally wounded and 53, 169 were involved in nonfatal accidents (9.7%). The occupations that had the highest rates of accidents were the hand loaders, brakemen, coke oven operators and handlers, positions most likely to be occupied by blacks (Dept. of Mines Annual Reports 1948-1952).

The overlooked safety regulations cost the coal companies money, but upgrading the mining system would have been more expensive. For every fatality the mine incurred, the company had to pay $2,668 to the family; this equaled about a penny per ton of coal produced. A dead miner was more profitable to the company than paying for his labor or expenses if he were injured or paying to have the mine investigated.

Overlooked safety regulations did not cost the coal companies money to begin with, in all miners' contracts there was an "assumption of risk" clause that stated all work entailed risks to the miners' health, and they (the miners) were aware of the risks before entering the mine. This clause was designed to assure the workers did not blame the company for the injuries and did not revolt against it. The company was legally not liable for the safety of any miner who signed the contract, the miner was. What better way to segment the workforce than to integrate the mine and allow safety to be substandard (Shifflett, 1991). Althouse believed this could be a reason so many miners took safety personally, they had to keep one another safe on the inside of the mine.

Going beyond safety regulations to cut corners was the best way for coal companies to keep their profits high. Management employed young boys in the mines as trappers and helpers to lower the cost of labor and increase profit even more. This practice was to get the boys acquainted to mining life while the company made money from their labor. Although this practice was illegal (all employees of the mines must be over the age eighteen according to the Appalachian Coal Agreement, 1941), it was widespread. The companies would employ the young boys, sometimes younger than eleven years old, out in the yard or helping the machinemen. No complaints were made by parents because the children were bringing much needed income to the household, and the boys could become full time miners sooner if they started working at an earlier age. This was also beneficial to the companies because their worker turnover decreased when they hired entire families, and therefore they made more money at the expense of youth.

The companies used segmentation throughout this time to insure a stable work population and cheap labor, but the black workers were becoming more dissatisfied with the working conditions. They were not engaged in upwardly mobile positions and began to move out of the state. Out migration was the primary focus of this work for two reasons, 1) to understand the terms of the massive migration as racially motivated and 2) to give an explanation as to why coal companies discriminated. The researcher concluded these reasons could be best analyzed through the research conducted and empirical evidence the United States Census Bureau records have shown. To begin, the push pull theory of population stated that some people moved because they were pushed out of their current location and pulled to a new one. This was the result of the segmentation experienced by the black coal miners by the companies' discriminatory practices. People who were unemployed were more likely to move. This theory has many practical applications which can pinpoint reasons for moving, but these theoretical applications have been limited in Appalachia and West Virginia specifically. This research attempted to fill in important gaps using specific demographic data for West Virginia.

Declining agricultural jobs in the South pushed blacks to the coal industry because the recruiting processes utilized by the coal companies convinced the farm workers that conditions were better in West Virginia. These sharecroppers had nothing to lose since most of their jobs were being replaced by machinery and the recruiters took advantage of that.

Lack of jobs in the agricultural centers of the South pushed black sharecroppers into the coal industry, which was to the advantage of the coal companies because they were seeking black labor. Black reserve labor armies were preferred at the time (1920s and 1930s) to fragment and disorganize the workforce and create a system of super-exploitation among the workers according not only to class but also race. This super-exploitation was utilized to cheapen the price of labor because the black workers were paid less and used as antagonists for the white workers[7].

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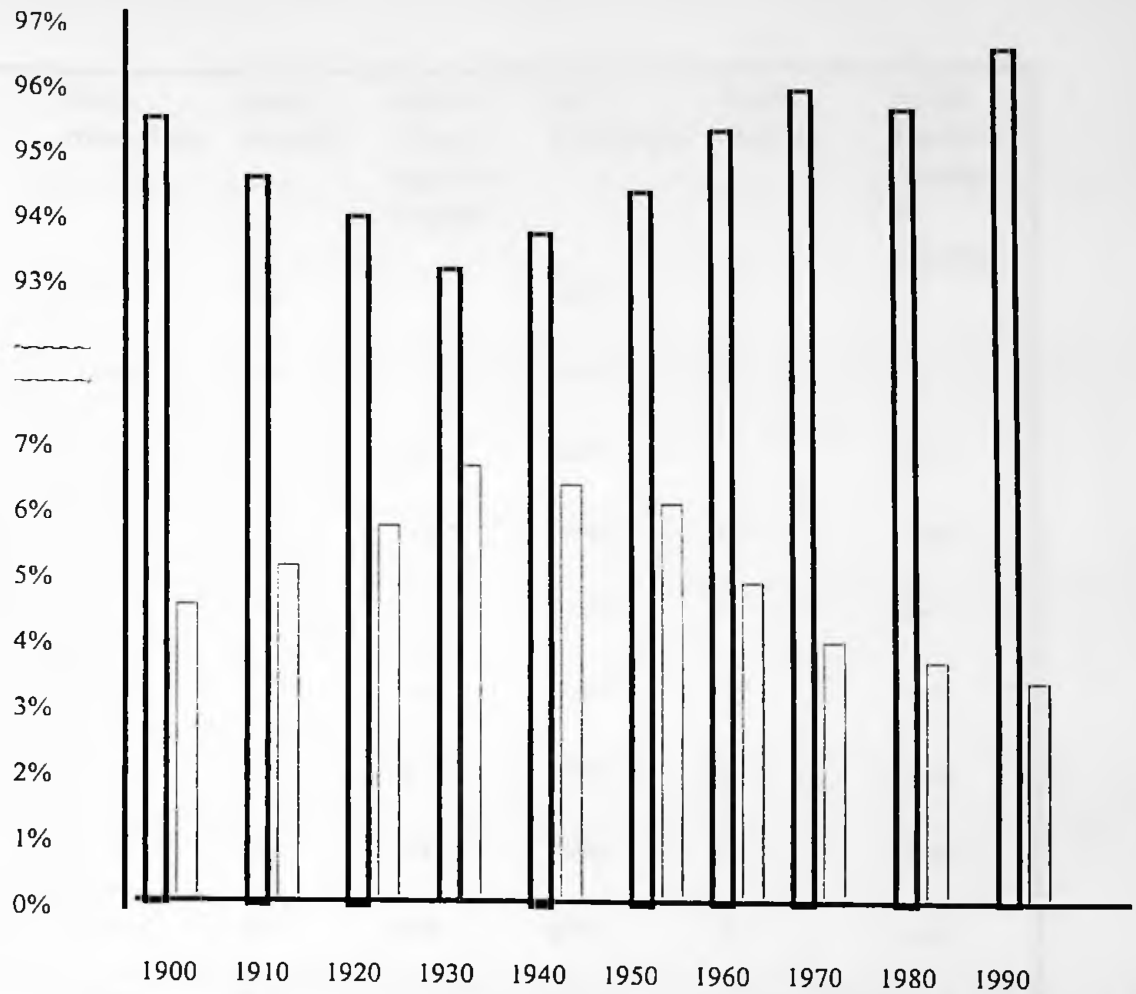
[7] Antagonists is defined by the researcher as one who is brought into a hostile environment to decrease the amount of animosity toward the capitalists.

In migration of blacks was high in the 1910s and 1920s because jobs in the mines were easy to obtain in this boom period when mine companies began merging. However this dropped off drastically in the 1940s because the new trend for recruiters was no longer black labor. After the 1940s, black labor began to decrease in larger and larger numbers, mainly because black mine workers were experiencing the effects of low wages and lack of upward mobility [See Table 1, Graph 1]. The reserve army of labor had become so large that many black workers had taken on the jobs of being strikebreakers, which increased the amount of tension between them and the white workers.

GRAPH 1: Population of West Virginia[8]



Black bar: White population

Gray bar: Black population

[8] There is a break in the table to show the reader the population of growth of blacks relative to whites.

TABLE 1: West Virginia Population

YEAR	WHITE POPULATION	WHITE PERCENT	PERCENT CHANGE WHITE BY DECADE	BLACK POPULATION	BLACK PERCENT	BLACK PERCENT CHANGE BY DECADE
1900	915223	95.4		43499	4.5	
1910	1156817	94.7		64173	5.2	
1920	1377235	94	19.05	86345	5.8	34.55
1930	1614191	93.3	17.21	114893	6.6	33.06
1940	1784102	93.8	10.52	117754	6.2	2.49
1950	1890282	94.2	5.95	114867	5.7	-2.45
1960	1770133	95.1	-6.36	89378	4.8	-22.19
1970	1673480	95.9	-5.46	67342	3.8	-24.65
1980	1857836	95.2	11.01	64285	3.2	-4.53
1990	1725523	96.2	-7.12	56295	3.1	-12.43

(Source: US Census Records, 1900-1990)

Source U.S. Census Data

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many theories have been formulated concerning race and labor disputes, but rarely has one fused the two. One reason for this being the lack of research in the subject of West Virginia's black miners specifically. The researcher has found the theory of labor market segmentation and both push pull and Marxist theories of demography to be most helpful in the explanation of the migration and conditions of these workers. To begin, the researcher must explain the theories that aided in the conclusions.

There does exist an abundance of research in the area of Appalachian mining, yet there are no theories devoted to the out-migration of black miners with their relationship to the companies. The observations conducted by authors such as Shifflett (1991), Althouse (1974), and Corbin (1981) sought to describe the coal mines, towns and people surrounding the area in a way that was unintrusive and noncontroversial. The descriptions analyzed the culture and attitudes of miners in the fields fighting against each other and the coal companies. Shifflett observed the way of life in the coal towns in Southern Appalachia for black and white miners alike. His analysis of recruitment procedures of black miners explained the hardships they faced in the South but did not go beyond description of poor conditions and lowered working wages for different races. Explanation of the conditions of segregation in the company town and stores does not go farther than the aspects of daily life and the involvement of large abstract concepts.

Althouse took the same approach in his work Work, Safety, and Lifestyle Among Southern Appalachian Coal Miners (1974) when he described the safety (or lack thereof) inside the mines and workers' attitudes toward one another without accounting for the race of the workers.

Corbin analyzed the strife of the miner and unionization in Southern West Virginia and the corporate reaction to it. The problem with Corbin's research was the introduction of labor market segmentation without an emphasis on race, this researcher's main interest. The book Life, Work and Rebellion in the Coal Fields (1981) began to unravel the aspects of controversy, however the underlying racial tension that erupted during unionization in Southern West Virginia was not analyzed.

Racial discrimination theories uncovered more depth in the stratification of the coal fields of West Virginia than description. Authors Trotter (1991), Nyden (1974) and Lewis (1987) defined racial discrimination exclusively as a problem for minority miners. Trotter analyzed the lowered working and living conditions of black miners and explained the solidarity they generated as a result of such discrimination. He described racism individually within the towns and segregation institutionally and the effects these conditions had on the black miners who were seemingly trapped in those lower paying higher risk jobs. Black miners were among those treated worst on the stratification ladder after immigrants who could not speak English according to Trotter. Institutional treatment, not the behavior of individuals, undermined class solidarity. Trotter gave to this project the sense of individual discrimination and solidarity among races and personal accounts of mine workers' lives, in addition he gave the impression of solidarity among racial groups of all types.

Nyden (1974) discussed the rudimentary means of labor market segmentation not the individual racism miners faced. He argued racism in the mines was often exaggerated on the individual level, but was a weapon of the company. He explained that black miners (as well as other workers) were brought in as strike breakers and to create division among the workers on strike with the black workers.

Often, black miners were looked upon as convict labor would be today. Lewis explained in his book Black Coal Miners in America (1987) that exploitation of black paid labor began in the Southern coal fields of Alabama when companies would employ black workers over whites to create what he called the "social equality wedge", meaning that black were seen as laborious workers and too "thankful" to unionize. The companies were wrong and when blacks did begin to unionize, white workers were brought in as bosses and to keep control, thus the wedge. The two groups became more divided and fought each other instead of realizing the exploitation each was undergoing as a result of their class. In the researcher's opinion there was no doubt about the racism of the industry and the individuals, nevertheless it was not mainly individual as Lewis suggested. Segmented labor was enforced in these areas to improve profit, using race as a division tool for labor.

Labor market segmentation has been coined a new term in the past couple of decades, but the practice has been around much longer. The researcher argued this was the best theory to base study in the coal industry in West Virginia on due to the strong divisions it had created among races even today. To begin, there are many angles to analyze labor market segmentation, namely dual market, classical, and conflict will be discussed. Dual market segmentation is based on the idea there are two essential markets involved in the economy: primary and secondary. Primary market jobs consisted of often stable, unionized positions with good working conditions and internal job structure;

whereas secondary jobs consisted of the opposite. It was the findings of Edwards (1978) that secondary jobs such as manning coke ovens, brakemen and day labor disproportionately employed blacks over whites. This was not to say whites didn't work in the mines, but statistically a larger proportion of blacks were employed there. Organization in this sector would be difficult due to the different ways the secondary market stratifies itself (race gender, and nationality). The researcher found this to be an important building block to conduct further investigation.

This investigation led to books by Reich (1981), Tilly and Tilly (1998) and Gordon, Edwards, and Reich (1982) and Bonacich (1972). These theories of labor market segmentation range from abstract to middle range. To begin, Reich discussed classical conflict theories in economics, being that this is abstract, the only information he supplied this research was classes competing over production and distribution regardless of race, so this is an incomplete explanation. Classical theory sought not to involve the heterogeneity of the working class, but only of competition between the upper and lower classes, when strife was throughout each.

Reich found the paradigm that fits best into the economic process of segmentation was the conflict approach, competition should make pay equal for all workers in a way that still produced a lowered profit. The capitalists are the highest on the economic scale followed by professionals and managers (looking back the primary market) and working class, which can be divided into three categories: artisans, semi-skilled and nonskilled. The majority of black miners would fall into the nonskilled group, which was characterized by irregular employment, no unions and the use of innovation to make ends meet because their paychecks were not substantial enough. The capitalist class used these categories to undermine worker solidarity by enforcing the stereotypes each group had about the other. Higher pay rates were given to certain positions that were deemed valuable to elicit loyalty and make other paid employees feel the threat of dismissal. The idea of racial segmentation fits well into this mold.

The idea of racial discrimination also fits into Gordon's (1982) theory of labor market segmentation with an emphasis on race. He stated that capitalists will continue to fill secondary jobs with minorities because they are "easily distinguishable physically and have been discriminated in the past, because they have been resigned to these secondary positions and they are least likely to identify with non-minority groups." In these ways black miners were kept from unionizing, segregated from working with whites, and kept from higher paying more powerful positions. They were easy targets, all miners were targets because the coal companies divided them and kept the exploitation going.

Edna Bonacich explained the antagonism workers experienced against one another on the basis of race and ethnicity as well. "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism" established the split market theory on the basis of race that was close to Gordon's theory of labor market segmentation with an emphasis on race. Bonacich argued that economic resources, lack of information, and political views were factors that affected the price of labor for different races in the secondary market without affecting the capitalist. The price of labor for all workers was brought down yet most of the burden was laid upon people of differing ethnic backgrounds. This lowered pay scale influenced white workers to be against the people of color who were driving down wages and thus created the antagonism among racial lines.

Exploitation, according to Tilly and Tilly (1998) could be a possible reason for the geographical mobility of the black workforce. If a worker was only temporary, as many of the workers then were, job satisfaction wavers and interest falters. Advancement opportunities or increased earning capacity was no being realized by the black miners in the area so they must find better work elsewhere.

This led the researcher into the shift from a well populated black workforce to an almost nonexistent one. The theory of push-pull with an emphasis on Marxian demographic transitions was used to analyze the trends in the population. If one area of work was intolerable and the worker exploited (or super-exploited) they were pushed to another area that made them feel more comfortable.

Marxian theory as stated by Schmitt (1997) describes how employees of any industry run by profit were going to be exploited for their labor. Surplus labor was not paid for in capitalist run companies, which made inequalities in income greater among all classes. Workers did not have the class consciousness to unite and therefore had been exploited for long periods of time. However, people of color were super-exploited due to the fact they were exploited once by the company and again by wage indescrepencies between themselves and white workers. Once the realization became apparent, they began to migrate.

METHODOLOGY

The scope of this study was to explore the segmentation black coal miners faced in their institutional role and respective companies' treatment of them. The researcher asserted this to be the major focus of the study so as to provide a more complete analysis of the massive out-migration during the years 1935 to 1955. Past experiences in this area are small for the researcher, but not the informants. The informants have lived in the segmentation, and dealt with less job opportunities whereas the researcher just discovered this happened about one year ago. The seriousness of the claims made could mean more recognition for them in the future and help secure a more holistic view of the history of work in the mines of Southern West Virginia.

The questions that were addressed by this research were to what extent out-migration was racially motivated, and did the policies of the industry aid in that pattern? Finding that this is indeed the case, what motivating factors can be identified? The last question assigned to the this study was how did the miners' social construction of reality form their perceptions of their mistreatment?

The theory of labor market segmentation was applied because of the segregation between white miners, immigrants, and blacks. The owner of the means of production accomplished the act of work by segregating the work according to position of authority, pay or any other way to segment workers (secondary market participants)so as to not unify them, they become a commodity for larger amounts of production with little or no incentive from the institution (Gordon, Edwards and Reich, 1982). In this way, the institution gains more capital and rests more responsibility on the worker for their own well being.

The theory of labor market segmentation is middle range and therefore was used as a segue for the interpretation of data. The research collected was both macro and microdynamic in nature, utilized by census records and personal accounts and interviews. The blending of the two will give a better understanding of the theoretical approach of labor market segmentation by explaining the institutional operations of the coal companies in segregating the workers and the individual reality the miners had by the division. For instance, coal companies employed blacks in lowered positions of authority that whites and therefore whites began to feel superior in the hierarchy artificially created by the company that controlled them.

The design for this study began with groups as the unit of analysis. The state population data collected from United States Census records was broken down by race, then by occupation according to race. Each group was analyzed within the context of control of the company, then by the control each had over the other in relationship to position. The concepts used for the research were out-migration, institutional racism, social construction of reality, Marxian theory of demographic transition with an emphasis on push-pull theory of demography.

First, the total population of West Virginia was analyzed using census records to determine the amount of migration in and then out of the state. Occupational records from the census were also utilized to explore the theory of the reserve army of labor as explored by Marx, the amount of excess labor in the state (mainly concentrated in the Southern coal region) provided the means for the out-migration experienced by the black population. Out-migration for this study was defined as the total population of blacks leaving the state as related to the number of blacks employed in the coal industry.

Next institutional racism provided the vehicle for the migration of the black population out of West Virginia. Segmentation of workers and mass unemployment forced the excess workers out of the state in search of jobs elsewhere. This segmentation was based on the race of these groups that worked in the mines and the hierarchy that was created by the companies. Working blacks had the lowest paid, most physical jobs in the workforce without possibility of advancement, yet many were strikebreakers and only worked to divide the miners' collective consciousness as a tool to forestall unionization. Worker segmentation on the basis of race will be the definition for institutional racism in this study. The indicators were employment statistics collected from the United States Census, secondary reading of published contracts, and the overriding theme of race.

Interviews with retired black miners from Southern West Virginia gave the study a middle range approach. The concept behind the interviews coupled with the middle range approach was to show the workers' social construction of reality, their perception of the segmentation they remember experiencing. The interviews' indicators were formulated to concentrate on the institutional segmentation experienced by the individual workers and answers were analyzed by commonalties in the reactions as a means for deducing possible reasons for out-migration.

The parameters of the interviews were actors chosen on the basis of their involvement in the coal industry between 1935 and 1955. They had to be employed by a company in Southern West Virginia whose main objective was profit from coal extraction. The setting was informal, in the informants' homes. Obviously these miners did not migrate, but experiences they offered were similar enough to infer common themes for many black miners of the time. Questions related to the type of mine in which these men were employed helped to reinforce the theory of segmentation by the majority of them working in secondary market positions in mines owned by larger firms.

Marxian demographic theory and push-pull were used to show the trends in the population as the black miners began to migrate into the state in large numbers and out when there was no work left. Marxian theory would show indicators for out-migration to be the inevitable unemployment and poverty that result from an overpopulated area with inadequate working conditions and no jobs. The push-pull theory reinforced this theory by explaining groups in large numbers must be pushed from an area (like the declining Southern agricultural market) to someplace more promising. However, the black population in West Virginia was pushed out of this state also; working conditions, unemployment, and lowered pay were factors that exploited their labor and alienated them from coworkers. This in turn pushed black miners to find employment outside of the state.

Data collection methods included secondary research in the form of oral histories, dissertations, and books written on the subject of racial discrimination in the coal industry. The problem with books and written work was they were not engineered toward racial segmentation on the basis of work, so primary research was required. Oral histories already recorded were geared toward other researchers' views of discrimination and were not entirely useful. Another secondary research method process included researching mine reports to find accident totals and safety records to discern the more dangerous positions in the mines in the hope of gaining a better perspective of the conditions of work.

Mine contracts for both large and small companies were investigated to expand the theory of labor market segmentation on the basis of position and wage earnings across different racial lines. Primary and secondary markets were the focus of this aspect of the data collection process. According to the labor market segmentation theory, the primary market was one comprised of foremen, managers and other middle range workers whose positions were characterized by job security (primarily whites were employed in the primary market) and the secondary market was made up of miners and lower positions with no real job security (black and immigrants).

Problems that could arise from this type of research include limited sampling of miners still living and the availability of contracts from companies within the years given. Often these contracts were destroyed or the companies would not divulge the information. The errors associated with this sampling are the bias the researcher encountered and nonrandom samples, making for larger variation statistically within the sample. The researcher was aware of these problems and they will be addressed in the limitations to research section.

DISCUSSION

The conditions in the coal fields of West Virginia showed the institutional segmentation endured by black workers before they began their migration into the state. The recruiting methods of the coal companies in the South sought out black sharecroppers as the next trend in labor because of the division it would create. White migration could not meet the demands of the growing coal industry in West Virginia and labor shortages arose from hiring white workers. Labor agents recruited heavily in the South where the agricultural industry had taken a downturn, offering jobs to black workers.

The workers being recruited were not permitted to see their contracts to the coal companies and therefore signed for lowered wages. This lack of information created an artificial image of higher wages to the black workers. Because their wages were depressed in their current positions, they often agreed to much lower wage scales and the hardest positions in the mines.

Coal companies monopolized the market for the incoming miners by not allowing them to view the contracts and also relying on the state to bargain for their wages. The Appalachian Coal Agreement (1941) was a bargaining tool between the companies, United Mine Workers, and the state, leaving the conditions of work, wages and mobility to the discretion of the companies. The UMW at the time was still in its infancy in the Southern West Virginia coal fields, but was bargaining for all of the Northern coal operators.

Collective agreements reached would divide the workforce in any way the companies saw fit. Many of the agreed upon terms were left to the mine operators (management) and any other worker could be discharged from his or her duty at the choice of the company. This agreement created a solidified primary labor market including foremen, mine committees, inspectors, managers, weigh bosses, executives, supervisory positions and sales, positions occupied by whites as the management whose practices would not be intruded upon by the union, and their "rights would heretofore be understood" (Appalachian Coal Agreement, 374). These positions now had job security and a better wage so these men would facilitate the segmentation institutionally against the black workers.

The workers were segmented by their position in the hierarchy created by the companies which placed black workers in the lowest paid, hardest labor positions. For instance, in the wage rates outlined in the Appalachian Coal Agreement, positions ordinarily occupied by black labor, such as coke oven operators, coal loaders and brakemen, were not included in the pay scale. The terms of the agreement stated, "Skilled labor not classified to be paid in accordance with the custom in the mine... All other mine workers employed on a day or hourly rate in mobile loading machine operations shall be paid according to the rates set forth in general day-labor classifications" (Appalachian Coal Agreement, 380). This continued the segmentation that was started when the black workers signed their first contract.

Pay scales exhibited the movement of the black workers into the impoverished, unemployed reserve army of labor. The reserve army of labor embodied the secondary labor market as those who had no job security and were at the mercy of the companies who controlled that market. [See Table 2]

TABLE 2: Characteristics of Labor Segments

Segments	Type Of Control	Job Conditions	Wages	Examples
Primary independent	bureaucratic or simple	job security & job ladders	high	managers, engineers, foremen
Primary subordinate	technical bureaucratic	job security	high to medium	machine operators
Secondary	simple	no job security	low	loaders, coke oven operators

(Source: Unlevel Playing Fields, 1997)

The secondary labor market characteristics show that mainly black labor would be employed in this sector. Companies would use internal labor markets[9] in the upward

[9] Internal labor markets are when a firm creates a ladder and promotes workers from within the company up the ladders. People who were privied to move up the ladder were generally those who had expertise and skill, but his was not the case in the mines. Promotion was within the companies, but usually from worker to foreman or inspector, positions in the mines predominately held by white workers.

mobility of its employees, who were generally white, to the primary sectors while black miners were left behind. The division was not based on education or skill, because these were not the attributes miners were hired for, they were hired for physical labor. This was a divide and conquer technique of management designed to continue the ethnic antagonism between the workers and to divert the miners' attention away from the exploitative practices they were using to keep the price of labor down and profits up.

Divide and conquer was always the motive of the companies from the beginning. When recruiters began pulling black workers from the South into West Virginia, they were told by companies to bring in a "judicious mixture" of immigrants and mostly blacks and to avoid the "hobo and excursionist" element that many recruiting agencies were bringing into the state. Upon these instructions, bias for black sharecroppers and farmers were accommodated by the recruiting agencies. For instance, many recruiting agencies' first two questions for the recruiting process were "What nationality is preferred? And What nationality will you accept if unable to secure preference?" Low Moor, a company located in Southern West Virginia stated preference for "a gang of negroes or Polanders or Russians" and replied that Roanoke would be a better place to deal for blacks and their Philadelphia office for Poles and Russians (Shifflett, 1991).

Migration to the state was largely due to the open positions now available in the mines, however the migration far exceeded the amount of jobs the mine companies could occupy. Marx and Engels' theory on exploitation suggested that this was deliberate on the part of the companies. "Capitalists maintain a relatively high level of unemployment when that is at all possible. This puts pressure on the workers to accept any work they can find or hold onto the jobs they have even if those jobs do not pay well or are undesirable for other reasons." (Schmitt,1997) The companies offered lowered wages to miners (as explained in the theoretical questions) because they would have to work to feed their families, and jobs were scarce.

This overpopulation of the coal industry in West Virginia helped create a reserve army of labor, mainly unemployed minorities who were willing to be strike breakers or temporary labor just to make money. The companies contended they were creating economic growth in the communities surrounding the mines because they employed workers. The work itself was not exploitative, the practice of labor market segmentation was, when a company like Low Moor[10] in Southern West Virginia, monopolized the labor market through low paying, high intensity labor and a large reserve army of labor. People had no choice but to work, there were no other jobs. Tables three and four demonstrate the reserve army of labor and the effect coal mining really had in the area.

According to the Marxist theory of demographic transition, the result of having such a large number in the reserve army would lead to more profit for the companies, which would allow them to mechanize and ultimately to increase unemployment. More unemployment, Marx's theory contends, leads to poverty which occurred in the communities around the mines (Weeks, 1996).

Marxist theory states workers are exploited mainly because they are not paid adequately for their labor, in other words, the capitalists' profits were higher than the workers' wages. This market gave the capitalists (company owners) more power to exploit the workers because they had to sell their labor for the price they were given. Because the reserve army was so large, the miners, both white and black, were pushed to work for lower wages to insure they still had a position with the company, they had no other choice.

Blacks were at the bottom of this cycle. Stereotypes perpetuated the image of black workers as not responsible, not reliable and not as hard working and as a tactic of segmentation, the companies offered them less money to occupy the same positions as whites. This type of caste arrangement kept the workers segmented into two distinct groups: workers who were being promoted (whites) and those who were not (blacks) (Trotter, 1991). Wage discrepancies began to drive a larger wedge between the workers. This caste was not based on the level of work completed, but on skin color, which was why the researcher chose to use this word. This split market was efficient for employers because it drove the price of labor further down and drove productivity up by forcing men to work longer hours for the same pay.

As a part of their caste, black workers were often used as the reserve army of labor during strikes and low swings of employment in the industry. This was not the choice they were expecting when they migrated to West Virginia, and the black population slowly became dissatisfied with their surroundings (Reich, 1981). This dissatisfaction began the mobility that Shifflett (1991) described as men began to move to different coal companies in the region, hoping for better conditions and more work. The work was not there and many of the blacks who had migrated to the state for better jobs were out of work again and began to leave.

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[10] Low Moor has since been bought out by larger corporations and is now part of Massey and other sites.

TABLE 3: Black In-Migration as Reserve Army of Labor

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL
1920	1463701	86345	5.8
1930	1729205	114893	6.6
1940	1901974	117754	6.2
1950	2005552	114867	5.7
1960	1860421	89378	4.8
1970	1744237	67342	3.8
1980	1949644	64285	3.2
1990	1793477	56295	3.1

(Source: United States Census 1920-1990)

TABLE 4: Mining Jobs in West Virginia

YEAR	TOTAL MINING JOBS	WHITE OCCUPATION IN MINES	BLACK OCCUPATION IN MINES	PERCENT OF TOTAL BLACK POPULATION IN MINES
1920	69784	51985	17799	2.0
1930	83838	61749	22089	1.9
1940	105910	87559	18351	1.5
1950	91083	77716	13367	1.1
1960	59098	55166	3932	4.3
1970	48414	46532	1882	2.7
1980	27238	26491	747	1.1

(Source: United States Census 1920-1980)[11]

[11] There was no data comparable to the definition of coal mining for the years 1900, 1910, and 1990 in the census. Also, the reader should notice the increase in the percent of jobs occupied by black employees in 1960, this is due to the large amount of out-migration experienced in the 1950s. The total black population decreased so much that there was in crease in the percent of jobs.

The highest rate of employment in the mines for the black population was 4.3 percent in 1960. This increase can be attributed to the large out-migration of the black population from West Virginia in the decades prior to this increase, reinforcing the theory of the reserve army of labor. With this exploitation and ethnic antagonism occurring in the mines through the industry, black miners began to develop a racial consciousness through the common occupations they had.

This consciousness pushed them to find stable employment throughout West Virginia mines and ultimately out of the state. Mobility within the coal industry was high from the late 1920s due to lack of employment, poor working conditions and low wages. Black miners were trying to find the prosperity they were told about by recruiters, but nonetheless there was none to be found. The black population's largest out migration can be seen during the time of mechanization in the mines, as well as the largest drop in coal jobs for blacks. Their labor was being replaced with machines that the companies had purchased to produce more profit, and "expendable" jobs went first; loaders, brakemen, and coke oven operators, positions occupied by black labor (Shifflett, 1991; Althouse, 1974).

CONCLUSION

This research has assessed two major theories of black labor migration patterns, Marx's theory of exploitation and Bonacich's theory of labor market segmentation. These theories have been applied to the patterns of out-migration of black workers in the coal producing counties of southern West Virginia.

In an attempt to increase the reserve army of labor, the coal companies selectively recruited black and immigrant labor. The combination of race and class were used to promote the social relationship of super-exploitation of these workers. Although these companies buy labor power in the labor market, the unequal relationship of capital power and labor gives the advantage to the companies in extracting surplus value by increasing the rate of productivity of workers at lowered wages.[12] Black workers, like other workers, share a class relationship of exploitation, yet given the historical conditions of institutional racial discrimination, the black worker was valued less than the labor of whites and immigrants. Therefore, black workers comprised a segment within the working class of coal miners that drove the price of labor down. This fragmentation of the working class was utilized by the companies to forestall unionization and the organizational capacity of the workers and hence increase their own power. For instance, historically black workers were recruited to the coal mines as strikebreakers. This divide and conquer technique used by coal companies undermined the organization of the miners through class consciousness and based labor on race. The labor market

[12] This statement is based on Marx's theory of exploitation where capitalists use the workers' labor at lower costs throughout the day to produce more profit.

segmentation of white and black workers in the coal industry partially explains the low rate of unionization in the southern West Virginia coal counties.

The labor market segmentation theory argues that the turn over rate for the secondary labor market is high. Black miners' out-migration was instigated by the instability experienced in their work and periodic declines in the demand for coal. The surplus of labor reserves in the coal counties of West Virginia combined with the instability of the employment of black workers who were disproportionately placed in the secondary labor market marked the increase in the rate of out-migration specifically to black miners.

This research used existing sources of data that were supplemented with interviews of a sample of black workers who were employed by the coal industry during the out-migration. The data analysis indicated that the two theories of black labor migration, Bonacich's labor market segmentation and Marx's theory of exploitation, provide a useful framework for the study.

There were, however, limitations to this study as well. In conducting the research, the researcher was unable to acquire specific mine contracts due to the nature of the study. Certain parties would not contact the researcher and documents had been lost. Also time constraints limited the depth in which the study was completed. One year was given to conduct research, find a sample of miners, and write the body of the study.

Recommendations for further research on this study are finding contracts from specific coal companies to more fully understand the wage differentials black miners encountered, the recruiting practices and actual rates of employment of black miners. Also with more time, one might be able to find a larger, more representative sample of black miners who were working in the mines at the time the study is investigating. This would be an ongoing project for the researcher to discover ways to create more diversity in West Virginia by creating better methods of employment of minorities in the state.

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