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A SURVEY OF EMPLOYER ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE EMPLOYMENT OF
QUALIFIED NEGROES IN WHITE COLLAR
POSITIONS IN OMAHA

by

Marion M. Taylor

**A SURVEY OF EMPLOYER ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED NEGROES
IN WHITE COLLAR POSITIONS IN OMAHA**

A

MASTERS THESIS

by

Marion M. Tayler

**In partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in
Psychology**

University of Omaha

Omaha, Nebraska

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M. M. T.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken for the purpose of determining the employment practices by Omaha business and industrial firms, its agencies, and other employing organizations, with respect to the hiring of Negroes for other than menial jobs and particularly for jobs in white collar brackets. It is the purpose of this study to also learn the opinions which various employers express on this subject. Still another fundamental purpose is to discover if employers feel that they have a responsibility to the problems, and if they are willing to undertake any action about it.

There are certain fundamental facts which are pertinent to the undertaking of this study and which might well justify the study of this problem. Similiar facts may be found in most sections of the nation but specific reference is made to Omaha.

A fact sheet (17) compiled by the Omaha Urban League points out that the average monthly wage of the Negro male and female in Omaha is lower than that of the average white male and female. This economic hardship has innumerable repercussions. Among them are problems related to social welfare, health, housing, and education. The Negro population in Omaha is less than seven per cent of the total Omaha population, but twenty per cent

of all Juvenile Court cases in Omaha are Negro children. It also is reported (17) that seven out of every thousand Negroes, compared to four out of every thousand whites, are in the state prison. An unusually high rate of the unmarried mother cases are Negro girls still in their teens. Forty-six per cent of the children receiving Aid to Dependent Children are colored although they represent less than seven per cent of the general population. The fact that half of all Negro homes in Negro neighborhoods are in need of repair or condemnation does not necessarily signify general slovenness on the part of Negroes, but it does indicate that after the bare necessities are met out of their meager wages, there is no balance left for home improvement or home purchasing.

The Omaha Urban League in its fact study (17) also reports that seven out of ten Negro college trained youth leave the city of Omaha in search for employment in keeping with their training. Many have become disillusioned because of their failure to find suitable jobs for themselves before they get out of school; consequently, four out of five Negro high school students never complete their high school training.

The writer hopes that a conscientious study of this problem will reveal to Omaha's citizens what the situation is and what the attitudes are of those who enable it to exist. Such a report may help us to view

and understand the problem more clearly. It may enlighten us and provide greater skills in our approaches to the problem.

Benjamin Franklin has said, "To get the bad customs of a country changed, and new ones, though better, introduced, it is necessary first to remove prejudice, enlighten ignorance and convince (the people) their interests will be promoted by the proposed changes; and this is not the work of a day."

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND ATTITUDES IN THE FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT RELATING TO NEGROES IN THE NATION

History

In "An American Dilemma," Myrdal (16, p. 281) has reported that for nearly 250 years a segment of the population of these United States has labored under economic stresses peculiar to this group alone. Some of the difficulties can be explained in the nature of their arrival in this country. Myrdal reports that it is an old historical fact that the first Negroes who came to America in appreciable numbers made their way in slave ships - "at the mercy of unscrupulous slave-traders who found it lucrative to supply southern plantation owners with cheap labor to harvest their prosperous fields of cotton and tobacco." Myrdal has further stated that until the Emancipation Proclamation, this was the chief occupation of the Negro. During this period the South looked down on certain occupations. Among them were domestic and other service jobs, common labor, bricklayers, masons, harness makers, tailors, types of musicians and others. Negro job-owners at that time were the principal workers in these fields. But skilled or unskilled, their protection was that their work was characterized as "Negro jobs" and usually was poorly paid.

According to Myrdal, in 1865 the Negro had a monopoly on industrial labor, but the break with the slave-owner tradition which formerly protected him from competition was broken and the Negro found himself buffeted against codes which worked in the interest of the white worker and gradually resulted in an exclusion even in various jobs which formerly were characteristically "his".

In some southern cities there still are carpenters, masons, painters and other skilled craftsmen. In other cities, north and south, Negro barbers (in white trade), hotel and restaurant waiters, and railroad firemen are being replaced by white workers (16, p. 282).

It is interesting to note that in many of these occupations the replacement was not a gradual one. Relying on the southern tradition that Negroes and whites do not work together, the only solution to opening many occupations to the white worker was to get the Negro out of them. This justification was often on the basis that the Negro, who a few years before had cooked their food, nursed their children, picked their cotton, and managed the household, was not only unclean for other jobs, but was now without the intelligence or manual dexterity to handle them. Not uncommon was the added charge that

*The writer has noticed that Negro waiters are still widely employed, especially where the Negro population is fairly substantial.

these people were not trained for industrial skills. This was not always true for often the slave had been trained to do anything the master could do. In many cases it was true because training for others was not championed until the day of Booker T. Washington. Despite his endeavors literacy was discouraged on the basis that education would make the field workers dissatisfied with their status (16, p. 894).

Myrdal also stated that the years 1890-1910 found increasing inclusion of Negroes into industries, but the employment of white women and the increase of male whites kept their inclusion small. During this same period more and more men of color were moving North. Services there were concentrated mainly as cooks, waiters, janitors, porters, domestics and barbers. Besides these service jobs, the greatest number were used as construction workers, teamsters, deliverymen, coal miners and steel workers. Hiring in manufacturing concerns was negligible.

E. F. Frazier (8, p. 593-622), reported that with the coming of the depression, many of these inroads were lost. The Negro, being the last hired was the first to be fired. Since World War II there have been increasing demands for skilled workers; however, the absence of opportunity for apprenticeship training and negative attitudes of most craft unions have played havoc with Negro workers (16). Then, too, Negroes during World War

II made their greatest employment gains in factories which suffered severe cutbacks in war industries that declined after the war. Moreover, Negro workers were concentrated in shipbuilding, aircraft, ammunition, explosives and small industries having little possibility of reconversion. Employment of Negroes on a national scale appears to be governed by the labor demands created by a stepped-up economy and a national emergency. The extent and nature of such employment, however, would appear to be governed by the racial attitudes of white employers and white workers.

Sullenger and Kerns (23) point out that the employment situation in Omaha parallels the national picture in many respects. Prior to 1910 the Omaha Negro was largely engaged in personal service. Most of the catering work was done by them and a large number were employed as porters and janitors. With the entrance of the United States into World War I, a labor vacuum was produced in Omaha as in other industrial cities which created a demand for labor. This urgent supply was found in the South and the migration which had been underway slowly gathered momentum, and the Negro was not only encouraged to come to Omaha but agents were dispatched to the South to transport them to this area. During the period 1914-20, the Negro came into recognition as an integral part of the industrial life of the city. The packing houses, smelters, garages and factories

used them as semi-skilled and skilled workers. This was not a matter of fact procedure without incidence.

"Physical combat and group legislation were used to offset migration." This is the opinion of persons in the vicinity (23).

Women secured employment in the service fields as domestic workers, laundresses and waitresses. Commercial laundries have practically extinguished the hand laundry profession. The depression losses of industrial jobs suffered by the Negro worker in Omaha were never recovered (23, p. 26).

At the present time, according to the U.S. Census (29), there are 16,311 Negroes in Omaha. Thirty-nine per cent of the Negro population, or 6,357 persons, comprise the number in the labor force, which means that they are either employed or available for employment.

"It is not too difficult to ferret out the areas of employment for Negroes in Omaha. Many of these jobs are seasonal and workers who are normally employed in general service occupations go to heavy labor in the construction industry during that part of the season when construction is at its peak", the Urban League (24, p. 8) reported.

Another one-third of the Negro population labor force will be found in the packinghouses. This large number employed in one industry, which pays well, can be attributed to several reasons,--significant among

them is the attitude and policy of meat packing labor organizations which successfully prevent the expression of individual prejudices. This is especially true in the United Packinghouse Workers of America. The fact that management in packinghouses has been generous in utilizing the services of Negro labor for the past 35 years is likewise an important factor. (24).

The railroad industry employs approximately 500 Negroes. Although the railroad industry is considered fourth among employers utilizing large numbers of Negro workers, it averages the highest earning rate of any of the employer categories (24).

Approximately 500 persons will be found working in private homes. The number of persons in this group has been steadily declining for the past seven years. The large percentage of these workers are employed by the day and have no permanent status. Other pertinent facts are also known; for example, the average wage range for the Negro male is \$32.50-\$46 dollars. The average weekly wage for the Negro female is \$18-\$35 dollars (24).

The over-all picture, then, would tend to point to a need for a psychological analysis of causal factors relating to the general employment problems of the Negro citizens; to learn additional facts concerning the present attitude of business, industry and other organizations; and to get some ideas on how employers expect to

find solutions to this important and increasing problem (24).

Attitudes

Based on the picture of the Negro's position in Omaha's industrial scene, the writer wished to know the cause for the failure of the Negro to be hired in many businesses and the reason for under-employment of a person below the occupational level for which he is qualified.

Psychologists have sought to explain many outward manifestations of prejudice through the attitudes of employers and their employees. According to Thomas and Znaniecki (26, p. 27): "Every manifestation of conscious life, however simple or complex, general or particular, can be treated as an attitude because everyone involves a tendency to action".

Faris (7, p. 281) says that the important consideration is that the invisible and subjective experiences of men are integral and inseparable parts of their objective movements. To neglect the study of attitudes will be to fail to understand personality.

In order to clearly define the problem which this study seeks to probe for plausible answers, it seems that several fundamental facts relating to attitudes should be discussed first.

What is an attitude? Breslaw (5, p. 5), states that

attitudes are the resultants of individual experiences in the social community. He further explains that an attitude is the end product of a series of particular events occurring in a definite order.

According to Gates (10) one's thoughts and actions are a result of his experiences or lack of them. A person who knows relatively little about a subject may express strong prejudices with respect to it, while another person who is better informed may be quite dispassionate. Likewise, two persons may have the same store of general information and may differ in the stand they take by virtue of a concrete experience, of a pleasant or an unpleasant sort that once befell one of them. An individual's evaluation at any given time may be influenced directly or indirectly by earlier experiences that he cannot recall. Many of the likes and dislikes, expressions of partisanship, prejudice, or enthusiasm which an individual shows in everyday life, trace to earlier direct experiences that had an emotional tinge. However, it is also true that attitudes frequently do not arise through first-hand experience, but through secondary means such as conversation, pictures, and reading materials that have a favorable or unfavorable tone, says Gates. Moreover, he explains that the smaller amount of information or understanding a person has with respect to a given issue, the more credulous he is likely to be and therefore more susceptible to such

influences, (10, p. 203-05). Once a person has taken a stand he may persist in it quite tenaciously in spite of subsequent contradictory evidence. This is especially true if his own desires or self-interests are involved. In matters involving his own prestige he may not only reject information that is unfavorable but he may also seek information to confirm his bias. Gates states that he is also more likely to learn and use information or viewpoints that he desires to be true than to make disinterested search for the facts.

Remmers' (19) explanation is that environmental modification begins with conception. Here is where the individual acquires his first attitudes and shows his first learned behavior. Original drives are overlaid by social experiences organized into attitudinal systems. The child favors whatever contributes to his gratification and reacts unfavorably to whatever frustrates his being. The baby's attitude will carry over to others. As the child grows and learns to respond to interest outside his family group, his social attitudes such as fairness, cooperation, selfishness, dominance and other social attitudes will become definite. As a child continues to acquire human nature which will equip him for a role in society, the area of his relevant experience expands and the attitudinal patterns become incorporated in his personality. Remmers' (19) acknowledges that attitudes will be modified through learning,

but he "will acquire attitudes like those of his parents, his friends and other primary groups of which he is a member".

One could not study attitudes toward a group of people without encountering stereotyping. A stereotype is defined by Gates as a "pre-existing attitude which seriously distorts perception and judgement, rendering them inappropriate to the demands of the objective situation" (10). Often the stereotyped reaction is motivated because of some circumstance in past experience. Although stereotyping seldom manifests itself in explicit verbal reactions, it develops thusly:

"This man looks like an Italian,
and I do not like Italians; so
I shall give this man a low
rating."

or

"This girl is a Negro, and all
Negroes are lazy; so I shall
not hire her."

As a rule reactions to stereotypes are less deliberate and more implicit.

Horowitz affords an interesting and valuable background for the study of our problem in his Development of Attitudes Toward the Negro (13). He points out that the attitude has an historical aspect. The historical aspects of attitude as uncovered by Horowitz are illuminating and helpful to a clear understanding of our problem because his study has a relation to the apparent

reasons for our problem. Horowitz's study reveals that although the economic status of Negroes, when they first entered the new world was the same in some ways as that of indentured white servants, there is evidence of a difference in the attitude of the public concerning them. There was enough difference in public attitude to make it possible for the courts to extend, or change the term of servitude of Negroes, but they could not radically change the term in the case of whites. The first record of evidence showing legal discrimination on race lines occurred in 1640 (13) when a Negro and white servant ran away from their master. The white servant was given an extended period of servitude; the Negro on the other hand was reduced to the state of slavery for life.

"Gradually as the word 'slave' was construed to mean Negro slave", says Horowitz, "whites began to think in a different attitude toward Negroes, which eventually included free Negroes. During this time before the 17th century, Negro freemen who had enjoyed privileges and rights equal to whites were now being deprived of rights and privileges by laws and otherwise. Thereafter laws which restricted free movement, public assembly, marriage and equal opportunity for jobs were based on race. Emancipation many years later changed conditions of servitude but had little effect on an attitude which had already been crystallized on the basis of race". (13)

The study of attitudes of employers toward the employment of Negro workers in Omaha should help in pointing out some of the fundamental causes of these attitudes of employers toward Negro workers. It should show also the results of their manifestations and should make clear how the approach to these problems may be better understood.

Similar studies have been done on the employment of Negroes or minorities in other cities. In July, 1952, the Des Moines Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and Fair Employment Practices reported that a majority of the business firms interviewed hired minorities in keeping with a liberal policy of hiring (25).

Tolliver with the Milwaukee Urban League (28) reported that fifty-three per cent of the employers interviewed by him in that city felt that the Negro and white workers were the same in matters pertaining to work habits, personal traits (28) and in all other behavioral patterns.

PROBLEM AND METHOD

Problem

The problem is to determine the attitudes of employers in Omaha toward employing Negroes in white collar positions.

The term "white collar" positions refers to the large group of occupational designations that are generally rated above the manual types which require very little skill to perform. The Dictionary of Americanism (14) describes a white collar worker as "one who performs work of a non-manual kind".

For gauging occupational rank which is generally accorded to workers in various fields, Beckman (2) has used a scale of five grades. His vocational and personnel work, which was done for the state of New York, seems to explain rather clearly where white collar occupations begin. In the order I, II and III (a), the positions are definitely not white collar jobs. Although some manual occupations are skilled, they are not white collar types, Beckman says. White collar jobs, as Beckman lists them, begin with III (b). They are skilled jobs which require no manual labor, and they include all jobs classified in the clerical bracket. From this point on, the remainder in order of occupational rank are obviously white collar jobs of a higher

level type. In order of their prestige from lower to higher they are, clerical, sub-professional, business, supervisory, professional (linguistic), professional (scientific), managerial and executive occupations.

Method

One of the most convenient methods of conducting a survey of prevailing conditions is by use of the questionnaire. Good (11) defines a questionnaire as a form which is prepared and distributed for the purpose of securing responses to certain definite questions. A questionnaire, carefully constructed, was utilized for conducting our survey to determine facts as they relate to the employment of Negroes. Good refers to the questionnaire as being particularly effective when there are a number of people to be contacted.

In this study, it was decided that respondents to our questions should include three different categories of employers:

- A. The largest and most important category were employers of large and medium sized industrial and business firms. A small number of professional service employers was included in this grouping. This category was composed of plants, factories, retailers and wholesalers, transportation and service firms. It is significant to observe that each of the 330 establishments in this grouping which received questionnaires was a member of the Nebraska Small Business Men's Association. The membership in this association represents a wide range of variation.

- B. The second largest category consisted of employers who operated agencies and organizations located in Omaha, whether they are locally, state or federally controlled and of a charitable, cultural or educational nature. Such organizations were 91 in number.
- C. The third group was representative of the Negro professional and business establishments. These businesses totaled 41.
- D. There were organizations which failed to list their category. These were labeled "unclassified."

These categories made up our sample of 465 employment places.

It was virtually impossible to contact each of these firms and organizations personally. Moreover, it is doubtful that reliable answers and cooperation would have been secured on a face to face basis. The next resort was to mail the forms. The feeling was that questionnaires mailed out over the name of one who was identified solely with a Negro organization, which daily seeks to widen the opportunities for Negroes (as the writer was) would not produce reliable returns. Thus, we secured the help of an outstanding business leader, who was a top official in the Business Association, to address the forms under his name. Accompanying these forms was a letter explaining the purpose. It is felt that this approach was very helpful in securing full and frank responses from the questionnaires.

Questions for the form were worked out by a small

committee consisting of the business leader referred to, one other business executive and the writer. Many changes and revisions were necessary in order to arrive at questions which would encourage short answers and allow at the same time for free uninhibited responses from the employers.

The total number of questionnaires sent out was 462. The total number returned was 199. To secure this number, mail was posted three different times to employers who had not responded.

TABLE I
STATISTICS SHOWING QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE
ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES

Category	Number Sent	Number Responded	Percentage
A. Business	330	132	40
B. Social	91	52	57
C. Negro	41	10	24
D. Unclassified		5	
Total	462	199	43

This number was deemed to be sufficient to yield the information desired.

Gallup (9, p. 13), has pointed out that, "actually the size of the sample (number of persons interviewed) is far less important as a factor in achieving reliable

results in modern polling than the representativeness of the persons chosen to be interviewed".

Small Business Men's Association, our largest number of respondents, is representative in that it includes in the membership manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, auto dealers, finance agencies, radio stations, cab companies and a wide cross-section of business and professional services. Gallup further states:

"Assuming that a correct cross section of the people has been chosen, a sample which includes as few as 100 voters might provide a good prediction of an election or a referendum. When the sample is properly selected the laws of "probability" or of "averages" reveal the likelihood of error at each example: If only 100 persons properly selected were interviewed in a national survey, the outside margin of error would be fifteen per cent."

Furthermore, Gallup states that even though the population sampled is many times larger than the sample, there is no fixed relationship between the two. In our case there are approximately 8,000 employment places in Omaha which could have been polled.

Our responses were tabulated according to the three groups to which the forms were sent. For the sake of brevity Group A, Members of the Small Business Men's Association will be referred to as "Business"; Group B, which embraces agencies and organizations of a charitable, cultural and educational nature shall be referred to as "Agency", and Group C, representing Negro Professional and Business Firms will be designated as

"Negro".

In the report of findings each question on the questionnaire will be dealt with in order, group by group.

FINDINGS

A. Type of Business by General Category

The first question, by general category, asks for the type of firm or organization which the employer operates. The fundamental purpose of obtaining this information is to learn whether there is a fixed pattern among similar firms or organizations, thus the category in which the employer places himself is essential to the total questionnaire findings.

A tally of the various groups indicated that the categories formed a natural pattern. Those categories which were listed only once or twice were relegated to a heading of Miscellaneous. The rest of Group A fell under either Wholesale, Retail, Auto and Service, Construction, Manufacturing, Dry Cleaning, Insurance, and Finance.

Group B produced the following classifications; Health, Education, Religious, Public, and Welfare.

Group C did not group as easily since there were only ten returns to be tallied. Categories mentioned were Health, Education, Cleaning, Mechanic, Hauling, Retail, Real Estate, and Finance.

Each group included a wide cross-section of jobs which would tend to cover the bulk of occupational openings.

B. Average Number of Employees Are Negro
Persons Employed By Your Firm?

This heading will serve to cover questions 2 and 3 on the questionnaire, since the significance of the information depends on the comparisons made from the two responses. The average number of employees provides information for possibly pre-determining whether or not the employer would likely have a small number of Negro employees, a medium number, or a large number. If the firm, other than a Negro firm, has ten employees, it would appear unusual except in a few categories, to find from one to several Negro employees. If, on the other hand, the firm normally employs a hundred people, it would not be unusual if the firm employed from several to ten or more Negroes.

To know whether or not the firm employs Negroes and the number employed, if any, is essential information for the other questions which follow in the questionnaire. If the firm does not employ any Negroes, we might look for some difference in the answers to later questions.

It will be seen from Tables II and III that none of the categories in Groups A and B employ many Negro workers. The Construction and Dry Cleaning establishments have the highest percentages in Group A, while Manufacturing, Wholesalers and the Miscellaneous grouping hold to a two per cent ratio. All of the employees in Group C were Negro.

TABLE II

AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND NEGRO EMPLOYEES OF FIRMS
IN GROUP A LISTED WITH SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION
BY CATEGORY

Category	Number of Employees	Number of Negro Employees	Percentage
Dry Cleaning	974	184	19
Construction	516	54	10
Auto and Service	795	58	7
Retail	1,343	88	7
Miscellaneous	3,618	103	3
Wholesale	2,013	42	2
Manufacturing	4,653	92	2
Insurance and Finance	154	1	.6
Total	14,066	622	4.4

TABLE III

AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND NEGRO EMPLOYEES OF
AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS LISTED UNDER GROUP B BY
CATEGORY

Category	Number of Employees	Number of Negro Employees	Percentage
Welfare	874	102	12
Public	713	65	9
Health	2,526	226	8
Religious	110	8	7
Education	2,092	59	3
Total	6,315	460	7.2

It is significant that in the Education category one finds the lowest percentage of Negro workers. The Public Agencies, whose policy is very often set by government regulations, has the highest percentage of Negro workers. Those organizations and agencies whose hiring policy is set either by governmental regulations or moral code of no discrimination have a higher percentage of Negro workers generally than those firms in Group A whose policies are set by top management.

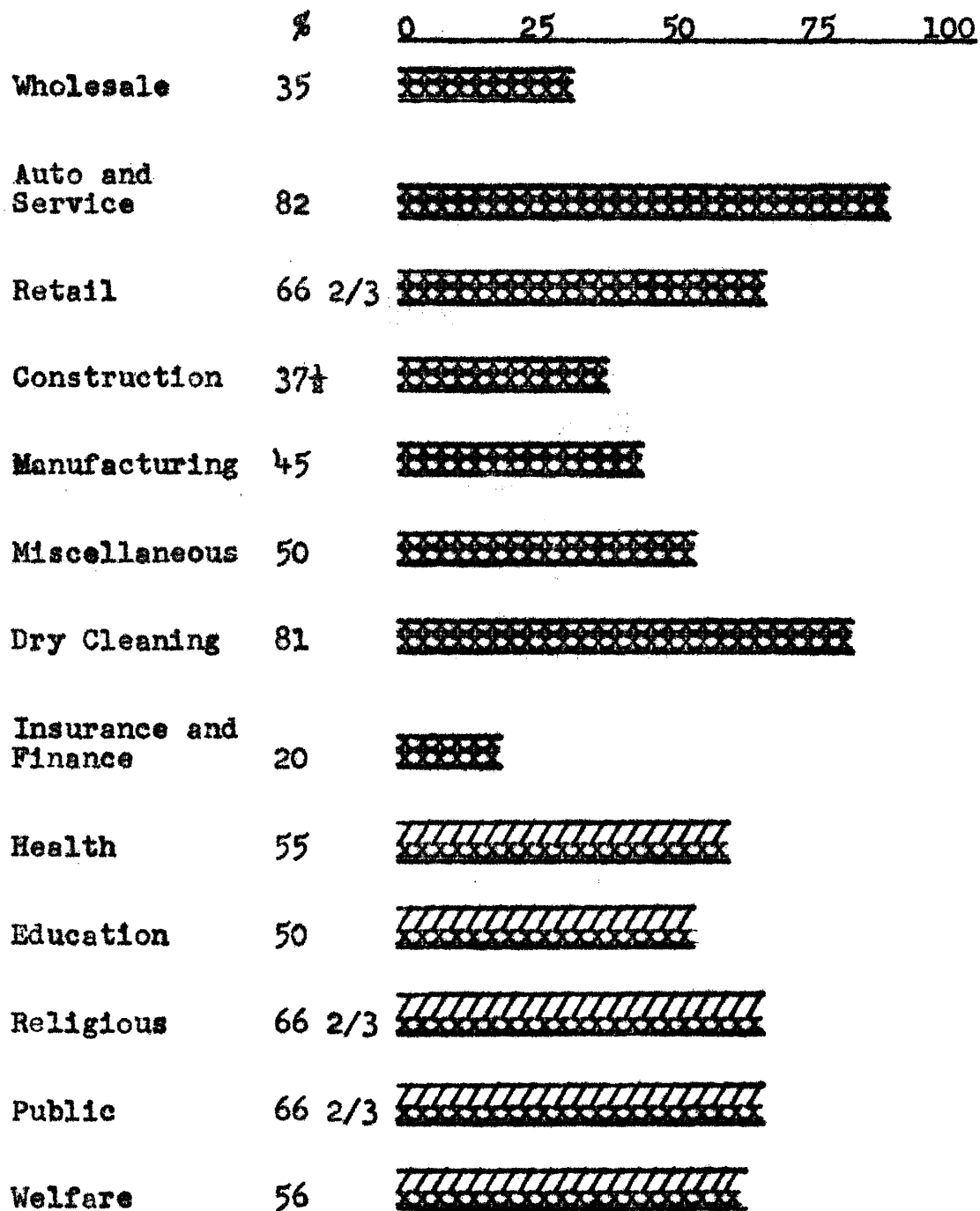
It is interesting to observe the percentage variation, in Chart I, of those firms which have Negro workers in them. In the automobile business one can expect to find Negro workers employed. Only eighteen per cent of these firms, according to our sample, do not employ Negroes. In those firms, however, where wages are apparently higher, the percentage of firms hiring Negroes is lower.

From the chart it would appear that generally about one half of the firms in each category have the practice of hiring Negro workers. The exception in Group A would be the Dry Cleaning establishments and the Auto Sales and Service firms. In Group B, just as the public agencies had the highest percentage of Negro workers, likewise would it appear that those agencies are the most consistent in their hiring practices.

For Group C, the total number of employees, all Negro, was 38. This gave each business establishment an

CHART I

PERCENTAGES OF FIRMS HIRING NEGRO WORKERS



Group A 
Business

Group B 
Agency

average of 3.8 workers.

C. If You Have One Or More Employed, Please Check
In Which General Occupation They Are Placed

This question had to be answered only by the firms that hire Negro workers. Answers to this question reveal the employer's tendency toward inconsistency with regard to racial hiring. An employer may report several or a large number of Negro employees. He may state that his policy of hiring is non-discriminatory. Response to this item, however, may show that all the Negro employees are listed in unskilled labor and service jobs. His real statement of policy in hiring will likely be manifested in types of jobs which he will make available to Negro applicants. In Group A, occupational classifications other than unskilled and various services were so sparsely checked that a Table is not necessary. One manufacturing firm was hiring at a sales level and one was hiring at a supervisory level. The same is true of the retail and Miscellaneous categories. Auto Services revealed one firm to be hiring at the supervisory level. Two retail firms hired clerical help. Table IV shows more progress being made in Group B. There would appear to be a greater inclination to hire persons in keeping with their qualifications regardless of color.

TABLE IV

FIGURES SHOWING GENERAL OCCUPATION OF NEGRO WORKERS
ABOVE THE UNSKILLED LEVEL BY AGENCIES IN GROUP B

Number of Social Organi- zations	Category	Sales Supervisory	Technical	Clerical	Professional	Total Negro White Collar Workers	Total Negro Employ- ees	% White Collar Jobs
10	Health	1	4	4	1	10	226	4
3	Education			1	1	2	59	3
6	Public	1	4	2		8	65	12
2	Religious	1		1		2	8	25
10	Welfare		6	3	1	10	102	10

D. If None Are Employed, Please State The Policy Or Practice Of The Firm, Briefly

The purpose of this question was to determine what attitude the employer was willing to express in behalf of his firm. It was not anticipated that so few would answer the question. Of the possible firms in Group A or business firms which could have answered the question, approximately one-half, or thirty-two out of sixty-one, responded. Twelve of these thirty-two voiced a non-discriminatory policy of hiring. The rest of the answers were negative in that they indicated discrimination. It is interesting to note that in no instance was there direct verbalization on a policy of discrimination, but the answers were as follows:

"They're (Negroes) not usually qualified."
 "We don't hire them for clerical or
 technical jobs."
 "Prefer white."
 "Won't fit."
 "O.K. if they don't contact customers."

Six firms indicated that they had tried Negro help, but not successfully. Of the twelve voicing non-discrimination, six stated that they did not discriminate, but they had never hired Negroes since they never applied. One firm said it was not prejudiced, but that union regulations prohibited the hiring of Negroes.*

Twenty-two agencies in Group B could have stated their hiring policy. Of these twenty-two, fourteen did. Eight failed to answer the question. Seven of the fourteen stated that they did not discriminate although they had no Negro help. One welfare agency stated that it could not use Negroes as caseworkers. Two responses from the Health category indicated that they hired trained personnel only, indicating that there would be nothing for a Negro worker to do. One public supported

* Andrew L. Springfield, Director of the Industrial Relations Center, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma, was asked to state his opinion on whether or not a union regulation could prevent an employer from hiring whom he pleased. An employer can enter such an agreement without violating the Taft-Hartley Law, according to Mr. Springfield. Such an agreement would not generally be desirable to employers, he said. He indicated that employers who would sign such an agreement would be few in number. Mr. Springfield said some Fair Employment Practice Laws prevented such an agreement but he did not know of any other laws that would prevent the agreement.

agency stated that "sufficient white help has always been available." This statement could be interpreted to mean that they would not hire Negroes because white persons are available.

Group C, hiring all Negroes, was not expected to answer the question; however, one firm ventured that "this is a Negro establishment, and it's the policy of the firm to hire anyone who is qualified."

In Your Establishment, Approximately What Per Cent Of Your Employees Would Object To The Employment Of Negroes In "White Collar" Jobs?

E.-----

and

In Your Opinion, About What Per Cent Of Customers Would Object To The Employment Of Negroes?

The intent of these questions was to learn the attitude the employer was willing to express in behalf of his firm. It is reasonable to expect that in either situation the employer would not take a poll, but would either express his own fears or lack of them about the situation. These responses will help indicate their attitudes and opinions as they think in terms of relationship between white and Negro people.

A majority of Group A, or private industry employers in stating their opinions, indicated that white employees would object to working with Negro white collar workers. They indicated that a greater number of customers would object to the presence of such workers.

Group A employers were of the opinion that their employees and customers would have considerable objection to Negroes in white collar jobs.

The fact that a rather large number of employers did not state an opinion on this question apparently meant that these employers had some doubt whether or not customers and employees would object to Negro white collar workers.

In group B, the governmental, professional, health and social agency employers, sixty-three per cent indicated that employees would not object to the presence of Negro white collar workers. Forty-two per cent, nearly a half of them felt that customers and clients would express no objections.

In nearly every instance where the employer failed to answer the two questions on opinions, either there were not any Negroes employed or they had jobs at the unskilled level only. Some employers stated, "they had no customers as such"; and it is possible that a number of others failed to give an opinion for that reason.

Answers from Negro employers indicated that Negro customers and employees would not object to white persons as employees in their establishment or agency.

The more tolerant attitude of group B employers is a continuation of the same pattern which has been generally found through-out the study. It was discovered that agencies were also more inclined to hire Negroes

at the level of their occupational attainment.

The greatest number of no responses in this group came from the health category, with the hospitals stating that they had no opinion on the question or that such a question had never arisen. On the other hand private medical offices indicated that there would be high percentages of employee and customer resistance. With one exception, the public agencies stated that there would be no objections. The one public agency which stated earlier that "sufficient white help has always been available," indicated that half of the employees would object to the employment of Negroes in white collar jobs.

Table V will show the anticipation of fears regarding employee or customer resistance as expressed in the figures given by different employers to these two questions. The table will clearly reveal the following information, based on the stated opinions of employers:

1. Seventy-seven per cent of white employees who work in private industry, would object in varied numbers, to the presence of Negro white collar workers; twenty-three per cent would not object.
2. Seventy-nine per cent of white customers in private industry would object in varied numbers to Negro white collar workers. Twenty-one per cent would not object.
3. Thirty-seven per cent of white employees who work in governmental, social agencies and health establishments would object in varied numbers, to the presence of Negroes in white collar jobs. Sixty-

three per cent would not object.

4. Forty-two per cent of white customers and clients in governmental, social agencies and health establishments would object in varied numbers to the presence of Negro white collar workers. Fifty-eight per cent would not object.

TABLE V

RESPONSES FROM EMPLOYERS IN GROUP A AND GROUP B INDICATING THEIR OPINIONS AS TO THE AMOUNT OF OBJECTION ANTICIPATED FROM WHITE EMPLOYEES AND CUSTOMERS TO THE HIRING OF NEGROES IN WHITE COLLAR JOBS.

GROUP A EMPLOYEES		
No. Employers who responded with opinions	% of Employers who responded with opinions	Percentage range of response according to opinions of employers
22	22.7	No objections
7	7.2	1-20%
10	10.3	25-50%
13	13.4	55-80%
45	46.4	85-100%
Total 97	100%	
GROUP A CUSTOMERS		
17	21.2	No objections
16	20.0	1-20%
9	11.2	25-50%
11	13.8	55-80%
27	33.8	85-100%
Total 80	100%	
GROUP B EMPLOYEES		
26	63.4	No objections
7	17.1	1-20%
4	9.8	25-50%
1	2.4	55-80%
3	7.3	85-100%
Total 41	100%	
GROUP B CUSTOMERS		
14	42.4	No objections
10	30.3	1-20%
3	9.1	25-50%
2	6.1	55-80%
4	12.1	85-100%
Total 33	100%	

According to respondents in group A, there would be a greater objection to Negro white collar workers by employees. In group B, the greater objection would come from customers.

It is obvious from the figures in the table that both the fears of customer objection or employee reaction are representative of varied opinions on the part of employers. Either the employer did not expect much resistance to an open policy of hiring or he expected considerable disapproval. Three-fourths of the private employers feel there will be employee objections and about the same feel there will be customer objections. About one-half of the agency employers feel there will be varied degrees of customer and employee objection.

F. How Can Negroes Secure Opportunities In Getting Jobs For Which They Are Substantially Qualified?

This was one of the two questions which allowed free expression on the part of the employer. It was felt that the employer's answer would be predicated upon his sense of justice as it related to Negro-white relationships. It was also expected that a great deal of his personal thinking about Negroes in general would be revealed in this question since it would be impossible to respond without revealing some of his prejudices or lack of them.

The responses have been classified under headings

which the writer felt would best explain what the employer meant to express in his answer. Since these same headings for the most part will be used in discussing a future question, a general explanation of them follows:

Social Habits

One of the dangers of stereotyping is that characteristics or habits observed of one or two persons are attributed to a whole group of people, through mass identification and generalization. There is evidence of some such generalization in this first classification. This heading is meant to include answers such as:

- "Avoid being aggressive"
- "By neatness, courtesy and cleanliness"
- "By dignified action and an humble attitude"
- "Stop carrying a chip on their shoulder"

Such responses, though they are given as solutions, to the question on how Negroes can secure jobs for which they are qualified, represent the employers' attitudes toward Negroes; and such attitudes represent generalizations on direct or indirect experiences with some members of a racial group which have been attributed to the group as a whole.

Public Education

This heading should be interpreted to mean that it was felt that the public should be made more aware of the problem. Typical phrases classified under this heading are:

- "Public enlightenment"
- "More understanding and Christian charity"

"Public education"

Education of Negroes

Under education of Negroes, those expressions were tallied which implied that the Negro needed to be better trained. For example:

"Give them nurse and technical training in our schools"

"Better education of them in both business and social manners"

"They should make themselves better qualified than the white person with whom they are competing"

It may be seen that some of these answers are not so clear cut that they can be easily relegated to one classification or another. However, an attempt was made to do just that. There will be overlapping.

Gradualism

This term has come to mean that it takes time for changes to take place, meaning that it should be a gradual process. Here are some examples:

"Don't push too fast"

"This must take time"

"Sooner or later they will be accepted"

"Time is helping"

Community Organizations

Community organizations such as the Urban League were suggested. In addition there were other suggestions for a united approach by white and Negro leaders, and suggestions of united effort of schools, churches and clubs.

Negro Businesses

There was some indication that a few felt that Negroes should have more businesses and hire their own people:

"Go into business for themselves"

"Establish businesses in their own immediate racial surroundings"

Responsibility of White Businesses

This classification covers those responses which pointed out that if the applicant was qualified, it was up to the employer to hire him:

"Resolution on the part of owners or managers"

"By employers adopting the policy of employment on the basis of personal qualification, not race, creed, etc."

Apply

This response appeared often enough to give it special attention. However, it was felt that this statement offered a way by which one could "pass the buck".

"None ever applied"

"No application from Negroes in this department"

Table VI gives the representation of each groups thinking on the problem of what can be done to assure better opportunity for the Negro.

TABLE VI

CLASSIFIED RESPONSES FROM GROUPS A, B, AND C TO THE QUESTION, "HOW CAN NEGROES SECURE OPPORTUNITIES IN GETTING JOBS FOR WHICH THEY ARE SUBSTANTIALLY QUALIFIED?"

Employers' Solutions	Group A	Group B	Group C	Total	Per Cent of Total
Social Habits	34	10	0	44	24
Public Education	6	8	0	14	8
EDucation of Negroes	9	10	2	21	12
Gradualism	15	1	0	16	9
Community Organization	1	3	1	5	3
Negro Business	7	0	0	7	4
White Business		2	2	4	2
Apply	4		5	9	5
No answer	43	16	0	59	33

There were thirteen answers given by various business firms which did not fit into any category which we listed, but which were significant in that they were representative of either extreme bias and enmity based on race or of irresponsible charges. It would be expected that an employer with such an attitude would not favor the employment of Negroes on the basis of qualification. Some of these responses were:

"By going on their own instead of permitting subversive and radical groups to "use" them for their radical promotions"

"Don't believe that as a class they are reliable enough or intelligent enough to qualify for better positions"

"By not constantly harping on
racial equality"

"Turn White"

Two similar answers were given by employers from Group B.

G. Is The Opportunity For Negroes To Secure Good
Jobs In Omaha Improving?

Affirmative answers to this question, which is based on opinion and observation, may indicate that the employer is open minded and fair regarding the subject of hiring Negroes in qualified positions. If the response is negative, to the effect that opportunities for Negroes are not improving and are unlikely to improve, we may have the answer of an employer who has a rather closed mind on the subject.

General response to this question was good. Not only did a larger percentage of the firms or agencies answer the question, but the majority of the answers were in the affirmative.

In Group A, only 18 did not answer the question. Eighty-four stated that they thought that opportunities for Negroes to secure good jobs in Omaha were improving. Twelve said "No", and eighteen said that it was questionable. The twelve negative answers had some interesting explanations. One said that the "Negre population is increasing faster than job opportunities". One other said that there was too much trade union resis-

resistance. This explanation was given by a construction firm. Another explanation for answering 'No' was that Negroes just were not qualified.

The agency responses produced forty-six affirmatives out of a possible fifty-two. Only four did not answer the question. Two stated that it was questionable. None said No.

Group C, or Negro businesses, all answered in the affirmative.

H. What Method Or Methods Would You Suggest Using For Solving The Employment Problem Of Negroes?

The question asking for methods for solving the employment problems of Negroes produced the same categories of answers as did the question asking how Negroes could secure opportunities for jobs for which they are substantially qualified. However, there was a difference in the distribution.

In the Business group there was a wide drop from the stereotype answers concerning social habits attributed to Negroes and a wider representation of constructive suggestions.

Table VII shows the distribution of suggestions for solving employment problems. For the sake of clarifying their expressions, 'Urban League Approach' was substituted for 'Community Organization' in the preceding table in that mention was made in most cases of the Urban League by name or else it was mentioned that there

should be an agency which screened workers and which worked with employers on the problem. That is the Urban League's function.

TABLE VII
DISTRIBUTION OF SUGGESTED METHODS FOR SOLVING
EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF NEGROES IN OMAHA

SUGGESTED METHODS	GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C	TOTAL
Improve Social Habits	9.	1		10
Promote Public Education	8.	14	2.	24
More Formal Educa- tion of Negroes . .	8.	5	1.	14
Allow time to solve problem	13.	7		20
Depend on Urban League Approach.	7	5	2.	14
Make Application . .	8.			8
Through Application of Negro Business . .	9.			9
Responsibility of White Business	4.	1	4.	9
By Fair Employment Law.		2		2
No Answer	46	17	1.	64

It is interesting to note that two of the agencies suggested legislation or some kind of fair employment practice law. A larger number of the business firms suggested that a solution to the problem would take time. It was revealing to notice that none of the business firms suggested a solution through the process of legislation; not even Negro business firms.

A number of the responses did not represent constructive solutions so much as they did generalizations on the part of the respondent. Following are some examples of such answers:

"We have tried a great many ways, but they don't seem to care. The more you try to help them, the worse they get."

"A lot of soap and water on the Negroes and patience and understanding on both sides."

"The Negro is defeating his own end by insisting on racial equality before he has proved himself."

"In my opinion the Negro has made great progress since slave days, but it will take several generations before a large number can be considered the 'white' race's equal."

"Avoid trying to force their people into jobs or employment where they are not wanted."

None of the above respondents hired Negroes above the unskilled level. There were 20 such answers from business firms.

Report On Responses From Five Unclassified Firms

There were, as previously mentioned, five firms or organizations which sent in complete reports but failed to answer the first question on their type of business by general category. These five businesses hired a total of 432 persons. One of the businesses hired Negroes at the clerical and technical levels. All other Negroes were employed in an unskilled capacity.

Four of the five firms anticipated from seventy-five to one hundred per cent opposition by customers and employees toward the hiring of Negroes. The firm which hired them above the unskilled level anticipated no opposition while the fifth was non-committal. Four of the firms which anticipated one hundred per cent opposition were of the opinion that it was the Negro's responsibility to hire their own as there could be no mixing of the races. The fifth firm felt that employers should hire qualified Negro applicants. Four firms felt that improvement is being made in Omaha. The other firm "did not know".

An Analysis of Generalized Attitudes

There is probably a merit to evaluating the questionnaires as a whole in order to record the generalized impression of these attitude responses. To justify the desirability of such a generalization, reference was made to generalized attitude scales constructed by H. H. Remmers and used to measure attitudes toward a variety of situations within a given attitude continuum (18). We have borrowed from Remmers' scale his criterion for classifying certain attitudes according to the sentiments of the response. The questionnaire returns from employers have definite attitudinal tones set by the types of responses which were given.

Remmers' statements on his generalized attitude scales were classified according to (1) favorable,

(2) neutral and (3) unfavorable.

"Examples of favorable statements are: "I'd rather work at this occupation than eat," "This is the ideal vocation for a life work". Examples of neutral statements are: "This job is all right when no others are available", or "I enjoy only parts of this work". Examples of unfavorable statements are: "This is the worst occupation in the country", or "I would refuse this work even if I were starving".

The above categories were used to determine attitudes toward occupations or vocations. By carefully going over the responses to the questionnaire, it was found that they fit these same classifications. One category - Non-committal - was added to cover those questionnaires which gave no indication of what the employers' attitudes were. Following are examples of our questionnaire responses according to Remmers' same generalized attitude patterns.

Examples of favorable statements, neutral statements, unfavorable or non-committal statements are indicative of the over-all sentiments of each questionnaire in terms of whether or not the respondent was in favor of seeing improvement of the Negro's status in Omaha, whether he appeared to be neutral, unfavorable toward Negro advancement, or non-committal in that he did not answer the last six questions of the questionnaire which dealt with attitudes.

Examples of favorable attitudes are: "Publicity

should be given to the employment policies of successful firms now employing Negroes," or "This will come slowly as their economic and educational and social status improves." Favorable statements were interpreted as being pro-Negro advancement. In some instances there were definite signs of stereotyped opinions and prejudgment, but if the general tone was in favor of improvement of the Negro's status, the questionnaire was judged to be favorable.

Examples of neutral responses are: "Have had no experience with colored workers", or "We simply have never hired a Negro". This type of response did not indicate a pro or con advancement attitude. They were more as if the the respondent were out of touch with the problem.

Examples of unfavorable statements are: "Feel if you allow them to 'eat with you' they soon want to 'sleep with you'", or "Negroes positively will not be employed". In case of FEP Legislation, every possible evasion will be employed, including liquidation."

Those who left the questionnaire blank or answered "Don't know" were listed as non-committal.

The favorable or positive attitudes included fifty-four of the one hundred and thirty-two business firms, or forty-one per cent. In the social and welfare group, the favorable statements included thirty-seven out of fifty-two, or seventy-one per cent. Those businesses

which were unclassified had one favorable questionnaire out of the five. All of the Negro businesses reflected favorable attitudes.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGES OF VARIOUS GROUPS WITH FAVORABLE, NEUTRAL, UNFAVORABLE OR NON-COMMITTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO WORKER

Attitudes	Businesses	Social Organizations	Negro
Favorable	41%	71%	100%
Neutral	13%	2%	---
Unfavorable	29%	13.5%	---
Non-committal	17%	13.5%	---
Total	100%	100%	100%

The seventeen business places indicating a neutral attitude comprised thirteen per cent of the total. One of the social-civic groups representing two per cent of the group was neutral in attitude. None of the unidentified questionnaires reflected neutral tone.

Of the businesses twenty-nine per cent reflected unfavorable attitudes, while seven or thirteen point five per cent of Group B did the same. Of the five uncategorized questionnaires, four were negative or unfavorable in their attitude toward Negro advancement.

The highest percentage of non-committals were from the business firms with twenty-three or seventeen per cent. In Group B, seven or thirteen point five per

cent were non-committal.

The over-all picture would appear to indicate that a majority of the employers in Omaha are of the opinion that there should be an improvement in the employment conditions for Negroes in Omaha and that they are willing to participate.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study was undertaken to determine the attitudes of employers in Omaha toward the employment of Negroes in white collar positions.

The Omaha Urban League has determined that the average monthly wage for Negro males and females is lower than that for white males and females in this city. This difference is closely related to problems of social welfare, health, housing, and education. It was felt that a conscientious study of factors relating to the income differential between Negroes and whites in Omaha would perhaps point the way to improvement of the situation.

A study of the Negro employment problem country wide reveals that during World War II, Negroes of the nation made their greatest employment gains in plants and factories which suffered severe cut backs after the war was over. Many Negroes therefore lost the gains they had made. Employment of Negroes on a national scale appears to be governed by the labor demands created by a stepped up economy and a national emergency. It was learned that the extent and nature of much employment secured by Negroes was governed or conditioned by the racial attitudes of white workers and employers.

The present study of attitudes of employers in Omaha sought to reveal causes of attitudes toward the employment of Negroes in other than unskilled work. One major purpose was to acquire information and knowledge so that steps could be taken to effect changes which in turn would make better industrial and economic conditions for Negro people.

The method employed to obtain information was the use of questionnaires mailed to a total of four hundred sixty-two employers. Through the cooperation of the Nebraska Small Business Men's Association, a questionnaire was circulated to the following groups:

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Industrial and business firms. | 330 |
| 2. Social agencies and organizations | 91 |
| 3. Negro professional and business establishments. . | 41 |

Of the four hundred sixty-two employment places receiving questionnaires, a total of one hundred ninety-nine responded. Two follow up letters were sent out to those who had not answered the original letter. Each mailing brought additional responses which finally amounted to forty-three per cent of the total number (462) contacted.

A study of the responses to the questions on the questionnaire indicated the following:

1. Social agencies and organizations, such as health and welfare institutions are more liberal in the

employment of Negroes in white collar jobs than employers who operate private business and industrial firms. There are exceptions, however, to this practice.

2. There is an apparent liberal trend towards the employment of Negroes, based on their occupational status, by employers representing organizations with governmental connections. The same is true with educational, religious and cultural organizations. There was some indication that private employers may be moving with the same trend.
3. In private industry and business, the types of firms which pay lower wages for unskilled and semi-skilled workers employ considerably more Negroes than other firms. This does not mean that the firm which employs the larger number of Negroes is more likely to hire white collar Negro workers.
4. Dry cleaning, automobile service, and construction firms employ the highest percentage of Negro workers. Dry cleaning and construction firms pay various wages, but both have seasonal jobs. Educational and religious employers hire relatively few Negroes. It seems, however, that the trend is upward.
5. Some employers are deeply biased and possessed with race prejudice according to the extreme negative answers to certain questions. Such employers were not sufficient in numbers, however, to offset the indication that Negro workers are being more readily accepted for positions which they are qualified to perform.
6. Private industry employers varied little in their belief that customers would object to Negro white collar workers. There was also the feeling

that the private employer would confront pressure from his competitors in business. A small number of private employers felt that only a few customers would oppose Negro white collar workers; and about the same number felt that the opposition would be manifested by every customer. Employers representing social organizations did not feel that objection by clients and white employees were fundamental factors.

7. Answers received from a question which allowed for more free expression than others, apparently gave also an opportunity to stereotype and generalize. Undoubtedly many answers from this question, "on securing opportunities based on qualification," were meant to be constructive and helpful. They suggested improvement in social habits, public awareness of racial problems, special education for Negroes, time as a factor in solving problems, organizing the community for action to solve the race problem, establish a Negro economy as a means to get the solution, and that white business should accept the responsibility. The significant aspect is in the show of interest to discover a solution and to accept the problem as one which does exist.
8. A study of the questionnaires was made to determine which ones indicated a favorable opinion toward the advancement of Negro workers. The forms were classified also under the caption of neutral, non-committal and unfavorable. The over-all picture, indicated there is a majority opinion that there should be an improvement in the employment condition for Negroes in Omaha and that they (the employers) are willing to participate.

Conclusions

The analysis of the data made available by questionnaires, warrants the following conclusions:

1. Social agencies and other non-profit organizations are more liberal in employment of Negroes in white collar positions than are private businesses and industrial firms.
2. There is evidence of considerable bias among employers in Omaha; however the majority feel that employers do have some responsibility to the problem.
3. Employers in Omaha are fearful of customer reaction, employee reaction, and ridicule from associates if they violate the general pattern by employing Negroes in new and better positions.
4. The Negro working force has been usually relegated to menial and low paying jobs except where there is regulation agreement or liberal policies instituted.
5. Job opportunities for Negroes in Omaha, as in most other larger cities, are improving, especially when the applicant shows unusual qualifications for the position. Nearly all employers indicated in the questionnaire that job opportunities for Negroes in various occupational levels are improving.*

*The writer observes that these opinions coincide with recent literature on race relation subjects. It is frequently pointed out that in most sections of the nation, Negroes have made marked gains in getting new employment opportunities. It is generally believed that Negroes have positions in approximately every major occupational bracket.

Discussion

There is a strong but diminishing element of race prejudice used in the employment practices of most employers. There is a consistent element of fear which is plainly characteristic of nearly all employers. They fear the probable reaction of their white employees, their customers and clients and to a small extent, their competitors. There is a congruent attitude expressed by employers that the behavior of Negroes is an important factor which will determine their mode of action in the consideration of employment opportunities. There is apparently a change underway in the general attitude of employers toward the utilization of Negroes on the basis of their individual worth and special qualifications.

More important still, one can observe from a close study of the questionnaires, that there is a very real trend in the direction of more tolerance in employer attitudes toward increased employment opportunities for the qualified applicant regardless of race. It is revealed that the larger number of employers are either hiring Negroes in positions more in line with individual merit, or he is thinking of setting up such a policy. We may objectively include the type of employer who is willing to accept the Negro applicant after the "period of improvement," as being within the favorable trend. If so, it may be concluded from the study that the future

for meritorious employment opportunities is increasing more than is commonly known or believed.

Methods Generally Used For Improving
Employment Opportunities

In the field of race relations with regards to the employment of Negro persons, according to their occupational status, two principal methods have been devised and are used in various parts of the nation to assist Negroes in securing jobs. One of these methods is by legislative measures. In eleven states and in twenty-five cities, there have been enacted Fair Employment Practice laws. Some of these bills make it unlawful for most employers to discriminate against job applicants because of race, religion or color. Some of the measures have only educational value. Reports show that all of them are responsible for some gains without causing disturbances and injury to employers.

The other principal method involves educational and persuasive activities conducted by organizations. Prominent among them are:

- Major's Council on Human Relations
- National Conference of Christians and
Jews
- Anti-Defamation League
- National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People (which often resorts
to courts)
- The Urban League

There are other ways which are used occasionally by various groups and individuals for achieving job

opportunities in various sections of the nation. They are listed as follows:

1. Labor Union pressure techniques
2. Neighborhood boycotts usually against small local retail stores and occasionally a larger retail store.
3. National boycott--activity which may or may not prove successful.
4. Local picketing by a local organization or several local organizations.
5. Group organization or neighborhood pressure by publicizing a place of business.
6. Pressure by starting and continuing a whispering campaign.
7. Pressures by stopping credit accounts and by writing letters to the employers.
8. Property destruction (which is very rare).
9. Making employment rights a political issue and bringing pressure on local and national politicians.

Critique on Propaganda Literature In The Field Of Ethnic Relations

There has been an ever increasing clamor for recognition by ethnic groups in various parts of the world. The increasing action is not only observable in the United States, but in numerous other nations as well. The active quest for status changes by ethnic groups has produced mounting attention on problems in race relations. Along with action and problems in race relations,

boundless literature on ethnical subjects has appeared.

The Negro in America, having become unusually vocal and active for status changes, has provoked controversies, research, and speculation. This provocation has in turn given rise to enormous literature in the form of leaflets, pamphlets, films, books, and other types of media. The writer thinks that much of this available literature is obviously without fact or sanction and is meant to propagandize for the purpose of giving emphasis to the author's belief or, better yet, to his point of view and his theme.

The writer experienced some difficulty in selecting literature on race matters which apparently dealt with facts based on unbiased research. For those whose interest will demand the more authoritative information in ethnic relations, a very careful analysis of the author and his apparent intent is recommended. There are legions of books and other media, and many of them are worthy. The writer prefers to recommend the use of journals, text books and material that comes from research. The bibliography in this study is recommended for consideration.

In a recent consultation with a college professor concerning literature about subjects in ethnic relations, the professor said that such studies could not be

classified as propaganda except where there was expression of personal opinion. *The professor was quoted as saying that "newspapers, magazines and official organs of ethnic groups and societies cannot be considered studies of ethnic relations. There may be a great amount of mis-information and propaganda in such literature." He concluded that whenever a newspaper, a magazine or a book supports a contention that cannot scientifically be proven, the media may be propaganda; and he said there is much propaganda literature in subjects on ethnical relations.

Suggestions For Further Research

In producing this study, the writer secured valuable experience in locating fundamental information which was pertinent to the total objective. There will probably be many more studies produced to discover opinions and attitudes so that expressions of these opinions and attitudes will furnish information and insight on the subject being studied. This study was made by using questionnaires to elicit expressions. In this case, the stated opinions were valuable because respondents had no fear and resorted to no inhibition in stating their true attitude. The adroit method in the

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use of these questionnaires was designed to obtain uninhibited answers.

As one of the many sequels for other studies on ethnic relations in this particular field which involve opinions and attitudes the writer offers as a suggestion that the personal interview might be considered.

The following techniques for successfully conducting personal interviews are suggested:

1. The number of interviews should be about one hundred and should be distributed on a cross section basis to include all types of employers.
2. The interview should be conducted with only those officials who possess the power to make decisions.
3. The interviewer must, of course, establish if possible, a rapport that will likely induce the interviewee to be cooperative and at ease.
4. ONLY ONE SPECIFIC RESPONSE SHOULD BE SOUGHT. All other conversation and questions should be used for supporting data. The one important response should not be asked directly, but secured indirectly and subtly.
5. The interviewer will probably obtain better results if he refrains from taking notes. Since only one answer will be the objective, the interviewer will not need to take notes concerning the sought for answer until he leaves the premises.

The following is a suggested subject to explore;
Do you Personally Favor the Employment of Negroes In
Whatever Occupational Bracket They Are Qualified To

Work? The qualified statements which surely will be made by the interviewee will be valuable as support to the main information.

Another idea for a study in the field of race relations, as a follow-up or continuation of this study, is one which would show the measurement in the occupational acceptance of Negroes. To learn approximately the amount of progress that has been made in hiring Negro white collar workers by employers in Omaha would be valuable. As a sequel to this study, it would be necessary to state date lines. The subject suggested may read: A Study of Pioneer White Collar Positions Obtained by Negro Applicants in Omaha During the Period, January 1, 1950 to December 31, 1953.

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SUMMARY OF APPENDICES

- Appendix A - Letter to Employers who are Members of the Nebraska Small Business Men's Association in Greater Omaha. Letter signed by the President of the Association.**
- Appendix B - Letter to Employers who Operate Government Bureaus and Agencies, and other Employing Organizations, such as the Charitable, Cultural and Educational Types. This Letter was also sent to Negro Employers.**
- Appendix C - The Follow Up Letter which was sent to all Types of Employers.**
- Appendix D - The Questionnaire which was Used to Secure Responses from all Employers, Regardless of Types.**
- Appendix E - "The Negro In Omaha" -- a fact sheet compiled by the Omaha Urban League in 1951.**
- Appendix F - "Facts About The Negro In Omaha" -- a fact sheet compiled by the Omaha Urban League in 1952.**

APPENDIX A

NEBRASKA SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION

President
LLOYD E. SKINNER - OMAHA
Vice President
HARVEY E. SMITH - OMAHA
Secretary
WILLIAM L. WILSON - OMAHA
Treasurer
ALVIN L. WILSON - OMAHA
Director
THOMAS E. ADAMS - OMAHA
Director
JOHN L. MADDOX - OMAHA
Director
L. L. HAINES - CENTRAL CITY
Director
MORRIS SPIN - FAIRBURY
Director
M. A. BRIDGES - NEBRASKA
Director
H. A. FREEMAN - OMAHA
Director
FRANK J. BRATTON - OMAHA
Director
CHARLES A. PETERS - OMAHA
Director
FRANK E. CORRIGAN - LINCOLN
Director
JOHN A. WACHTEL - OMAHA
Director
EARL E. GRANT - OMAHA
Director
DAVID W. SWARR - OMAHA
Director
RAY P. STEWART - LAUREL



401 OMAHA LOAN BUILDING
Telephone Jackson 3481
OMAHA 2, NEBRASKA

January 30, 1952

Dear Sir:

As you know, your Nebraska Small Business Men's Association has consistently opposed the enactment of Fair Employment Practices legislation in Nebraska. We have taken this stand on the basis of the resolution of our members at the annual conventions. In fact I think that we have played a large part in having it defeated. Only one other organization opposed it.

We always have explained this stand by stating that we recognize the problems of minority groups and express a desire to work by voluntary means toward the correction of the various inequities which exist.

In support of this, I have accepted the chairmanship of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Omaha Urban League. I have been able to secure the cooperation of a number of businessmen to serve with me.

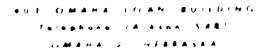
In order that your Nebraska Small Business Men's Association may be aware of the details of the Negro's position employment-wise in Omaha, we are asking that you fill out and return the enclosed questionnaire. You will note that it is designed so that all returns will be anonymous. Our purpose is to secure data to guide our judgment in this matter. Your cooperation in this survey will be appreciated.

Sincerely,
Lloyd E. Skinner
Lloyd E. Skinner
President

DIRECTORS

THOMAS E. ADAMS - OMAHA
JOHN L. MADDOX - OMAHA
L. L. HAINES - CENTRAL CITY
MORRIS SPIN - FAIRBURY
M. A. BRIDGES - NEBRASKA
H. A. FREEMAN - OMAHA
FRANK J. BRATTON - OMAHA
CHARLES A. PETERS - OMAHA
FRANK E. CORRIGAN - LINCOLN
JOHN A. WACHTEL - OMAHA
EARL E. GRANT - OMAHA
DAVID W. SWARR - OMAHA
RAY P. STEWART - LAUREL

NEBRASKA SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION



Sincerely,
Lloyd E. Skinner
Lloyd E. Skinner, President
Small Business Men's Association

THOS E ADAMS - JR	Bellevue	ROBERT A GOODALL	Omaha	HARRY A JAY / ROBERT D	Omaha	FRANK J BRADY	Atchison	EARL E GRANT	York
O L MADDOX - Sunny	C A BRIDGE - Nebraska		DEAN D GRAY	Nebraska		CHARLES A PETERS	Omaha	DAVID W SHARR	Omaha
L L MADDOX - Central City	MORRIS SPEER - Farquhar		D A FISHMAN	York		FRANK E CORNICK -	Lincoln	IRVING STEWART -	Lawrence
	JOHN H A. BECKMAN -	Grete					JOHN A. BRANTLEY -	Omaha	

APPENDIX C

NEBRASKA SMALL BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION

President
LEO E. SKINNER - Omaha
Vice President
HARRY A. JACOBSON - Omaha
Treasurer
FRANK J. BRADY - Springfield
Secretary
CHARLES A. PETERS - Omaha
Committee Chairman
JOHN A. BRIDGES - Omaha
Committee Chairman
JOHN A. BRIDGES - Omaha



403 OMAHA LOAN BUILDING
Telephone JAXson 8481
OMAHA 3, NEBRASKA

March, 1952

Dear Sir:

A few weeks ago we sought your help on a study to determine the position of the Negroes, employment-wise, in Omaha.

If you are among the nearly 504 who returned the questionnaire, we want you to know how much we appreciate your helpfulness.

However, if you mislaid the questionnaire, or other matters caused you to forget to fill it out and send it in, please complete the enclosed questionnaire, and return it to us.

A preliminary study of the questionnaires which have been returned is quite revealing, and will be of great help to us in working in this field.

Sincerely,

Lloyd E. Skinner
Lloyd E. Skinner
President

Enclosures

DIRECTORS

THOMAS E. ADAMS, JR. - Beatrice	ROBERT A. BOODALL - Omaha	HARRY A. JACOBSON - Omaha	FRANK J. BRADY - Springfield	EARL E. GRANT - York
O. L. MADDER - Beatrice	C. A. BRIDGE - Beatrice	DEAN D. GRAY - Hastings	CHARLES A. PETERS - Omaha	DAVID W. BROWN - Omaha
L. L. MADDER - Central City	ROBERT SPENCER - Papillion	R. A. FREEMAN - York	FRANK E. CORNIC - Lincoln	RAY P. STEWART - Lincoln
WILLIAM A. BRIDGE - Omaha			JOHN A. BRIDGES - Omaha	

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Type of Business by General Category _____.
2. Average Number of Employees _____.
3. Are Negro persons employed by your firm? Yes ____ Number Employed ____.
No ____
4. If you have one or more employed, please check in which general occupation they are placed.
Number in:

Clerical _____	Mechanical Skills _____
Technical _____	Unskilled Labor _____
Sales _____	Various Service _____
Supervisory _____	
5. If none are employed, please state briefly the policy or practice of firm

_____.
6. In your establishment, approximately what percent of your employees would object to the employment of Negroes in "White Collar" jobs? _____.
7. In your opinion, about what percent of customers would object to the employment of Negroes? _____.
8. In your opinion, how can Negroes secure better opportunities in getting jobs for which they are substantially qualified? _____

_____.
9. In your opinion, is the opportunity for Negroes to secure good jobs in Omaha improving? Yes ____ No ____ Remarks _____.
10. In your opinion, what method or methods would you suggest using for solving the employment problem of Negroes? _____

_____.

APPENDIX E

THE NEGRO IN OMAHA Compiled by the Omaha Urban League

April 1, 1951

I - Population

The Negro constitutes 8% of the city's population and lives all over the city

- A. Estimated 22,000 (increase of 10,000 since 1940)
- B. Geographical disposition
 - (1) North Omaha - estimated 16,500
 - (2) South Omaha - estimated 4,000
 - (3) Others - estimated 1,500
(downtown, mid-town, Fontenelle, Benson and Dundee dist.)

II - Economic and Industrial

Low income

- A. Approximately 20 or more percent of all persons applying for work or unemployment compensation at the Nebraska State Employment Service are Negroes.
- B. Approximately 77% of all employed Negroes work at unskilled and service jobs. 11% have clerical, semi-professional, professional and manual skilled jobs.
- C. Income of employed Negroes
 - (1) 38% of employed male Negroes average in wages from \$32.50 - \$46.00 a week. The fewer extremes are \$22.50 to \$66.00 a week.
 - (2) 33% of employed female Negroes average in wages from \$13.00 - \$35.00 a week. The fewer extremes are \$15.00 to \$50.00 a week.
 - (3) 11% of employed Negro males and females average in wages from \$30.00 - \$60.00 a week.

Discrimination in employment and training

- D. In 1940 (U.S. Census report on Omaha) there were 96 occupational categories employing 5692 workers in which not a single Negro was employed.
- E. Apprenticeship training is denied Negro youths and adults.

III - Education

- A. Seven (7) out of ten (10) Negro college trained youth leave Omaha. This represents a decrease over the number who left last year. The reason for migrating may be traced directly to lack of job opportunities in keeping with their skills.
- B. Four (4) out of five (5) Negro high school students do not graduate. The city-wide average is one (1) out of two (2). High Negro percentage due to (1) economic hardships, (2) lack of encouragement, (3) frustration and (4) discriminatory hiring policy in industry which puts no premium on Negro high school graduates.

April 1, 1951

IV - Housing

A Community
Disgrace

- A. Overcrowded housing condition - population increased by 10,000 in 10 years, during same period only 25 new homes built for Negro occupancy.
- B. Restrictive rental and sales practices prevent expansion.
- C. In 1945 Mayor's Housing Committee Survey revealed following conditions of Negro housing:
 - (1) 15.2% of Negro homes should be condemned.
 - (2) 9.2% need major repairs.
 - (3) Only 50% of all homes appraised are meeting minimum standards of good housing.
- D. Near Northside "Negro Community" characterized by:
 - (1) Overcrowded - 34.7 persons per acre. Third more densely populated in the city.
 - (2) Poor traffic control - highest accident rate in city.
 - (3) Inadequate parks and playgrounds; contains 4,453 children of primary school age, group work agencies in area have registration of 1,704.
 - (4) Poor in municipal services, i.e., street and alley maintenance, police and fire protection, bus and street car transportation.

V - Health

Is
Improving

- A. Negroes have a higher incidence of illness than do whites in the community.
- B. Need for speeded up health education program.

VI - Social Welfare Problems

- The economic, housing and health conditions of Negroes stimulate the growth of welfare problems, i.e.
- (1) 33 1/3% of all the unmarried mothers in Omaha are Negro. 3/4 of these mothers are in their teens as compared to 1/3 of the white mothers.
 - (2) 46% of the children under the Aid to Dependent Children program are Negro while they represent only 6 1/2% of the general population.
 - (3) 16% of the children handled by the Douglas County Juvenile Court are Negro.
 - (4) Seven out of every thousand Negroes are in the state prison as compared to four out of every ten thousand white persons.

APPENDIX F

FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO IN OMAHA

Compiled by the Omaha Urban League Dec. 17, 1952

I- Population

- A. 16,311 (increase of 39.5% since 1940 as compared with over-all population increase of 12)

B. Geographical Distribution

(1) North Omaha (Near Northside)	14,025
(2) South Omaha	1,834
(3) Southeast Omaha	377
(4) Northwest & West Omaha	75

II- Economic and Industrial

- A. Average yearly salary for Negro workers \$2,028; average yearly salary for white workers \$3,217
- B. 87% of the employed Negro workers are in the unskilled and semi-skilled levels as compared with 45% of the employed white workers.
- C. 22% of the Omaha Negro citizens are qualified for clerical, professional, and skilled positions but only 1% are so employed.
- D. Of the approximately 8,000 employers in Omaha, only 806 employ Negro citizens in any capacity and just a fraction of these 806 employ them at their highest skill.

III- Education

- A. Seven (7) out of ten (10) Negro college trained youth leave Omaha, this represents a decrease over the number who left last year. The reason for migrating may be traced directly to lack of job opportunities in keeping with their skills.
- B. Four (4) out of five (5) Negro high school students do not graduate. The city-wide average is one (1) out of two (2). High Negro percentages due to (1) economic hardships, (2) lack of encouragement, (3) frustration, and (4) discriminatory hiring policy in industry which puts no premium on Negro high school graduates.

IV- Housing

- A. Over-crowded housing condition-population increased 39.5% in 10 years as compared with 12% for over-all population; during same period, 8,200 rental and sale units were built in Omaha but only 2% available to Negro citizens.
- B. Restrictive rental, financing, so-called 'Covenant Agreements', and general sales practices operate to prevent freedom of movement by qualified Negro citizens.

FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO IN OMAHA
Compiled by the Omaha Urban League

IV- Housing Concluded

C. In 1945 Mayor's Housing Committee Survey revealed the following conditions of Negro housing:

- (1) 15.2% of Negro homes should be condemned.
- (2) 9.2% need major repairs.
- (3) Only 50% of all homes appraised are meeting minimum standards of good housing.

D. Near Northside "Negro Community" characterized by

- (1) Over-crowded-34.9 per acre; most densely populated single dwelling area in the city.
- (2) Poor traffic control; highest accident rate in city.
- (3) Recreational facilities, though inadequate, not full utilized; 6,553 children of ages 6 to 18. Groupwork agencies include Near Northside area have registration of 1,706; these agencies include Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, YMCA, YMCA, Christ Child, and City Recreation. The new Kellom Center can accommodate approximately 1,000.

V- Health

- A. Negroes have a higher incidence of illness than do whites in the community.
- B. While Negro citizens are admitted to all of our eleven hospitals, only four permit them to stay in wards with white patients.
- C. Existing health facilities-visiting nurses services, Well Baby Clinics, TB X-ray Survey, etc., are only given token utilization.

VI- Social Welfare Problems

The economic, housing and health conditions of Negroes stimulate the growth of welfare problems, i.e.

- (1) 33 1/3% of all the unmarried mothers in Omaha are Negro. 75% of these mothers are in their teens as compared to 33 1/3% of the white mothers.
- (2) 46% of the children under the Aid to Dependent Children program are Negro; while they represent only 7% of the general population.
- (3) 20% of the children handled by the Douglas County Juvenile Court are Negro; it is interesting to note, however, that of the total 22 feeble-minded children contacted by the court only one was a Negro.
- (4) Seven out of every ten thousand Negroes are in the state prison as compared to four out of every ten thousand white persons.