Do Negroes Have Equal Economic Opportunities? Why?



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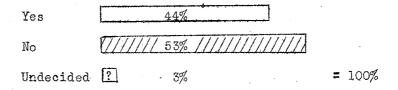
April 1944

DO HEGROES HAVE EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES?

Even in wartime, a majority of Americans think that Negroes do not have the same chance as white people to make a good living in the United States. To-day this opinion is held by 53 per cent of all civilian adults. As might be expected, the sharpest difference of opinion on this question is between whites and Negroes. Moreover, persons with a college background are more likely than those with less education to believe that Negroes do not have equal economic opportunities.

NORC asked this question of a nation-wide representative population sample:

"Do you think Hegroes have the same chance as white people to make a good living in this country?"



Almost every person interviewed has an opinion on the subject. The "Unde-cided" vote, even among persons with little education, is unusually small.

White people living in the southern states give a higher "Yes" vote -- 60 per cent -- than any other group in the survey. (Only 37 per cent enswered "No.") The difference in response between southern and northern Negroes is negligible; only 1 per cent more in the South say opportunities are unequal.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BY RACE AND EDUCATION

The chart below gives an exact comparison of the responses given by various population groups to the question: "Do you think Negroes have the
same chance as white people to make a good living in this country?"

Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (Percentage Answering "No")

Total Cross-section	////// 53% ////////
By Race White	////// 50% ////////
Negro	7////// 85% /////////////////////////////
By Education* College	7///// 73% /////////////////////////////
High School	////// 56% /////////
Less	////// 4% /////

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BY OCCUPATION, SECTION, AND SIZE OF PLACE

of the various occupational groups within the population, persons in professional, managerial, and white collar positions are most likely to think Negroes have an unequal chance to make a living (64%), and farmers the least likely(42%). When the vote by sections is analyzed, the distribution of "No" responses is as follows: Pacific and Mountain states -- 63%; Midwest -- 55%; New England and Middle Atlantic states -- 52%; and Sunth -- 48%. Fifty-six per cent of city residents and 54 per cent of those in small towns, but only 42 per cent of the rural population think Negroes have unequal economic opportunities.

^{*}Persons Interviewed in connection with NORC surveys are divided by education into three groups. The "college" category includes those who have attended college for more than one year. The "high school" group takes in those who have had one to four years of high school work. The third group includes all others -- persons who have graduated from elementary school, persons who have attended, and some with no formal

All persons who answered either "Yes" or "No" were asked: "What do you think is the main reason for this?"

Those white people who think Negroes do not have an equal chance emphasize in this order:

- 1. Racial prejudice
- 2. Educational discrimination
- 3. Economic discrimination

Negroes place chief emphasis upon economic factors.

Persons who think Negroes do have an equal chance are most likely to believe that Negroes fail to take advantage of opportunities when offered or that during the war when labor is at a premium Negroes can do just as well as whites.

Through their reactions many respondents reveal a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the Negro race. Other comments reveal a definite anti-Negro bias -- in some cases an intense antagonism. Still others seem indifferent.

The individual comments presented are valuable because they give the real flavor of public opinion — the flesh and blood of human attitudes that clothe the skeleton of cold statistics. These are honest reactions and should be respected as such, even though many of them reveal areas of serious prejudice and misapprehension. The existence of these attitudinal areas constitutes a challenge to liberal educators and to all intelligent people seriously concerned with the expansion of democracy — economical and social as well as political — within the United States.

The comments given in the following sections present typical attitudes representative of various sections of the country and various groups within the population. Those not specifically labeled are made by white respondents.

Why People Think Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities

RACIAL PREJUDICE

This is the largest single group of comments. Many are general and vague -- "prejudice ... racial prejudice ... discrimination" -- yet they indicate a recognition of a wide-spread attitude fundamental to a Negro's chance to make a living.

These are examples of the more general types of comments:

- *Bigotry and prejudice of white people.*
- *Prejudice among our white race. We don't admit it, but if's there.*
- "People talk about being equal, but they don't practice it."
- "Deep-rooted prejudice of people against them,"
- *We draw the color fine here too much.*
- "Too much 'Jim Crow' and prejudice against the colored man."

woman office worker, Birming-ham, Alabama

Farmer, near Sloan, Lowa

Blind pansioner, Milwaukee

Woman church secretary, Denver Surveyor's widow_e St. Louis wegro truck driver, Louisville

Some white people dislike Negroes because of their race and color:

- "Because they re black and most people favors the whites."
- "Their color ... people can't get used to the idea that a Negro Is a human being like a white man."
- Too much discrimination against their race. They shouldn't be here, so treat them fair to make up for the white man's mistake,"
- *Their very color excludes them here**
- "I suppose most people just don't like colored people."
- *Their race ** the average white person holds a distant taste for colored people."
- wwell, just trause we're colored, lady, and can't help ourselves."

Farmer, near Harveytown, West Virginia Salesman, Brooklyn

Farmer, Marshall, Indiana

Welder's wife, tos Angeles Woman Insuranțe cierk, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

wife of dairy managery Kent, Washington

Negro farmer's wife, Broken Agrow, Oklahoma

A few persons suggest that dislike of Negroes is instinctive with white people:

- "Because they are different from us. We just seem to have that dislike under our skin,"
- "It's born in you; white people think they are better than Negroes."

farmer's wife, Western lowa

Stenographer, Santa Ama, Call+

A number of those interviewed mention the fact that many people look down upon Negroes as inferiors:

- "The white folks don't figger Higgers is worth as much as white folks."
- "white people's superiority \leftarrow at least they think they are "
- nwe haven't learned to look upon the Negro as our equal."
- "{ wouldn't want to associate with them, I feel superior."
- "We look on Negroes as servants, not as equals,"
- wwhite people feel too superior because of their color, I know many brilliant Hegroes.*

Bundler, box factory, StyLouis

Wife of army colonel, Manhate

Building contractor, Middlew town, Connecticut

Proprietress of candy store, Springfield, Massachusetts
Business woman, Sioan, Iowa Woman photographer, Los Angeles

Why People Think Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (continued)

ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION

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Respondents mention economic discrimination in general terms, in hiring and firing policies, in wage scales, in promotions, and in barring Negroes from the better jobs in industry and the professions. This consideration ranks first of reasons given by Negroes and third by whites.

People who speak of general economic discrimination and employment policies give answers such as these:

"white people can never be broadminded enough to let Regroes make a good living."

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"Most employers are white and prefer white help."
"Lots of big companies won't even consider hiring Negroes."

"On account of their color they're the last hired and the first laid off."

"One of the main reasons is the lack of opportunities where joks are concerned. Here it is because the white man owns the factories and he in turn takes care of the white man first, which is no more than any other race would do."

"when a white man and a colored man go after the same job the white man will get it and also get more money."

Wife of engineer, Denver

Freight checker, Detroit
Railroad fireman, Raieigh,
North Carolina

Carpenter, Meadville, Pennsylvania

Negro tallor, Chicago

Negro machine operator, Detroit

Often mentioned are wage differentials:

"They are not paid on the same salary scale and not given the same consideration. This is due largely to color, not to lack of ability."

*Folks just think Negroes should work cheaper then white people."

"We don't get paid for what we really do and we are afraid to complain."

The white folks just don't think the colored amount to much. They want to make more money for the same work.

Wife of railroad conductor, Raleigh, North Carblina

Welder's wife, Atlanta

Negro housewife, South Carolina

Wife of Regro laborer, Lauisville, Kentucky

Both Negroes and whites emphasize the fact that even educated Negroes have difficulty securing the better jobs -- skilled and professional:

"Weil, I can't proture a Negro being head of a big corporation; and I think that is true of a lot of us white people."

"They are barred from certain jobs on account of their color."

"Even educated Negroes have a hard time getting a decent job."

"We start negroes in school when we do the whites and when they finish with the same education as the whites we pull down the curtain and shut many opportunities away from their reach,"

They won't put more than one man in a million colored in a responsible job even if he is capable. The white people don't give you the opportunity." Minister's wife, Pittston, Pennsylvania

Wife of contractor, Wilmette,

Insurance executive. Dallas

Real estate man, St. Louis

Negro dressmaker, Clayton, Missour!

Why People Think Negroes: Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (continued) Application of painted at the particle of the second second

44620 4 6444 200 of good jobs." Carolina Regro laundress, Chester, South "Negroes are not trained for the positions they can Megro woman teacher, Badtimore wondidate and they are trained age not allowed to hold them." ्राच्या विकास स्टार्टिक अवस्था स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक स्टार्टिक الأنامة المراجعة المستجمعين الموجعين المجاهدي

Also mentioned is the objection of some whites to working with Negroes:

MPrajudices of employers and fellow workers to thefr Hewspaperman, Peorla, Illinois To avoid friction, if they were allowed to work with Wife; of school teacher, Dyers-. burgamTendessee+ same white people there would be trouble."

A few specifically mention discrimination on the part of labor unions:

"The unions won't let Negroes work in the cities Carpenter, Oberlin, Ohlo mand won't work with them."

**Before the war industry would not take thems. **The Automatic screw operator, Automatic screw operator, Boskon labor unions are much to blame."

EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

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ายองที่ "1955 (เกี่ยงใช้มาบริหาวกระวัน อากัสสารากัน") (

บาร์สาก แต่สมคน อ. ส์เดิมการ์อิสามาสอก อ.ส.คีน โดยนั้นใช้สมเด็ก ทำกับ การกา

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Respondents in both the North and South mention the unequal educational opportunities available to Negroes: วรัก กลองทางที่ และเลือนเราะเราะราก ซาการ การแก้วายเกิดเลือกทางตาลน์วิธีที่สุดและเกาะ โดยสักษัติ และ

"The Negroes haven't been educated renough through Navy wife; Oakland, California generations back."

"Inadequate training on the part of the Negro we due largely to our refusal to make this training posset in the staining posset

They lack education and the facilities for educaten. .

*The Negro doesn'tt get the same aducational privi-leges for his taxes,"

ieges far his taxes."
"Our schools aren't as good as yours are so we don't get as good learnin' how to make a good living."

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COMMENTS OF

Woman executive, southern Louislana

Dalry farmer, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma Negro postal elerké Boston

Negro woman sharesropper, Rock Hill, South Carolina

Some persons believe that Negroes do not have the capacity to take advantage of educational and economic opportunities:

"They haven't the capabilities of taking an edupe" Greeryman, Agribern South tion and holding good jobs."

Why People Think Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (continued)

"They aren't mentally able to take advantage of oppertunities.

"Negrees are not as Intelligent as white people."

· Farmer's wife, near Wichita, Kansas Grinder's wife, Detroit

Others are convinced that Negroes lack ambition and initiative:

They have the chance to get the education, but unemployed manicurist, Chicago won't apply themselves to work."

Foreign language instructor, Birmingham

"They are a backward and shiftless race -- not industrious."

"They are Negroes and they like their way of living."

wife of defense worker, ill.

SECTIONAL AND HISTORICAL DISCRIMINATION

Many respondents feel that Negroes have more chance in the North than in the South:

win the south there's discrimination against them -- Chemist's wife, Philadelphia jobs, votes, learning."

"in the North it is because the people don't like Negroesa, in the South it is the custom for gen-erations."

Inspectory Chicago

who, poor things, they don't have a chance here in

Stenographer, Austin

"Politics in the South."

Welders Clarion, lowa Ad printer, La Sallegiillnois

"People in the southern section are against them and give them the lowest type jobs, and we in the North aren't much better."

woman medical worker, Boston

"No matter what professional training Regross have, they can't advance in the South -- due to pre-Clvil War thinking."

Railroad fireman, Austin

"It's according to what kind of a living you mean.
If they're not satisfied, let them go to the North,
That's the way I feel about it. Because they're not equal.*

Wife of business man, Houston

"In the South there is no compulsory education, so they re illiterate."

Wife of banker, Hallfax,

Massachusetts

The Negro in the South has never been allowed to show his ability. It doesn't apply so much in the North where he has educational chances." "The Negro In

Negro service station attendant, Milwaukee

unions don't want Negroes. I tried several jobs but they asways tried to get out of having me. It's easter to get a job in the South, but haw and jus-tice aren't on your side as they are in the North. nuntges don't want Negroes.

Wife of Negro truck farmer, Greenpastures, Oklahoma

whot in this state or any southern state. Maybe they have a chance up North. It's just that way they have a down South."

Woman Negro teacher, Baltimore

mwhites who migrate from the South bring ideas of Negre suppression with them."

Others believe that Negroes are still being discriminated against because of their background of slavery:

NIT dates back to the Civil ware. They were brought over as slaves and many people feel that way yet." Farmer's wife, Issaquah Washington

Why People Think Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (continued)

"They are very young in the time of their freedom and haven't had as long a life as the whites to make a sucress." make a success."

when they come down from the first generation they were slaves. They should be now.".

mit's prejudice held over from the Civil War."

"The Negroes have never lived down being slaves,"

Truck gardener, Honey Brook, Pennsylvania

76-year-old farmer, Talladega, Alabama

Farmer's wife, Tulsa

Machinist's wife, Los Angeles

OPPRESSION

Negroes are in general denied an equal chance and opportunity in life. are intentionally "held down," say some:

whites don't want regroes to have a chance. Whites are keeping them down."

"They're still being held down by white people."

"They just don't want to give us an equal break."

"Some of the white people just don't want the colored to advance."

Merchant, Bluffton, Ohlo

Saleslady, Crestwood, Kentucky Negro yardman, Oklahoma City wife of Negro baker, Baltimore

Other white people feel strongly that Negroes should be "kept in their place," that their own aggressiveness is a handicap:

"Negroes don't know their place."

"You can't give them too much freedom, as they take advantage of It."

"They have themselves to blame; they push too hard."

onegroes are too aggressive.

when Regroes get too much money they become wild and don't know how to use it."

Whites want to keep Negroes 'in their place. '"

Diesel inspector, Peoria, III. Assembly worker, Hollis, Long Island

Wife of coast guard employee, Cleveland

Defense worker, Detroit

undertaker, Orange, New Jersey

wife of Negro truck driver, western pennsylvania.

CONVERSELY:

"A Negro is not as aggressive as a white."

Contractor, Ogden, Utah

Why People Think Negroes Have UNEQUAL Economic Opportunities (concluded)

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

A number of respondents speak of the fact that many white people don't like to associate or mix with Negroes:

"The white race doesn't care to intermingle too in-

Car dealer, Clayton, Missouri

"Most white people don't want to mix with segrees."

Chauffeur's wife, Manhattan Farmer's wife, Beaverton, Ore.

A line should be drawn at inter-marriage, but Negroes should be given an equal chance to get ahead."

A few persons refer to Biblical teachings as a basis for one of these two diametrically opposed attitudes:

"Negroes are not supposed to have an equal shance to make a living. The Bible says they're the white man's slave."

Woman cashler, Atlanta

"Failure to recognize the principle of the brother-hood of man."

Minister, Houston

Each of the following comments represents a definite point of view held by at least a small group within the population:

white people usually don't trust Negroes. "

*white people outnumber Negroes and never will accept them as equals."

"Negroee should have a country of their own."

"Negroes have been largely discriminated against even in this war."

"The environments' from which negroes have to start never lete them get off on the right foot."

"Lack of understanding between the two races."

"Whites haven't learned to get along with Negroes. It's a matter of education on both sides."

*Negroes are not ready to assume the responsibilitties such a change would incur." Farmer's wife, Goshen, Indiana Manager, finance corporation, Minneapolis

Widow, Collinsville, Oklahoma Highway worker, southern Callfornia

Merchant marine seaman, Los Angeles

Negro laborer, Oklahoma City Accountant, Pittsburgh

Wemen clerk, Hashville

Why People Think Negroes Have EQUAL Economic Opportunities

An anti-Negro feeling, ranging from mild to high intensity, is discernible in many of the reasons given by persons who answered: "Yes, Negroes do have the same chance as whites to make a living in the United States.

A considerable number believe that Negroes as a group fail to take advantage of the opportunities available to them:

The groes have the same chance, but they conft take advant. Farmer, Cary, North Carolina tage of \hat{T}_{N}

"They have If they apply themselves."

· 1;

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"Anyone that wants to work hard can get what he wants."

nout they won't take care of it. Our men out here have been getting \$5.00 a day and none of them ever our men out here have any money,"

"They have the privilege of working."

"Negroes ought to go ahead and work, then they'd have as good a chance. They re lazy,

Carpenter, Little Hocking, Ohlo Auditor, Akron

farmer's wife, Grange, Texas

Farmer's wife, Auburn, Indiana Negro farmer, Chester, South

Some think that Negroes have as good chance as they deserve:

"yes, but they should be kept in their place."

"The same as their intelligence permits."

"Negroes can attend school and get an education as well as white folks."

wife of shipping clerk, Trenton, New Jersey Realtor, Atlanta Farmer's wife, Goshen, indiana

. Others believe that Negroes have a better chance than they should:

"They have a better chance *cause they can live on less than we do."

**Some of them at the shop make more money than 1 do ϵ^{π}

"Lots of 'em can go to work where I can't. They get a fair break."

Electrician's wife, Austin shipping clerk, Milwaukee

Lumberjack, Stockton, Call-

Many persons believe that during the war laber shortage Negroes can do all right:

"I wonly during war when labor is at a premium."

"! don't think they ought to have, but they do now they's so much work."

"They have now, but they didn't before the war."

Salesman's wife, Brooklyn Weider's wife, Mauriceville, Texas

Army wife, Houston

Some who answer "Yes" mention sectional differences:

"in the Northern states, but not in the South."

"Not outside of New York City,"

"Yes, in North Carolina."

Tool crib worker, Waterloo, indiana

Electric welder, the Bronx Woman Red Cross worker, Louis-burg, North Carolina

PUBLICATIONS

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REPORTS:

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•	Additional copies	.10

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This report is based on a nation-wide survey by the National Opinion Research Center. The cross-section consisted of a typical miniature of the population with the proper proportion, in each geographical section, of young and old, men and women, rich and poor, farm, town, and city dwellers, whites and Negroes. This survey included 2,560 personal interviews. Statistically these are sufficient to be within 3 per cent correct 997 times in 1,000.