

Negroes

# THE NEGRO IN THE ST. LOUIS ECONOMY

1954



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Department of Economics  
Washington University

By



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and

**HARRY C. HARRIS**  
Industrial Field Secretary  
Urban League of St. Louis

PROJECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS  
**CHESTER E. STOVALL, Director**

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## Preface

To fully appreciate the purpose of this study requires some understanding of the basic objective of the Urban League program. Simply stated, the Urban League seeks to enhance community progress by working to improve the living standard of Negro citizens.

There are two major branches which make up the League program. One is the Neighborhood or Block Unit program which brings to the Negro community opportunities for self-improvement through self-help projects. The other is the Industrial Relations program which seeks to achieve employment policies and patterns that are consistent with freedom of choice and maximum productive efficiency. It is this latter branch which is the concern of this study.

One of the ways in which this goal can be attained is by persuading individuals in policy-making positions that any employment practice which uses race as a criteria is economically unsound, morally wrong and destructive of democratic values.

A first step in the formulation of any program is to obtain accurate and up-to-date information about the situation under study. This, the survey attempted to do by answering such questions as, "What are the characteristics of the Negro labor force and how is it being utilized?", "To what extent do Negroes participate in the organized labor movement?", "In what areas of employment has the Negro made the largest gains and where the least?", "Is the lack of educational attainment of Negroes when compared with whites, a factor in their relatively lower employment status?" and, "What is the comparative yearly average income of Negro and white labor?"

The second step is to interpret these facts to the community; to point up the community problems they produce; to present a plan for alternative action and to persuade business, organized labor, government, religious and civic leaders to work for the full utilization of this community's labor supply in the interest of community progress. The answers provided by the survey will be used in achieving the second step.

This will be the major responsibility of the League staff and the board and non-board volunteers in the months ahead.

M. Leo Bohanon, Executive Director  
Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.  
September, 1954

## Acknowledgments

This study was a community project involving more than 2,000 persons and organizations. It is not possible to make separate acknowledgment to all to whom the League is indebted. Our deepest thanks go to—

1. Dr. Irwin Sobel, Department of Economics, Washington University, member of Urban League Board and Industrial Committee, for his supervision and direction of the project, and analysis of data collected.

2. Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch, Department of Economics, Washington University, for planning and directing the statistical part of the study and for collaborating with Dr. Sobel on other phases of the survey.

3. Harry C. Harris, Assistant Industrial Secretary of the Urban League of St. Louis, who first suggested the study, did most of the preliminary work in preparation for the survey project, supervised volunteer interviewers, computed much of the data collected, and drafted the first tentative report of the study's findings.

4. The Research Advisory Committee whose members gave willingly of their time and professional talent in advising and counselling the research staff. Members of this committee were: Richard H. Uhlig, Research Secretary, Social Planning Council of St. Louis; William H. Coibion, Director of Planning, City Plan Commission of St. Louis; Ernest Calloway, Research Director, Joint Council of Teamsters No. 13, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, A. F. of L., and Mrs. Mildred Helmholt, Research Analyst, St. Louis Office, Missouri Division of Employment Security.

5. Those persons who made specialized contributions, namely: Mrs. Jane Rand, St. Louis Junior League and Miss Elly Gelfenbaum, Washington University, for collecting and making meaningful raw and unrefined data covering problem areas; Mrs. Erma Brasfield, A. F. of L. Teamsters Union, Local 688 and Howard G. Brunsmann, Chief Population and Housing Division, Bureau of Census, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, for providing leads which expedited the obtaining of needed data; Charles Ortique and Herbert Solz, graduate students at the University of Illinois for assisting in the coding and tabulation of the returns, and Dr. Richard Wilcock of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois who

made available the facilities of Illinois University necessary to complete the study.

6. The 100 volunteer interviewers who spent their days, evenings and week ends, often working in inclement weather, to interview over 2,000 persons. In addition to the many unattached individuals who served as interviewers, the following organizations were represented:—

- A. Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Undergraduate and Graduate Chapters
- B. American Association of University Women, St. Louis Branch
- C. Interfaith Group of Young Adults, National Conference of Christians and Jews
- D. St. Louis Federation of Block Units.
- E. St. Louis League of Women Voters

7. Those whose financial contributions made possible the printing of this study, including:

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO
- Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL
- Building Laborers and Hod Carriers Union, Local 53, AFL
- Central Trades and Labor Union AFL
- General Cable Corporation
- International Association of Machinists, Dist. 9, AFL
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Joint Council 13, AFL
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- Retail Store Employees Union, Local 655, AFL
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- St. Louis Typographical Union, No. 8, AFL
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12. Those 2,000 men, women and children who were kind, cooperative and patient enough to "suffer" through another one of the many interviews and polls.

Any merit which this study might contain is the result of the work of all of the individuals we have mentioned; its shortcomings are the sole property of the authors and the League.

Permission is hereby granted to any individual, group or organization to reprint any part or all of the material that is contained in the study on the condition that due credit is given to the Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
URBAN LEAGUE OF ST. LOUIS, INC.  
SEPTEMBER, 1954

## Introduction

Ira De Reid said in 1934:

“Colored workers here (in St. Louis) are available in large number, and, according to reports, are more intelligent, and of a better class than those further south, (SIC) being especially useful for different kinds of rough or disagreeable work.”<sup>1</sup>

This statement raises many questions pertinent to our present study. Why, for instance, are Negro workers available in large numbers in the area? What is the exact size, composition, and status of the Negro labor force? Why should a group that is more intelligent and of a better class be especially useful only for rough and disagreeable work?

If the scope of these queries were to be broadened and brought into more modern focus by taking into account certain basic aspects of this area's total labor force, the statement then suggests the major questions to which this study is addressed.

In order to maximize our limited research resources, the data collected were restricted, for the most part, by previously assembled information, especially that of the last Decennial census. This restriction was designed to facilitate geographical and chronological comparison and to enable generalization about the direction and tempo of economic change and its effects upon the local Negro population.

The need for answers to three major questions provided the major analytical topics. These questions are: (1) What is the present status and direction of change of the Negro labor force, in regard to size, education, income, occupational and industrial attachments, and employment security?; (2) What, if any, discrimination and segregation is practiced by business units and trade unions?; and (3) To what extent does the community utilize the skill, ability, and training of the Negro work force?

The methods used to obtain these data were determined by the nature of the problems and comparable methods employed by the census. Reliance on interview rather than institutional data constituted one of the main features of this study. The resultant dependence on data furnished by the interviewee meant that in a situation which required a qualitative answer, the accuracy of the response might be lessened by deficiencies in knowledge of the person questioned. Income data are especially subject to this limitation. However, similar deficiencies prevailed in census questioning.

Institutional questioning, similar to that used by The National Planning Association in its study of union and employer practices in the Durham area, was ruled out. Unlike Durham, where the bulk of Negro employment is concentrated in a few large plants, the St. Louis employment pattern is one of great diversity. This difference made direct, on the scene, observation of practices impossible in this study. The possible use of questionnaires was rejected because previous experience indicated that returns were likely to be scattered and biased.<sup>2</sup>

Coincident with the planning of this research detailed 1950 Census data were becoming increasingly available. However, the Korean War, and the resultant economic expansion which was followed by the decline in economic activity in the latter part of 1953, took place after completion of the Census.

Census information furnished important points of reference, both as benchmarks in the sample design and in the interpretation of the results. The sample is a probability cluster sample of 40 half blocks; for instance, the streets on the northern and eastern side of a city block might constitute such a half block. After a careful study of the racial characteristics of St. Louis City blocks was made, 1296 half blocks, each one containing well over 50 percent non-whites, were identified. From them, a random sample of size 40 was drawn. All Negroes, 14 years of age and over, residing in these half blocks, a total of about 1700, were included in the sample. Interviews were taken in January, 1954.

The statistical methods employed offer findings which can be accepted with a 95 percent confidence. This can be interpreted to mean that in the long run the results will be correct 95 percent of the time. This report is an analysis and interpretation of the findings.

## CHAPTER I

### General Characteristics of the Population

#### **Geographical Location**

St. Louis, although approximately as far south as Washington, D. C., is classified in the North Central Region of the United States. The city's metropolitan area radiates from the Mississippi River and includes St. Louis and St. Charles counties in Missouri and Madison and St. Clair counties in Illinois. This location in the approximate center of the mid-west serves as a natural point of entry to the deep South and a key exit to the Pacific Coast and Southwest. Due to this unique geographical location, the social, political, and economic pattern of the area is one of the mixed northern and southern influences.

#### **Population**

Since its first Census in 1820, at which time a population of 4,598 was reported, St. Louis has grown to its present numerical size. Although its population of approximately 857,000 makes it the eighth largest city in the United States, St. Louis has been declining in relative numerical importance since 1910 when it was the fourth largest city in the country.

**TABLE 1**  
**Population of the Eight Largest Cities in the United States**  
**(April, 1950)**

City	Population	Percent of Non-White Population
New York, New York	7,891,957	9.8
Chicago, Illinois	3,620,962	14.1
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	2,071,605	18.3
Los Angeles, California	1,970,358	10.7
Detroit, Michigan	1,849,568	16.4
Baltimore, Maryland	949,708	23.8
Cleveland, Ohio	914,808	16.3
St. Louis, Missouri	856,796	18.0

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

If the population of the entire metropolitan area is used as a basis for comparison, the St. Louis metropolitan area ranks ninth. Although the St. Louis metropolitan population is numerically larger than Cleveland's and Baltimore's, its population is smaller than the corresponding metropolitan population of Boston, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco-Oakland Bay.

**TABLE 2**  
**Population of the Nine Largest Metropolitan Areas in the**  
**United States**  
**(April, 1950)**

Standard Metropolitan Area	Population	Percent of Non-White Population
New York-Northeastern New Jersey	12,911,994	8.1
Chicago	5,495,364	11.0
Los Angeles	4,367,911	6.3
Philadelphia	3,671,048	13.2
Detroit	3,016,197	12.0
Boston	2,369,986	2.4
San Francisco-Oakland Bay	2,240,767	9.4
Pittsburgh	2,213,236	6.2
St. Louis	1,681,281	12.9

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

The ability of the city of St. Louis to reach its present population position, and its future ability to maintain it, is based in no small measure on the size and growth of the non-white population.\* With

a growing and continued exodus to the suburbs, the white population of the city has become almost numerically static at its present level. While the metropolitan area will expand in the future, the population of the city of St. Louis is unlikely to grow unless the Negro population continues its rapid growth.

Table 3 reflects this situation. It shows that during the last twenty odd years, only an increase in the Negro population has prevented the population of the city of St. Louis from declining.

**TABLE 3**  
**Population of the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Race**  
**(1930, 1940, 1950 and 1954)**

Census Year	Total Population	% Gain or Loss	White Population	% Gain or Loss	Negro Population	% Gain or Loss
1930	821,960		727,699		93,580	
1940	816,048	-0.72	706,794	-2.87	108,765	+16.22
1950	856,796	+4.99	702,348	-0.63	153,766	+41.37
Jan. (Est.) 1954	868,000	+1.3			171,000	

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

The rate of growth of the Negro population has neither been steady nor has the non-white population ever before constituted as high a percentage of the population as it now does. The largest increases have occurred during the two war decades. The Negro percentage of the population had its most rapid advance from 1940 to 1950. Table 4 presents these statistics on the growth of the Negro population.

**TABLE 4**  
**Total and Negro Population of the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(1900 - 1954)**

Year	Total Population	% Gain or Loss	Negro Population		
			Total	% Gain or Loss	% of Total Population
1900	575,238		35,516		6.17
1910	687,029	+19.4	43,960	+23.8	6.39
1920	772,897	+12.5	69,754	+58.7	9.03
1930	821,960	+16.3	93,580	+34.2	11.38
1940	816,048	- 9.7	108,765	+16.2	13.32
Jan. (Est.) <sup>4</sup> 1954	868,000		171,000		19.77

Source: U. S. Census

## Internal Geographical Distribution

Because of definitional difference, it is not feasible to compare the present proportion of non-whites in basic subdivisions of the metropolitan area with that obtaining in former years. The picture in April 1950 was as follows:

TABLE 5  
Population of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area by Race  
(April, 1950)

Area	Population	Percentage Distribution	White Population	Percentage Distribution	Non-White Population	Percentage Distribution
St Louis City	856,796	50.95	702,348	47.95	154,448	71.35
St Louis County	406,349	24.17	389,336	26.58	17,013	7.86
St. Charles County	29,834	1.77	29,069	1.98	765	0.35
Illinois Counties	388,302	23.09	344,074	23.48	44,228	20.43
TOTALS	1,681,281	100.00	1,464,827	100.00	216,454	100.00

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

In 1950 non-whites constituted 18 percent of the population of the city of St. Louis, but only 4 percent, 3 percent, and 11 percent, respectively, of St. Louis County, St. Charles County, and of Madison and St. Clair Counties in Illinois. This indicates that the non-white population is highly concentrated in the City of St. Louis and St. Clair County.\* All over the country, the non-white population is more concentrated in the central cities which constitute the economic cores of large metropolitan areas. This concentration indicates that a substantial part of the white population is moving out of the larger cities into the outlying suburban areas while the non-white population has fewer opportunities to leave the city.

The boundaries of the local Negro community have been expanding during the last few years, usually on a block by block basis, westward and northward. Table 6 indicates that the tracts lying in the direction of the northward and westward movements have registered gains. Losses in other tracts reflect building programs, and the growing commercial and industrial character of some of the neighborhoods. These changes have caused the abandonment or destruction of residential areas, and have induced out-migration when alternatives were available.

**TABLE 6**  
**Percentage of Negroes 14 Years of Age and Over**  
**in Selected Census Sub-Tracts of the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(April, 1950 and January, 1954)**

Census Subtracts	1950 Census	1954 Urban League Survey Percentage	Survey Differential
6G	1.81	0.99	-0.82
10C	1.99	10.15	+8.16
11A	10.87	11.25	+0.38
11B	7.42	16.01	+8.59
11C	7.62	4.35	-3.27
11D	3.68	3.19	-0.49
11E	6.70	2.09	-4.61
12C	5.90	9.57	+3.67
18D	3.14	6.55	+3.41
18E	2.79	1.22	-1.57
19B	3.83	3.89	+0.06
21A	8.69	2.03	-6.66
21B	10.23	10.61	+0.38
21C	10.67	9.39	-1.28
21D	4.99	1.86	-3.13
22B	3.86	2.84	-1.02
25B	5.74	3.36	-2.38
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Sources: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

As compared to whites the internal mobility of non-white population is relatively high with over 10 percent of the Negroes having moved to another house between 1949 and 1950 as compared to less than 9 per cent of the white population.<sup>7</sup> For the period January, 1950, to January, 1954, the sample of those 14 years of age and over reveals that 34 percent of this non-white population had, in the four years, changed houses within the city limits. This propensity toward greater mobility is a resultant of the prevailing mobility patterns. The relatively high and sustained demand for suburban housing by whites has resulted in their movement to the outlying areas. Because of general overcrowded conditions this movement is followed by the acquisition of their property by a non-white family of relatively high income status. In turn, another Negro family will occupy the vacated premises causing further mobility within the Negro community. Thus, a single white movement probably results in two or three residence changes by non-whites.

### Sex of the Population

The 1954 sample covers persons 14 years of age and over, and should be compared with similar age groupings in 1950. The sample ratio of 80.7 males per 100 females represents a male decline of 8.7 per 100 females in the four year period since the last Census. This decline reflects the continuance of basic population trends and such temporary factors as a substantial increase in the number of Negro males in the military service.

Overall lower mortality rates for women are partially responsible for the higher proportion of both white and non-white females in the local population.<sup>8</sup> The proportion of non-white females is higher locally than in the rest of the country, and may be explained by the local predominance of light industry, retail, and wholesale trade, communications, and service industry, rather than heavy industry. This type of industrial pattern is highly favorable to female employment.

TABLE 7  
Population of the City of St. Louis, Mo. by Race and Sex  
(1930 - 1954)

Year	Negro Population		White Population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
		Percent		
1930	48.98	51.02	48.82	51.17
1940	47.59	52.41	48.06	51.93
1950	47.17	52.83	47.09	52.91
1954 (Est.)	44.59	55.27		

Source: U. S. Census.

### Age of the Population

Both the Census and the Urban League sample break down the basic racial categories of the population by five year age groupings.

**TABLE 8**  
**Age of the Population of the St. Louis Metropolitan Area**  
**by Sex and Race**  
**(April, 1950)**

Age Range	Non-White Males	White Males	Non-White Females	White Females
	Percent		Percent	
Under 5	11.24	10.19	10.31	9.27
5- 9	8.92	7.69	8.17	7.07
10-14	8.05	6.21	7.48	5.73
15-19	6.85	6.31	7.12	6.14
20-24	7.22	7.67	8.42	7.92
25-29	7.88	8.37	8.89	8.42
30-34	7.23	7.71	8.28	7.72
35-39	7.91	7.67	8.82	7.79
40-44	7.69	7.48	7.73	7.53
45-49	7.26	6.80	6.86	6.74
50-54	5.98	6.15	5.34	6.11
55-59	4.69	5.35	3.79	5.38
60-64	3.29	4.36	2.79	4.52
65-69	2.79	3.38	2.87	3.77
70-74	1.53	2.25	1.53	2.64
75-84	1.24	2.04	1.27	2.73
85 and Over	0.20	0.30	0.29	0.49
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

Table 8 indicates that the average non-white male is younger than the white. The proportion of non-white males is higher than whites up to the age of 20 and lower from 50 upward. Higher Negro birth and mortality rates are responsible. The proportion of non-white females in the age brackets below 50 is higher than for whites, but after 50, the corresponding ratios for non-white females are lower.

**TABLE 9**  
**Age Distribution of the Male Negro Population of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(1930 - 1950)**

Year	Age Categories							
	Under 10	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
	Percent							
1930	15.0	6.2	6.6	8.7	11.4	10.7	11.3	9.3
1940	15.3	7.9	7.3	6.8	8.4	9.0	10.3	9.4
1950	19.0	7.7	6.2	6.8	8.4	7.3	8.2	8.1
	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75 & Over	TOTAL
	Percent							
1930	8.0	5.4	3.2	1.9	1.1	0.6	0.6	100.00
1940	8.2	5.9	4.4	2.9	2.1	1.2	1.0	100.00
1950	7.3	5.9	4.9	3.5	2.8	1.3	1.3	100.00

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

These data which have been cited indicate that the proportion in the under ten year age category has increased while that in the 10 to 19 age grouping has decreased. These changes are a result of the low birth rates in the 1930's and the higher birth rates of the past decade. The higher proportions in the age categories after 50 reflect the increasing longevity of both Negro male and female.

**TABLE 10**  
**Age Distribution of the Negro Population**  
**of the City of St. Louis, Mo., 14 Years of Age and Over, by Sex**  
**(April, 1950 - January, 1954)**

Male	1950 Census	1954 Urban League Survey	Survey Differential
		<b>Percent</b>	
14-19	10.41	6.24	-4.17
20-29	20.64	16.90	-3.74
30-39	21.00	21.71	+0.71
40-49	20.84	22.36	+1.52
50-59	14.82	19.76	+4.94
60-64	4.81	4.42	-0.39
65 & Over	7.48	7.93	+0.45
Not reported	0.00	0.13	+0.13
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	
<b>Females</b>			
14-19	10.31	7.98	-2.33
20-29	23.01	20.58	-2.43
30-39	22.49	25.94	+3.45
40-49	19.96	21.42	+1.46
50-59	12.09	11.97	-0.12
60-64	3.89	3.89	-0.00
65 & Over	8.24	6.41	-1.83
Not reported	0.00	1.37	+1.37
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Source: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

According to Table 10, these tendencies within the non-white population towards higher proportions in the youngest and oldest age groups have continued since April, 1950. The sample reveals a continued decline in the 14 to 19 and 20 to 29 age brackets. This continued drop reflects the impact of military service among these groups and the relatively low birth rates of the 1930's.

## Migration

In addition to the high rate of internal migration within the city boundaries since January, 1950, the sample also reflects a high rate of in-migration, or movement from different counties and states into St. Louis within the same period. Of 1,713 persons interviewed, 136, or about 8 percent, came from outside the city.<sup>9</sup>

The following data summarize non-white mobility trends. About seven out of ten migrants came from either the south or outstate Missouri. These data are consistent with the postulations that the direction of mobility is from areas of lower per capita income and productivity to higher.

**TABLE 11**  
**Negro In-Migration into the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(January, 1950 - January, 1954)**

State or Area Left	Percent	State or Area Left	Percent
South		Other South	
Mississippi	23.5	(Including Missouri)	8.1
Arkansas	8.8	Mid-West	11.8
Tennessee	5.9	Far West	2.2
Alabama	2.2	East	3.7
		Not reported	33.8

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

Roughly, 1 out of 2 migrants were 14-29 years of age; while only 1 out of 4 non-migrants fell into this age group. Thus, in-migrants were on the average younger than the Negro population as a whole. This finding is consistent with the economic literature in this regard.

The educational level of the in-migrants did not seem to differ greatly from that of the non-migrants. Forty-eight percent of the in-migrants and 50 percent of the non-migrants in our sample completed up to eight grades; for high school the comparable figures were 30 percent and 39 percent, and for college 11 percent and 10 percent respectively.<sup>10</sup>

The averages in this case are highly misleading, for the in-migrants are a much younger group having almost twice the proportions in the two younger age groupings. Since younger Negroes are much more highly educated than their older counterparts, the in-migrants are apparently somewhat less well educated than non-migrants of the same ages.<sup>11</sup>

## Educational Attainment

By 1950, when the last Census was taken, the median number of school years completed by the entire St. Louis population reached 8.7. The median for the local non-white population was 8.1 years. The median number of school years completed by females was slightly higher than for males. Although the non-whites, because of lower average duration of education, serve to reduce the median for the entire population, one can safely say that the median number of school years completed by whites does not exceed that completed by non-whites by more than 1.0 school years.

**TABLE 12**  
**Educational Status of the Negro Population**  
**of the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Sex**  
**(April, 1950 to January, 1954)**

Males	1950 Census	1954 Urban League Survey	Survey Differential
		<b>Percent</b>	
No Grade	2.91	3.90	+0.99
1-4	15.33	11.96	-3.37
5-6	15.09	13.78	-1.31
7	9.99	6.63	-3.36
8	18.09	18.98	+0.89
1-3 High School	17.44	21.97	+4.53
4	8.97	11.05	+2.08
1-3 College	3.07	5.72	+2.65
4 and Over	1.98	2.86	+0.88
Not reported	7.12	2.60	-4.52
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	
<b>Females</b>			
No Grade	2.15	2.31	+0.16
1-4	12.59	6.72	-5.87
5-6	14.29	10.19	-4.10
7	10.13	6.62	-3.51
8	16.98	19.32	+2.34
1-3 High School	19.69	27.72	+8.03
4	12.41	15.96	+3.55
1-3 College	4.21	6.19	+1.98
4 and Over	2.56	3.26	+0.70
Not reported	4.97	1.26	+3.71
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Sources: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

The white population has, undoubtedly, made advances during the last four years, but the relative advances made by Negroes up to January, 1954, have probably done much to reduce, if not eliminate, the differential that existed in 1950.

These advances are part of a long-run trend toward equalization of educational attainment. A recent Bureau of Labor Statistics statement highlights this tendency:

“The percentage of all Negroes age 5 to 24 enrolled in school increased appreciably between 1940 and 1950. At age 14 and over the percentage of Negroes in school was lower than among whites, although the difference has narrowed over the decade. It is significant that the percentage of Negroes, aged 18 to 20, who were enrolled in school was slightly above that of whites of the same age in 1940.”<sup>12</sup>

It must be remembered, however, that statistics of this nature do nothing to disclose the comparative quality of the education received by the two groups. The question has often been raised whether criteria based on quantitative educational achievement are conceptually meaningful under segregated conditions.

Averages are sometimes misleading, for they may be composed of different groupings conceivably having different rates of change. Because this study is not only concerned with the present economic status of the Negro community but the direction and degree of change as well, it should be noted that changes in the economic and social environment will affect only those groups who are able to respond and adjust to change. These are in the main, younger groups who can be educated and who are still occupationally mobile. Overall averages which are influenced by the large proportion of those in the less adaptable age groupings will change far less. Thus, the magnitude and rapidity of the changes can be inferred only by analyzing differential rates of change among various age groupings. The following data show that the level of educational attainment is inversely correlated with age. These data indicate, therefore, that younger non-whites increasingly are going to school much longer. With desegregation, any qualitative differences in the local caliber of education should also disappear.

**TABLE 13**  
**Number of School Years Completed by Age**  
**(January, 1954)**

Age	Total	Highest Grade Completed				
		No. Grade	1-4	Grammar School		
				5-6	7	8
14-19	100.0	0.8	1.6	4.8	1.6	10.4
20-29	100.0	0.6	1.5	4.2	4.2	15.9
30-39	100.0	0.9	4.3	11.3	6.0	16.6
40-49	100.0	2.6	9.0	14.3	9.5	23.0
50-59	100.0	5.6	19.8	17.6	8.6	24.3
60-64	100.0	4.2	18.3	21.1	8.4	25.3
65 & Over	100.0	13.9	24.5	16.3	6.5	19.6
Not reported	100.0	.....	7.1	.....	.....	14.2

  

Age	Total	High School		College		Not Reported
		1-3	4	1-3	4	
14-19	100.0	56.4	20.9	2.4	0.8	.....
20-29	100.0	37.0	20.8	10.4	4.8	.....
30-39	100.0	28.1	18.0	8.9	3.8	1.2
40-49	100.0	19.8	11.3	4.7	2.9	2.1
50-59	100.0	11.6	5.6	2.2	1.8	2.2
60-64	100.0	7.1	7.0	4.2	1.4	2.8
65 & Over	100.0	8.1	2.4	.....	1.6	6.5
Not reported	100.0	28.5	14.2	14.2	.....	21.4

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

### Summary

The St. Louis Negro population is younger, grows more rapidly, and is more mobile than the local white population. It is highly concentrated within limited areas, but in recent years has been moving westward and northward in increasing numbers. Although still lagging behind the white in quantitative educational attainment, the Negro is rapidly catching up. The direction of educational change has been highly favorable to the non-white in general, and especially favorable to the younger Negro.

## Footnotes Chapter I

- <sup>1</sup> Quoted in Reid, Ira De. A. A study of the Industrial Status of Negroes in St. Louis, Missouri, September 1, 1934, p. 21.
- <sup>2</sup> National Planning Association Committee of the South, Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South. Report No. 6.1, 1953.
- <sup>3</sup> According to the Census the designation, Non-whites consist of "Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-white races." Since Negroes in St. Louis comprise 99.6 percent of all so classified the characteristics of this population are, in effect the characteristics of Negroes. Because of this, the terms non-white and Negro are used interchangeably.
- <sup>4</sup> *Population of St. Louis Metropolitan Area, January 1, 1954.* Report of the Metropolitan Census Committee of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Statistical Association, April 1954.
- <sup>5</sup> In this instance, and in ones that follow, percentages may not equal one hundred (100.0%) because of rounding.
- <sup>6</sup> In April, 1950, of a total of 128 Census Sub-tracts in St. Louis, 11 Census Sub-tracts reported no Negroes; 83 Census Sub-tracts reported less than 250 Negroes; and only 34 Census Sub-tracts reported more than 250 Negroes. The situation in St. Louis County shows that of 88 Census Sub-tracts, 8 had no Negroes; 68 had less than 250 Negroes; while only 12 reported more than 250 Negroes. There is no breakdown on the picture in St. Charles County, but in East St. Louis and out of 31 tracts, 1 reported no Negroes; 21 reported less than 250 Negroes, and 9 reported a Negro population of over 250. In the city, 98 per cent of all Negroes live in 34 Census Sub-tracts or tracts, and this pattern is paralleled in the outlying districts.
- <sup>7</sup> The sample and census figure cannot be compared because it is likely that many of those who reported moving in the four-year period moved more than once. In fact, if propensity toward greater mobility of the more mobile part of the population is considered, it is quite likely that the average rate of mobility between 1950 and 1954 exceeded the 10 per cent reported by the Census.
- <sup>8</sup> The local rate of 80.7 males per 100 females is about ten per one hundred lower than the national rate.
- <sup>9</sup> The sex distribution of the in-migrants indicates that only 44 per cent were males and contradicts much of the literature in regard to mobility propensities of non-white males and females. Although the industrial structure of the St. Louis area is more conducive towards the attraction of female workers, this discrepancy should be investigated in further research.
- <sup>10</sup> The sample of in-migrants also indicated that the skill and occupational level of the average in-migrant was lower. However, the size of the in-migrant sample is not sufficient to conclusively validate this observation.
- <sup>11</sup> This relatively high rate of in-migration suggests that this community malallocates its basic resources. If one subtracts normal rate of population increase from the estimated 8 per cent Negro population growth since 1950, the net accretion from migration is about 3 per cent. Thus, well over 50 per cent of the in-migration is balanced by out-migration. Lack of any definitive statistical data about the direction of out-migration and the quality of the out-migrants prevents more precise generalization, but authorities familiar with the local labor market state that the direction of out-migration is opposite to that of in-migration, and that the out-migrants are a younger and more skilled group. This suggests that St. Louis serves as an importer of lesser trained in-migrants, furnishing these groups training and acclimatization to industrial discipline, and as an exporter of more highly trained individuals to Northern industrial areas. If so, the resource cost to the community is relatively high.
- <sup>12</sup> *Negroes in the United States, Their Employment and Economic Status*, Bulletin II, 1119, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, p. 9.

## CHAPTER II

### Employment Status

How does one determine the current employment status of an individual for the purpose of measuring total unemployment? In a modern industrial society the reasons why many individuals are not gainfully occupied may be totally unrelated to inability to obtain a job. Many individuals are voluntarily not looking for work and thus are not in the labor force.

Since the current definition of unemployment comprises those who are jobless and are actively seeking work, an estimate of labor force participation is essential for the measurement of unemployment. The Bureau of the Census has defined this participation in terms of "actively seeking work" as of the particular Census week.<sup>13</sup>

The Census defines the employed as those persons, 14 years of age and over, who, during the Census week were: (1) at work or; (2) with a job but not at work. The latter category includes those temporarily absent because of such reasons as vacation, illness, and industrial disputes. It also includes persons with new jobs if they were specifically ordered to report within 30 days, and other individuals temporarily laid off or furloughed who had definite instructions to return to work within 30 days.

All other persons, 14 years of age and over, such as housewives, full-time students, and inmates of institutions who are either not seeking work or who are considered unemployable, are classified as not in the labor force. The methods and types of questions employed in establishing labor force status by this survey were comparable to those utilized by the Census.<sup>14</sup>

During April, 1950, the country, and the city of St. Louis, was emerging from its first serious post-war recession. The data in Table 14 indicate the employment status of the city's population during April, 1950. They show that (1) over half, 55.2 percent, of those within the defined age limits were in the civilian labor force. A greater percentage of males, 78.6 percent, were in this category than females, 35.4 percent. About 80 percent of white males were in the labor force while only 72 percent of non-white males were so classified. The degree of labor force participation for non-white females, 37.5 percent, exceeded that of white females by 2.5 percent. (2) In April, 1950, 4.5 percent of the area's civilian labor force was unem-

ployed. Of the males, 4.6 percent were unemployed which was a slightly higher ratio than the female proportion of 4.2 percent. Only 3.6 percent and 2.8 percent of white males and females respectively were unemployed, but 9.8 and 10.7 percent of non-whites in their respective categories were without jobs.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that the rate of unemployment of non-white females was higher than that for males. Average unemployment ratios were 3.3 percent for whites and 10.1 percent for non-whites.

While non-whites constituted 17.1 percent of the St. Louis civilian labor force, they contributed 37.6 percent of the total unemployment. About 45 percent of the unemployed women, and 34 percent of the unemployed men, were non-whites.

**TABLE 14**  
**Labor Force Participation and Employment Status of the**  
**Population of the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Race and Sex**  
**(April, 1950)**

Sex	Population 14 Years and Over	Total Labor Force		Employed Number	Civilian Percent	Labor Force Unemployed	
		Number	Percent			Number	Percent
Male	315,905	248,845	78.64	237,395	95.20	11,450	4.59
Female	365,010	129,710	35.41	124,185	95.62	5,525	4.25
Total	680,915	378,555	55.27	361,580	95.46	16,975	4.48
White							
Male	261,940	209,765	79.92	202,165	96.23	7,600	3.62
Female	302,745	106,225	35.05	103,235	97.14	2,990	2.81
Total	564,685	315,990	55.93	305,400	96.51	10,590	3.35
Non-White							
Male	53,965	39,080	72.30	35,230	89.84	3,850	9.82
Female	62,265	23,485	37.58	20,950	89.04	2,535	10.77
Total	116,230	62,565	53.81	56,180	89.34	6,385	10.15

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

The average unemployment rate for the entire metropolitan area was lower than in St. Louis. This lower rate was caused by an appreciably lower proportion of non-whites, both male and female, in the labor force outside the city limits. By contrast unemployment rates for St. Louis whites were lower than for whites in the remainder of the Metropolitan area.<sup>16</sup>

Table 15 is indicative of the employment position for the entire country in April, 1950.

**TABLE 15**  
**Employment Status of the Civilian Labor Force**  
**of the United States by Race**  
**(April, 1950)**

Status	Total		Whites		Non-White	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
Civilian Labor Force	59,071,655	100.0	52,993,517	100.0	6,078,138	100.0
Employed	56,239,449	95.0	50,637,186	95.6	5,602,263	92.2
Unemployed	2,832,206	5.0	2,356,331	4.4	475,875	7.8

Source: U. S. Census 1950.

When the above data are compared they reveal a highly significant contrast. The average unemployment rate in St. Louis was significantly lower than the national average, but the unemployment rate for St. Louis non-whites was appreciably higher. This indicates that the impact of any economic decline upon the St. Louis Negro is generally greater than upon non-whites elsewhere and that locally the Negro bears a disproportionate share of any production cutback.<sup>17</sup>

#### **Employment Status to January, 1954**

Various State agencies, under the supervision of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor,<sup>18</sup> have developed meaningful, monthly, regional and local measures of employment.<sup>19</sup> Such information is available for the St. Louis Metropolitan area.

Table 16 surveys the bi-monthly status of the civilian labor force of the St. Louis Metropolitan area from January, 1950, to January, 1954. The following conclusions can be inferred from the data:

A. (1) The civilian labor force has increased by 7.6 percent for the entire period under consideration, but the rate of increase was not a constant one. The greatest gains were registered from January, 1950, to January, 1951, (2.9 percent) and from January, 1953, to January, 1954, (1.7 percent). The interim increases were 1.2 percent and 1.6 percent. (2) The size of the civilian labor force is consistently lowest in January, and highest in July. Levels in March and May are usually high; those in September and November are usually low. (3) The civilian labor force reached its highest point in July, 1953, and has subsequently been decreasing in size. This trend continues to date, July, 1954.

B. (1) The total number of persons with jobs has increased by 10.2 percent from January, 1950, to January, 1954. The rate of increase has shown some variability during the entire period. (2) The biggest rise in employment occurred from January, 1950, to January, 1951. This 7.3 percent increase can be contrasted with the other three one-year periods, January to January, where the rates were  $-0.8$  percent;  $+2.7$  percent; and  $-0.9$  percent respectively. (3) Employment is proportionately higher in the Autumn and Spring and lower in the Winter and Summer. (4) Total employment reached its peak in September, 1953, and between that time and January, 1954, has been steadily declining.

C. While the unemployment situation is much improved over the four-year period the total 22.6 percent decline has not been at a consistent rate. Declines in rates of unemployment occurred between January, 1950, and January, 1951, ( $-48.7$  percent) and between January, 1952, to January, 1953, ( $-23$  percent). In 1951 unemployment rose by  $+9.2$  percent, and since January, 1953, it has increased by  $+80$  percent. The January, 1954, rate of 5.6 percent is the highest registered since May, 1950, and is very close to the point (6 percent) at which unemployment is considered to have reached a critical level. Although these data were stated in terms of the entire metropolitan area, they are generally applicable to the city of St. Louis, within whose confines a large proportion of the area's work force are employed.

Thus, one can safely make the following generalizations about the employment picture in St. Louis from 1950 to 1954.

(1) Total employment has increased substantially over the four-year period.

(2) The greatest increases were registered in 1950 when the post-war downturn was reversed during the first six months and inflationary pressures, unleashed by the Korean War, accelerated the upward movement in the next six months. This upward trend in employment continued until September, 1953.

(3) The rate of employment increase had been decreasing and, after the signing of the Korean Truce had virtually stopped. Subsequently, employment has declined and unemployment increased despite some contraction in the civilian labor force. By January, 1954, unemployment was moving toward levels considered critical by Governmental definitions. This critical level was reached in May, 1954.

TABLE 16

Status of Employment in St. Louis, Mo.—Metropolitan Area  
(January, 1950 - January, 1954)

Employment Status	Jan., '50	%	Mar., '50	%	May, '50	%	July, '50	%	Sept., '50	%	Nov., '50	%		
Civilian Labor Force	785,200	100.0	786,900	100.0	794,500	100.0	808,300	100.0	807,500	100.0	808,600	100.0		
Employed	723,600	92.2	730,800	92.9	747,300	94.5	763,000	94.5	779,800	96.6	781,200	96.7		
Unemployed	61,600	7.8	56,100	7.1	46,500	5.9	44,800	5.5	27,100	3.4	27,100	3.3		
Jan., '51	%	Mar., '51	%	May, '51	%	July, '51	%	Sept., '51	%	Nov., '51	%			
Civilian Labor Force	808,100	100.0	809,200	100.0	814,200	100.0	825,400	100.0	833,600	100.0	820,200	100.0		
Employed	776,500	96.1	782,700	96.8	790,200	97.1	794,100	96.3	798,200	96.9	789,800	96.4		
Unemployed	31,600	3.9	26,500	3.2	24,000	2.9	30,600	3.7	25,400	3.1	30,200	3.6		
Jan., '52	%	Mar., '52	%	May, '52	%	July, '52	%	Sept., '52	%	Nov., '52	%			
Civilian Labor Force	817,800	100.0	817,400	100.0	824,100	100.0	834,400	100.0	832,000	100.0	835,200	100.0		
Employed	782,800	95.8	787,500	96.4	798,300	97.1	795,000	95.8	813,800	98.0	816,600	98.0		
Unemployed	34,500	4.2	29,400	3.6	24,600	2.9	35,200	4.2	16,700	2.0	17,100	2.0		
Jan., '53	%	Mar., '53	%	May, '53	%	July, '53	%	Sept., '53	%	Nov., '53	%	Jan., '54	%	
Civilian Labor Force	830,900	100.0	837,200	100.0	841,300	100.0	854,200	100.0	851,000	100.0	847,200	100.0	844,900	100.0
Employed	804,100	96.8	814,500	97.3	819,600	97.5	812,700	95.3	827,000	97.4	812,800	95.5	797,200	99.0
Unemployed	26,500	3.2	22,400	2.7	21,000	2.5	36,500	4.2	22,500	2.6	34,000	4.0	47,700	5.0

Source: Missouri Division of Employment Security Labor Market Statistics. (Bureau of Labor Statistics Series).

## Employment Status of Negroes, January, 1954

The Missouri Division of Employment Security does not classify the component parts of the civilian labor force by race. We must, therefore, compare the April, 1950, employment status of Negroes (Census Data) with our January, 1954, sample survey. This comparison yields hypotheses about the significance of changes which have taken place during this four year span. Table 17 summarizes these data.

**TABLE 17**  
**Employment Status of Negroes in the City of St. Louis by Sex**  
**(April, 1950 - January, 1954)**

Date and Sex	Civilian Labor Force		Not in Labor Force
	Employed	Unemployed	
		Percent	
<b>Males</b>			
April, 1950	65.28	7.13	27.58
January, 1954	76.44	10.53	12.48
<b>Females</b>			
April, 1950	33.65	4.07	62.28
January, 1954	41.67	10.08	47.78
<b>Total</b>			
April, 1950	48.34	5.49	46.17
January, 1954	57.13	10.27	31.96

Sources: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

The comparison shows a great increase in the proportion of non-whites in the civilian labor force from the Census figure of 53.8 percent to the sample's 67.4 percent. A higher proportion of Negro men and a notably higher proportion of women were either at work or seeking work in January 1954. In such a situation, then, it is possible for both a higher total amount of employment and a proportionate increase in unemployment to be registered. For instance, 89.3 percent of the total Negro civilian labor force had jobs in April, 1950, and 10.6 percent were unemployed. In January, 1954, the sample distribution indicated a 15.2 percent level of joblessness. The following table summarizes these changes.

**TABLE 18**  
**Employment Status of the Civilian Negro Labor**  
**Force of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(April, 1950 - January, 1954)**

<b>Sex</b>	<b>Employed</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Unemployed</b>
<b>Males</b>			
April, 1950	89.84		9.82
January, 1954	87.61		12.07
<b>Females</b>			
April, 1950	89.04		10.77
January, 1954	80.19		19.39
<b>Totals</b>			
April, 1950	89.34		10.15
January, 1954	84.71		15.22

Sources: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

Both the Census and the sample indicate lower unemployment rates for non-white males than for females. The higher rates prevailing in 1954 were due, in part, to the fact that a higher proportion of both sexes was seeking work.

The sample unemployment rate of 15 percent in January should be compared with the area's estimated rate of 5.6 percent. This comparison should be made with full recognition of the different origin of the two estimates. The area estimate is furnished by the local branch, Division of Employment Security, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and is heavily influenced by the reports of those firms whose workers are covered by unemployment insurance. The Census and survey rates are obtained by first establishing work force participation and then determining the proportion of those so classified as in the labor force who are without jobs. In 1950, the area estimate furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics did not differ from the estimate furnished by the Bureau of the Census by more than 1 percent.

Even with maximum allowance for the difference, this present survey rate would be about two and one-half times the overall area average. About two-thirds of the Negro unemployed reported that their jobs had been lost in the three-month period preceding this League survey. Since these months constituted the earlier period of economic decline, this rapid increase in Negro unemployment appears consistent with the often expressed statement, "The Negro is the first fired."

These data raise an interesting question: Why were there proportionately more unemployed Negroes in 1954, when total area unemployment was at a level of 5.6 percent, than in 1950 when the average level of unemployment was 7 percent? Several possible hypotheses can be advanced. The large increase in proportion of non-white females in the labor force provides one possible explanation. A large number of these accessions can be classified as secondary workers. Secondary workers are defined as individuals who move in and out of the work force and who are not generally bread winners. The League survey was taken only four months after the beginning of the economic downturn and many of these secondary workers were still in the work force actively seeking work. After longer periods of unemployment, many secondary workers leave the labor force and since they are no longer actively seeking employment are not enumerated among the unemployed. The 1950 Census took place fifteen months after the original declines in employment; after many secondary workers had already left the work force.

Another plausible explanation stems from the Negro's particular pattern of adjustment to unemployment. During the initial phases of unemployment, many Negroes formerly in either skilled or semi-skilled categories may still look for the same type of higher status jobs which are now unavailable. After a longer periods of unemployment, many of these workers take service and labor jobs.

Seasonal factors account for part of the apparent discrepancy. The Census was taken in April when seasonal expansion, especially in the demand for service workers and laborers, increases Negro employment opportunities. The sample interviews were undertaken in January when seasonal contraction is especially high in the demand for workers of these types. The higher degree of labor force participation, the adjustment process, and seasonal employment patterns all serve to explain why unemployment rates were higher in 1954 than in 1950.

### **Negro Employment Status, Selected Characteristics, January, 1954**

What differentiates the employed, the unemployed and those not in the labor force? As expected, because of a greater degree of labor force participation, there are proportionately more Negro than white women attached to the work force. Family income inadequacy is probably the basic reason for this greater attachment.

**TABLE 19**  
**Employment Status of Negroes in the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**by Age and Sex**  
**(January, 1954)**

Status	Age					
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64	65 & Over
	Percent					
<b>Males</b>						
Employed	76.1	87.3	87.1	84.0	64.7	36.0
Unemployed	16.1	10.1	11.0	9.1	2.9	1.6
Total, Civilian Labor Force	92.2	97.4	98.1	93.1	67.6	37.6
Not in Labor Force	7.7	2.4	1.7	6.5	32.3	62.2
<b>Females</b>						
Employed	45.9	49.2	45.5	46.4	45.9	8.1
Unemployed	13.7	12.5	9.3	4.3		1.6
Total, Civilian Labor Force	59.6	61.7	54.8	50.7	45.9	9.7
Not in Labor Force	40.2	37.9	45.0	49.1	54.0	90.1

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

The data of Table 19 generally conform to previous hypotheses in the literature about the relationship of age and labor force participation. There is an increasing proportion of men through the 40-49 age group in the civilian labor force after which an increasing proportion no longer seek gainful economic activity. Women reach peak participation levels earlier, between 30 and 39, but otherwise the female pattern is comparable to that of the male. Unemployment is highest among the younger age groups, a fact which is not surprising in view of the lay-off patterns under unionized conditions. Younger workers have less seniority and are therefore most vulnerable, especially during periods of economic decline. Since younger Negroes, as will be developed later, are more highly trained than older Negroes, this higher incidence of unemployment among younger groups indicates that the malallocation of the Negro work force is greatest during periods of declining employment.

**TABLE 20**  
**Employment Status of Negroes in the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**by Marital Status and Sex**  
**(January, 1954)**

Employment Status	Married	Single	Widowed or Divorced	Not Reported
<b>Males</b>			Percent	
Employed	83.4	12.9	3.5	
Unemployed	80.2	16.0	3.7	
Not in Labor Force	52.0	30.2	15.6	1.8
<b>Females</b>				
Employed	60.2	13.5	25.6	0.2
Unemployed	56.2	18.7	24.9	
Not in Labor Force	66.3	12.4	20.5	0.2

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

Marital status influences labor force participation but the degree of influence does not seem to be great. About 1 of every 2 married Negro women are in the civilian labor force as compared with 4 out of 7 single, divorced, and widowed females.<sup>20</sup> This higher degree of labor force participation by married non-white females as contrasted to the rate of white female participation is probably explained by the low incomes of many male Negro breadwinners.<sup>21</sup>

The higher proportion of the Negro married women at work is a partial explanation for the higher incidence of juvenile delinquency among non-whites.

**TABLE 21**  
**Employment Status of Negroes in the City**  
**of St. Louis by Education and Sex**  
**(January, 1954)**

Grades Completed	Males			Females		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force
No Grade Grammar School	16	4	10	8	1	13
1-4	67	7	18	18	7	39
5-6	84	11	11	35	5	57
7	44	3	4	28	5	30
8	104	21	21	75	18	91
High School						
1-3	130	21	18	92	35	137
4	64	12	9	79	17	56
College						
1-3	41	2	1	33	7	19
4	19	0	3	25	1	5
Not Reported	19	0	1	4	0	8
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>455</b>

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

In general, the longer a Negro goes to school the better are his chances of employment. The relationship between the longer duration of education and the lesser incidence of unemployment does not prevail evenly grade by grade. However, if one divides the population into broader categories such as those who have completed either grade school, high school, or college, this relationship between education and employment opportunity is a close one. In every case completion of a given level of education results in a substantial reduction in unemployment rates. This significant decline suggests that formal completion of a given course of study reduces the incidence of unemployment and indicates that degree or diploma requirements for obtaining certain jobs are important in the hiring process for Negroes.

Although the acquisition of some job and the level of education are positively correlated, the ability to obtain the specific job for which the non-white is trained cannot be assumed. Subsequent analysis will cast light upon this problem.

### **Summary**

The data concerning the employment status of the non-white segment of the St. Louis population leads to the following conclusions:

The degree of labor force participation of the non-white, especially the non-white female, is greater than that of the white.

Of even greater significance is the chronically higher level of unemployment in the Negro segment of the community. Whether employment is rising or falling, the unemployment rate for non-whites is appreciably higher than that for whites. During the recent period of economic decline this rate was perhaps two and one-half to three times as large. Unemployment affects Negro women more than men, and younger members of the work force more than older. The non-Caucasian citizen is very vulnerable to unemployment in the beginning phases of economic decline. This vulnerability seems to confirm the observation that the Negro is the first fired. It would appear that only during periods of full employment (3 percent or less unemployment for the entire work force) are Negro unemployment levels below a rate (6 percent) considered critical by Governmental agencies. Thus, the ability of our economy to maintain full employment and the well-being of local Negroes are inextricably linked.

## Footnotes Chapter II

- <sup>13</sup>According to the Census definition the unemployed consist of those persons, 14 years of age and over, who were in the labor force and were either (1) looking for work during the Census week; (2) were prevented from looking for work because of temporary illness; or (3) expected to return to a job from which they had been laid off for an indefinite period.
- <sup>14</sup>See, *1950 Population Census Report*, p-C1, "Employment Status Definitions" and "Enumerators Reference Manual" in the Appendix. Also, the Appendix of this report, especially "Exhibit A."
- <sup>15</sup>The Census Post Enumeration Survey (PES) indicates considerable understatement of unemployment. A. Ross Eckler, Deputy Director of the Census states "These comparisons show that the Census was deficient by more than 5 percent in the case of the total labor force and by 20 percent in the case of unemployment." Thus, this analysis uses Census data for comparison of white and non-white patterns in 1950 but otherwise uses Division of Employment Security estimates. A. Ross Eckler, *Extent and Character of Errors in the 1950 Census*, *The American Statistician*, December, 1953, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 15.
- <sup>16</sup>1950 Population Census Report, p. C25, Table 66.
- <sup>17</sup>The area unemployment rate of 10.3 percent for non-whites compared unfavorably with a national average of 7.8 percent in 1950.
- <sup>18</sup>The monthly report of the Labor Force, a Census Bureau project is designed to yield only national figures and cannot be used for comparative purposes.
- <sup>19</sup>A full discussion of the methods used in the Bureau of Labor Statistics Series, and a comparison of this approach with that used by the Department of Commerce, "Monthly Report on the Labor Force" Series, is available in Volume 76, Number 9, *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1953, "Measurement of Industrial Employment." It may suffice to say that the former method involves a sample of non-farm establishments "... from which payroll data are compiled on the number of employees who received pay for any part of a specified pay period." The data provided is not comparable to the Census material.
- <sup>20</sup>The proportion of single, divorced, and widowed women participating in the labor force were practically the same.
- <sup>21</sup>Less than 3 out of every ten married white women were in the labor force in 1950. This proportion has increased since then but still does not approximate the female non-white participation role.

## CHAPTER III

### The Employed

Despite an accelerating rate of employment decline since September, 1953, over 3 out of every 4 Negro males 14 years of age and over, and a little less than 2 out of every 4 Negro females had jobs in January, 1954.

#### Occupational Attachment of the Employed

In order to assess the economic status of the Negro more than a mere analysis of employment trends is necessary. Knowledge of the types of jobs held and the relationship of these jobs to those held by whites, and also, to those held by non-whites in 1950,<sup>22</sup> are especially important. Table 22 summarizes these relationships.

**TABLE 22**  
**Occupational Attachment of the Employed in the City of**  
**St. Louis, Mo., by Race and Sex**  
**(April, 1950 and January, 1954)**

Occupations <sup>23</sup>	White Males	Non-White Males		White Females	Non-White Females	
	April, 1950	April, 1950	Jan., 1954	April, 1950	April, 1950	Jan., 1954
	Percent					
Professional, Technical and Kindred	8.5	2.5	2.3	10.6	7.3	7.5
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	14.0	2.7	3.5	4.0	1.5	3.0
Clerical Workers	10.4	5.8	9.3	36.5	5.5	8.8
Sales Workers	8.3	1.5	0.8	8.9	2.0	1.3
Craftsmen and Foremen	22.0	6.9	6.8	2.1	0.6	*
Operatives	22.1	21.0	17.1	21.5	18.5	7.7
Private Household Workers	*	1.1	0.8	2.8	32.0	26.9
Service Workers	5.2	21.7	19.8	9.9	25.8	34.2
Laborers	7.6	34.2	38.0	1.1	4.2	10.0
Not Reported	1.4	2.2	1.0	2.2	2.2	*
Total Employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: 1950 U. S. Census and 1954 Urban League Survey.

\*Less than 0.5 percent.

Most startling is the great difference in occupational attachments which prevailed between whites and non-whites in 1950.

The first five, and possibly the first six, categories, namely professional, managerial, clerical, sales, craft, and operatives in that order contain the jobs which are considered to have, in our society, a high value, in terms of prestige, social status, and monetary advantage. In 1950, 63 percent of the local white males were in the five higher occupational classifications while only 19 percent of non-white males were so situated. Only in the clerical field did non-whites even approximate the white percentage. Local non-whites have a preponderance of their employment in the three unskilled categories. The extent of the gap that existed in 1950 can be seen in the following sample. If in 1950, non-white males were to have the same percentage distribution as whites in the professional and labor categories, there would have been 4,113 instead of 1,243 male professional and technical workers, and there would have been 3,678 Negro laborers instead of 16,580.

Since the Census, a number of changes have occurred. The percentage of Negro males in managerial and clerical occupations have increased while the proportions in operative, domestic, and service jobs have decreased. While the proportions of professional, sales, and craft personnel have remained virtually unchanged, there is a higher percentage of Negroes in labor jobs. This does not mean that there are just about the same numbers of Negroes in those categories which have not changed proportionately since April, 1950. Due to the increase in the labor force there are numerically more. However, the rate of change within these relatively unchanged occupational categories has not kept pace with that of the other occupational classifications.<sup>24</sup>

The same pattern of change prevails for non-white women, given the normal occupational differences that exist between the sexes. Non-white females were more favorably situated in 1950 than males in the professional fields. Since then, advances have continued in the professional, managerial, and clerical areas. Fewer women are in operative and domestic jobs but this apparently favorable change has been offset by increases in service and labor positions. Moreover, the advances have not significantly changed the advantage that white women maintain over non-whites. For instance, the number of new

clerical jobs obtained by non-white females between the Census and this survey were but a small fraction of the 8,600 needed to attain the same relative position as white women.

Two other factors condition this relatively optimistic view about the gains which Negroes have made in recent years. The proportion of whites has probably increased in the top six categories, and declined in the bottom three. In some occupational categories, non-whites may, comparatively, have retrogressed.

The system of occupational classifications utilized by the Census is necessarily a broad one and does not reveal what occurs within a particular classification. For example, it is conceivable that the increases registered in professional jobs were confined to traditional positions, such as nurses and teachers, and did not take place in those positions in which there is a noticeable dearth of Negroes, namely, accounting, architecture, and engineering, among others.

Because the first three occupational classifications, professional through sales, are those which presumably have the highest status, this analysis of change based on the first six categories, may be questioned. These six categories rather than the high three were chosen because: (1) the present concentration of the Negro in the three low classifications, domestic through laborer, would indicate that movement into the operative and craft classifications would represent substantial improvement; (2) changes which occur within the 20 to 29 age group would be understated if only the first three occupational classifications were utilized. This younger group has not yet had the time or capital to advance into managerial or proprietary status while many professional jobs require at least a college degree and some require graduate training. It is conceivable that some proportion of those between 20 and 25 are still in the process of acquiring this training; and (3) the Census order of classification does not reflect the unique patterns which prevail among non-whites. If income reflects the true status of the various classifications then the managerial and clerical categories should not occupy their relatively high listing. The Negro managerial, propriety and clerical groups generally are confined to small Negro owned service establishments located in the Negro community. The Census order of classification, while conceivably accurate for the white population, is not a true indicator of the values attached by the non-white population to these particular categories of economic activity.<sup>24</sup>

Two trends, however, lead to more optimistic conclusions. Young Negroes have an increasingly larger proportion of jobs in the first six categories, than have their older brothers. The sample reveals that, for males in the age range of 20-29, 57 percent hold such positions of which 32 percent were in the first five categories. The older groups had about 3 of 8 workers in the same classifications.<sup>25</sup>

The same trend holds for non-white women. This favorable pattern exists despite the fact that the younger group has not had sufficient time to acquire the capital or experience to reach the managerial or proprietary level and some are still being trained for professional jobs. This trend, advantageous to younger Negroes, is probably more indicative of basic changes than the average figures cited earlier, for, as postulated previously, a large preponderance of favorable changes will be concentrated in the younger groups able to take advantage of these changes.

When present jobs held by the employed segment of the sample were compared with their previous occupational attachments, significant advances were indicated. This comparison of present job with the last previous job can be understood by referring to the underlined print in Table 23 which denotes where two occupational classifications coincide. The point of coincidence indicates that either the individuals have not changed employment or a job change but not an occupational change has been registered. All the designated numbers above this point represent persons who have been downgraded and who may be assumed to have lost status. All persons enumerated below this point have been upgraded. The preponderance of changes were in a direction which indicates some improvement in the Negro's status.

**TABLE 23**  
**Occupational Attachment of Employed Negroes in the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**by Previous Jobs (January, 1954)**

Past Occupations	Present Occupations										Totals
	Professional & Technical	Managers, Officials, Proprietors	Clerical Workers	Sales Workers	Craftsmen & Foremen	Operatives & Kindred	Private Household Workers	Service Workers	Laborers	Not Reported	
Professional and Technical	<u>9</u>	0	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	21
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	1	<u>2</u>	4	1	2	5	1	4	4	0	24
Clerical Workers	5	2	<u>20</u>	1	3	5	0	8	7	0	51
Sales Workers	0	0	4	<u>2</u>	0	1	0	1	0	0	8
Craftsmen and Foremen	0	0	1	0	<u>3</u>	2	0	2	5	0	13
Operatives and Kindred	0	1	7	0	3	<u>33</u>	7	15	20	0	86
Private Household Workers	0	1	4	0	0	1	<u>22</u>	27	7	0	62
Service Workers	2	4	12	1	7	20	<u>23</u>	<u>77</u>	38	0	184
Laborers	1	5	11	0	8	23	1	<u>38</u>	108	3	198
Not Reported	14	14	7	2	8	27	37	47	<u>46</u>	2	204
None	12	4	15	1	3	10	20	30	23	1	119
Armed Forces	0	0	1	0	2	4	0	2	5	1	15
Totals	44	33	90	10	40	132	112	253	264	7	985

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

This pattern of obtaining better job classifications holds, to some degree, for all of the higher occupational groupings. This area, during the past four years, has seemingly provided the non-white more of an opportunity for advancement than retrogression.

A pertinent question at this point might very well be: How do St. Louis Negroes compare in terms of occupational classification with Negroes in other large metropolitan areas? To answer this, a comparison has been made between the St. Louis metropolitan area and nine other major areas located, with the exception of Washington, D. C., in the North and West. The metropolitan areas of Boston, Buffalo, Denver, and New York-Northeastern New Jersey operate under Fair Employment Practices Acts of varying effectiveness. Before any summary of Table 24 is attempted, it should be pointed out that strict comparability is impossible. The most obvious and cogent reason is that no two areas have the same industrial composition. One could expect that there will be more Negro women in clerical positions in Washington, D. C., and more male Negro operatives in Detroit, Michigan. Despite this limitation, some tentative generalizations are possible.



Negro women in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area seem to be better situated, using the first four categories as an index, than non-white females in Buffalo, the lowest, Denver, and New York.<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, Washington, D. C., Chicago, and Detroit, with more than 20 percent of females employed in the top four categories, all surpass St. Louis, as do Boston, Los Angeles, and the San Francisco-Oakland Bay metropolitan areas. St. Louis' main advantage, which is in the professional area, can be traced to jobs derived from segregated school and hospital systems which utilize a high percentage of professional females. At the other end of the scale, St. Louis has more Negro women doing common labor jobs than in any other area. In between, the relationships vary.

The same comparison for males indicates that all of the designated metropolitan areas had higher proportions in the first five occupational categories. St. Louis with 19% was exceeded by Buffalo the next lowest with 20 percent, and New York the highest, with about 30 percent. However, cursory analysis of similar census data indicates that male local Negroes are better off occupationally than non-whites in smaller border and Southern metropolitan areas.

### **Industrial Attachment**

*April 1950 Negro Attachments:* In the St. Louis Metropolitan Area, Negro males represented 10.3 and Negro females 13.1 out of every 100, respectively, men and women at work. If Negroes were to be evenly distributed within major industrial groupings, this would mean that Negro men and women should constitute about those proportions in each major industry group. Table 25 indicates that such is not the case.

TABLE 25

Negroes As A Percent of the Entire Labor Force in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area by Industrial Categories and Sex (April, 1950)

Major Industry Group	Negro Males as a Percent of All Employed Males	Negro Females as a Percent of All Employed Females
Agriculture, including Forestry, etc	3.5	5.5
Mining	3.3	2.1
Construction	7.7	5.0
Durable Goods, Manufacturing	9.1	3.6
Nondurable Goods, Manufacturing	9.5	6.4
Transportation, Communication and other Public Utilities	13.3	3.6
Wholesale and Retail Trade	8.5	8.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	8.2	5.0
Business and Repair Services	8.3	2.2
Personal Services	31.6	49.9
Entertainment and Recreation	14.7	10.3
Professional and Related Service	9.9	12.1
Public Administration	12.2	10.6
Industry Not Specified or Reported	16.8	10.8

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

Negro men approximate the desired distribution in professional services as well as in the durable and non-durable manufacturing groups. They are overly concentrated in the personal services, entertainment, public administration, and transportation industries. In the other categories, there is a comparative shortage of Negro males although, with the exception of agriculture and mining, the discrepancy is not very great. Women come close to the ideal distribution only in public administration, professional services and entertainment services. Since almost half of the Negro women were in the personal service group, their distribution in the other categories would necessarily be unfavorable.

The nature of the groupings hides more than it reveals. For instance, it would appear that the Negro males are very well represented in the transportation, communication, and other public utilities group. This is true, but it is just as true that, within the grouping, they were overly concentrated in railroading and in trucking and warehousing services. Telecommunications, air and water transportation, and electric and gas utilities, hired only a nominal

number of Negro males compared to whites. With 12 percent of all public employees Negroes, their proportion in public administration was relatively favorable. Yet, 75 percent of the publicly employed non-whites in this category worked for the Federal Government and the remainder held jobs with local units. This distribution can be compared to that which prevailed for whites where the ratio was 55 percent for federal and 45 percent for state and local public administration. Moreover, Negroes in city government were almost exclusively relegated to departments dealing with sanitation and street repair.

More specifically, almost half of all the Negro men in the durable goods industry worked in one of the sixteen groups, primary metals. Within this category, they were concentrated within one firm in the steel industry.

A serious limitation of these data is that they did not cross-classify industrial attachment and occupational classifications for the local non-white population. Even in those industries where the Negro distribution approaches more optimal levels, it is quite likely that Negroes were occupationally concentrated in unskilled jobs.

Negro women not only were unduly concentrated in the personal service industrial classification (private households, hotels, and laundries), but were also mal-distributed within the other major industrial groups. For instance, Negro women in wholesale and retail trade are generally working in eating and drinking establishments or departments.

*Changes in Industrial Attachments to January, 1954.*<sup>27</sup> Because of the Korean War, a number of significant changes have occurred since the Spring of 1950 in the industrial attachments of the total St. Louis labor force. As measured by the Missouri Division of Employment Security, employment in durable goods in the metropolitan area rose by 147 percent between January 1950 and September 1953.<sup>28</sup> Employment in ordnance, one of the major durable goods sub groups, multiplied by more than seven times during this period. The numbers in the other major groups, such as a non-durable goods, transportation and construction increased but to a lesser degree.

*January 1954 Industrial Attachments of Negroes:* While in 1950, only 18 percent of Negro employed males worked in the durable goods industries, by early 1954, 24 percent were so employed. The proportion of Negro males in the non-durable goods industries rose from 15 to 18 percent during the same period. Meat packing was

the local leader in non-durable goods employment. These manufacturing advances, in addition to those registered in public utilities through the street railway system alone, have reduced the relative importance of wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and construction, among others. The percentage of Negro males in public administration has slightly risen during this same period.

Since the ratio of women in the personal service category has declined from 1 out of every 2 in 1950 to 3 of every 7 in January, 1954, the ratios of the other industrial groups have increased slightly. These relationships are shown in Table 26.

**TABLE 26**  
**Industrial Attachment of Employed Negroes in the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**by Sex (January, 1954)**

	Percentage																
	Manufacturing										Durable Goods						
	Agriculture	Mining	Construction	Furniture & Fixtures	Primary Metals	Fabricated Metals	Machinery	Electrical Machinery	Motor Vehicles	Transportation Equipment	Other Durables	Non-Durable Goods	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Male	*	*	5.78	1.87	5.44	1.87	0.85	2.72	1.87	*	Non-Specified Manufacturing	Transportation	Finance	Business Service			
Female	*	*	0.60	0.50	*	*	*	*	*	*	Others	Railroads	Insurance & Real Est.	Business	Repair		
Totals			3.64	1.31	3.23	1.11	*	1.72	1.11	*	Chemicals	Trucking					
Male	7.14	8.16	0.51	3.23	0.85	2.04	3.06	0.51	8.33	3.74	Apparel	Food & Milk	Eating & Drinking	Public Education	Private Education	Health	Entertainment and Recreation
Female	2.26	2.51	1.26	5.27	*	*	1.76	*	1.51	3.74	Textiles	Wholesale	Wholesale	Public Education	Private Education	Health	Entertainment and Recreation
Totals	5.15	5.89	0.81	4.04	0.51	1.31	2.53	*	5.56	2.22	Utilities	Wholesale	Wholesale	Public Education	Private Education	Health	Entertainment and Recreation
Other Trans.	2.72	*	*	*	0.68	1.87	6.46	1.02	1.36	1.36	Tele-communication	Communications and Utilities	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Female	*	*	*	*	0.50	6.02	6.53	2.01	0.75	*	Hotels Etc.	Personal Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Totals	1.67	*	*	*	0.61	3.54	6.48	1.41	1.11	0.81	Others	Personal Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Male	1.36	1.36	2.55	0.51	1.37	1.19	*	2.55	1.19	100.0	Private Houses	Personal Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Female	25.85	3.51	12.29	*	10.79	3.51	*	3.26	4.27	100.0	Hotels Etc.	Personal Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total
Totals	11.21	2.22	6.46	*	5.15	2.12	*	2.83	1.41	100.0	Hotels Etc.	Personal Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Professional Services <td>Public Administration</td> <td>Industry Not Reported</td> <td>Total</td>	Public Administration	Industry Not Reported	Total

\*Less than 0.5 percent Source: 1954 Urban League Survey

*Length of Jobs:* St. Louis Negroes, as indicated by occupational attachment are still thought to be particularly suitable for rough and disagreeable work. Their chances of even performing these functions for a sustained period are not very high. For instance, of the employed persons interviewed in January, 1954, slightly more than 4 out of every 10 had obtained, and kept, their present job since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. There is no data on white job retention to which this figure can be compared, but it is believed that this data reflects an extremely high rate of job insecurity. This pattern is even apparent when one realizes that this figure is not a turnover rate but is only a measure of persons who have held single jobs. Table 27 shows that about 1 of 8 employed Negroes were hired since the effectuation of a truce in Korea; about 3 out of 10 were hired during these hostilities; and about 1 of every 5 began work and have retained their jobs between the end of World War II and June, 1950.

**TABLE 27**  
**Hiring Period of Employed Negroes in the City of St. Louis,**  
**Mo. (January, 1954)**

Sex	July, to Jan., 1954	Jan., to June, 1953	Aug., to Dec., 1952	Aug., 1951 to July, 1952	Aug., 1950 to July, 1951
P E R C E N T					
Total	12.4	7.8	6.8	7.8	6.6
Male	11.2	7.6	5.9	6.2	7.1
Female	14.3	8.0	8.0	10.0	5.7

  

	Jan., 1950 to July, 1950	Sept., 1945 to Dec., 1949	Jan., 1940 to Aug., 1945	Before 1940	Not Reported	Totals
Total	3.0	18.1	15.3	13.8	7.8	100.0
Male	2.8	18.5	17.3	18.1	4.7	100.0
Female	3.2	17.8	12.5	7.6	12.3	100.0

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

Negro employment, especially among women, rises more slowly and reaches its peak later than white employment. This is borne out by the data in Table 27. Beginning with August, 1950, and for every 12 month period from that date, there was an increasingly higher number of Negroes hired during each year.

TABLE 28

Hiring Period of Employed Negroes in the  
City of St. Louis, Mo., by Occupations  
(January, 1954)

Occupations	July, 1953 to Jan. 1954	Jan 1953 to July 1953	Aug. 1952 to Dec. 1952	Aug. 1951 to July 1952	Aug. 1950 to July 1951
PERCENT					
Professional	4.07	2.59	4.48	1.29	9.23
Managerial	1.63	*	1.49	3.89	1.54
Clerical	8.94	12.98	16.41	11.68	7.69
Sales	0.81	1.29	4.48	2.59	*
Craft	5.69	1.29	4.48	2.59	*
Operatives	13.82	11.68	13.43	20.77	21.53
Domestics	10.57	9.09	7.46	11.68	12.30
Service	35.77	32.45	25.36	22.07	18.46
Laborers	17.07	28.57	22.38	23.36	29.22
Not reported	1.63	*	*	*	*
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey

\* Less than 0.5 percent

The distribution in Table 28 portrays the hiring patterns which prevailed from the first full month of the Korean hostilities until the inception of this study. The above data show that the local economy's general demand for Negro laborers was continuously high but operatives were increasingly less in demand except for the last period. The opposite was true of service workers and, to a lesser extent, domestics. The demand for clerical workers reached its peak between August and December 1952, rising prior to this and falling afterwards. No definite pattern existed for other categories.

A comparison of occupational attachment and length of service can be made. This comparison shows that 39 percent of professional; 21 percent of managerial; 51 percent of clerical, and 70 percent of sales workers who were working in January, 1954, obtained their jobs after the outbreak of the Korean War. For craftsmen, operatives, domestics, service workers, and laborers, the percentage distribution was 33 percent, 49 percent, 37 percent, 45 percent, and 36 percent respectively.\* This would seem to bear out the contention that Negroes have only recently penetrated into the clerical and sales fields and, to a lesser extent, have found employment as semi-skilled factory personnel.

TABLE 29

Job Information Sources Relied on by January, 1954, Employed Negroes  
in the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Sex and Age

Sources of Job Information	Urban League	Newspaper Advertisement	Friends and Relatives	Private Agencies	Public Agencies	Application		No Response	Totals
						at Business Unions, Civil Service, Etc.	Others Directly		
PER CENT									
By Sex									
Male	1.02	4.42	31.79	2.72	4.93	34.51	13.94	6.63	100.0
Female	1.76	7.53	40.91	3.26	4.02	22.34	9.54	10.29	100.0
Totals	1.31	5.66	35.35	2.93	4.55	29.49	12.12	8.08	100.0
By Age:									
14-19	14	7.14	64.29	*	*	17.86	3.57	7.14	100.0
20-29	3.17	6.88	32.79	4.76	8.99	32.27	7.41	3.70	100.0
30-39	1.12	5.97	32.45	2.61	4.85	31.33	14.92	6.71	100.0
40-49	0.82	5.75	32.88	3.29	3.69	27.54	14.79	11.09	100.0
50-59	0.55	2.76	43.06	2.21	2.21	29.81	11.59	7.73	100.0
60-64	2.56	5.13	41.02	2.56	14	28.20	12.82	7.69	100.0
65 and over	*	11.11	25.92	*	7.41	29.62	11.11	14.81	100.0
not reported	*	10.00	20.00	*	*	20.00	*	50.00	100.0

\* Less than 0.5 percent Source: 1954 Urban League Survey

*Job Information:* In the course of the survey all employed interviewees were questioned as to just how they had obtained their jobs. About 3 out of 8 answered that friends and relatives provided the information which led to their employment. About 3 out of 10 applied at the business directly and were hired. The next highest category which comprised one-eighth of all placements, was a "catch-all" one that included such means as civil service examinations, union referrals, and the buying of a business. Twelve percent were so placed and this proportion can be compared with the 1 out of 7 who obtained jobs through newspaper ads, public and private agencies. One out of 12 interviewees did not respond.

Since there is no recent comparable study of the methods utilized by local whites in obtaining jobs, no conclusive generalizations about the differences between the races in choices of job seeking methods are possible. Based on observation, Negroes probably use more informal means such as getting information and recommendations from friends and family, than do whites.

The following data also attempt to ascertain which characteristics, if any, differentiate the particular modes of obtaining employment. When the categories, friends and relatives and direct application at plant, were classified as informal methods of obtaining employment, and the remainder as formal ones, and these categories cross-classified with sex, it would appear that sex is not a differentiating factor in choice of job seeking method. Although more informal methods were used by the younger and older segments of the population as compared to those between 20 and 49, the differences were minor. Informal methods are used with increasing frequency by applicants who have less than three years of high school. About 1 of every 2 members of this group obtained jobs by applying directly at the place of business without previous knowledge of specific job openings, or by gaining information from friends and relatives. Formal methods are used to a greater extent by those with high school diplomas and above. More than 8 out of every 10 college graduates used the more formal approaches.

TABLE 30

Job Information Sources Relied on by January, 1954, Employed Negroes  
in the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Education

Education Highest Grade Completed	Urban League	Newspaper Advertisement	Friends and Relatives	Private Agencies	Public Agencies	Application At Business Unions, Civil Service, Etc.	Others	PER CENT	
								No Response	Response
No Grade	*	*	2.8	6.8	2.2	2.3	*	5.0	
Grammar	15.3	3.5	8.2	6.8	4.4	12.3	4.9	7.5	
	7.6	8.9	14.5	17.2	13.3	10.6	12.4	6.2	
	15.3	10.7	8.2	6.8	2.2	6.8	7.4	3.7	
	*	24.9	21.0	17.2	17.7	19.8	9.1	11.2	
High School	23.0	21.4	25.3	20.6	31.1	22.5	14.9	17.5	
	23.0	21.4	14.2	17.2	11.1	12.3	15.8	16.2	
College	15.3	7.1	3.1	3.4	8.8	8.8	15.8	8.7	
	*	*	1.4	*	6.6	2.3	15.8	12.5	
Not reported	*	1.7	0.6	3.4	2.2	1.7	3.3	11.2	
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Less than 0.5 percent

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey

*Job Relationships:* In virtually every phase of life, St. Louis Negroes are faced with practices which either are openly discriminatory or which physically separate them from the white population. These practices, which are found in eating, lodging, and entertainment facilities, and which affect the quality of service received, are beyond the scope of this survey. Barriers in the social and cultural life of the city are open and visible; while economic practices which may inhibit the non-white are not equally discernible. The sample attempts to cast light upon one small phase of this broad problem by focusing on those practices which physically condition the type of employment and the mixing of the races. Respondents were, therefore asked whether eating facilities and rest rooms, at work, were equally available and whether fellow workers were either solely Negro or were mixed.

About 3 out of 10 of the females and slightly less than 5 of 10 male Negroes could use both facilities while about 1 out of 8 of the females and about 1 out of every 7 males could use neither. The percentage of males who could use only the rest room was 12 percent, while in 3 percent of the cases only the eating facilities were available.<sup>90</sup> Of those who were in a work situation where the question of facility utilization was applicable, 3 out of 5 Negroes were completely free from any type of segregation. Negro males fared slightly better than females.

A much larger proportion (about three-fourths) of the men worked with both Negroes and whites than females of whom 3 out of 7 were so employed. One-seventh of the men, and one-fifth of the women, were employed only with Negroes.<sup>91</sup>

Thus, a little less than 8 out of 10 Negroes in applicable situations were working with whites.

These data have some real limitations. For instance, the respondent was asked whether he worked with white workers in his department. Due to limitation in knowledge of departmental boundaries, many respondents, seeing white workers in the plant, might have answered that they were employed with white workers when, in actuality, they were segregated departmentally. In addition, segregation might take place by task or function rather than by department.

An attempt was made to ascertain whether Negro workers worked with fellow Negroes who were either in skilled or supervisory posi-

tions. The answers in this case were so scattered and ambiguous that they yield no significant results.<sup>33</sup>

*Trade Unions:* During the past two decades, trade unions have played an increasingly important role in the St. Louis economy. Characteristic of this growth is the large proportion of local Negroes in trade unions. Of every ten persons interviewed who were working during the first week of January, five were affiliated with a union. About 13 of every 20 males were trade union members, while only 5 out of 20 females were affiliated. This overall figure is really remarkable considering the high percentage of non-white women in the civilian labor force and the concentration of Negroes in industries and occupations not always amenable to organization. It is apparent from these data that Negroes make up a significant part of the strength, and could contribute an equally significant share of the vitality to the labor movement in this city.

About 2 out of every 3 union members belonged to American Federation of Labor affiliates; slightly less than 1 out of 5 belonged to those unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and about one-twentieth of the total were members of independent unions.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps more significant is that 1 out of every 10 union members interviewed knew nothing besides the fact that they were members of some union, and that a very large majority could not correctly give, if at all, the number of their local or even the name of their international.<sup>34</sup> It is inconceivable that, if large proportions of Negroes were actively identified with trade unions, that this obvious lack of knowledge would exist. Thus, membership in, but not active identification with, seems to indicate the pattern of Negro participation in the trade union movement.

Once some union affiliation was established, the 485 persons who had given an affirmative reply were asked if they could attend union meetings with white members. 386 said they could; 64 said they could not; and 35 gave ambiguous answers. About 3 out of 4 of the persons who indicated a segregated union situation were members of the AFL. However, these data show that when a Negro is admitted to a trade union, it is likely to be on an unsegregated basis. The data, however, do not include those Negroes who cannot be admitted even on a segregated basis to some craft unions and railroad brotherhoods.

A critical point in situations where unions have some job control

in an industry or occupation, through union shop agreements, apprentice training programs and other methods, is whether the union actively helps in the upgrading of all its members of whether it is less active in this direction for Negroes than for whites. The following question was framed in order to uncover this: "In your opinion, does your union help upgrade Negro workers when they are qualified for better jobs?" Before assessing the results it is perhaps necessary to analyze the question and its limitations. First, the question seems to assume that the respondents' union has effective power and can influence the promotional process by giving, or withholding this influence. This is often, but not always, the case. Secondly, the person interviewed, supposedly on the basis of past experience, is asked to venture an opinion on the union's efforts in this direction and further, is being asked to pass judgment on whether, again based on past experience, somebody was qualified to be upgraded. The answers elicited were therefore, highly subjective and are not necessarily coincidental with the objective reality of the situation. The answers do reflect how the respondent *feels*, though intensity of feeling is left unmeasured, about whether his union is helping Negroes to be upgraded.

Keeping in mind these limitations, the pattern of the responses revealed that a majority of non-whites felt their unions were making an attempt to improve their status. Slightly more than 58 percent of the AF of L, 53 percent of the CIO and 42 percent of the independent union membership answered that their unions were helpful, while 24 percent, 26 percent, and 16 percent respectively felt that their unions were not of assistance in the upgrading process. One of every 8, 1 of every 7, and 1 of every 5 respectively gave other responses. The remainder did not reply. However, a substantial minority of those questioned for some reason or another were dissatisfied with the actions of their unions in regard to this important question with varying though unmeasured degrees of intensity.<sup>35</sup>

The relatively high number of unfavorable responses from CIO members is surprising in view of the racial attitudes of its national leadership, and the fact that its two main affiliates which comprise a large proportion of the total membership, have adopted strong anti-discriminatory stands. These expressions of opinion indicate that local union racial practices and attitudes are important and that either the policies of the individual locals are incompatible with those

of the Internationals, or that higher level policies have not been implemented at a local level.

### **Summary**

Any comparison of the occupational and industrial attachments of St. Louis non-whites with whites reveals the existence of a large gap between the two racial groups. While some advances have been registered by non-whites during the past four years, the gap is far from being closed. Since higher occupational classifications are more likely to be concentrated within the 20-29 age group, which is highly vulnerable to adverse economic change, the advances that have been registered may be difficult to maintain during a period of less than full employment.

Employment stability among non-whites is not very high and job tenure is comparatively short. Negroes appear to rely heavily on informal methods of obtaining employment.

### Footnotes Chapter III

- <sup>22</sup>The 1950 data are based on the metropolitan area; the 1954 sample data are based on the city of St. Louis. Any discrepancy in occupational attachments between the two locations is less than 0.5 percent based on 1950 ratios.
- <sup>23</sup>For the specific occupations within the major groups see: 1950 *Population Census Report*, PEI,; "Intermediate Occupational Classifications for Males and Females," p. XX. This classification system was used in sample coding except when supplemented by the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, Farm Managers and Laborers are included in their appropriate group.
- <sup>24</sup>For a full description of the major industry categories, see: "List C—Intermediate Industrial Classification with Component Detailed Industries," in 1950 *Population Census Report* PEI. The same system was used in sample coding.
- <sup>25</sup>The thirty to thirty nine age group, had 49 percent, the 40-49 group had 41 percent, the 50-59 group had 31 percent and the group over 60 had only 5 percent in the classification, professional through operatives.
- <sup>26</sup>Because of the different occupational stratification of females, the top four occupational classifications were used as a basis for comparison.
- <sup>27</sup>Statistics in this section are taken from a compilation of Bi-monthly Reports made available by the St. Louis Office of the Missouri Division of Employment Security. These data are in no way comparable to Census data.
- <sup>28</sup>The data are given for September 1953 because employment declines started to take place at this time. This data is to be taken to indicate the high point of employment.
- <sup>29</sup>These data are included in tabular material available at the Urban League but not otherwise cited for purposes of brevity.
- <sup>30</sup>The percentage of males who could only use the rest room was 12 percent, while in 3 percent of the cases only the eating facilities were available. Of the remainder, ten percent of the women and 14 percent of the men did not respond; 9 percent and 28 percent, respectively, were in working situations where the question was not applicable, and 4 percent and 3 percent indicated that one of the facilities was not available but did not specify which one.
- <sup>31</sup>Two percent of the males and one percent of the females were the only non-whites in an otherwise all white work situation. The remainder either did not respond, gave ambiguous answers or were in work situations where the question was not applicable.
- <sup>32</sup>The lack of determinate answers to this question, the definitional limitations, and the subjective quality of the answers on job relationships, makes this kind of analysis the least satisfactory and most inconclusive. Better measures and indices dealing with employment practices of this nature should be devised.
- <sup>33</sup>Since one of every ten did not even know whether their union was either an A. F. of L., CIO or independent union affiliate, the actual proportions in these groupings are higher than the figures cited above.
- <sup>34</sup>This observation came from the coding process. When the coding was started, this lack of all of the data necessary to completely establish particular union affiliation was noted. Interviewers were questioned about this lack of information and stated that they asked specifically for the information but it was not given by the respondents. All the interviewers were specifically questioned about their experience with this particular question.
- <sup>35</sup>Since only those who reported union membership were questioned about their reactions, these data do not reflect the feelings of those Negroes who cannot be admitted into a trade union. The high level of underemployment of skilled Negroes suggests that this grouping is not insignificant.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Unemployed

A little more than 1 out of 7 Negroes 14 years of age or over, were unemployed during the first week of January, 1954. The unemployed Negroes were (1) more heavily concentrated among the younger age groups, (2) comprised a higher proportion of females than of males, (3) consisted of relatively the same proportions of married, single, widowed and divorced persons as did the employed, and (4) had, up to the college level, attained almost the same educational levels as the remainder of the employed non-white work force. The differences that exist in characteristics, with the exception of age and length of educational training, are so slight that they do not permit further analysis.

Barring possible differences in personality factors, which this survey could not attempt to ascertain, there seem to be no basic distinguishing characteristics, except possibly higher level education, between the employed and unemployed non-whites. Generally, a non-white is unemployed because economic conditions do not permit his employment, and, frequently, because of his low seniority on the job, he rather than someone else, is laid off.

*Experience of the Unemployed:* Only 1 of every 20 unemployed who were interviewed failed to report a previous job. This does not necessarily mean that these persons never had previous jobs, it only means that previous jobs were not reported by these respondents. It may be inferred from these data that 95 percent or more of those unemployed had previous work experience.

#### **Length of Unemployment:**

TABLE 31  
Duration of Unemployment of Unemployed Negroes  
in the City of St. Louis, Mo., by Sex  
(January, 1954)

SEX	PERIOD						TOTAL
	1 - 4 WEEKS	5 - 8 WEEKS	9 - 12 WEEKS	13 - 25 WEEKS	26 - 52 WEEKS	Less Than 15 MO.	
PERCENT							
Male	33.3	22.2	14.8	14.8	3.7	8.6	100.0
Female	20.8	18.7	10.4	12.4	17.6	12.4	100.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	26.5	20.3	12.4	13.5	11.2	10.7	100.0

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

About one-twentieth of these unemployed respondents did not report the duration of their unemployment, but, even so, it seems apparent that layoffs were heavily concentrated in November and December 1953. One in every 10 of the non-white unemployed had been out of work from 12 to 15 months. Persons unemployed longer than 15 months were classified as unemployable.<sup>36</sup> If these had been included the relatively high unemployment rate would have appeared even higher.

Women appear to have been unemployed longer than men. Total unemployment, as explained earlier, is more concentrated among the younger groups and is also less concentrated among the highly educated groups. Since younger groups are the most highly educated this apparent contradiction can only be reconciled by assuming much higher rates of unemployment among the less well-educated younger non-whites. When length of unemployment was correlated with age and educational attainment, no definite pattern emerged. Thus, it may be inferred that although age and education influence the incidence of unemployment, these characteristics do not influence the duration of unemployment.<sup>37</sup>

*Unemployment Compensation:* Of the unemployed respondents, 2 out of every 7 were receiving some form of unemployment compensation during the first week of January, 1954. One out of 25 had received but had already exhausted their benefits. The remainder, minus those who did not respond, (4 percent) or more than 2 out of every 3 unemployed were receiving no compensation at that time. Over 2 of every 5 males received compensation during the first week of January while only 1 of every 7 women were benefit recipients. Since females had a longer average duration of unemployment, a higher proportion of women had already exhausted their claims.

Since over 50 percent of the white unemployed were covered by unemployment compensation the differences are significant and require explanation.<sup>38</sup> They are attributable to the high concentration of Negroes in uncovered employment, such as domestic service and day labor, to the higher proportion of women in the labor force and to the higher rate of job instability among Negroes. This instability frequently prevents accumulation of sufficient credits to make non-whites eligible for benefits.

*Previous Occupations of the Unemployed:* A combined total of less than 1 percent of the non-white unemployed had their last jobs in the professional, managerial, and sales classifications. Laborers,

who contributed one-third of the unemployment, had the highest proportion. This classification was followed in descending order by service workers with one-fifth, operatives with one-seventh, clerical workers also with one-seventh, domestics with one-ninth, and craftsmen with one-twenty-fifth of the total unemployment. Except for clerical workers and domestics, the relative incidence of unemployment seems to increase as the occupational ladder is descended, and decrease as it is ascended.

When the percentage of unemployment originating in each of these occupational classifications is compared with the proportion of non-whites actually in these occupations, a high rate of clerical unemployment and a disproportionately lower professional and domestic rate seems indicated. Since the clerical area was one of recent penetration by non-whites, it is not inconceivable that a substantial number of these recent penetrations were in jobs with little seniority. However, with the exception of the higher clerical and lower professional and domestic rates, the proportion of those unemployed in the various occupational categories and the percentage of non-whites within these classifications are reasonably comparable.

It is interesting to note that when the unemployed were asked what kind of jobs they were looking for, the percentage distribution of desired jobs in the first five categories almost exactly paralleled the distributions in the "previous job" classification. However, fewer persons wanted either operative, domestic, service, or labor jobs. The 1 out of every 5 who said they would accept "anything" probably came from the last four occupational categories.<sup>39</sup>

*Industrial Attachment of Unemployed:* As was expected, the manufacturing classification contributed a substantial proportion of the unemployment. One-fourth of the non-white unemployed had been employed within that industrial classification. A majority of the job losses were in such durable goods industries, as ordnance, primary metals, and motor vehicles. Personal services and wholesale and retail trade each contributed above one-fifth of the total unemployment. Public administration was responsible for one-tenth of the unemployment while all the other industries, communication, 8 percent; construction, 4 percent; combined aggregated one-sixth of the total unemployment. There were, however, 1 of every 12 unemployed who did not report any previous industrial attachment. Except for the much larger proportion of Negroes who lost their jobs in retail and wholesale trade, the proportionate amount of unemploy-

ment contributed by the particular industry group and the proportions previously in those groupings seem fairly close. Seasonal patterns in wholesaling and retailing account for this relatively greater incidence of unemployment.

*Summary:* The unemployed Negro is differentiated from the jobholding non-white by a slightly lesser degree of educational attainment. In addition, younger non-whites have a proportionately higher rate of joblessness than older members of the Negro labor force.

With the exception of the higher proportional rate of unemployment among clerical workers and a lower rate within both the professional and domestic groups, the occupational attachments of the unemployed do not seem to differ from the attachments of the employed.

The relative incidence of unemployment among non-whites is presently at least two and one-half to three times as great as that for whites. A similar relationship prevailed in April, 1950, when the last Census was taken. The Negro is also unemployed longer and is much less likely to receive unemployment compensation.

#### **Footnotes Chapter IV**

<sup>86</sup>A much fuller discussion of those coded as unemployable will be included in Chapter VI.

<sup>87</sup>Based on sample data not contained in the report for reasons of brevity.

<sup>88</sup>An estimated 22,500 weeks of unemployment were claimed during the third week of January, 1954. This claim rate is contrasted with an estimated 47,700 unemployed. If the approximately 15,000 Negro unemployed and estimated 4,500 weeks claimed by non-whites were eliminated, the white rate of coverage by unemployment insurance is well above 50%. The unemployment and claim estimates originate with the State of Missouri, Division of Employment Security, Labor Market Report ES-219, February, 1954, Table 3.

<sup>89</sup>The answer "anything" is highly subjective and indicates what the respondent believed at the time of the interview.

## CHAPTER V

### Underemployment

**Definition:** The concept of underemployment is a broad one, and has been subject to varied interpretation even by the economist. However, the most frequent definition, namely, the employment of any resource at below its maximum capacity, is a highly useful one for our purposes. This study is concerned with this concept in a definite context. To what specific extent do St. Louis Negroes have specific skills and training, and to what extent are these capacities currently utilized by the local economy?<sup>40</sup>

*Occupations and Education:* Some possible indication of the degree of underemployment might result from a comparison of current job status with length of education. Table 32, which makes this comparison, shows that almost 8 out of 10 male professional workers had some college training. Only 2 out of 10 classified as managers had any higher education.<sup>41</sup> Over 3 out of 10 clerical and 1 out of 10 craftsmen have been exposed to higher education. Less than 1 out of 10 of the persons presently employed in the other categories had college training. A large proportion of professional women are college graduates, but female managerial and clerical workers are more apt to have only completed only high school. The median level of educational attainment for operatives is within the high school range, but most male service workers and laborers have only a grammar school education. For female service workers and domestics, the median educational attainment is slightly above grammar school. More significantly, however, is that 2 out of every 3 college graduates are doing either professional or technical work and practically all those with degrees hold jobs in the top five categories. Slightly more than 5 out of 9 of those with 1 to 3 years of college training held jobs within the first five categories while only slightly more than 1 out of 3 high school graduates were able to acquire comparable jobs. Approximately one-sixth of those completing from one to 3 years in high school, and one-eighth of those just completing grammar school, are in occupational groupings from professional through craft. This close correlation between length of education and occupational status suggests that as more non-whites achieve higher levels of education a larger proportion will reach higher occupational classifications. It does not, however, suggest that all will attain the occupational level sought. These same figures show that

**TABLE 32**  
**Occupational Status of Employed Negroes in the City of St. Louis, by Education**  
**(January, 1954)**

Highest Grade Completed	Professional & Technical	Managers, Officials & Proprietors	Clerical and Kindred	Sales Workers	Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred	Operatives and Kindred	Private Household Workers	Service Workers	Laborers	Not Reported
<b>Males</b>										
<b>NO GRADE</b>		9.5				0.9		1.7	4.9	
<b>Grammar</b>										
1-4			3.6		5.0	8.9	20.0	10.2	17.8	16.6
5-6		19.0	1.8		20.0	8.9	20.0	17.0	18.2	
7		9.5	1.8			10.8	20.0	5.9	9.8	
8		9.5	10.9		20.0	20.7		22.2	17.8	16.6
<b>High School</b>										
1-3	7.1	14.2	27.2		25.0	26.7	40.0	22.2	20.0	16.6
4	14.2	9.5	18.1	20.0	15.0	12.8		11.9	6.2	33.3
<b>College</b>										
1-3	21.4	9.5	27.2	80.0	5.0	5.9		5.1	1.3	
4	57.1	9.5	9.0		7.5	0.9				
<b>Not Reported</b>		9.5			2.5	2.9		3.4	3.5	16.6
<b>TOTALS</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Females</b>										
<b>NO GRADE</b>										
<b>Grammar</b>										
1-4						3.2	2.8	2.2		
5-6									7.5	
7		8.3				6.4	6.5	5.8	12.5	
8		16.6	8.5			3.2	14.9	8.8	10.0	
<b>High School</b>										
1-3	3.3	16.6	19.9	20.0		16.1	29.8	18.3	17.5	
4	6.6	41.6	42.8	40.0		29.0	18.6	30.1	30.0	
<b>College</b>										
1-3	19.9		22.9	40.0		29.0	12.1	18.3	20.0	
4	69.9	8.3	5.7			12.9	3.7	5.8	2.5	
<b>Not Reported</b>		8.3						1.4		
<b>TOTALS</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

one of every three non-white college graduates were employed below the professional level while 4 of every 9 who have completed 1 to 3 years of college are working either as maids, porters, unskilled factory help, operators, or common laborers.

Because these educational data do not give any information either of a quantitative or qualitative nature about training, it was necessary to compare specific job training with present occupational status before any specific assessment of underemployment could be undertaken.

*Job Training:* Those who were classified in the labor force were questioned about the acquisition of skills through specific training. Whoever responded affirmatively was asked about the type and length of training, as well as the kind of school, if any, in which the training was received. Rigid coding eliminated persons whose answers did not seem to indicate more than a rather informal period of "on the job training."

About one-fifth of the Negro work group reported some kind of specific job training which had been acquired before January, 1954. Over one-fourth of the unemployed, reported having received training, but only one in every five of the employed had some specific job training.<sup>42</sup> Two possible conclusions can be drawn. Either the employed received better quality training than the unemployed and were, thus, more likely to retain their jobs, or training is not a prime consideration in the layoff process. The second reason possibly is the more valid one. The younger groups, who contributed the highest proportions of the unemployed had more of a chance to receive training, but also averaged less seniority on particular jobs. There is also no evidence which indicates that jobs or occupations which require special training are less vulnerable to seasonal, secular, or cyclical unemployment.

How is this training distributed among the various occupational categories? The following data show that the preponderance of the training is in the professional, clerical, craft, and operative classifications.

**TABLE 33**  
**Occupational Training of the Civilian Negro Force**  
**of the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(January, 1954)**

Occupations	EMPLOYMENT STATUS		Total
	Employed	Unemployed	
	PERCENT		
Professional	29.7	10.4	26.0
Managerial	*	*	*
Clerical	15.8	24.9	17.6
Sales	1.9	2.0	2.0
Craft	22.2	29.1	23.6
Operative	15.3	18.7	16.0
Domestic	*	*	*
Service	12.8	6.2	11.6
Labor	*	*	*
Not Reported	1.9	8.3	3.2
<b>TOTALS</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey.

\*Less than 0.5 percent.

Domestic and labor jobs do not require training, while the sales and managerial employees are generally the recipients of informal on-the-job training. The most revealing fact is the high number of Negroes who have received training to perform a skilled occupation, since the proportion trained for craft jobs are surpassed only by those who have professional training. There are also goodly proportions of non-whites who have been trained in various clerical and office capacities.

The data in Table 33 also show that those occupations and jobs which require special training differ in their vulnerability to unemployment. If an index of vulnerability to unemployment were to be constructed, the clerical, craft, and operative resignations would appear relatively vulnerable and the professional grouping would seem relatively invulnerable. Since these vulnerable areas are, with the exception of the crafts, areas of recent penetration by non-whites to higher status positions, these data suggest that a protracted decline in employment would probably negate a large proportion of the recent Negro gains.

*Past Training—Present Jobs:* Since underemployment was defined in terms of employment below maximum capacity, it was necessary to compare past training with present jobs to ascertain whether the trained Negro is currently being utilized by the local economy.

Table 34, which relates training and present job status, indicates that a significant proportion of Negroes are presently engaged in economic activity at occupational levels below those in which they could perform competently as a result of previous training.

**TABLE 34**  
**Present Occupation and Past Training of Civilian Negro**  
**Labor Force in the City of St. Louis, Mo.**  
**(January, 1954)**

PRESENT OCCUPATION	Profes- sional	PAST TRAINING				Service	Other and Not Reported
		Clerical	Craft	Operative			
			PERCENT				
Professional	52.0	2.5	*	*	*	*	
Managerial	4.5	*	3.3	*	24.0	12.5	
Clerical	7.6	52.5	6.7	5.0	6.8	*	
Sales	*	2.5	*	*	3.4	*	
Craft	1.5	*	18.5	7.5	*	25.0	
Operative	7.6	2.5	15.2	30.0	*	*	
Domestic	1.5	*	1.6	2.5	17.2	*	
Service	12.2	12.5	5.0	17.5	37.8	*	
Labor	4.5	7.5	25.3	15.0	*	*	
Unemployed	7.6	30.0	23.6	22.5	10.3	62.0	
Not Reported	*	*	*	*	*	*	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey. \* Less than 0.5 per cent.

The status of the trained Negro craftsman is the most revealing. Local Negroes who have been trained for craft jobs are more likely to be either laborers or unemployed than they are likely to be performing the skilled jobs for which they received training. These data indicate that the skilled Negro is the most underemployed. Undoubtedly the admission policies of local craft unions are largely responsible for this relatively greater degree of underemployment.

Local non-whites who have either clerical or professional training presently have 4 out of 7 chances for utilizing their training. The trained operative was also underemployed, for 5 out of 9 so trained were working at levels considered below that of operative. In relative terms, the best opportunities exist in training to become a cook, beautician, or personal service worker. Currently, the chances are better than 3 out of 5 that the Negro trained in the service areas will be utilizing his training. Many non-whites, classified in the managerial and proprietary group, were trained service workers who were owners of their own establishments.<sup>43</sup>

## **Summary:**

For many years, some non-whites and more than a few white leaders have stressed the importance of education and training as an all-inclusive answer to the economic problems of the Negro. This emphasis has considerable justification, for locally there is a high correlation between job status and education. However, a high proportion of educated Negroes are working at levels lower than their educational status would indicate. When specific training rather than general education is considered, this pattern of underemployment is even more apparent. A large but varying proportion of non-whites who have been trained as craftsmen, operatives, professional, and clerical workers were employed in capacities below these levels. Of these, the craftsman is the most underemployed.

## **Footnotes Chapter V**

<sup>40</sup>Another possible interpretation of this definition relates to the number of hours a week of employment of the human resource. A lower number of hours worked per week, or weeks per year could be considered to constitute underemployment. Although this study is less concerned with this aspect of the problem, National Census figures indicate that in 1950, 58 percent non-whites as compared to 69 percent white worked from 50 to 52 weeks. Whites hold the same advantage in terms of hours worked per week. There is no data which suggests that St. Louis non-whites fare any better.

<sup>41</sup>The relatively low educational level of the managerial and proprietary group is probably indicative of the type of non-white owned business in the St. Louis area. These are mainly small shops or service establishments serving the Negro community.

<sup>42</sup>Of those who received training, in both the employed and unemployed categories, about 5 out of every 9 were males.

<sup>43</sup>One person in 10 has a job status higher than his training level would indicate. This is largely attributable to the higher percentage trained in the service areas who become small proprietors, generally, as restaurant owners and beauty shop operators. However, since the statistical data were summarized in terms of "doing the same job or better" this does not change the nature of the generalizations.

## CHAPTER VI

### Not in the Labor Force

*Introduction:* This classification, comprises those persons, fourteen years of age and over who are not actively seeking employment. It is composed of individuals who are not currently participating in the civilian labor force. Since some persons are only temporarily out of the work force, the number not in the labor force expands and contracts as seasonal, secular, and cyclical patterns dictate. Due to the income patterns which prevail in the Negro community, this category with the exception of the student component, seems to be composed of a large proportion of permanent non-participants. Although, any quantitative determination of future intention is highly tentative, the distribution by reasons indicated in Table 35 seems to suggest a high level of permanent non-participation.

TABLE 35

Status of the Negro Non-Labor Force  
of the City of St. Louis, by Sex  
(January, 1954)

STATUS								
SEX	House- work	Student	Retired	Physically Unable To Work	Inmate of An Insti- tution	Unem- ployable	No Re- sponse	Total
PERCENT								
Male	2.0	18.7	27.0	39.5	*	8.3	4.1	100
Female	64.1	8.1	3.9	13.7	*	3.5	5.9	100
Average	53.3	9.9	7.9	18.2	*	4.3	5.6	100

Source: 1954 Urban League Survey. \* Less than \*0.5 percent.

Almost 1 of 2 males in this category is not working or looking for a job because he is too old, retired, or a student. The largest single category for men consists of abstentions because of physical disability. This category probably includes persons whose age might place them in the retirement brackets, but who would, presumably, work if they were able. The main deterrent to female non-participation is that of housework and, inferentially, of the need to be at home to take

care of children. The other reasons for non-participation are not as important for females as for males. The unemployable category is made up of persons who claimed to be looking for jobs, but who were unemployed for such a protracted period, during a period of full employment, that they were coded as unemployable. For instance, it is highly improbable that a person who reported that he has been looking for a job for over 15 months is capable of economic activity. If the person had been capable of any gainful activity, some job would have been found.

The "not in the labor force" category comprises almost 3 out of every 4 persons over 14 and under 20, and 9 out of every 10 persons over 60. Because of relative concentration in the higher age groups, this category contains a disproportionately large proportion of persons who have completed less than grammar school. This is not particularly striking and is probably paralleled in the white sector of the population.

It is interesting to note that over three-fourths of these individuals have, at one time or another, worked. Most of them, between 8 and 9 out of 10 performed jobs classified from semi down to the unskilled level. Their previous industrial attachments do not appear to establish any conclusive pattern.

Although the heavy concentration of those not in the labor force among those in the youngest and oldest age categories makes generalization about the educational attainments of this group difficult, there is a high proportion of college trained females who are currently out of the labor force. In all probability, these females are more likely to marry those similarly educated, who are also more likely to be in the higher income brackets. This relieves them from the economic necessity of remaining in the labor force, but in the process the non-white community loses highly trained resources."

## **Summary**

The high degree of Negro labor force participation, especially by females, indicates that the proportion of those classified as not in the labor force will probably tend to increase during the current period of employment decline. Many married women, for instance, who have been laid off and who have not found other jobs are returning to the housewife category. These non-labor force participants are concentrated among the oldest and youngest age groups. The previous job and industrial attachments of the three out of 4 who were previously in the labor force yield no discernible patterns.

## **Footnotes Chapter VI**

“All of the observations about the persons not in the labor force are based on data taken from the sample but not included in tabular form in the report because of reasons of brevity. In this instance, and in foregoing ones, the tables and the tests of significance are available for inspection at the St. Louis Urban League.

## CHAPTER VII

### Income

The primary purpose of economic activity is the provision of goods and services. In a modern economy, these goods and services are priced through a market process and culminate in income for the resources which produce them. Those factors which affect the marketability of a given resource influence income for that resource. Thus the impact and magnitude of those institutional forces and changes which impinge upon the Negro as he participates in the labor market, can be measured, compared, and summarized by analysis of his income. The direction of change and the comparative well being of this racial group can be gauged by analysis of its income patterns. The following data indicate the relative income of the non-white in selected metropolitan areas.<sup>45</sup>

**TABLE 36**  
**Median 1949 Income in Selected Metropolitan Areas by Race**  
**(April, 1950)**

AREA	INCOME		Negro income as a Percent of White income
	White	Negro	
Atlanta	\$2,238	\$1,020	45.6
Baltimore	2,399	1,345	56.1
Boston	2,191	1,587	72.4
Buffalo	2,483	1,873	75.4
Chicago	2,695	1,919	71.2
Cincinnati	2,297	1,357	59.0
Cleveland	2,611	1,743	66.7
Denver	2,106	1,416	67.2
Detroit	2,902	2,290	78.9
Kansas City	2,383	1,407	59.0
Los Angeles	2,297	1,627	70.8
Memphis	2,201	921	41.8
Milwaukee	2,535	2,032	80.1
Minneapolis			
St. Paul	2,254	1,652	73.2
New York			
North Eastern New Jersey	2,562	1,858	72.5
Pittsburgh	2,359	1,608	68.1
St. Louis	2,403	1,402	58.3
San Francisco			
Oakland	2,557	1,865	72.9
Washington, D. C.	2,892	1,843	63.7
New Orleans	2,090	981	46.9

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

Although St. Louis ranked ninth in average white income, it was fifteenth in average Negro income. The average income of local non-whites exceeded that of Negroes in Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Memphis, and New Orleans, all southern or border cities. When Negro income was compared to white income, St. Louis ranked sixteenth among the twenty cities.

If income were the sole basis for determining location, local Negroes would have moved either to Detroit where they could enjoy the highest money income, or to Milwaukee, where they could most closely approximate the income of the whites.

Table 37 gives the distribution of local non-white income within the various income categories. These data also indicate the proportions of whites and non-whites in each of the income classifications.

**TABLE 37**  
**1949 Income of the Income Reporting Population of the**  
**City of St. Louis, Mo., by Income Brackets and Race**

Group	INCOME BRACKET										Total
	\$1 to \$499	\$500 to \$999	\$1000 to \$1,499	\$1,500 to \$1,999	\$2,000 to \$2,499	\$2,500 to \$2,999	\$3,000 to \$3,999	\$4,000 to \$4,999	\$5,000 and Over	Total	
	P E R C E N T										
Total	11.9	10.5	9.6	10.5	13.4	10.8	17.7	7.1	8.1	100.0	
Negro as % of Total	16.9	20.9	20.2	15.2	14.1	9.5	4.0	1.3	0.9	100.0	
White	11.1	9.4	8.6	10.1	13.0	11.0	19.3	7.9	9.0	100.0	
Negro	17.4	19.0	16.7	13.8	16.3	8.9	6.1	0.8	0.6	100.0	

Source: 1950 U. S. Census.

The following inferences can be drawn from these data:<sup>66</sup> (1) In 1949, since Negroes constituted about 11 percent of the total number of income recipients, they should have constituted, if Negroes were to have about the same income as whites, approximately 11 percent of those receiving income in each category. However, Negroes had much higher proportions in the lower income bracket under \$2,500, and much lower and decreasing proportions in the higher categories. Only between \$2,500 and \$3,000 did they even approximate their proper ratio; (2) the 1953 income data reported in the survey indicates substantial improvement, yet, 3 out of 5 of the non-white sample still reported less than \$2,500 annual income. This compares with the 52 percent of whites in the same lower categories in 1949, and suggests that Negroes have not yet attained levels that whites had attained in the relatively poor year of 1949; (3) However, between 1949 and 1953, Negro income had advanced substantially. There were percentage decreases noted in every category under \$2,500 and increases in all of the higher categories. For instance, the proportions in the \$3,000-\$4,000 grouping had more than tripled; those in the \$4,000-\$5,000 grouping had increased seven-fold, and those in the highest classification also had more than tripled. In other words, over 27 percent of Negroes with incomes in 1953 made over \$3,000 a year, while in 1949, only 3 percent had gross earnings of this magnitude.

How can this rise be accounted for? Although many possibilities are suggested by the data, the most important seems to be: (1) The movement of Negroes into heavy industry and better paying jobs in the durable goods area; (2) The fact that incomes were low in 1949 due to low levels of employment and relatively high in 1953 when full employment with overtime prevailed for most of the year; (3) The general inflationary conditions that have prevailed since 1949; and (4) the movement of Negroes from service and domestic jobs into higher skill classifications.

Before becoming too optimistic, however, one must still remember that (1) St. Louis Negroes had a long way to go to attain those income levels enjoyed by whites in 1949; and (2) there is absolutely no reason to believe that whites have stood still since 1949. To the contrary, the increase registered by whites may surpass those made by Negroes. In such an event, Negroes may have lost ground relatively.

Other income data not included for reasons of brevity show that: (1) there is a general correlation between income and occupational ranking even though income does not rise for each specific higher occupation classification. Non-whites in the professions have the highest earnings but those in the managerial-proprietary and clerical classifications have incomes which are relatively lower than their indicated ranking. However, the average income of those in the top five classifications is significantly higher than the average income in the four lower classifications; (2) Income is positively correlated with number of grades completed in school. A very large proportion of those earning over \$5,000 are college graduates; (3) Younger people have the lowest incomes; middle-aged the highest. There is some correlation between age and income up to 59 years of age, after which a relatively precipitous decline occurs;<sup>47</sup> and (4) St. Louis non-whites who live in the Northern and Western sections of the city tend to have higher incomes than those who reside Southward and Eastward.<sup>48</sup>

## Summary

The improvements registered in income are heartening and serve to highlight the general improvement registered by the non-white in the past four years. The proportions of income recipients in the lower brackets have decreased while the percentages in the higher brackets have increased. The sample data indicate that Negroes are approaching those income levels which in 1949 prevailed for whites.

## Footnotes Chapter VII

<sup>46</sup>The reason why these Metropolitan Areas were selected is that they contain Urban Leagues in the central city.

<sup>49</sup>Income data in the Census and in this survey have some limitations. Negro income data are probably more unreliable than white data because of the greater amount of irregular, casual employment and because of higher proportions of non-whites who do not report any income. The non-reporting group tends to understate income since an estimated 10 percent of this group actually has some income. For a further methodological discussion see *Ecker op. cit.* pp. 15-16.

<sup>47</sup>This is true in terms of the entire age group past 59 but is not always valid for single year categories.

<sup>48</sup>None of these generalizations represent departures from income patterns of the white population. White income is positively but not always exactly correlated with number of school years completed, occupational classification and age.

## Conclusions

In recent years, the socio economic status of the Negro has been recognized as a major national problem. This survey is concerned with the local manifestation of this broad problem and attempts to assess the important factors influencing the economic status of this racial grouping, which comprises about 1 out of 5 people within the city's confines and 1 of 8 within the borders of this metropolitan area. The study is designed, not only to ascertain the present economic characteristics of the non-white population, but also to compare wherever possible, this racial group's position with that of the whites. Basic to any understanding of the overall problem is some indication of the magnitude direction, and tempo of change in the Negro's economic position.

An analysis of Census data bearing upon the measurement of the basic determinants of economic position, education, type of occupational and industrial attachment, and level of employment show that the Negro's position, as indicated by comparative data, was, in 1950, relatively unfavorable. An average annual gross income level which was 58 percent of that of the local whites indicates the extent to which basic conditions were unfavorable to the St. Louis Negro.

Having selected a 5 percent level of significance for the survey data, the following conclusions are suggested:

(1) The Negro, with the possible exception of average duration of schooling, had still not attained, by the end of 1953, the white position of 1950. An analysis of levels of income, which can be treated as a result of economic activity, rather than a determining factor, also points to this same conclusion. The much greater labor force participation of non-white married females, attributed to necessity arising out of much lower earnings by the male breadwinner, attests to this lower income pattern.

(2) The advances, indicated by a comparison of the 1954 survey and the 1950 Census data, are the most encouraging. The Negro has registered gains in quantitative educational attainment and in average income while he has been upgraded in terms of occupational and industrial attachment. Since favorable economic change would naturally affect lower age groupings who still are mobile and are able to adjust to change, the much higher occupational and industrial status of the 20-29 year old Negro is a better indication of these

advances than the average rates of change. About 3 of every 5 Negroes in the 20-29 age classification work in the six top ranking occupational categories, as contrasted with an overall average of less than 3 out of 8 within the same categories for the older groups. There has also been a substantial occupational movement out of service and laboring ranks, and, industrially, a transfer from the service to the durable goods industries.

(3) Qualifying these gains are the data which show that the younger Negro is the most vulnerable to a decline in the level of employment. This possible cancelling of the greater gains registered by this more highly educated and trained group must be considered during this present period of relatively high unemployment among non-whites.

(4) The Negro unemployment rate of 15 percent was over two and one-half times the white rate. Also significant is the decline in proportion of accessions within the operative classification which has occurred despite the increase in the proportion of Negroes in the durable goods industries. These apparently contradictory developments can be reconciled only by concluding that a disproportionate share of the gains in the durable goods area were in menial labor and service jobs.

An effort was made to ascertain those institutional attitudes and practices which affect the Negro in the work situation. Because the important institutional practices which influence the Negro are determined by managerial and trade union policy, it was necessary to ask questions about the practices of these entities. The survey revealed the following patterns:

(5) Although there was some amount of segregation in the job situation, about 4 of every 5 non-whites were employed in mixed work situations. Eating and sanitary facilities were unsegregated in about 3 out of 5 of the applicable situations. However, in over 1 out of 4 cases, segregation in either eating or sanitary facilities was enforced, while in a few cases, one or both of the facilities were not available to non-whites. It was impossible from the available data to establish whether and to what extent Negroes are employed side-by-side at identical jobs with whites. The racial identity of supervision could not be ascertained since analysis of this question yielded inconclusive results.

(6) About 1 out of 2 non-whites, and over 6 of 10 non-white males belonged to a trade union. Despite this high membership rate,

the Negro did not seem to be actively identified with his union. One out of 10 members could not even indicate whether the union was AFL, CIO or independent, and a large majority could furnish either the number of the local or the name of the international, but not both. About 1 in every 4 non-white members felt that their unions were doing nothing to upgrade them or improve their status. This proportion is surprisingly high, especially for the CIO unions, which adopted strong national anti-discrimination policies, and suggests that this policy is not always implemented by the constituent locals.

Any analysis of community employment patterns would be incomplete without some measure of the extent to which the education, training, and skill of the Negro is utilized by the community. This problem is crucial, since there is a loss to the entire local economy when basic resources, whether human or non-human, are underutilized.

The survey data suggests that the non-white is considerably underemployed, whether the basis for evaluation be either educational attainment or specific occupational training. When occupational classification is compared with educational attainment, the 4 out of 10 who have one to three years of college training, and the 5 out of 10 who have completed high school, now employed in lower occupational categories would indicate considerable underemployment. A comparison of specific training with present jobs indicates that about 7 of 10 who have craft training, 5 out of 10 who have clerical skills, and over 5 out of 10 who have training as machine operatives, are currently employed in occupational classifications below their trained capacities. This underemployment has continued despite a four-year period during which there were local shortages of craft and clerical workers. If the authors were to be allowed to state one impression which they could not substantiate by quantitative data, it would be that the favorable rate of change in education and training greatly exceeds that in occupational attachment.

Some data that would have facilitated analysis could not be obtained. Further research by other research agencies and other Urban Leagues might supply some of these data. Although data on in-migration and the previous residence of the in-migrants were available, similar data could not be obtained about the out-migrants. Thus, only the direction of in-migration could be established. Another deficiency

which made analysis of the socio-economic consequences of the non-white income pattern difficult was the lack of budgetary and savings data.

If one were to describe briefly the general attitude stemming from these conclusions in subjective and normative terms, it would be one of highly cautious and qualified optimism. Optimistic because of the favorable direction of change in education, training, occupational classification and industrial attachment—cautious and qualified because of the vulnerability of the Negro to adverse economic change, the substantial proportions of unemployment and the rapid change necessary to even keep relative pace with a white population whose economic status is rapidly improving.

# Appendix

## Methodology

1. *Comparative Data:* The comparative data used in this analysis has been obtained from the various detailed and special reports on the characteristics of the population of St. Louis, Missouri, and of the United States, resulting from the Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States. Where census material was based on sample data, the tables indicating standard deviations of the numbers or percentages should be consulted. References have been cited for material which did not originate with the census.

2. *Interview Schedule:* The final interview schedule, which is totally reproduced following this section, was the fifth evolved by the project personnel. Tentative questions were formulated, criticised, and revised until the beginning of the mass interviewing. When a particular question yielded inconclusive answers during the interviewing, either the entire question was discarded, as was question "Q" or additional, oral instructions were given to the interviewers, as happened in "I". Comparability of the questions with census questions is indicated by a comparison of this questionnaire and the appendix to Bulletin P-C1 of the Bureau of the Census. The magnitude of the survey required the maximum use of "closed" questions in order to facilitate coding. Where "open-end" questions exist, such as "J" and "K", the coding was based on census classifications which are available in the same Bulletin. The survey code has been reproduced in full following the questionnaire.

3. *Pre-Test:* During the week of December 7, 1953, staff personnel of the Industrial Department administered tentative questionnaires at random, to fifty persons residing in Census sub-tracts adjacent to the ones in which the main body of interviews were conducted. These persons represented 5.1% of the total Negro population of the areas and through this pre-test the time involved in questioning, the simplicity of the questions, and possible answers that would be elicited in the final interviews was ascertained. The results of this test were incorporated into the final questionnaire with the view of strengthening it. These pre-test results are available for inspection at the Urban League.

4. *Sample:* One way of surveying the characteristics of the approximately 170,000 Negroes in the city of St. Louis would have

called for a complete list of all Negro dwellings and the names of the families occupying these dwellings. By using this list as a base, a sample of predetermined size could then have been drawn. Such a list was and is not available. Even if one were to assume that listing a household costs but 10c, the listing would have cost about \$4,000, an amount far in excess of the funds available for this survey.

Area sampling was found to be a less expensive procedure. Of the various area sampling methods, cluster sampling with city half-blocks as clusters was selected. This method promised to be the most appropriate under the circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Following a careful discussion of acceptable risks in the making of decisions and in the estimation of confidence intervals it was agreed to have a sample of sufficient size so that the standard error of estimate would rarely be larger than .005. Based on the pre-test and previous experience it was thought that between 40 and 45 Negroes 14 years of age and over would be found within a city half-block. Thus a cluster sample of size 1,700 taken from a random sample of 40 half-block cluster was considered adequate for the purpose. How were these 40 half-blocks selected? On a 1952 Census map of the city of St. Louis all known non-white city blocks were shaded.<sup>1</sup> These blocks were separated into a northeastern and southwestern half-block. A serpentine numbering system was used to identify each of the half-blocks. With the help of a table of random numbers, 40 out of a total of 1,296 half-blocks were selected.

During January, 1954, trained interviewers interviewed a total of 1,713 Negroes 14 years of age and over in these 40 half-blocks. In order to test the significance between the percentage data of the survey and the 1950 Census information and to find confidence intervals, the appropriate standard errors of the deviation from assumed proportions were calculated.

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<sup>1</sup> City blocks were divided into northeastern and southwestern half-blocks. By using these clearly defined half-blocks instead of full blocks, it was possible to double the number of clusters without increasing the sample size.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED IN EQUATION

$N_B$  = number of population half-blocks

$n_B$  = number of sample half-blocks

$n_H$  = number of Negroes in sample

$s^2$  =  $pq$  = sample variance

$p$  = sample percentage of Negroes with given characteristic

$q$  =  $1.0 - p$

---

Footnote under equation refers to Page 84.

This standard error for cluster samples is equal to:

$$\sqrt{\frac{N_B - n_B}{N_B - 1} \frac{s^2}{n_B n_H} (1 + \rho [n_H - 1])}$$

WHERE,

$\rho$  = intercorrelation coefficient

$$= \frac{\left\{ \left[ \sum_{i=1}^{n_B} (p_i - p)^2 / N_B \right] - \left[ \sum_{i=1}^{n_B} p_i q_i / N_B (n_H - 1) \right] \right\}}{pq}$$

Where,

$B$  = intercorrelation coefficient

<sup>1</sup> Since Negroes usually occupy entire street sections and blocks the Urban League had little trouble in identifying city blocks where half or more of the population was non-white.

The following standard errors were found:

The standard error for the

(a) Sex distribution of the Negro population table ranged from .002 to .005

(b) Age distribution of the Negro population table ranged from .004 to .005

(c) Educational status of the Negro population table ranged from .004 to .005

(d) Employment status of the Negro population table ranged from .001 to .004; and that for:

(e) Occupational attachment of the Negro population table ranged from .002 to .003.

Thus, for instance, in the sex distribution of the Negro population of St. Louis, the standard error of the female population is .002 or .2 percent. The 95 percent confidence interval is 8 tenths of a percent wide. Since the sample percentage of females is 55.27 percent, we can assert with 95 percent confidence that the interval extending from 55.27—.4 or 54.87 percent to 55.27+.4 or 55.67 percent will contain the true percentage of females in the Negro population of St. Louis. Similarly, whenever the difference between the sample and Census percentages exceeds .008 or .8 percent, the difference is significant at a .05 level of significance.

5. *Interviewers:* The volunteer interviewers were recruited, by personal and formal contacts, from throughout the city and its surrounding area in December, 1953. Three training sessions were held for interviewers and, during these, a full explanation of the project, and the importance of particular questions were made. A question period followed each session and additional instructions were forthcoming in written form as well as in periodic checks on the progress being made by the interviewers.

6. *Interviews:* The first interviews were administered during the first full week of January, 1954, and continued thereafter for a month. Less than 0.01% of the persons interviewed refused to cooperate.

7. *Coding:* During February, 1954, staff personnel transferred the information obtained from the completed questionnaires to master sheets according to the attached master code. All such transfers were checked for accuracy. The master sheets were then given to an IBM key punch operator who processed the information. Each punched card was checked for accuracy on IBM verification equipment.

8. *Sorting and Tallying:* Sorting and tallying took place at the University of Illinois after master tally sheets were drawn up. Two competent graduate students, trained and experienced in IBM methods, assisted in the operation.

9. *IBM Cards:* These cards and the completed interview forms are available for use at any time by persons with definite interests in some particular phase of the analysis. Requests for such permission may be addressed to the Urban League of St. Louis, however, the League cannot bear any of the expenses.

10. *Tables:* Other tables which are not presented in the survey, for reasons of brevity, are available for use. A list of these compiled tables is attached.

**Exhibit A.**

Area: .....

Census Tract: .....

**St. Louis Urban League Labor Force Questionnaire**

**FILL IN BELOW**

**A. FAMILY STATUS:** Is the person you are interviewing (check)

1. Head of family .....
2. Spouse .....
3. Other member of family .....
4. Unrelated individual .....

**B. SEX:** (check)

1. Male .....
2. Female .....

**C. AGE:** How old is this person? ..... years old

(Now, check the age below)

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. (14-19) ..... | 5. (50-59) .....      |
| 2. (20-29) ..... | 6. (60-64) .....      |
| 3. (30-39) ..... | 7. (65 or over) ..... |
| 4. (40-49) ..... | 8. No response .....  |

**D. EDUCATION:** What is the highest grade in school that this person has finished? .....

(Now, check below)

- |                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. No grade completed ..... | 6. High School (1-3) .....   |
| 2. Elementary (1-4) .....   | 7. High School ( 4 ) .....   |
| 3. Elementary (5-6) .....   | 8. College (1-3) .....       |
| 4. Elementary ( 7 ) .....   | 9. College (4 or over) ..... |
| 5. Elementary ( 8 ) .....   | 10. No response .....        |

**E. MARITAL STATUS:** Is this person (check)

1. Married .....
2. Single .....
3. Widowed or divorced .....

F. If the person is married, check one of the following:

1. Family has own household .....
2. Family is living with relatives .....
3. Family is living in hotel or rooming house .....
4. Other (specify) .....

G. RESIDENCE: In the last four years has this person (check)

1. Lived in the same house .....
2. Different house but same County .....
3. Different County .....

H. If in a different County, write name of County and/or State

.....

NAME OF INTERVIEWER: .....

DATE: .....

RESPONDENT'S ADDRESS: .....

I. We want to know, first of all, whether, during the first week of January 1954 the Negro person, 14 years of age or over, you are interviewing was:

1. Employed .....
2. Unemployed .....
3. Not in labor force .....

You can determine this by asking one or more of the following questions:

- A. What did you do during most of the first week of January 1954—work, keep house or something else?
- B. If you were not working, were you looking for a job?
- C. If you were not working for some reason or another, did you have a job or business?
- D. Even though you were doing housework, or were in school, or were doing something else, did you do any work at all during the first week of January?

Once you have found out what the person was doing, check the appropriate space above and start asking the series of questions appropriate to the person below.

## 1. Employed

J. What is your present job? .....

K. What is the name of the company that you work for? .....

.....  
What kind of business is that? .....

L. When did you start working for the company?

(Month) ..... 19 .....

M. How did you get your job? (Check)

1. Through the Urban League .....
2. Through newspaper ad .....
3. Through friends .....
4. Through private employment agency .....
5. Through government employment agency .....
6. By applying at the business directly .....
7. Others .....
8. No response .....

N. How much income, from all sources, did you make in 1953?

(State) ..... or check, ..... no response.

O. At your place of business, can you eat and use the rest rooms along with white workers?

(Check): Yes ....., No, ....., Other .....

1. Can use both .....
2. Can use only rest room .....
3. Can use only eating facilities .....
4. Can use neither .....

P. In your department do you work with (Check):

1. Both Negro and white workers .....
2. Only Negro workers .....
3. Only white workers .....

Q. At your place of business, are there any Negroes, that you know about, working in (Check)

1. Skilled jobs .....
2. Supervisory jobs .....
3. Clerical jobs .....
4. Professional jobs .....
5. No response .....

R. Do you belong to a union? (Check) 1. Yes ....., 2. No .....

S. If yes, what union is it? (State) .....

T. Can you attend meetings along with white union members?  
(Check) 1. Yes ....., 2. No ....., 3. Other response .....

U. In your opinion, does your union help upgrade Negro workers  
when they are qualified for better jobs?  
(Check) 1. Yes ..... 2. No ..... 3. Other.....

V. Before your present job, what other kind of work have you done?  
1. State job .....  
2. State kind of business .....  
3. State length of job ..... months, .....years  
4. State location of job .....

W. Have you ever received any special training for a job? (Check)  
1. Yes ..... 2. No .....

X. If yes, (State)  
1. What type of training .....  
2. The length of training .....  
3. Name of school .....

## 2. Unemployed

JJ. Is this the first time that you have looked for a job? (Check)  
1. Yes ..... 2. No .....

KK. How long have you been unemployed?  
.....weeks, ..... months, ..... years.

LL. Are you receiving Unemployment Compensation? (Check)  
1. Yes ..... 3. No .....  
2. Yes, but have exhausted benefits .....4. Other .....

MM. What kind of job are you looking for now? State: .....  
.....

NN. What was your last job? State: .....

OO. a. What is the name of the company you last worked for?  
State: .....  
b. What kind of business is that? State: .....

PP. How long did you work for the company?  
..... weeks, ..... months, ..... years.

QQ. How much income, from all sources, did you make in 1953?  
State: ..... or check, no response.....

RR. Have you ever received any special training for a job? (Check)  
1. Yes ..... 2. No .....

SS. If yes, state:  
1. What type of training .....  
2. The length of training .....  
3. Name of school .....

### 3. Not in Labor Force

JJJ. Since you don't work at all, full or part-time, and you aren't looking for work, what exactly do you do? (Check)

- |                    |                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Housewife ..... | 4. Physically unable to work ..... |
| 2. Student .....   | 5. Inmate of an institution .....  |
| 3. Retired .....   | 6. Other response .....            |

KKK. Have you ever worked? (Check)  
1. Yes ..... 2. No .....

LLL. If yes, what was your last job? State: .....

MMM. a. What is the name of the company you last worked for?  
State: .....  
b. What kind of business is that? State .....

NNN. How long did you work for the company?  
..... weeks, ..... months, .....years

OOO. How much income, from all sources, did you make in 1953?  
.....or check .....none; or check..... no response.

**Exhibit B.**  
**St. Louis Urban League Labor Force Survey**  
**Master Code**  
**(Based on Standard IBM Card—80—Columns—10 Punches)**

QUESTION	IBM COLUMN	POSSIBLE ANSWERS
<b>CENSUS TRACT 1-3 CENSUS TRACTS 17 POSSIBLE ANSWERS</b>		
<b>BLOCK 3-4 SELECTED BLOCKS 40 POSSIBLE ANSWERS</b>		
<b>INTERVIEWS 5-8 INTERVIEWS NUMBERED CONSECUTIVELY 1 THROUGH 1713</b>		
<b>A.</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>Family Head</b> <b>Spouse</b> <b>Other Family Member</b> <b>Unre-lated Individual</b> <b>No Response</b>
<b>B.</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>Male</b> <b>Female</b> <b>No Response</b>
<b>C.</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14-19</b> <b>20-29</b> <b>30-39</b> <b>40-49</b> <b>50-59</b> <b>60-64</b> <b>65 and Over</b> <b>Not Reported</b>
<b>D.</b>	<b>12-13</b>	<b>No Grade</b> <b>Grammar School 1-4, 5-6, 7, 8</b> <b>School 1-3, 4</b> <b>High School 1-3, 4</b> <b>College 1-3, 4</b> <b>Not Reported</b>
<b>E.</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Married</b> <b>Single</b> <b>Widowed or Divorced</b> <b>Not Reported</b>
<b>F.</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>With own household</b> <b>Without own household</b> <b>No Response</b> <b>Different County or Abroad</b> <b>Not Reported</b>
<b>G.</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>Same House</b> <b>Diff. House, Same County</b> <b>Ark. Tenn. Ala.</b> <b>Other South</b> <b>Not Reported</b>
<b>H.</b>	<b>17-18</b>	<b>Miss. Ark. Tenn. Ala.</b> <b>Other South</b> <b>Mo.</b> <b>Middle West</b> <b>Far West</b> <b>East</b> <b>No Response</b>
<b>INTERVIEWERS</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>Negro Male</b> <b>Negro Female</b> <b>White Male</b> <b>White Female</b> <b>Inter-racial</b> <b>Not Determined</b>

**St. Louis Urban League Labor Force Survey**  
**Master Code**  
**(Based on Standard IBM Card—80—Columns—10 Punches)**

QUESTION	IBM COLUMN	POSSIBLE ANSWERS										
I.	20	Employed	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force								
J.	21-22	Professional and Technical	Managers, Officials & Proprietor Also, Farm Managers	Clerical & Kindred Workers	Sales Workers	Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	Operatives and Kindred Workers	Private Household Workers	Service Workers	Laborers including Farm	Not Reported	
K.	23-24	<b>INDUSTRIES 40 POSSIBLE ANSWERS. SEE SECTION ON INDUSTRY-EMPLOYED</b>										
L.	25-26	July, 1953 to Jan., 1954	Jan., 1953 to June, 1953	Aug., 1952 to Dec., 1952	Aug., 1951 to July, 1951	Aug., 1950 to July, 1950	Jan., 1950 to Dec., 1949	Sept., 1945 to Aug., 1945	Jan., 1940 to Before 1940	Not Reported		
M.	27	Urban League	Newspaper Ad	Friends and Relatives	Private Agency	Public Agency	Business Directly	Others (Civil Services Unions, etc.)	No Response			
N.	28-29	Less than \$500	\$500 to \$999	\$1000 to \$1499	\$1500 to \$1999	\$2000 to \$2499	\$2500 to \$2999	\$3000 to \$3999	\$4000 to \$4999	\$5000 and Over	No Response	
O.	30	Use both	Use Rest Room	Use Restaurant	Use Neither	Use Other Arrangement	Not Applicable	No Response				
P.	31	Negro and White	Only Negro	Only Whites	Other Response	Not Applicable	No Response					
Q.	32-33	<b>REJECTED</b>										
R.	34	Yes	No	No Response								
S.	35	AFL	CIO	IND.	Don't Know	Not Applicable	No Response					
T.	36	Yes	No	Other Response	Not Applicable	No Response						

St. Louis Urban League Labor Force Survey  
Master Code  
(Based on Standard IBM Card—80—Columns—10 Punches)

QUESTION	IBM COLUMN	POSSIBLE ANSWERS									
		Yes	No	Other Response	Not Applicable						
U.	37	Yes	No	Other Response	No Response						
V. 1.	38-39	Coded like J.—38-39.									
2.	40-41	Agri- culture	Con- struction	Manu- facturing	Utilities and Trans- portation	Finance and Insurance Real Estate	Personal Service	Professional Service	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Public Adminis- tration	Not Reported
3.	42	1 - 12 Months	13 - 24 Months	25 - 36 Months	37 - 48 Months	49 - 60 Months	61 - 72 Months	73 - 84 Months	85 and Over	No Response	No Response
4.	43	St. Louis Area	South	Mid West	Far West	East	No Response	No Response			
W.	44	Yes	No	No Response							
X. 1.	45-46	Coded like J.—21-22 and VI—38-39									
2.	47	1 to 6 Months	7 to 12 Months	13 to 24 Months	25 to 36 Months	37 to 48 Months	49 to 60 Months	60 Months and Over	No Response	No Response	No Response
3.	48	On the Job	High School	Technical School	Business School	College	Graduate School	Profes- sional School	Army	Not Reported	Not Reported
JJ	49	Yes	No	No Response							
KK.	50	1 to 4 Weeks	5 to 8 Weeks	9 to 12 Weeks	13 to 25 Weeks	26 to 52 Weeks	53 to 60 Weeks	No Response	No Response	No Response	No Response
LL.	51	Yes	Yes, but	No	Other	No Response					
MM.	52-53	Coded like J.—21-22, VI. 38-39, and XI—45-46									
NN.	54-55	Coded like J.—21-22, VI. 38-39, XI—45-46 and MM.—52-53									

St. Louis Urban League Labor Force Survey  
Master Code  
(Based on Standard IBM Card—80—Columns—10 Punches)

QUESTION	IBM COLUMN	POSSIBLE ANSWERS	House Wife	Student	Retired	Physically unable to work	Inmate of an Institution	Other Response	Possible Unemployed Response	No Response
00.	56-57	Coded like V2—40-41								
FP.	58	Coded like V3—42								
QQ.	59-60	Coded like N—28-29 plus the answer none.								
RR.	61	Coded like 2—44								
SS. 1.	62-63	Coded like J—21-22, VI—38-39, XI—45-46, MM—52-53, and NN 54-55								
2.	64	Coded like X2—47								
3.	65	Coded like X3—48								
JJJ	66		House Wife	Student	Retired	Physically unable to work	Inmate of an Institution	Other Response	Possible Unemployed Response	No Response
KKK	67		Yes	No	No					
LLL	68-69	Coded like J—21-22, VI. 38-39, XI—45-46, MM—52-53, NN 54-55, SSL 62-63								
MMM	70-71	Coded like V2 40-41, and 00—56-57								
NNN	72	Coded like V3—42								
OOO	73-74	Coded like N—28-29, and QQ—59-60 for first 10 punches, then.								
			None.	Social Security	Private Retirement Fund	A. D. C.	Allotment Check			

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