

# WHITE EMPLOYERS AND NEGRO WORKERS\*

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**B**ETWEEN the exhortations of various federal agencies on the one hand and the execrations of certain Negro newspapers on the other, it is not easy to get very much precise information about the roles actually being played by colored workers in American business and industry. Particularly is this true in the South, where current manpower needs and government rulings come into conflict with many time-worn attitudes and practices. Our purpose is to summarize an investigation of selected aspects of this situation in the spring of 1943. New Orleans, the locale of the study, has a population of more than half-a-million, 30.1 per cent of its total being reported as colored in 1940. A special census tabulation reveals that 32.59 per cent of the 177,312 persons employed in the city in March 1940 were Negroes. The employment of large numbers of Negroes affords, therefore, a wide range of situations for inquiry.

The data presented have been obtained from 175 firms, employing a total of 44,740 persons, 8,306 of whom are Negroes. Since 68.0 per cent of all Negro women employees in the city are in domestic service, and a great many Negro men are also employed as gardeners, etc. (not to mention those who are self-employed), our figures are by no means representative of all Negro workers. The firms sampled, however, are a reasonably adequate cross-section, both as to size and type of enterprise, of the more important kinds of business and industry in New Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

To each of the firms a questionnaire was

submitted through the medium of a personal interview<sup>2</sup> with the personnel manager, owner, or some other responsible individual. The interviews averaged from one to two hours each, and in the majority of cases the questionnaires were completed at the time of the interview. The questionnaire itself called for three kinds of data: (a) general information, such as the number of employees by race and sex (as of February 1, 1939, and February 1, 1943), wages paid, and seasonal nature of the enterprise; (b) information pertaining to the kinds of jobs held by whites and Negroes; and (c) employer experiences with Negro workers. In this last section of the questionnaire, both facts and opinions were obtained. The data given under (a) are to be published elsewhere; our remarks here will be confined to the findings under topics (b) and (c) above.

## KINDS OF JOBS HELD BY WHITES AND NEGROES

A purely statistical comparison of the reported experiences of employers with Negro workers is given in Table 1. A brief explanation is in order here, since limited space does not permit a tabulation of all types of responses. For example, of the 50 manufacturing firms making returns, only 17 reported using Negroes and whites at the same job (item B2 in column 1); for the remaining 33 firms, this means that some do not use both races at the same job, some may employ no Negroes, and some failed to make any response on this item.

\* For abstract see Conclusions at end of paper.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> The types of enterprise sampled are as follows: construction; manufacturing; transportation and communications; wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; personal services; amusement, recreation, and retail services; professional and related services; government; miscellaneous (hotels, buildings, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> A letter of introduction previously mailed out by an important local organization of business and professional men interested in the study proved to be an invaluable entrée for the interviewer, since a great many employers have become "allergic" to questionnaires, and especially so to those sponsored by governmental and related types of agencies of a civic nature.

Most of the employers using Negroes exclusively for certain jobs (item B1) listed the following as the most common forms of employment: laborers, truck drivers, porters, helpers, warehousemen, sweepers, utility men, delivery men, track laborers, pressers, clean-

Where the same jobs are performed by both whites and colored, (item B2) some of those jobs are unskilled and some skilled. In construction, both whites and Negroes are employed as helpers, carpenters, bricklayers, mechanic's helpers, and common la-

TABLE 1. REPORTED EXPERIENCES WITH NEGRO WORKERS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT (1943)

| Questionnaire Items   | Construction | Manufacturing | Transportation, etc. | Wholesale and Retail Trade | Finance, Insurance, etc. | Business and Repair Services | Personal Services | Amusement, recreation etc. | Professional and related Services | Government | Miscellaneous (Hotels, Buildings, etc.) | Totals for All Types <sup>1</sup> |
|---|--------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Number of firms or agencies reporting                             | 14           | 50            | 14                   | 50                         | 5                        | 9                            | 8                 | 6                          | 4                                 | 7          | 8                                       | 175                               |
| Number reporting Negroes and whites working at same jobs (B2)     | 5            | 17            | 6                    | 10                         | 0                        | 1                            | 1                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 4          | 0                                       | 44                                |
| Now using Negroes where not used in 1939 (B3)                     | 2            | 12            | 1                    | 7                          | 0                        | 1                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 2          | 2                                       | 27                                |
| Anticipating using Negroes (B4)                                   | 0            | 4             | 2                    | 2                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 1          | 0                                       | 9                                 |
| Temporarily using Negroes (B5)                                    | 0            | 8             | 1                    | 4                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 1                          | 0                                 | 1          | 1                                       | 16                                |
| Listing jobs for Negroes which require apprenticeship (B6)        | 6            | 8             | 3                    | 4                          | 0                        | 1                            | 0                 | 2                          | 0                                 | 1          | 3                                       | 28                                |
| Employing Negroes at jobs requiring specialized training (B7)     | 12           | 5             | 1                    | 1                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 3          | 0                                       | 22                                |
| Finding Negroes unsatisfactory for certain jobs (C8)              | 2            | 7             | 2                    | 4                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 2                          | 0                                 | 1          | 1                                       | 19                                |
| Listing types of jobs where Negroes surpass whites (C9)           | 4            | 10            | 4                    | 9                          | 0                        | 2                            | 2                 | 1                          | 0                                 | 1          | 2                                       | 35                                |
| Making policy changes resulting from manpower shortages (C13)     | 1            | 14            | 4                    | 15                         | 1                        | 1                            | 1                 | 1                          | 0                                 | 2          | 2                                       | 42                                |
| Listing Negroes who are exceptions to their general policy (C14)  | 3            | 5             | 2                    | 7                          | 0                        | 1                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 0          | 1                                       | 19                                |
| Reporting labor union interference in employment of Negroes (C15) | 3            | 2             | 0                    | 0                          | 1                        | 0                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 0          | 0                                       | 6                                 |
| Reporting labor union complaints about firm's policy (C16)        | 0            | 2             | 0                    | 0                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 0          | 0                                       | 2                                 |
| Altering policy as a result of racial strife (C17)                | 0            | 1             | 0                    | 1                          | 0                        | 0                            | 0                 | 0                          | 0                                 | 1          | 1                                       | 4                                 |
| Offering advice on employer policy (C18)                          | 1            | 18            | 6                    | 10                         | 0                        | 3                            | 1                 | 1                          | 1                                 | 2          | 2                                       | 45                                |

ers, dishwashers, packers, cooks, maids, chauffeurs, janitors, elevator operators, tire changers, and hospital attendants for colored patients. It is clear that the Negro is employed exclusively only in unskilled jobs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It is relevant to note here, however, that the Negro almost monopolizes the bricklaying and plastering trades, and does a large share of local house painting.

borers; in manufacturing, as canvas workers, porters, truck drivers, sorters, spinners and corders, sprayers, delivery men, cutters and pressers, packers, and painters. A few manufacturing concerns reported using both races at all except office jobs, but most of those who reported an absence of racial differentiation did so only for unskilled and partly skilled levels. Both races are reported work-

ing as shop laborers, car repairmen, mechanic's helpers, stewards, and longshoremen in transportation industries. In wholesale and retail trades, whites and Negroes work at the same jobs principally as warehousemen, messengers, elevator operators, porters and truck drivers; in government, as clerks and carriers (Post Office), common laborers; in miscellaneous, as utility and repair men.

Manufacturing, and wholesale and retail trades are the principal types of enterprise now using Negroes for jobs for which they were not used in 1939 (item B3). Here are some typical positive responses on this item from all categories of employers: "all jobs but truck drivers," "on milk routes," "spinning and cording," "truck helpers," "stock-room workers," "truck drivers," and "maids." A number of employers indicated that they anticipate using Negroes where they are not used now (item B4), but few specified particular jobs, typical statements being "will use them if necessary anywhere," "will use them if we can't get white men," "will have to use Negro help more, but do not know to what extent." Only 16 employers who responded out of the total group of 175 listed jobs in which they are using Negroes temporarily as a result of the shortage of white workers (item B5); some of the jobs thus specified were as follows: helpers, truck drivers, laborers, milk route drivers, foremen, delivery men. Some of the principal apprenticeship requirements of jobs for Negroes (item B6) were as follows: "required in all union crafts," "only what the trades require," "bricklaying," "cutting and pressing," "all jobs, for both white and Negro," "paint mixers," "as pressers," "all our jobs." Only in construction and in manufacturing did an appreciable number of employers list jobs requiring specialized training other than apprenticeship for Negroes (item B7), and even in these instances most of the respondents were inclined to interpret the former term rather loosely.

#### EXPERIENCE WITH NEGRO WORKERS

In detailing their experiences with Negro workers, employers were asked (item C8)

whether they had found them unable to do any jobs in which they had tried to use them, and, if so, to specify what jobs and why they were unsuccessful. Out of the 175 employers questioned, 19 replied affirmatively. Some typical replies from this latter group are as follows:

We find most of them unable to understand technical jobs.

They are not so good in the crafts jobs for which they hire themselves.

We only tolerate them because we can't get whites; they are not doing their jobs well.

Can't make simple packages; many can't read and write.

They often misrepresent their training and experience.

We have tried them unsuccessfully in many jobs, but we have had the same experience with similar types of whites.

It should be borne in mind, however, that these are not typical employer experiences with Negro workers, since those responding in the manner illustrated above were in a decided minority.

Consistent with the evaluations expressed in Table 3 is the fact that various employers claim to have found Negro workers better than white workers (item C9) at heavy labor, as porters, as longshoremen, as truck drivers, as tire changers, in laundry work, at cleaning jobs, and in the kitchen.

The kinds of segregation practiced (item C10) are given in the table below:

TABLE 2. EMPLOYERS' SEGREGATION PRACTICES

| Type of Segregation Practice              | Number of Employers Using Practice |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Same place of work but different jobs     | 135                                |
| Same place of work but different times    | 0                                  |
| Different place of work but same job      | 6                                  |
| Different place of work and different job | 4                                  |
| Dressing rooms only                       | 10                                 |
| No segregation at all                     | 12                                 |
| No response or no Negroes employed        | 8                                  |

From the trait comparisons of white and Negro workers (item C11), it is interesting to note that the latter were rated superior

by a majority of the employers in only two respects—ability to stand heat, and capacity for heavy manual labor. A statistical summation is given in table 3.

Do not put them in supervisory positions; one Negro will not work for another.

Give them continued employment when they prove proficient.

TABLE 3. EMPLOYERS' EVALUATIONS OF WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS

| Trait  | Negroes<br>Superior | No<br>Noticeable<br>Difference | Whites<br>Superior | No<br>Opinion |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Ability to learn new jobs .....                    | —                   | 47                             | 68                 | 40            |
| Little absenteeism .....                           | 6                   | 69                             | 69                 | 31            |
| Speed of work .....                                | 6                   | 61                             | 81                 | 27            |
| Ability to stand heat .....                        | 72                  | 58                             | 7                  | 38            |
| Willingness to follow instructions .....           | 9                   | 72                             | 58                 | 36            |
| Initiative .....                                   | —                   | 15                             | 132                | 28            |
| Capacity for heavy manual labor .....              | 101                 | 31                             | 14                 | 29            |
| General dependability .....                        | 4                   | 63                             | 81                 | 27            |
| Willingness to work with other racial groups ..... | 33                  | 73                             | 7                  | 62            |

Questionnaire items 12 through 17 had to do with employment policy. Some varied responses concerning policy in the past (1938-1940) with reference to the hiring and promotion of Negroes (item C12) are as follows:

We are just now beginning to employ Negroes and so we do not know how they may be promoted.

We use them as laborers and truck drivers only.

We have no work where they can be promoted.

Negroes are treated the same as whites.

Our firm hires Negroes only because it has to, and does not promote them.

Some have been promoted to be straw bosses for Negro gangs.

We promote them the same as whites; some are in executive positions and do very well.

No opportunity to promote them; used as laborers but not at desk jobs.

Promote them as they earn promotion.

Their pay is raised but that is all.

They are never used in supervisory positions.

More money and better jobs when they prove faithful and capable; have one good Negro making \$44 a week.

Promoted same as whites, but not into executive positions.

Use them only as porters.

Only one type of job for Negroes.

Can't promote them in our business; our customers would object.

Have never hired any Negroes.

These preceding statements suggest the range of responses, but not their distribution. Although a few employers indicated the same past policy with reference to both white and colored, the vast majority said that the Negro employee has little opportunity for being hired at any sort of work except manual labor, or of ever receiving any sort of advancement except, in some instances, an increase in pay that stops at a rather low ceiling.

Approximately one-fourth of all the employers queried have made changes in general policy as a result of the manpower shortage caused by the war (item C13). Where there has been a change, as might be anticipated, the trend has been toward employing more women and more Negroes. Some firms have hired more women, but not more Negroes; a few are using Negro women where Negro men were used formerly. A number have made general increases in wages as a matter of policy in order to retain their employees. Two railroads are using Negro women as track laborers to replace Negro men, and white women to replace white men in clerical jobs. A number are substituting colored waitresses for white waitresses. Still others complain that they have had to reduce their numbers of employ-

ees because of inability to find capable workers of any sort.

Occasional firms state that they have (or have had in the past) Negroes in their employ, who, because of unusual circumstances or other special reasons, are exceptions to their general employment policy (item C14). The exceptional Negro, when treated as an individual and not as a member of a group, is often given more pay than the set scale, or made a straw boss, promoted to rank of foreman, given clerical responsibilities, or otherwise advanced or rewarded in some way which is contrary to the employer's usual policy. Long service was usually combined with unusual aptitude in the cases so specified.

Only six firms mentioned having been prevented from employing Negroes in any capacity as a result of labor union influence (item C15), and only two stated having had objections from labor union groups to any part of their policy concerning the employment of Negroes (item C16).<sup>4</sup> One firm mentioned that unions of skilled craftsmen would not permit them to employ Negroes as machinists, boiler washers, etc. Another stated that if Negro mechanics with union cards (obtained in the North) were hired, their white mechanics would walk out. The remaining respondents did not specify the nature of the interferences or objections from labor unions. Only four firms report having to alter their labor policy because of strife between white and Negro workers since the war began (C17); in each case the open conflict was quickly adjusted without any serious consequences.

#### WHITE EMPLOYERS' OPINIONS

Forty-five firms or agencies responded affirmatively to the question, "Have you any advice on Negro employment policy growing

<sup>4</sup>These responses are not indicative of the total situation in New Orleans. Although additional welders are needed in certain local industries, Negroes who complete the training program in welding at Xavier University and at the N.Y.A. Training school are unable to obtain union memberships here and are transported without cost to themselves to California and to Connecticut, where they are permitted to join unions and obtain employment as welders.

out of your experience which you think might be of aid to other employers?" (item C18). The range of counsel is suggested by the following quotations:

Their qualifications are very limited and they should be employed only as laborers—not in a supervisory capacity as a rule.

Employ only the better educated Negroes.

They need strict supervision.

Many employers find Negro workers unsatisfactory because they simply run ads or send out notices and hire those who come in. We get very satisfactory Negro employees by having colored organizations, such as the Urban League, hand-pick them for us.

If you can get white men, don't hire Negroes. Negroes are really good only at manual labor.

Pay them according to ability, and not color.

Treat them with kindness and fairness, and not with familiarity to get the best results.

We have experienced no difficulty in using white and colored employees side by side on the same job in most instances. We find it advisable to maintain separate dressing rooms, wash rooms and toilet facilities, as well as separate eating places in our commissary. We do not segregate them when paying off, and have no difficulty on this point. Most colored employees who have been with us for ten years or more are very loyal and hard workers.

Don't make race an issue; fair play with the Negro gets best results.

Find the work for which they are best fitted and keep them there.

Put them in the positions where they belong, and segregate them from whites as much as possible.

We find that when we treat the Negro with the same justice as the white man he works better, with greater interest and with more regularity.

We have tried to work Negroes and whites in the same place and at the same jobs, but had trouble.

We give them a rule book, insist that they read it and follow the rules. There is no racial discrimination in rates of pay for the same jobs.

Our policy has been successful. All of our employees work under an agreement and under

It is also known to employers that many unions prevent the full utilization of Negro skills by not allowing upgrading of experienced colored workers.



a bonus system. Negroes of long service are treated the same as whites. They are included in our pension plans and in group insurance.

Negroes have to be told to do the same thing every day—that is, those now available.

We would not advise employing Negroes except for heavy manual labor.

No advice to give except to raise Negro wages.

Negroes must be ruled with an iron hand. Praise them for their good acts, but keep temptations out of their way, for they are not strong enough yet in character to resist them constantly.

Train Negroes better. Educated Negroes are a little harder to handle, but they are much more of an asset to an organization.

Show the whites how to treat Negroes and how to work with them.

The last item on the questionnaire (item C19) read as follows: "In your opinion, what are the most critical unsolved white-Negro personnel problems? What do you think *should be* the solution? What do you think *will be* the solution?" The vast majority of all the employers interviewed responded; since a great many of these men are very outstanding individuals in the life of the community, their opinions are highly pertinent elements in what will eventually be done about racial aspects of labor supply and employment in New Orleans. A random sampling of their reactions is indicated in the following quotations:

There is much racial unrest due to the fact of the war and the high wages of the Negro, and his having more money to spend. Mrs. Roosevelt, Willkie, and the Negro newspapers are stirring up trouble; disturbance also results from the Negro soldier being shown the same consideration as the white soldier. If this war ends suddenly and we get back to normalcy, and the Negroes' wages are cut, they will lose their arrogance, and become submissive. If matters go further, the South will not stand for it. The Negro's best friend is the Southerner. If the North will let the South alone, it can handle the race problem.

We should inform Negro women especially how well off they are, and how much trouble they may get into. The work should be done through women.

**The Negro should remain in his own enter-**

**prises if he expects to become an executive; he should never expect to become one over white people. The Negro should have enough education to work, earn a fair living, and take care of himself.**

Strict segregation is the best solution of personnel problems of a racial nature. As soon as we begin to mix whites with Negroes there will be trouble.

Plans should be made to form a definite policy and to let the two races live and work peacefully in the same land, but separately.

This is a question which requires careful thought and study to work out a plan whereby the Negro can work and earn a livelihood and become self-sustaining in the community where he lives.

Doubt that there will be trouble, but it would be a good idea to watch the situation and probably talk things out by publicity.

Education in trades and skills to which they are adapted and training to get them to appreciate and respect the efforts of others in promoting their advancement.

The critical unsolved white-Negro personnel problem is the desire of the Negro to be on an equal footing with the white man, but still to maintain the colored man's "privilege" of being absolutely carefree about everything and trusting the employer to take care of him at all times. It is hard to visualize at this time just what the solution will be, especially in areas where the number of colored people in a community is larger than the number of white people. I feel that the Negro has a part to play in the coming civilization picture and I believe that he should be fairly well-educated, and that well-educated Negroes, such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional men, could best serve the community by confining their work to the colored inhabitants living in their community.

I think there is race trouble brewing. The only way to stop trouble is to handle Negroes with a firm hand. The situation should be watched carefully and studied. Newspapers are misleading the Negro. Also, Negro soldiers and white men too from the North are stirring up trouble. We cannot put Negroes in our office; everybody would quit, beginning with the manager.

Don't think there is a problem; that is, we do not think there will be any race trouble.

But we believe a policy will have to be formed. We will have to decide what position we, the white people, will take. We must either accept them as equal or consider them a subject race.

Education is no panacea, but I do not know the answer. Certainly, the purchasing power of the Negro must be increased. I suspect that after the war, skilled whites will step in and get all the better jobs now held by Negroes.

The white man's attitude toward the Negro is the cause of much unrest, and the white man should be shown this.

The Negro is uneducated, improvident, and irresponsible. The solution is to educate him.

The problem is that the white craftsman will not work side by side with the Negro. The solution is the biggest question the South faces.

There is trouble coming. The Negroes are very insulting without cause. It is hard to teach them anything, but they should be told that they are on the wrong track.

Don't know of any special difficulty. If trouble is developing, the way to avoid it is to give them their rights and have strict segregation.

We think the Negro should be taught to read and write, but nothing more. We don't hire Negroes because we don't trust them. They work only when strictly supervised.

The Negro is dependent on the white man, and if he understands this we will all get on better. He should not try to take things in his own hands, for in the end the white man has to settle his difficulties, whatever they are.

It is a good idea for white employers to talk things out with Negro employees.

There will be an employment problem, not a race problem. The Negro should be educated and properly led by education of his own race if trouble is to be averted in the future.

The Negro will not work full time. If he makes a high wage, he works fewer days a week. The solution is regimentation.

If we expect the Negro to work better, we cannot expect him to work cheaper.

The Negro was created for the purpose of being a servant, and possesses natural, inherent qualifications superior to any other. Therefore he should be educated to perfect and refine himself in his calling. The Negro should be taught that he is always to be subservient to the white race regardless of his position. He should not have equality with the white man in business nor in politics, nor in social activities.

This does not limit him in achieving success or position in his own rank.

There will be serious trouble in the South and in this city unless the Negro is guided and instructed by white people, and unless white people too are instructed concerning their attitudes toward the Negro.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Without detailed elaboration or interpretation, the conclusions emerging from this inquiry may be summarized as follows:

1. Negroes are employed exclusively, with but few exceptions, in unskilled jobs only.

2. For the most part, Negroes and whites work at the same jobs only as manual laborers. One-fourth of the employers interviewed reported some Negroes and whites working at the same jobs.

3. Of the employers sampled, 15.4 percent are now using Negroes where they did not in 1939, 5.1 percent anticipate using Negroes, and 9.1 percent are using Negroes only temporarily as a result of the shortage of white workers.

4. Sixteen percent of the employers list jobs for Negroes requiring apprenticeship, and 12.5 percent employ Negroes at jobs requiring specialized training. This squares with the finding presented in number 1 above.

5. Only 10.8 percent of the firms have found Negroes as a group unsatisfactory at jobs where they have been tried out. Failure was encountered largely in skilled jobs where Negroes were on the whole handicapped by their general ignorance and lack of training.

6. Twenty percent of the employers consider Negroes better than whites as truck drivers, porters, manual laborers, and similar types of workers.

7. Only 12 out of 175 employers practice no segregation at all. The most common type of segregation is to employ the two races at different types of jobs within the organization; 135 employers have this practice.

8. In the employers' evaluations of traits according to the race of the worker, the Negro was considered superior in only two of nine items—his ability to stand heat and his capacity for heavy manual labor. Many employers withheld opinions concerning specific traits or considered that there is no noticeable difference by race. Whites were rated definitely superior to Negroes in ability to learn new jobs, in speed

of work, in initiative, and in general dependability.

9. Although some firms state that it is their policy to treat Negroes the same as whites in employee capacities, most firms acknowledge a differential policy for the two races in the matter of hiring and promotion. The majority hire Negroes only for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs where there is little opportunity for advancement in pay or promotion in responsibility.

10. As a result of the manpower shortage caused by the war, many firms (24.0 percent) now have a policy of hiring more Negro workers and women workers.

11. Occasionally (among 10.8 percent of the employers) an exception is made of a Negro worker, who, because of special circumstances, is treated as an individual rather than being typed in advance as a member of his group to be treated according to set limitations, irrespective of his personal merits.

12. Very few employers mention labor union interference in the employment of Negroes or labor union complaints about their policies. This lack of friction may result from employers and unions being in substantial agreement, or it may simply indicate that few instances have arisen in which employers have tried to buck union policies.

13. An insignificant percentage (2.2) of employers report having had to alter their employment policies as a result of racial strife.

14. Approximately one-fourth of all the firms or agencies interviewed offered advice on employment policy. This advice was so varied that it is difficult to summarize, since it ranged all the way from recommending that no Negroes be employed at all as long as whites are available, to advocating the complete abolition of racial distinctions in dealing with employees. The general tenor of many recommendations was to the effect that a differential policy be established for Negroes, and that they be treated fairly within the limitations of this policy.

15. Most of the employers feel that the racial aspects of labor supply and employment in New Orleans, as well as throughout much of the rest of the country, present many critical problems which must be solved. Opinions concerning what should be and what will be the solution show a wide range of variation. Leading solutions proposed are: strict segregation, the formation of a more definite policy, making the Negro self-sustaining in the community, more education and training for colored people, developing more tolerance and understanding among whites, strict supervision and even complete regimentation of Negroes, and general improvement of the Negro's earning power.