ECONOMIC FACTORS IN NEGRO MIGRATION—
PAST AND FUTURE

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AMERICA, like all young countries, has been developed by and subjected to a series of migrations. European peoples from various sections of the continent moved into this country in consecutive and concurrent waves during the period prior to the World War. During and after the war, the influx of foreign-born persons into the United States was abated. This decline in immigration together with an increased demand for industrial workers stimulated the mobility of a minority group within the country, and, in response to this situation, the Negro moved from the South to the North and West and from the rural to the urban South. He is still moving. These population movements are of great importance in our economic, social, and political development. Unless we reckon with them, it is impossible for us to understand our past. Without a knowledge of them, we cannot plan intelligently for the future.

This paper attempts to delineate the possible future trends of population movements among Negroes. The analysis presented here indicates that during the next few years, there will probably be no appreciable mass movement of Negroes to the North and West. Inevitably, the greater economic attractiveness of these regions will lead to greater migration of Southern workers, both colored and white, to the North and West, but this will probably be delayed because of the present labor reserves and slight prospect of immediate industrial expansion in these sections. In the meantime, it seems certain that Negro and white farmers will turn cityward, and southern urban centers will continue to grow.

During the World War Negroes became a mobile people. In response to the needs and overtures of Northern and Western industry, they moved in large numbers to urban centers outside the South. This movement was motivated by the prospect of greater employment opportunities. "Once begun, the movement northward continued at an increasing rate until, in 1930, 20 percent of the total Negro population of the Nation was living North  

of the Mason-Dixon line.'

Since 1930, the migration of Negroes has continued. It has, as was true during the decade 1920-1930, not only involved movement from the South to the North and West, but from the deep South to the upper South and from the rural to the urban South. The net result of these movements has been a rapid urbanization of Negroes—most pronounced in the North and quite apparent in the South.

An analysis of the past population movements among Negroes and reflection upon past and current economic developments in the Northern and Southern regions suggest that, although the migration of Negroes has not reached its end, its direction will be modified in the immediate future. During the post-war period, there has been continuous movement of Negroes from Southern farms. This has been reflected in the great rise in the number of Negroes in urban centers of the North and a growth of Negro populations in Southern cities. At the same time, the rural whites of the South were moving cityward. Among whites, however, there was less intense migration to cities in the North and much greater increase in urban populations in the South. Thus "the percentage of Southern Negroes who are found in cities has been rising, but the proportion of the Southern white population living in cities has been increasing still more rapidly, so that the proportion of Negroes in the population of most Southern cities has been decreasing." Despite these movements, the proportion of Negro males in the South engaged in farming remains higher than that for whites. At the same time, the Southeast, where 55.2 percent of male Negroes gainfully employed are on farms, "is the principal area of population replacement for the rest of the country." And its surplus population is chiefly rural. The average annual income of all farmers in the South is small, and colored farm families, on the average, have much lower incomes than white farm families. Thus, it is reasonable to expect a continued stream of migration of Negroes from the rural areas of this section. Where these people go depends upon many factors. An analysis of the conditions which have influenced Negro migration in the past and a consideration of present economic and social developments will be helpful in predicting the future movement.

As has been noted above, the chief factor in the migration of Negroes from the South to the North and the West has been the prospect of greater employment opportunities. During the World War period, much of the movement northward was in direct response to the overtures and recruiting of the industrialists of this section who were faced with an acute labor shortage. The movement, once started, perpetuated itself when "folks back home" learned of the success of their friends and relatives and heard fabulous tales of high wages. There were, of course, other factors: the economic situation in the South, the hope of political activity and greater civil rights, the prospect of decent schools, and the enjoyment of larger social and recreational opportunities in Northern cities. In the case of those who moved from the rural to the urban centers of the South, most of these factors entered the decision. Their intensity for this group was, however, of lesser degree.

The availability of industrial and service employment in the expanding economies

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6 Ibid., p. 65.
4 Ibid., pp. 75-76.
5 Ibid., p. 99.
6 Harris, op. cit., pp. 149-181.
of the North and West and the higher earnings in these regions continued to be their chief attraction to colored labor during the post-war period. Studies of this movement have shown that Negro workers in the South not only were subjected to the lower regional level of wages but also were paid lower wages than whites when both were engaged in the same work. Writing in 1931, Spero and Harris noted that, "In general Negroes and whites in southern plants are engaged in different types of work. Positions of authority, of course, go to the white man. The less attractive and lower paid jobs go to the black man. Instances are common in which Negroes receive lower pay than white men for the same work."7 Despite the Southern caste system "which relegates the Negro to a place of permanent inferiority,"8 the occupational pattern for Negro labor in the South in 1920 offered greater employment opportunities for Negro skilled workers than did that of the North. This condition exists today and is, of course, due to the Southern Negro's longer period of residence, his greater numerical importance in the total labor supply, and his longer period of activity in the skills.9 It is intimately associated with a racial wage differential. In the North, where there had been no tradition of employing colored mechanics and where few Negroes had entered the skills, there was less opportunity for them to follow skilled work. This was the general occupational picture when migration began. As a fresh recruit, the Negro naturally entered unskilled work in the North during the post-war period. There was, however, as a rule, no discrimination as to wage rates. The usual thing was equal pay for equal work as between white and colored workers in the North.10

II

Regional wage differentials were associated with the migration of Negroes during the post-war period, as they had been during the war years. It is, however, necessary to note that these sectional differences had existed for some time as a potential encouragement to Negro emigration from the South but they had not been sufficient in themselves to initiate and sustain the movement. Something more than regional wage differences was required to make the Negro a mobile people. The drastic decline of immigration from Europe supplied this force. It led to a shortage of workers in the North and West, and the industrialists of these regions sought a new source of labor to supply the needs of their expanding plants. Accordingly, Negroes were recruited in the South. This was done, as had been the case in early European migration, through the activities of labor agents, payments of transportation costs, and promises of great increases in earning power.

Just as linguistic differences, national rivalries, and realization of new economic opportunities had made certain emigrant groups from Europe difficult to organize when they first entered industry, so Negroes who had been associated with strike breaking in the North and West, often remained outside of labor organizations.

7 Ibid., pp. 169. It must be noted that in most instances Negroes were either performing a given type of work under a different name in a given plant or were employed in different places doing similar work. There are few recorded instances of different pay for the same work in plants where Negroes and whites were doing the same work and similarly classified.

8 Ibid., p. 170.


10 Spero and Harris, op. cit., p. 174.
due both to the attitude of organized labor towards them and to their indifference to the trade union movement. This situation could be, and was perpetuated because of racial differences and economic background. From the employer's point of view, the Negro's coming North seemed, in many instances, to supply a "safe" source of labor which was difficult to organize and easily controlled. When it is remembered that there was much industrial unrest in the post-war years, it can be realized that the importation of Negro labor was intimately associated with the Northern and Western employers' fight against unionism and labor troubles. There have been many instances where employers have used different nationalities and races in a given plant in order to discourage solidarity and organization among workers. In the steel industry, this seems to have been an important consideration in employment policy. The same situation existed in many other branches of manufacturing, and it is intimately associated with the entrance of Negroes into industrial pursuits.

The economic conditions on farms in the South and the constant over-population of the Cotton Belt created a situation which made the Negro population eager to leave Southern rural areas. Thus, in 1921-1923, even in the fact of the then current post-war deflation, Negroes continued to migrate from Southern farms when the ravages of the boll weevil endangered cotton culture. While it was possible for many of the white farmers who made the same movement to find employment near at home in the "booming cotton mill villages of the Piedmont," Negroes found little employment in the textile industry. Many of them were "virtual refugees" who depended upon friends and relatives in urban areas.

Negro common laborers in Southern cities and towns joined agricultural workers and tenants in their quest for economic improvement in the North and West. Many Negro skilled workers augmented the stream of colored persons who deserted the South. This movement of Negro mechanics has continued despite the fact that few of them found skilled work in their new abodes, and it is an interesting reflection of the work opportunities and wage structures of the North and of the South. A picture of differences in Northern and Southern occupational and wage patterns is offered by a recent study of the Department of the Interior. Data presented in this study indicate that the male Negro worker in the South trained in a skill was more likely to be engaged in a skilled pursuit than was the one who was working in the North. Thus, in the North, however, male skilled workers who were outside their usual skills earned higher weekly wages than skilled Negro men employed in their usual occupations in cities of the South. Thus, despite the fact that migration during the 1920's had involved a certain degree of occupational displacement for male Negro skilled workers and sometimes meant shifting into unskilled work, it also brought higher average earnings. Those male Negro skilled workers in Northern cities who worked in their usual occupations

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11 See Horace B. Davis, Labor and Steel (1933), p. 32 et seq. For similar evidence in the meat-packing industry, see Alma Herbst, The Negro in the Slaughtering and Meat-Packing Industry in Chicago (1932), pp. 20 et seq.

12 Carter Goodrich and others, Migration and Economic Opportunity (1936), pp. 136-137. Of course, some Negro agricultural workers entered Southern industry. In the case of tobacco manufacturing in North Carolina and Virginia this has been true.

13 Robert C. Weaver, op. cit., pp. 18-20, 27, 29-33, 36.

earned, in 1930, much more than those so employed in the cities of the South.\textsuperscript{18}

That the wage differential as between Negro and white unskilled labor in the South remains large is amply illustrated by a recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In July 1937, it was discovered that not only were entrance rates of pay for common labor for Negroes greater in the North than in the South, but in the North there were no racial differentials in these rates.\textsuperscript{16} The lower Southern rates for Negroes were in part a racial differential and in part a reflection of regional wage levels (which in turn were influenced by the concentration of large cities in the North). However, in 1937 the average rates in the South were but 62.8 percent of those obtaining in the North.\textsuperscript{17}

The true economic results of the occupational and wage patterns of Negroes in the North and South are best reflected by regional income figures. According to the Survey of Consumer Incomes in the United States by the National Resources Committee, there were marked differences in earnings for Negroes and whites.\textsuperscript{18}

"In both urban and rural Southern communities the mean income of nonrelief white families in 1935–1936 was approximately three times that of nonrelief Negro families. The disparity was something less in North Central cities of 100,000 and over, but even there the mean income for Negro families was less than half that for white families."\textsuperscript{19}

This study of incomes also indicates that in the rural South more than half of the nonrelief Negro families had incomes less than $500 and more than nine-tenths of them had incomes under $1,000. For Southern cities the corresponding proportions were 47 percent and 86 percent. "In the North Central cities, the Negro families were most numerous in the income classes from $500 to $1,500 with a minor proportion of them scattered through the higher income ranges."\textsuperscript{20} Of course, if relief families are included, the family incomes of Northern Negroes would be lowered since the incidence of relief among urban Negro families in the North Central Region has been unusually high.\textsuperscript{21}

These income data substantiate our earlier analysis. We have seen that occupational opportunities for Negroes have contracted greatly during the depression. In the South this has resulted in unemployment for all groups of Negroes. In the North it has led to abnormal displacement of skilled workers, their shifting into unskilled and semi-skilled pursuits, and extremely high unemployment for all Negro workers.

The analysis which has been presented above indicates the existence of certain economic forces which might encourage

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 41. For an example of a large Southern racial differential for skilled workers within a given industry see "Earnings and Hours in the Granite Industry, August 1937," \textit{Monthly Labor Review}, December 1937, pp. 1465–1490.

\textsuperscript{17} More recent data on wages for common laborers have appeared. See "Entrance Rates of Common Laborers in 20 Industries, July 1937," \textit{Monthly Labor Review}, December 1937, pp. 1491–1510.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 28. Recent studies indicate that regional differences in income reflect comparable geographic differences in economic well-being for cities of comparable size in the North and South. See "Differences in Living Costs in Northern and Southern Cities," \textit{Monthly Labor Review}, July, 1939, pp. 22–38.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p. 29. For a discussion of the effects of the depression upon urban Northern Negroes, see E. Franklin Frazier, "Some Effects of the Depression on the Negro in Northern Cities," \textit{Science and Society} (Fall, 1938), pp. 489–499.
RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS

Negroes to move to the North and West in large numbers in the future. The wage levels in these regions are still much higher than those in the South, and there continues to be a wage differential based on race in the South. Thus, on the surface, the economic urge of higher earnings remains as a factor stimulating the migration of colored workers from the South. There are, however, certain economic, social and political forces which are modifying the situation. These are reducing the geographic difference in wage rates, modifying the extensiveness of wage differentials based on race, altering the Negro's attitude toward trade unionism and that of organized labor toward Negroes, erecting definite barriers to the acceptance of Southern Negroes as a labor reserve for Northern and Western industry, and rendering the unguided movement of the unemployed and employed from state to state more difficult. At the same time there is no immediate prospect of a shortage of industrial manpower in any section, and it has been shown that Negro migration was initiated in response to greater job opportunities at higher wage rates in areas where there were growing demands for labor. It should be instructive to examine and evaluate these forces. Out of such an analysis we shall be able to suggest future trends in the movement of colored workers. Of course, we can do no more than speculate since there are possible so many unknown and unchartered developments in the future. In spite of these limitations we can, as we have, diagnose the motivating forces which have operated in the past, and we can sketch the institutional changes which are occurring today. It is these changes in our economic and social life that are most important for the future. They are many and varied. Some are working in direction and others in another. But taken together they are the most significant mile posts on the road which leads to tomorrow.

It has already been noted that there will probably be continuing emigration from the rural sections of the South and from the Southeast in particular. "Although the movement from farms to cities was considerably retarded during the early depression years, a critical analysis of available data for the years 1930-1935 shows that this trend gathered momentum again in 1935. Continued movement of young people from farms to cities must be expected, and we have seen that there are sound economic reasons for encouraging this trend, especially movement from rural communities in the Southeast."22

This will, of course, include Negro farmers, farm laborers, and tenants.

On the one hand recent legislative proposals and new laws now in effect will tend to reduce the movement of colored workers out of the South. At the same time, current unemployment among Negroes in the North and West tends to discourage the entrance of more colored families into these areas. "Public administration of relief has in general tended to restrict mobility. Few communities are willing to support any but their own residents; hence a specified length of residence is prerequisite to receipt of relief. It is probable that the maintenance of legal residence will become increasingly important in the future as more and more States enact social security laws, except insofar as this effect may be modified by Federal legislation or interstate agreements."23

22 The Problems of a Changing Population, p. 111. See also, ibid., p. 116. It has been estimated that the surplus population of the old Cotton Belt will be between 1.5 and 6.5 millions during the 10 years following recovery. Carter Goodrich and others, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

Among Negroes this force is at present of less importance than for all workers since agricultural and domestic laborers are not generally covered by the Social Security Law at this time, and colored persons have a disproportionately high concentration in these occupations.

On the other hand, the existing great differences in family incomes and earnings for Negroes in the North and South will, as long as they continue, be an important force in attracting colored workers away from the South. Greater civil and political rights will exert an influence; and the growth of industrial unionism with increasing opportunities for Negro participation is sure to make the areas where it exists more attractive to colored workers.

One of the important factors in the movement of Negroes has not been mentioned in this paper up to this point. It refers to the opportunities for Negro white-collar and professional workers in the North and the South. With the exception of teachers and preachers, there are relatively few Negro professional persons in the South. The separate schools of that section afford many occupational opportunities—at extremely low average salaries, for public-supported education in the South has accepted a wage differential based on race. The occupational pattern for Negroes in professional and white-collar pursuits in the North seems to be more diversified and reflects the influence of greater political activity in this section of the Nation. There is also evidence that a larger proportion of non-farm male Negroes in the Northeast, Middle Atlantic, and Northwest states are in clerical and kindred work than is true of the Southeast. Here, again, despite the importance of racial prejudice and traditional attitudes associated with racial divisions, it appears that the lack of professional opportunities in the South are reflections of the general economic level of that section. "It seems evident that a general increase in economic level for all groups in the South would broaden the opportunities in the more privileged occupations for whites as well as for Negroes."25

The Wages and Hours Law will have an important influence upon geographic wage patterns for Negroes. The Wages and Hours Administration has not allowed wage differentials based on race, and the law tends to raise most the earnings of the lowest paid workers. Thus, it should serve to lessen the differences between wage structures for Negroes in the North and the South. There are theoretical reasons for believing that racial displacement incident to these minima will be less than has been threatened, since most of the workers covered are part of factory labor forces and the investment in plant incident to their employment makes group turnover an expensive item. Moreover, a wage policy of no racial differential is the only possible one consistent with the growth of real labor organization in the Nation, and any variation from it will meet stiff opposition. There is, however,

25 The Problems of a Changing Population, p. 82. Thompson has noted that although colored teachers have, on the average, 80 per cent as much training as white teachers, they receive only 49.3 per cent as much salary for the same work as do white teachers. See Charles Thompson, "White and Negro Teachers' Salaries and Cost of Living," Journal of Negro Education, October, 1938, p. 485. The racial wage differential among white and Negro rural teachers is greater than that for urban teachers. For an example of the rural situation, see "Salaries of School Employees, 1938-1939," Research Bulletin Vol. VII, No. 2, National Education Association of the United States.
the possibility that the Wages and Hours Law will accelerate the increased use of machinery. Until more studies are made in this field, it will be impossible to judge the extent of technological unemployment created by this development. On the whole, it can certainly be assumed that this legislation will tend to reduce the importance of geographic differences in wage structures as a factor in encouraging the migration of Negroes from the South to other sections.

If relief is decentralized, there may be a tendency to reduce payments to Negroes in the South. On the other hand, the greater participation of states in the administration of relief will cause the residence requirements to be raised and more strictly enforced. This latter influence should be more important in migration than the former, for greater decentralization of relief will, it seems, decrease the mobility of all citizens, Negro and white alike. If Social Security benefits are extended to agricultural and domestic workers a similar reduction of mobility between states will be extended over a larger field. Because of the Southern Negroes' concentration in these occupations, they will feel this force more than other groups in the South.

The most serious deterrent to Negro migration to the North is, of course, the lack of job opportunities in that section. Unemployment among colored persons in Northern cities is extremely high. This will prevent any immediate demand for recruits to industry in these urban centers. It will also make less effective the force of the existence of a geographic differential in wages.

There are additional factors which will tend to reduce the rate of migration of Negroes from the South. Already, industrial unionism has reached certain Southern cities. The miners and metal workers in and around Birmingham have led the way; others are following, notably the share croppers in the deep South and the tobacco workers in Virginia. The revival of the longshoremen's unions and the rise of industrial unionism in manufacturing plants in New Orleans is another encouraging sign. The growing importance of government financed construction as typified by the PWA and the USHA has created a new importance of union affiliation for Negro skilled workers in the building trades. The degree to which colored workers in the South become a part of the labor movement will exert a most important influence upon their stability in that area. For if they are successful in participating generally in this movement, the wage differential based on race will be appreciably lessened. And such a differential has been closely associated with the movement of Negroes out of the South.

If there is Federal aid for education, the South will receive great benefits. There should be in any such aid provisions for an equitable distribution of funds as between Negro and white schools. Legislation of this type should do much to improve the Negro schools and bring them nearer an accepted standard. Current and future court action relative to racial differential in teachers' pay should appreciably improve the economic status of Negro professional workers in the South. Public housing, which the South seems ready to extend to Negroes, will be another factor contributing to stabilize the Negro population in the South.

There are other intangible forces, such as the recent movement toward a realistic

approach to the problems of the South by Southerners and the scientific analysis of the problems of Negro youth now being conducted by the American Youth Commission. Although the significance of these developments cannot be measured, they are designed to bring economic rehabilitation and racial understanding in the South and should affect the colored man's economic and social status.

For the present, at least, the high degree of unemployment among Negroes in the North seems to be a definite deterrent to the migration of Negroes in large numbers to that section. If and when there is an increase in the demand for labor in the North and West, there will be an available supply in the industrial centers of these regions. This fact, reflected by the general existence of unemployment and heavy relief loads in Northern cities, will prevent community acceptance or indifference to any recruiting of Southern colored workers by Northern and Western employers. At the same time the increasing participation of Negroes in industrial unions in the North and West will do much to integrate Negroes into the economic life of communities in these sections. Although such participation will make these areas attractive to migrants, it will also create an active and rather effective opposition to the migration of a new labor reserve as long as there is a supply of local labor available. This will reflect the growing consciousness of the whole community to labor organization and the new appreciation of colored citizens to the true implications of strike breaking. In cases where there are union agreements and contracts with employers, the force of such opposition will be intensified during the period of unemployment. Also, union participation by Negroes and the operation of the National Labor Relations Act will reduce the efficacy of importing colored workers as strike breakers.

On the other hand, it cannot be stressed too much that the contrast between Northern and Southern wage structures for Negroes will, as long as it exists, be a potential force encouraging Negroes to leave the South. In addition there is a most important long-run factor which must be taken into account. It is the surplus populations of two southern areas, the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateaus and the old Cotton Belt, in relation to their economic opportunities and ability to absorb additional workers. Thus, from the point of view of desirable population movements it can be said that: "The indications point to the need for emigration from the rural areas generally and to the inevitability of a very heavy movement from South to North and West." 27 We can agree with Goodrich and his associates in feeling that in a discussion of where surplus populations will go we must remember that there is a question of the economic system’s absorbing them anywhere or of their ever finding satisfactory employment. This much we can say, if there is recovery and if production gives rise to greater demands for labor; "the chances of future livelihood are in general better in the North and West than in the South." 28 Certainly what is true of all Southern workers will reach colored workers if and when economic conditions facilitate greater regional migration.

In the interim, there are certain changes in the industrial development of the South which will influence the Negro. First, the growth of the Southern branch of the textile industry at the expense of that in the North seems to be at an end. Indeed, it has been said that the southern tex-

27 Goodrich and others, op. cit., p. 496.
28 Ibid., p. 499.
The tile industry is already overexpanded. There will no doubt be a growth of southern industrialization, but at a rate slower than that of the pre-depression years and insufficient to absorb the entire surplus population of the region. It seems probable also that the development of industries such as construction, furniture, and food and metal manufacturing may offer relatively greater opportunities for employment to Negroes in the South than did the growth of textiles; for in the past these industries have used a much higher proportion of colored workers than have the textile mills of the South.

For the Negro, as for all groups in the population, there seems to be little prospect of great regional migrations in the immediate future. There will, within states—especially those of the South—be much movement. The Negro will continue to desert the rural areas of the Southeast. Present economic, political, and social developments suggest that the North will be less attractive and accessible to the Southern Negro in the immediate future than it has been. Thus, there will be greater concentration of colored citizens in Southern cities. The movement of Negroes to the North and the West will continue, but unless there is a great increase in labor needs in these sections, it is unlikely that there will be anything approaching the earlier waves of migration out of the South.

IV

Speculation on long-run migration trends is most hazardous. Obviously, it is impossible to do more than indicate what may happen if certain developments take place. Our recent experiences have shown us that revival of production does not mean absorption of all the unemployed. It is possible and probable that manufacturing and mechanical industries will be able to produce more goods with fewer workers than were required in the past. Also, recent studies of technological trends have suggested that there will be greater demand for workers in clerical capacities and in other work incident to service industries. Dr. Edwards of the Census Bureau has noted the phenomenal growth of clerical and kindred workers. In an article devoted entirely to this group, he states that, "more significant perhaps than the present size of the white-collar group is its remarkable growth." During the 60-year period from 1870 to 1930 clerical and kindred workers grew from approximately 366,752 to 7,949,453—an increase of 2067.5 percent. The proportion of all gainfully employed persons falling in this group increased five times. Thus, in 1870, 2.9 percent of all workers were clerks and kindred workers; while in 1930 the figure was 16.3 percent. Among female workers the increase was relatively greater than for all workers. During the 60-year period female clerical and kindred workers grew.

"The probability for the future seems to be that there will be less rather than more employment in manufacturing industries." Harry Magdoff and others, Production, Employment, and Productivity in Manufacturing Industries, 1919-36, Part I, Works Progress Administration (1939), p. 81. See also Technological Trends and National Policy (1937), pp. 71-75.

During the 60-year period, 1870-1930, the proportion of the nation's labor force engaged in production of commodities of basic industries dropped from slightly over three-fourths to a little over one-half. Ralph B. Hurlin and Meredith B. Givens, "Shifting Occupational Patterns," Recent Social Trends (1933), I, 284.

26,675 percent. On the basis of this growth in the past, Dr. Edwards predicts that the group may continue to increase in relative importance.\footnote{Ibid., p. 505.}

In the light of these trends, it seems that business revival in the North and West will not give rise to a need for importation of labor to the extent that was true of the post-war period. There is, of course, the possibility of greater needs incident to the production of munitions and other material needed for our defense program or bought by foreign powers for war purposes. Such results are, at best, uncertain. If they should be realized, there is a chance for the need of a large labor supply in industrial centers. In the interim, Negroes and whites will be moving from rural to urban areas. The existence of higher wages in Northern industries will make them attractive to Southern workers, and it is safe to assume that any increase in the demand of these industries for workers which cannot be met by the present local labor reserves will attract Southerners in large numbers. If such a demand is delayed, as it seems it will be, the type of workers who respond will be different from those who migrated prior to 1930. Since forces are operating to reduce wage differentials based on race in the South, the Negro will share his response with the white Southerner to a greater degree than in the past. (This will be offset in part by the greater attractiveness of the North to Negroes on account of its increased civil and political rights for colored citizens and the keener competition for jobs in Southern cities.) All Southern workers who may make this move—and Negroes in particular—will probably be more familiar with city life than earlier migrants due to urbanization within the South which seems to be inevitable in the near future. Also, there should be less difficulty in initiating this future industrial reserve of the North into benefits of labor organization. Present indications seem to show that some of the ground work will be done in the South in the immediate future.

From this analysis certain implications can be drawn in many fields. The following are a few. In the first place it seems that the constantly recurring recommendations for reestablishing the Negro on farms in the South are contrary to present and inevitable future trends. In individual cases this method may be desirable, but as a wholesale method of solving the economic problems which face Negroes it is of questionable value. The very areas in which there is the greatest concentration of colored farmers and farm laborers are the most outstanding sections of over-population. The problems of these areas today and, in the light of our prospects of a declining population and the nature of the world market for cotton, their future problems are those of surplus population. It would be futile to initiate a movement of any group back into these sections which have not enough present or prospective job opportunities for their natural populations. The principal problem of the Southern people—Negro and white alike—is not one of finding agricultural employment but of discovering employment opportunities in non-farm communities for a surplus population. Indeed, as the Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy has noted, 'It should also be clearly recognized that if agriculture must provide for any large segment of its surplus population, it will be in no position to provide for the unemployed, the aged, and the industrial misfits discarded by other industries.' Already there are some 500,000 destitute farm families on land almost wholly
unsuited for crop farming. Thus, the great need is for migration.\textsuperscript{36}

Since there is little immediate prospect of a great influx of Negro workers into the North and West, this is a favorable time for the labor movement in these sections to effect a vigorous educational campaign among colored workers. This movement should be an integral part of the general organizational work. Evidences are at hand that such a program is under way and is receiving the support of colored labor. In the South, there is even greater need for a vigorous attack upon the problem of organizing both Negro and white labor.

In the realm of public housing it may be noted that future population movements among Negroes suggest the desirability and feasibility of continuing slum clearance and low-rent housing in Negro neighborhoods in the South. The southern cities seem destined to grow in size during the next few years. The newcomers will be both Negro and white and there will be a growing need for low-rent housing; however, past experience has shown that the natural increase in the supply of housing for Negroes will usually lag behind the demand. Planning for public housing in the North must in its long-run phases envision larger populations of both Negro and white citizens and be flexible enough to adjust itself to their needs.

For Negroes and those concerned with their economic future, these possible developments in population distribution have important implications. In the first place, there must be expanding opportunities for employment in Southern cities, and this problem will be complicated by the fact that both the Negro and white populations of these cities will grow. The colored skilled worker must survive in this section. Steps to assure this and to facilitate the training of young Negroes in the skills should be taken at once. Since the revival of the construction industry seems to be dependent upon expanded activity in housing and since public housing will probably lead the way, this field seems to be a point of departure.\textsuperscript{37}

Also, the growth of service industries and the programs of governmental activity in the field of social betterment suggest the importance of securing a place for Negroes as employees in such programs.\textsuperscript{38} Nor can the need to secure a place for colored workers in the future industrial expansion of the South be left to chance.

Finally, there must be a general increase of Negro employment in the distributive and service trades and an expansion of their activity in new expressions of traditional occupations such as domestic service.\textsuperscript{39} Perhaps the greatest need here is constant and capable research into occupational trends and adequate vocational guidance. This should be coupled with a critical re-examination of so-called Vocational Education for Negroes in the South and a thorough revision of it to the end that it actually becomes what its name implies.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{36} Farm Tenancy (1936), p. 65.

\textsuperscript{37} Weaver, "An Experiment in Negro Labor," op. cit.

\textsuperscript{38} Weaver, "Training Negroes for Occupational Opportunities," Journal of Negro Education (October, 1938), pp. 493-497.

\textsuperscript{39} See Weaver, op. cit., pp. 495 et seq.

\textsuperscript{40} For a critical appraisal of Negro vocational education in the South, see Frank S. Horne, "The Industrial School of the South," Opportunity (May and June 1935).