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A study of negro males' attitudes toward work and economic role

Deola Hall Wells

Atlanta University

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Clarence, for his love and understanding, and to my family for their support and encouragement, without which this accomplishment would not have been possible.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express gratitude to the members of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, for their cooperation, and especially to Mr. Horace Small, who worked very closely with me in collecting data for the study.

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Deola H. Wells
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Significance of the Study

There is no question that our society of today is a product of the many changes that we have undergone due to technological and industrial advancement. Such changes necessarily affect the mode of living and economic functioning of society’s members. These technological advances have effected much progress for our society as a whole; however, the current and expanding awareness of the persistence of poverty in America points to the fact that there are those in our society who have not reaped the benefits of the progress which has been made.¹

Both the question of poverty and that of economic functioning are too broad to be studied comprehensively in this research. However, because of social work’s concern about poverty and its philosophy of the dignity of man and the right of each individual to maximum self-fulfillment, any study in this area would be valuable in contributing to the knowledge

of this broad social problem. Therefore, this project is set up to study one small segment of this issue, the economic role of the Negro male, with the desire that its results will point to some areas for further and more intensive study.

In order to study the Negro male's economic functioning, we must first understand the value system within which he functions. The bases of this value system are (1) success, and (2) financial success as measured in the ability to command prestige and service.\(^2\) In order to achieve this success, man is required to compete in the over-all economic sphere in order to arrive at a given level of prestige. In addition, because of the stratified level of employment in our society, it must be recognized that there will be various levels of success and prestige, resulting from man's ability to compete for various reasons, such as ability, opportunity or lack of opportunity, and motivation for achieving.

The study of a group like the Negro confronts us with a unique situation. The culture in which the Negro lives is American. Hence, we expect to find in the Negro an American personality—the same basic patterns of adaptation we find in the white man, insofar as these are determined by social conditions common to both. In addition, we expect to find the results of the impact of these conditions that are different for the Negro. These come under

Such oppression cannot but leave a permanent impact on the Negro's personality. The Negro is a part of American culture, which is based on a competitive effort to achieve and is measured in terms of the amount of prestige an individual can command within it.

Out of the discriminatory practices that exist in our society, there has developed a stereotyped opinion that the Negro is unstable with a lack of motivation to achieve, in addition to an inferior intellectual capacity. On the other hand, there is a more positive view, going as far back as slavery, of the Negro and his motivation when there was a chance of achieving a desired goal.

In the progress that has been made in our society, we can see that the Negro has not been able to benefit fully from social reform measures that have had to be enacted in America, in addition to those of education, housing, etc., which we can accept that he does in view of the many social discrimination in the area of employment, in addition to those of education, housing, etc., which we can accept that he does in view of the many social reform measures that have had to be enacted in America.

4 Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1954 U.S. Supreme Court Decision ruling against segregation in Public Schools, Civil Rights Act, Economic Opportunity Act, etc.

5 Ibid., p. 11.

Ibid., p. 11.

Ibid., p. 11.

instance after instance comes to mind where contemporary writers tell how the slaves did no more than they were compelled to do and had to be watched incessantly even at the simplest tasks; but how, when competent in skilled trades and permitted to attain worthwhile goals, such as the purchase of their own freedom, they worked well without supervision. Similarly, where slaves cultivated their own plots of ground after hours, the energy they put to such tasks is remarked on again and again.6

We cannot say that the stereotyped concept is correct nor that it should be negated; however, because of the Negro's precarious position in society there has been a need for some adaptations to American society. Did these adaptations result in lack of motivation to achieve or in ways of coping with the system? What appears to have been accomplished is that the Negro's attitude about his economic functioning became different from that of the over-all society. Perhaps the best way to answer this question is to direct our attention to the Negro's level of economic functioning in relation to society's standards of economic functioning. In so doing we will attempt to extract the economic functioning of the Negro male, who is the focus of this study.

One of the most easily observable units of our society which has been affected by technological changes is the family; therefore, it is within this unit that the economic functioning of the Negro male is surveyed in the literature. We must

keep in mind that the traditional American family is of the nuclear type in which the male is the protector and provider. Margaret Mead,\(^7\) along with other writers,\(^8\) holds that this is no longer true and that this male-dominated family type is being replaced by an equalitarian family. Although there are some evidences of this latter trend in our society, since it has not emerged as our basic type of family we will continue to accept the traditional family type with the male as the major provider.

A survey of the literature points to the fact that the traditional American family type does not hold true for the Negro and that the Negro male has more difficulty in achieving economic success than does the white male, who has, since the beginning of this country, been most instrumental in deciding this country's standards.

The Negro family, particularly in the lower classes, suffers a great deal of disorganization. Basic here is the lesser economic opportunity of the Negro male. His inability to meet familial obligations finds its ultimate expression in the large number of broken homes among

\(^7\)Margaret Mead, Male and Female (New York: Morrow and Co., 1949).

Negroes, as well as in the large number of families with female heads.

A new source of difficulty in the Negro household is introduced by the tradition of expectancy of male dominance. In other words, a Negro female loses respect for her spouse whose economic condition prevents him from acting according to white ideals or prototypes. The unhappy economic plight of the Negro male not only contributes to the economic dominance of the Negro female, but also makes her psychologically dominant.\(^9\)

Kardiner and Ovesey hold that the above situation is peculiar to lower class Negro families; however, it is believed by this investigator that too often class differences have been used to cloud the issue. This opinion is supported by the view that although middle-class and upper-class Negroes are more assimilated into the national culture, they are still isolated from the whites.\(^{10}\) Therefore, the Negro male, regardless of class is unable to come up to the level of the white male realistically or in the eyes of the Negro female.

The question arises over and over about the causes of Negro family disorganization and the inability of the Negro male to achieve. Although it cannot be said that any one thing has caused the present situation of the Negro male, perhaps part of the answer can be seen in his slave history and subsequent alienation from society by discrimination.

\(^9\)Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

\(^{10}\)Rose, op. cit., p. 229.
For our purposes, the African background of the Negro is significant only to the extent that when he was subjected to slavery, he was robbed of whatever social organization and traditions by which he had lived and was offered very little as a substitute for them. Frazier and Herskovits disagree sharply on the issue of whether any parts of the African way of life survived the impact of slavery. However, we are concerned with the effect that slavery had on developing the present attitude of the Negro male toward work and his economic role rather than an account of the residuals of his past cultural systems.

Slavery was originally based on an economic need—the need to maintain a dependable work force for the tremendous task of growing cotton. Because of the difficulty involved in producing cotton, there was a greater demand for male labor than for female labor; therefore, there was a great disproportion of the sexes in the slave population until such time as slave owners became interested in economizing by obtaining

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12Herskovits, *op. cit.*


female slaves for the purpose of procreation in addition to the fact that they could also perform duties on the plantations. The disproportion of sexes among the slaves made it very difficult for the slaves to maintain any real family organization. In addition, slave marriages were generally not recognized, being purely a matter of individual opinion or caprice on the part of the master.\textsuperscript{15} Mating of the slaves was also performed at the will of the master, generally in the manner in which stock are mated, with no consideration of the desires of the slaves.\textsuperscript{16}

It cannot be said that during the slavery period there were no Negro family relationships, because even then there were some "free Negroes" who functioned in family groups. Nevertheless, the predominant level of functioning of Negro families was within the dictates of the slave regime, within which, it should be kept in mind, the white man's culture was male-oriented, with the father assuming the position of provider.\textsuperscript{17} This, however, was not true for the Negro man; in contrast to the prevailing culture of the white man, the Negro woman came to occupy the more predominant position. She had

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 21.


\textsuperscript{17}Kardiner and Ovesey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 46.
the opportunity of coming into closer contact with the culture, ranging from "mammy" for the white master's children\textsuperscript{18} to sex partner for him,\textsuperscript{19} with the possibility of incorporating some of the values and beliefs of this culture.

Unlike the Negro woman, the Negro male's movement was more restricted, perhaps because of his utility in the field. However, there is one view that holds that this restriction was a means of keeping distance between the Negro male and the white female.\textsuperscript{20} Whatever the reasons for this difference, Kardiner and Ovesey have very adequately expressed the effects of the slave regime on the Negro male.

...in comparison with the mother, the father image suffered a great deal more. It must not be forgotten that the white man's culture was male oriented. In contrast, the anonymity or continuous absence of the father made the mother the central and focal point of the Negro family. The father could not be idealized as protector and provider, for he was neither.

Nor can it be overlooked that under conditions of slavery, it was the white master who, despite his role as exploiter and persecutor, was also protector. And it was in this role that the white owner became an idealized though hated figure.\textsuperscript{21}

Emancipation did little to raise the Negro male's self-esteem; it added the burden of assuming responsibilities that

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18}\textit{Frazier, op. cit.}, p. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 55.
\item \textsuperscript{20}\textit{Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit.}, p. 326.
\item \textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 46.
\end{itemize}
were strange to him. In addition, the attitudes of the whites did not change. The continuation of racism after cotton was no longer "king" is an example of the principle that ideologies exist long after the condition that gave rise to them ceases to exist.  

Following the collapse of the slave regime, Negro families who had achieved a fair degree of stability made the transition to the traditional family type—in which the father was head of the house—with relative ease. On the other hand, the loose marital ties established within the slave system broke easily, and Negro women with children assumed the position of head of the house. This latter trend, although still prevalent, has been somewhat modified today in that, in many Negro families, the husband and wife share the position of provider. However, the fact remains, as expressed below, that the Negro male has not met with the same success as his white counterpart.

The Negro, for obvious economic reasons, begins to work earlier than the white. Jobs are harder to get and he is more often unemployed. More Negroes are on work relief at any given time... More Negro females are in the labor force than white females. The Negro female starts work earlier and works until later in life. Sterner points out that the white female gainful worker withdraws from

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22Rose, op. cit.

23Frazier, op. cit., p. 81.
the labor market at a much more rapid rate after the age of 25 than does the Negro female. The latter usually continues to work until the age of 85. This difference between white and Negro women expresses the greater economic security of the white male. The Negro male does not have the same economic opportunities and hence cannot be as good a provider. The Negro female's chances for employment are better and more constant than those of the Negro male. Negro working-class women always hold the purse-strings. Ill-paid and irregularly employed, the masses of Negro men have not succeeded in becoming steady providers for their families.\(^{24}\)

How does the Negro male react to his economic situation? One view holds that the Negro male's reactions to work situations are of two dominant characteristics--(1) externalized work motivation, where initiative on the part of the Negro male is discouraged by Southern whites, thus leading to "weak" internalization of the dominant culture's standards of work, and (2) conflicting work motivation, where the apparent impossibility of accomplishing anything may make it difficult for him to sustain his motivation.\(^{25}\) If we accept this view at face value, we would be bowing to the widespread misconception that the Negro's problems are totally Southern problems. All we need to do to avoid this misconception is to pick up a daily paper and see such headlines as "U.S. FINDS NEGROES TRAPPED IN MENIAL JOBS,\(^{26}\) which point out the fact that many

\(^{24}\)Kardiner and Ovesey, _op. cit._, pp. 59-60.


non-southern cities have high percentages of Negroes who have not attained the financial success upon which our American culture is based.

Even in the industrial cities, with their varied job opportunities, the percentage of Negro families living in poverty was exceptionally high. The 1960 Census showed the following percentages of Negro poverty: Los Angeles 23, San Francisco 23, Newark 24, Chicago 27, New York 27 (77,711 of 291,262 families), Cleveland 28, Columbus 30, Philadelphia 30 (45,003 of 148,992 families), Baltimore 32, Buffalo 33, Detroit 34 (42,688 of 125,911 families), Kansas City 35, Pittsburgh 36, Cincinnati 36, St. Louis 41 (27,161 of 65,988 families), Miami 42, Phoenix, Ariz., 46, Atlanta 49 (24,714 of 50,020 families). 27

The Negro’s economic problems became problems of the broad American culture when Negroes began to migrate away from the South because of (1) the “more liberal attitudes of whites” toward Negroes that existed outside of the South, and (2) expanding industrialization in the North, with a better chance of Negroes obtaining jobs and improving their economic condition. 28

With the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act, our concern can no longer be on whether poverty is a northern or southern problem; our focus must be on what can be done about it. If we are to work effectively with the poor, then we must know the people with whom we are to work. Is the Negro man

27 Ibid.
28 Rose, op. cit., p. xix.
basically lazy? Does the Negro male want to be the provider for his family? Does he lack motivation for work? Does he feel that there is no chance of improving his economic situation? These are some of the questions to which this study will seek answers.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to explore the adult Negro male worker's attitudes toward work and economic role.

**Hypotheses**

This study is based on the hypothesis that adult Negro males' attitudes toward work and economic role do not conform to the accepted standards of middle-class society. Sub-hypotheses for the study are:

1. The adult Negro male tends to devalue the importance of ability and skill in job performance.
2. The adult Negro male feels that there is less chance of job advancement for him.
3. The adult Negro male feels that work is primarily a means to obtain material goods.
4. The adult Negro male shows lack of identification with people who are supervising him.
5. The adult Negro male does not feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work.
6. The adult Negro male does not see himself as the major provider for the family.
7. The adult Negro male has the desire to be the major provider in the family.

8. The adult Negro male accepts female employment in his family as long as it does not interfere with his role as provider.

Method of Procedure

This study is an exploratory study based on the above hypothesis and sub-hypotheses. In order to avoid any possible ambiguity, the major terms used in the study—attitude, economic role, Negro male, adult, work, and accepted standards of middle-class society—were operationally defined. Attitude means "a more or less enduring predisposition to respond affectively toward a specified entity." 29 The term "economic role" refers to the ability to support and provide for a family financially. A "Negro male" is any adult male recognizable as a member of, or identifying himself with, the Negro race. Any Negro male who is working is considered to be an "adult." "Work" is the performance of duties inherent in a job situation. The term "accepted standards of middle-class society" refers to the ideas that the man is head of the house, 30 that the individual can rise as far as his skills


30 Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 46.
and abilities allow him to compete for achievement, that the female's place is in the home, that both material success and personal satisfaction can be derived from work.

The instrument of data collection was an attitude scale, which was used to obtain attitudes about work and economic role. Because of the investigator's lack of success in finding an attitude scale dealing with work and economic role, which would deal with the focus of this study, it was necessary to develop a scale for the study. In developing the scale used in this study, the investigator was assisted by Mr. Seymour Slovik and Dr. Elmer Struening; the former is a social work researcher and the latter is a psychology researcher at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Montrose, New York. Both have had a great deal of experience in research and in developing and testing attitude scales.

The first step in developing the scale was to clarify the attitude areas to be measured by the scale. The areas decided upon were: (1) The degree of importance the worker places on his role within the family group; (2) Ego ideals or values; (3) Optimism Vs. Pessimism; (4) Degree of identification with people on authority levels; and (5) The degree of importance placed on job performance.

Following the above clarification, literature concerning attitude scale development was surveyed, and it was decided
that the Likert technique of scaling would be followed. This technique is one in which a series of propositions in the form of statements are drawn up around a particular question. These statements range from extremely positive to extremely negative and indicate a position for or against the statement. Each of the propositions calls for a response by checking one of six responses which follow each proposition.  

The third step in developing the instrument was the selection of relevant items for the scale. Since there was no one scale available for use, the scale which was developed for this study is an extract of items from several scales which had been developed and used by Dr. Struening and co-workers and other scales available to him from studies in progress for Ph.D. dissertations. After drawing all items


from these scales which had any application to this study, they were classified under the five areas included on the scale.

The fourth step taken in developing the scale was defining the population to whom it was to be administered, Negro and white male nursing assistants. Consideration was then given to wording items in such a way that they would be clear and geared to the understanding and level of communication of the nursing assistant population. Mr. Slovik, Dr. Struening and the investigator worked on this area until a scale of 50 items was developed, which we agreed would be inclusive of the attitudes to be obtained.

After developing the scale proper, the investigator set about developing a section of identifying information in order to be able to identify and describe the sample used in the study. This section was set up to include (1) Marital status and employment status of wife, if married; (2) Age; and (3) Educational level.

Following the completion of the scale, a set of instructions was drawn up in order to give respondents some understanding of the study and to give them direction in filling out the instrument. In these instructions the investigator attempted to assure respondents that the study was not connected with their places of employment and that their
participation in the study was completely confidential.

Due to problems in obtaining a sample of Negro and white nursing assistants, the population for the study was changed to an all-Negro group of male nursing assistants. This shift necessitated a revision of hypotheses which made some of the items on the original scale not applicable to the study. Therefore, the investigator went through the scale and revised the areas to be included in the scale based on the revised hypotheses. The revised areas were: (1) the degree of importance the worker places on his role within the family group, which includes his opinions about his position in the family and his opinions about female employment; (2) the degree of identification with people in supervisory positions, which refers to his opinions of where he stands in relation to those who are over him; (3) the degree of importance placed on material success as against personal satisfaction, which refers to whether a worker sees his job as a means of mere subsistence or whether he feels that some personal satisfaction can be obtained from work; (4) the degree of importance the worker places on ability and skill, which seeks to find out whether he feels that other factors are more important than skill; and (5) the opinions that the worker has about the possibility of job advancement, whether he feels that he can advance or whether he feels confined to his present job. Each
item was then considered to determine whether or not it was applicable to the revisions. All items which were not applicable to the revisions were deleted, and new items were selected in areas which were considered by the investigator to be inadequately scaled. This revision resulted in the present scale of forty items (see Appendix A). The scale was not pre-tested because of time limitations.

The research was conducted at the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, in New York City. The union's purpose is to organize hospital employees in an effort to improve working conditions; its members are employees of the various hospitals in the New York City area.

The sample for this study was selected from Negro male nursing assistants who are members of the union. Selection of the sample proceeded with Mr. Horace Small, General Organizer of Local 1199, contacting the Directors of Nursing Service in the various non-profit, voluntary hospitals in the Brooklyn and Manhattan areas of New York City. These directors were asked to permit the investigator to come to the hospitals during the week of April 18-22, 1965, to administer the scale during regular work hours to nursing assistant employees, who were Negro males and who were working the day shift. At this time the purpose of the study was explained to the Directors of Nursing Service who were contacted. After
obtaining permission to visit the hospitals for the purpose of collecting data, the investigator personally contacted the Directors of Nursing Service and set up appointments.

At the time of appointment for collecting data, each of the directors assembled the Negro male nursing assistants, whom they had contacted prior to the time of appointment, to fill out the scale. Prior to administering the scale, the investigator gave an explanation of the purpose of the study and read the instructions for the assembled group. The respondents were given the opportunity to ask questions related to filling out the scale which were answered by the investigator. They were then asked to complete the scales and return them to the investigator.

Subsequent to the collection of data, a method of quantitative analysis was set up. For each of the response categories on the scale a numerical weight of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 was assigned. This assignment was made by applying the lowest numerical value to the least desirable response based on the hypothesis that the statement was attempting to test.34 After collecting data, weights were applied to the responses for each of the items checked on the individual scales. In analyzing data, the five items that were to test each of the

34Young, op. cit., p. 339.
eight sub-hypotheses were grouped together (see Appendix B) and the mean score for each respondent for each of the eight sub-hypotheses was obtained. From the individual mean scores, the mean score was found for the total sample.

On the basis of the mean score for the total sample, for each of the sub-hypotheses, the decision of whether findings indicated support or non-support of the sub-hypotheses was made. It was decided that the cut-off point would be 3.5, with six being the highest possible score and one being the lowest possible score. Any mean score of 3.5 or above indicated support of the sub-hypothesis, and any mean score below 3.5 indicated non-support. The findings from the eight sub-hypotheses were used to indicate support or non-support of the hypothesis.

After the mean score for each sub-hypothesis was found, the t-test of significance was applied to the findings in order to determine their significance. That is, the mean scores of the sample were divided into highs and lows—high indicating mean scores of 3.5 or above and low indicating mean scores of below 3.5—and the mean score for each of the two groups found for each sub-hypothesis. The t-test of significance for the difference between two means, \[ t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{S_{\bar{X}}}, \]

was applied for each sub-hypothesis. After finding \( t \), the degrees of freedom -- \( df = N_1 - N_2 - 2 \) -- was applied to the sample. Based on the value of \( t \), the significance of the \( t \) value was obtained by looking up the value of \( t \) in a probability table under the degree of freedom value. Based on the .05 level of significance it was determined whether the findings were significant. Any probability value above the .05 level on the probability table indicated that the findings were not supported.

**Scope and Limitations**

This study includes thirty Negro male nursing assistants who are members of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, and who are employed in non-profit, voluntary hospitals in the Brooklyn and Manhattan areas of New York City.

There were some foreseen limitations to the study. First, the inability to find an attitude scale already developed and tested around this area of research necessitated the development of a scale. Because the scale used in this study has not been tested, its reliability in obtaining the desired attitudes may be questioned.

The study was limited by the time available for

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collecting data, one week, which limited the number of respondents who could be included in the sample. There is a possibility that the sample is biased because Negro male nursing assistants who were not working the day shift were not given the opportunity to be included in the sample. In addition, the fact that only thirty of two hundred possible respondents were used in the study—a result of accidental sampling—the question of whether or not the sample was representative of the population available for study may be raised. Consequently, question may be raised about whether or not the findings from this study would hold true for the total population or for similar groups of Negro males.

Safeguards taken in the study were: (1) consultation with two researchers, in developing the scale, who have had experience in developing and testing attitude scales; (2) developing the scale for this study through the use of other scales which have already been tested and which have some relevance to the study; (3) application of the t-test of significance to the findings of this study; and (4) obtaining agency approval and cooperation for the collection of data.

The Union

Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, is an organization which seeks to organize drug and hospital workers
in order to secure improved working conditions and wages. 38
The local is an affiliate of the AFL-CIO's Retail, Wholesale
and Department Store Union, and its members are drug and hos-
pital workers in the metropolitan New York area and Long
Island. Its president is Leon J. Davis, who was involved in
the very beginning of the union. 39

This union began its organizational efforts during the
1932 depression, when a small group of pharmacists met in
Manhattan, New York. The motivation behind this meeting was
two-fold: (1) low wages with long work hours and (2) exten-
sive duties outside of their professional discipline. 40

At that time those fortunate to be employed earned as
little as $20 for a sixty-six hour, seven-day workweek.
Their professionalism included sweeping, mopping and
dusting floors, as well as filling and delivering prescriptions. 41

Although the pharmacists were the prime movers in form-
ing the union, they recognized that in order to improve their
position they needed to extend their organization to include
fellow employees. Therefore, out of the pharmacists'

38Moe Foner, "Local 1199 Makes Realistic Gains for Its
Newly-Organized Members: Union Offers Varied Programs for
Hospital Workers," (Publication of Local 1199, 1959). (Mimeo-
graphed.)
39Ibid., p. 3.
40Ibid.
41Ibid.
organizational efforts emerged a professional organization whose largest segment consisted of registered pharmacists but included also sodamen and women, drug clerks, cosmeticians, porters and deliverymen. Since the organization of the union and the climb back from depression to prosperity, improvements in working conditions and status have come to members in all categories.42

Although in operation from 1932 to the present time, in 1958 non-profit hospital employees were still not organized. Because no other union would undertake to organize non-profit hospital employees, Local 1199 launched a campaign to organize the 35,000 workers in New York City's eighty-two voluntary, non-profit hospitals.43 In the campaign to organize the workers, the union was assisted by stories and editorials in El Diario de Nueva York and the Amsterdam News, the largest Spanish language and Negro newspapers in the city. This assistance was significant in that an overwhelming majority of non-professional workers in the hospitals are of Puerto Rican and Negro descent.44 In addition to the press, some 500 drug

42Ibid.
43Interview with Dick Logan, Educational Director, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, April 12, 1965.
44Interview with Horace Small, General Organizer, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, January 19, 1965.
store members volunteered to distribute leaflets at hospitals throughout the city; at least once a week, these volunteers were at hospital gates at 5:30 A.M., distributed leaflets, and talked about the union until time for them to report to their own jobs. 45

As a result of the 1958 campaign, by December, 1958, Local 1199, under the leadership of Elliott Godoff, had successfully organized non-profit hospital employees. 46 The union's membership is 24,500 workers—18,500 members in sixty-five hospitals and nursing homes, and 6,000 members in drug stores and pharmaceutical houses. 47 In 1959, the local's Hospital Division had a membership of 8,000 and held collective bargaining agreements covering 3,200 non-professional, technical and office employees at voluntary hospitals and homes in the metropolitan area. 48

Since the Union entered the scene, wages have improved markedly. Hiring rates, formerly as low as $25, $30 and $32 for a forty-four hour, six-day week, 49 are now almost doubled.

45 Foner, op. cit., p. 3.
46 Interview with Dick Logan, op. cit.
47 Letter from Horace Small, General Organizer, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, New York, N.Y., March 25, 1965.
48 Foner, op. cit.
49 Ibid.
average minimum $60.00 for a forty-hour week with time and
one-half for work performed in excess of forty hours in any
one week, and the starting rate for pharmacists is now $60
for a forty-hour week.

Advancement has not stopped the union's movement for
there is still room for improvement. At the present time the
local's main legislative objectives are the extension of col-
lective bargaining rights to voluntary hospital workers
throughout the State of New York and extension of unemployment
insurance coverage.

In addition to the union's program for improved working
conditions, it has developed programs of educational, social
and cultural activities to meet the needs and interests of
members and their families.

Its class program, the Local 1199 'Unionversity,' offers
courses to meet the on-the-job needs of members. To better
equip them to service the growing number of Puerto Rican
customers, classes in Spanish are conducted. Members in-
terested in obtaining information on cosmetics products at-
tend special courses in that subject.

For soda fountain workers, special classes are arranged
in cooperation with the Food Trades Vocational High School.
Latest developments in pharmacy are available to members at

50 Interview with Horace Small, General Organizer, Drug
and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, April 12, 1965.

51 Foner, op. cit.

52 Interview with Dick Logan, op. cit.
classes in Pharmacology and Management Problems by leading educators...\(^3\)

In addition to the above mentioned class programs, a number of classes are conducted for stewards of the union to learn their key jobs as union representatives on their hospital jobs.\(^4\)

Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, is interested in raising the economic condition of its members. Although formed some thirty-three years ago, the union is very significant today in light of the present "war on poverty"; for, many of the union's members are among the poor of our nation. However, the union has not stopped short of incorporating into its program the educational, social and cultural needs of the people whom it serves. In becoming active in the efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunity to combat poverty, Local 1199 is presently negotiating to set up a Neighborhood Labor Center in the New York City area under the Economic Opportunity Act provisions.\(^5\)

\(^{53}\)Foner, op. cit.

\(^{54}\)Interview with Dick Logan, op. cit.

\(^{55}\)Ibid.
CHAPTER II

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Description of the Sample

Thirty Negro male nursing assistants constituted the sample used in making this study. These respondents were members of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199, and were employed in various voluntary, non-profit hospitals in the Brooklyn and Manhattan areas of New York City.

In order to describe the sample, respondents were asked to identify themselves on the instrument according to age, marital status, if married, employment status of wife, and educational level. The mean age of the sample was thirty-six.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eleven of the respondents were single and nineteen were married. Of the nineteen married respondents, eleven of their
wives were working and eight were not working.

The educational level of respondents ranged from the completion of the seventh grade to the completion of four years of college. Data were grouped into four categories of grades completed. It can be seen that the highest percentage of respondents fell into the range of tenth to twelfth grade, generally within the high school range.

**TABLE 2**

**RESPONDENTS BY GRADE COMPLETED IN SCHOOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Completed</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3 years of college</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years of college</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis of Data**

The data for this study were quantified using the mean score of responses as the criterion for testing the sub-hypotheses of the study. The mean score of 3.5 was used in determining support or non-support of a hypothesis. Scores of 3.5 or above indicated support, and scores below 3.5 indicated non-support. The t-test of the difference between two means
was applied to the findings to determine their statistical significance. In finding the statistical significance, the degrees of freedom of the sample was found. When the value of "t" was obtained, the probability level was found on a probability table under the value of 28 (degrees of freedom). The criterion for statistical significance was the accepted .05 level of probability.

The above procedure of analysis was followed in testing each of the following sub-hypotheses:

1. The adult Negro male tends to devaluate the importance of ability and skill in job performance.

2. The adult Negro male feels that there is less chance of job advancement for him.

3. The adult Negro male feels that work is primarily a means to obtain material goods.

4. The adult Negro male shows lack of identification with people who are supervising him.

5. The adult Negro male does not feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work.

6. The adult Negro male does not see himself as the major provider for the family.

7. The adult Negro male has the desire to be the major provider for the family.

8. The adult Negro male accepts female employment in his family as long as it does not interfere with his role as provider.

Based on the findings of the sub-hypotheses it was determined

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56 Edwards, op. cit.
whether the hypothesis—that the adult Negro male's attitudes toward work and economic role do not conform to the accepted standards of middle-class society—was supported.

**Attitudes Toward the Importance of Ability and Skill in Job Performance**

According to the findings of a study by Karon, one of the Negro male's reactions to work situations is externalized work motivation, or "weak" internalization of the dominant culture's standards of work. Recognizing that American society is based on success dependent upon one's abilities and skills in competing for this status, it can be assumed that "externalized work motivation" includes a devaluation of ability and skill. Based on Karon's findings, this study made a hypothesis that the adult Negro male tends to devaluate the importance of ability and skill in job performance.

Data from the thirty respondents related to the above hypothesis do not support the hypothesis. Sixteen of the respondents had mean scores ranging from 3.4 to 1.4, which indicated non-support of the hypothesis. The mean score for the total sample was 3.2, which is below the 3.5 level indicating support (see Table 3). Therefore, it can be said that according to the mean score, the findings tend to disagree.

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57 Karon, *op. cit.*
with those of Karon's study. Application of the t-test to the findings of this hypothesis indicates that they are statistically significant at the .05 level of probability.

**TABLE 3**

RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES ABOUT ABILITY AND SKILL IN JOB PERFORMANCE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 4.57 16 2.37 14

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.2; Standard deviation of high group-4.40; Standard deviation of low group-.18; Standard error of the mean of the high group-1.10; Standard error of the mean of the low group-.05; t-1.82; and p-.05.

**Attitudes About the Chance of Job Advancement**

The sub-hypothesis that the adult Negro male feels that there is less chance of job advancement for him was also stimulated by Karon's findings, which indicate that another reaction of the Negro male to work situations is conflicting
work motivation, where the apparent impossibility of accomplishing anything may make it difficult for him to sustain his motivation. In addition, discriminatory practices in employment do exist which realistically limit the Negro male's chances of job advancement.

TABLE 4
RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES ON OPINIONS ABOUT JOB ADVANCEMENT*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.0; Standard deviation of high group-4.15; Standard deviation of low group-.63; Standard error of the mean of the high group-.65; Standard error of the mean of the low group-.13; Standard error of the mean difference-1.48; t-1.26; p-.40.

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58 Ibid.
The findings of this study do not support the hypothesis and therefore do not support the findings of Karon's study. Data collected show eight respondents with mean scores between 4.8 and 3.6 and twenty-two respondents with mean scores of 3.4 to 1.2 (see Table 4). The mean score for the sample was 3.0 which is below the 3.5 level of significance for the mean. The hypothesis is not supported according to the mean score obtained; however, these findings are not statistically significant because the level of probability (.40) is greater than the .05 level of significance.

**Attitudes About Work as a Means to Obtain Material Goods**

In the American value system, success is based on financial success as measured in the ability to command prestige and service. Because of limitations on the Negro's chances to command prestige and service, a result of discriminatory practices, it was the investigator's thinking that the Negro male has incorporated that part of the value system which measures success in terms of financial success. Therefore it was hypothesized that the adult Negro male feels that work is primarily a means to obtain material goods.

Results of data collected support the hypothesis

59Kardiner and Ovesey, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
according to the mean score (3.6) of the responses. Seventeen respondents had mean scores between 5.4 and 3.6, and thirteen respondents had mean scores between 3.4 and 1.8 (see Table 5). Although responses tend to support the hypothesis, results of the t-test indicate that the degree of probability (.45) is too great to support the findings.

**TABLE 5**

RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES
ON OPINIONS ABOUT WORK AS A MEANS TO OBTAIN MATERIAL GOODS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total      | 3.24      | 2.86       | 13        |

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.6; Standard deviation of high group-13.15; Standard deviation of low group-6.78; Standard error of the mean of the high group-3.19; Standard error of the mean of the low group-1.86; Standard error of the mean difference-3.83; t-10; p-.45.
Four categories have been set up on Negroes' reactions to oppression, which are centered around Negroes having a tendency to move away from the oppressor. These categories are (1) passivity and withdrawal; (2) social insulation; (3) passing; and (4) extreme escapism. Since this research accepts the fact that Negroes have suffered oppression in employment, these reactions can be expected to be present in the Negro male's attitude toward his position in relation to persons who supervise him. Based on the fact that Negroes usually have the menial job positions, it can be further assumed that supervisors are generally members of the white race, who are seen by Negroes as their oppressors.

In keeping with the four categories of Negroes' reactions to oppression, a hypothesis was made in this study that the adult Negro male shows a lack of identification with people who are supervising him. Data collected around this hypothesis indicates that it was supported. The mean score for the sample was 4.2, with twenty-two respondents scoring between 5.8 and 3.8; eight scored between 3.4 and 2.0 (see Table 6). In addition, the t-test indicates that the findings

---

are significant at the .005 level of probability. Therefore, the hypothesis is supported by both the mean score and the level of probability.

**TABLE 6**

RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES ON OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR PLACE IN RELATION TO SUPERVISORS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.6</td>
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<td>4.4</td>
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<td>4.2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-4.2; Standard deviation of high group-1.54; Standard deviation of low group-.39; Standard error of the mean of the high group-.83; Standard error of the mean of the low group-.14; Standard error of the mean difference-.56; t-3.38; p-.005.

**Attitudes About Work as a Means of Personal Satisfaction**

Based on the idea that the Negro male sees success primarily in terms of financial success, it was assumed in this study that any emphasis on personal satisfaction being
derived from work was secondary to that of being financially successful. Therefore it was hypothesized that the adult Negro male does not feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work.

**TABLE 7**

**RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES**
**ACCORDING TO ATTITUDES ABOUT WORK AS**
**A MEANS OF PERSONAL SATISFACTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Low Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.32</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.93</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.4; Standard deviation of high group-.62; Standard deviation of low group-.44; Standard error of the mean of high group-.15; Standard error of the mean of low group-.12; Standard error of the mean difference-.61; t-2.28; p-.025.

Data collected indicate that, according to the mean score (3.4) of responses, the hypothesis was not supported. Of the thirty respondents, seventeen had mean scores ranging from 5.4 to 3.8, and thirteen had mean scores of 3.4 to 2.2 (see Table 7). Based on the application of the t-test of
significance, the findings are significant at the .025 level of probability, which according to the accepted .05 level is statistically significant.

**Attitudes About the Male as Major Provider for the Family**

It was found, from a survey of the literature, that the traditional American family is one in which the male is the major provider. This, however, is not found to be applicable to Negro families, whose males have not for various reasons been able to assume the role of provider for their families. In attempting to obtain opinions from respondents about whether they saw themselves as the major providers for their families, a hypothesis was made that the adult Negro male does not see himself as the major provider for the family.

The data obtained support the above hypothesis by the mean score of 3.9. Of the thirty respondents, twenty had mean scores between 5.6 and 3.6, which indicated scores supporting the hypothesis; ten respondents had scores between 3.4 and 2.0, which indicated non-support of the hypothesis (see Table 8). The findings of this study, according to the mean score, are in agreement with those of Kardiner and Ovesey. However,

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61 Kardiner and Ovesey, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
because the level of probability for the findings of the study (.15) is greater than the accepted .05 level of probability, these findings are not statistically significant.

**TABLE 8**

RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES ABOUT THEIR ROLES AS MAJOR PROVIDERS FOR THE FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Low Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.44</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.78</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.9; Standard deviation of high group-.56; Standard deviation of low group-.11; Standard error of the mean of the high group-1.24; Standard error of the mean of the low group-.35; Standard error of mean difference; t-1.29; p-.15.*

In order to determine the difference between the respondents' seeing themselves as the providers for their families and their having a desire to be the providers, a hypothesis was made that the adult Negro male has the desire to be the major provider for the family. Data, based on a mean
A score of 4.9, indicate support of the hypothesis. Twenty-eight respondents had high mean scores indicating support of the hypothesis and two had low mean scores indicating non-support of the hypothesis (see Table 9). However, according to the results of the t-test, the obtained probability level (.30) is greater than the .05 level of significance. Therefore, the findings are not statistically significant.

TABLE 9

RESPONDENTS BY HIGH AND LOW MEAN SCORES
ON THE DESIRE TO BE THE MAJOR PROVIDER
FOR THE FAMILY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>..</td>
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<td>4.2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-4.9; Standard deviation of high group-3.75; Standard deviation of low group-3.22; Standard error of mean of high group-.71; Standard error of mean of low group-2.35; Standard error of mean difference-2.45; t-.66; p-.30.
Attitude About Female Employment

Much of the Negro male's lack of success in becoming the major provider for the family has been attributed to the fact that Negro females have a better chance of finding and maintaining steady employment. Adding to this situation is the fact that throughout the Negro's history in America, the Negro female has been the focal point of the family. A hypothesis was made to find out the Negro male's attitude.

**Table 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The following are the probability value and the values necessary to obtain it: Sample mean-3.6; Standard deviation of high group-4.34; Standard deviation of low group-.12; Standard error of the mean of high group-1.20; Standard error of the mean of low group-.03; Standard error of mean difference-1.24; t-1.38; p-.10.

63 Ibid.  
64 Ibid., p. 46.
about female employment within his family, which aside from discrimination, is a major factor in his inability to fulfill his role as provider for the family.

Data around these attitudes indicate, by a mean score of 3.6, that the hypothesis—that the adult Negro male accepts female employment in his family as long as it does not interfere with his role as provider—is supported. Thirteen respondents had mean scores ranging from 5.6 to 3.8, and seventeen had mean scores ranging from 3.4 to 2.4 (see Table 10). These findings were found not to be statistically significant based on the .05 level of probability.

Summary

From the mean findings of the above sub-hypotheses, there is evidence that there is a tendency toward support of the hypothesis that adult Negro males' attitudes toward work and economic role do not conform to the accepted standards of middle-class society. It was found that sub-hypotheses Three, Four, Six, Seven, and Eight were supported by the mean scores of responses. However, only the findings for sub-hypothesis Four are statistically significant according to the .05 level of probability. Sub-hypotheses Three, Six, Seven, and Eight did not meet the requirements of statistical significance.

Tests of sub-hypotheses One, Two and Five indicate that
the mean score of responses did not support the hypotheses. Although the findings related to sub-hypotheses One and Five were found to be statistically significant at the .05 level of probability, the findings for sub-hypothesis Two were not supported at the .05 level of probability.

Mean scores of data indicate the following findings:

1. Adult Negro males do not tend to devaluate the importance of ability and skill in job performance.
2. The adult Negro male does not feel that there is less chance of job advancement for him.
3. The adult Negro male feels that work is primarily a means to obtain material goods.
4. The adult Negro male shows a lack of identification with people who are supervising him.
5. The adult Negro male does feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work.
6. The adult Negro male does not see himself as the major provider for the family.
7. The adult Negro male has the desire to be the major provider for the family.
8. The adult Negro male accepts female employment in his family as long as it does not interfere with his role as provider.

Due to the fact that five out of the eight sub-hypotheses were supported by the mean scores obtained, it can be said that the hypothesis of the study is supported. However, the support by the mean scores cannot be accepted as reliable, because only three of the findings are statistically significant.
CHAPTER III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study was undertaken as an exploratory study with the purpose of exploring the adult Negro male worker’s attitude toward work and economic role. The hypothesis, that adult Negro males’ attitudes toward work and economic role do not conform to the accepted standards of middle-class society, and the following sub-hypotheses, guided the study:

1. The adult Negro male tends to devalue the importance of ability and skill in job performance.

2. The adult Negro male feels that there is less chance of job advancement for him.

3. The adult Negro male feels that work is primarily a means to obtain material goods.

4. The adult Negro male shows lack of identification with people who are supervising him.

5. The adult Negro male does not feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work.

6. The adult Negro male does not see himself as the major provider for the family.

7. The adult Negro male has the desire to be the major provider in the family.
8. The adult Negro male accepts female employment in his family as long as it does not interfere with his role as provider.

In order to test these sub-hypotheses an attitude scale was developed by the investigator and two researchers specifically for this study. The scale was not pre-tested.

The sample for the study consisted of thirty Negro male nursing assistants who were members of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, Local 1199. These respondents were employed in voluntary, non-profit hospitals in the Brooklyn and Manhattan areas of New York City. The respondents ranged in age from twenty to fifty-nine years of age, and consisted of nineteen married and eleven single Negro male nursing assistants. Of the married respondents, eleven of their wives were working and eight of their wives were not working. The educational level of the sample ranged from the completion of the seventh grade to the completion of four years of college.

Data were analyzed quantitatively by obtaining the mean score for responses related to each sub-hypothesis. On the basis of a 3.5 cut-off point, the mean score was used to determine whether the sub-hypotheses were supported or not; a mean score of 3.5 or above indicated support, and a mean score of below 3.5 indicated non-support. After obtaining results according to the mean score of responses, the t-test of difference between two means was applied to the findings.
to determine the statistical significance of the findings. The .05 level of probability was accepted as the statistical level of significance; any level greater than this point indicated that findings of the study were not statistically significant.

From the procedure of data analysis it was found that five of the sub-hypotheses—Three, Four, Six, Seven, and Eight—were supported by the mean scores of responses. Three of the sub-hypotheses—One, Two, and Five—were not supported by the mean scores. These results show that five of the eight sub-hypotheses were supported, and that three of them were not supported. Based on these findings, it can be said that the hypothesis of the study is supported. However, because only three of the findings—One, Four, and Five—were statistically significant, the support by the mean scores cannot be accepted as reliable.

There were recognized limitations to this study. Primary were (1) the use of an attitude scale which had not been tested, and (2) the use of an accidental sample which may or may not be representative of the total population from which it was drawn.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study, certain conclusions
can be drawn about the sample studied. It can be concluded that the adult Negro male does not tend to devalue the importance of ability and skill in job performance. This conclusion is based on the fact that the hypothesis was not supported by the mean score of responses and that these findings met the .05 level of probability. As a result of this conclusion, the findings of this study do not agree with Karon's findings that the Negro male's reaction to work situations is externalized work motivation.\(^6\)

According to the results of this study a conclusion can be drawn that the adult Negro male shows lack of identification with people who are supervising him. The criterion for this conclusion was that responses testing this hypothesis had a mean score of 4.2 which was statistically significant at the .005 level of probability. Therefore, this conclusion would be in agreement with the categories of Negroes' reactions to oppression which are centered around moving away from the oppression as set up by Pettigrew.\(^6\)

For the sample included in this study it is concluded that the adult Negro male does feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work. This conclusion is based on the

\(^6\)Karon, op. cit.

\(^6\)Pettigrew, op. cit.
fact that the sub-hypothesis, that the Negro male does not feel that personal satisfaction can be derived from work, was not supported by the mean score of responses which was 3.4. This result was found to be statistically significant at the .025 level of probability. These findings are not consistent with the theory upon which this hypothesis was based—that the Negro male, because of discrimination, has incorporated that part of the American value system, which emphasizes "success as measured primarily by financial success," and that personal satisfaction would be a secondary goal.

For the remaining five sub-hypotheses, no conclusions could be drawn due to the fact that their findings were not found to be statistically significant. However, since this study is an exploratory study and since very little research has been done in the area of the Negro male’s attitude toward work and economic role, the results of the study point to a need for additional research.

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67 Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit.
APPENDIX A

Attitude Scale

The following statements deal with the kinds of ideas and opinions that different people have about their ability to support and provide for a family. There are many differences of opinion on this subject, and I am interested in finding out these differences. There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test and it has nothing to do with the union or your place of employment. I am interested only in your opinions. Please do not write your name on this questionnaire. Each statement is followed by six choices:

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure but probably agree
- not sure but probably disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Please check (✓) in the space provided that choice which comes closest to saying how you feel about each statement. It is very important that you answer every item.

1. Being able to stand up under pressure is more important than ability.

   - strongly agree
   - agree
   - not sure but probably agree
   - not sure but probably disagree
   - disagree
   - strongly disagree

2. So many people in my position do things well that it's easy to become discouraged.

   - strongly agree
   - agree
   - not sure but probably agree
   - not sure but probably disagree
   - disagree
   - strongly disagree

3. It's the man who can buy the things he wants who's successful.
4. On the job, I am made to feel that I am the low man on the totem pole.

**strongly agree**
**agree**
**not sure but probably agree**
**disagree**
**strongly disagree**

5. Few people really enjoy their work.

**strongly agree**
**agree**
**not sure but probably agree**
**disagree**
**strongly disagree**

6. In spite of the changing times, the man is still head of the family.

**strongly agree**
**agree**
**not sure but probably agree**
**disagree**
**strongly disagree**

7. It doesn't matter to most men whether he's head of the family or not.

**strongly agree**
**agree**
**not sure but probably agree**
**disagree**
**strongly disagree**

8. Very few men feel uncomfortable about their wife helping to support the family.

**strongly agree**
**agree**
**not sure but probably agree**
9. Skill is not really important in holding a job.

strongly\_\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_\_ not sure but\_\_\_\_ probably agree

not sure but\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ strongly\_\_\_\_ disagree

10. It is very important to me that I have a better job in the near future.

strongly\_\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_\_ not sure but\_\_\_\_ probably agree

not sure but\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ strongly\_\_\_\_ disagree

11. A man usually doesn’t get the recognition that he deserves for the work he does.

strongly\_\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_\_ not sure but\_\_\_\_ probably agree

not sure but\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ strongly\_\_\_\_ disagree

12. There is a lot of truth in the saying "the harder you work the more you get."

strongly\_\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_\_ not sure but\_\_\_\_ probably agree

not sure but\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ strongly\_\_\_\_ disagree

13. When the going gets rough, it is usually easier for a woman to get a job than it is for a man.

strongly\_\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_\_ not sure but\_\_\_\_ probably agree

not sure but\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ strongly\_\_\_\_ disagree
14. In order for a man to respect himself, he must be able to provide for his family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not sure but probably disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. My boss treats me like an equal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not sure but probably disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Even if it means taking on an extra job, most men would rather that their wives not work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not sure but probably disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. For most men like me success on a job is more dependent on luck than on real ability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not sure but probably disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. I seem to lack the drive necessary to get ahead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not sure but probably disagree</td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Success is not determined by how much money you can make.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not sure but probably agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
20. Although supervision is necessary, I can do a better job if I don’t feel that I’m always being watched.

strongly disagree agree not sure but probably agree
not sure but probably disagree disagree strongly disagree

21. It is only in very unusual circumstances that people really enjoy their work.

strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree
not sure but probably disagree disagree strongly disagree

22. In most families today a man and his wife share the position of “head of the house.”

strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree
not sure but probably disagree disagree strongly disagree

23. A smart woman makes a man feel that he’s boss.

strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree
not sure but probably disagree disagree strongly disagree

24. There’s still a lot of truth in the old saying that “a woman’s place is in the home.”

strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree
not sure but probably disagree disagree strongly disagree
25. The most important thing in getting a job is knowing how to do the work.

strongly__
agree

agree__

not sure but__

probably agree

not sure but__

disagree__

strongly__

probably disagree

disagree

26. Most men will work at any honest job as long as it pays enough money to live a decent life.

strongly__
agree

agree__

not sure but__

probably agree

not sure but__

disagree__

strongly__

probably disagree

disagree

27. I see my present job as a stepping stone to something better.

strongly__
agree

agree__

not sure but__

probably agree

not sure but__

disagree__

strongly__

probably disagree

disagree

28. Many bosses try to make you feel that they are better than you.

strongly__
agree

agree__

not sure but__

probably agree

not sure but__

disagree__

strongly__

probably disagree

disagree

29. On the job, I usually feel like doing what I'm told to do.

strongly__
agree

agree__

not sure but__

probably agree

not sure but__

disagree__

strongly__

probably disagree

disagree

30. Nowadays the man is no longer the head of the family.
31. If a man feels that his family needs him, he will try harder to give them the things that they want.

32. It doesn’t matter if the women in the family work.

33. My present job requires a lot of ability.

34. Many men are satisfied if their job allows them to provide a family with the necessities of life.

35. No difficulty can hold a man back if he has will power.
36. I feel free to talk to my boss about anything.

Strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree

Not sure but probably disagree disagree

37. If a man enjoys his work, it isn’t hard for him to overlook small difficulties on the job.

Strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree

Not sure but probably disagree disagree

38. Because of female employment, few men are really supporting their families.

Strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree

Not sure but probably disagree disagree

39. Most men, if given a chance, are willing to accept the position as head of the house.

Strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree

Not sure but probably disagree disagree

40. It shouldn’t take anything away from the man as “head of the house” if his wife goes to work to help support the family.

Strongly agree agree not sure but probably agree

Not sure but probably disagree disagree
PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

Place a (✓) in the blank that shows the answer that you choose.

1. Marital status

   Single _____ Married _____

   If married, does your wife work?

   Yes □ No □

2. Age (number of years)

   ______

3. What is the highest grade you finished in school?

   ________________________________


THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.
APPENDIX B

SCALE ITEMS GROUPED BY THE SUB-HYPOTHESES TO WHICH THEY APPLY

Hypothesis One

1. Being able to stand up under pressure is more important than ability.

2. Skill is not really important in holding a job.

3. For most men like me success on a job is more dependent on luck than real ability.

4. The most important thing in getting a job is knowing how to do the work.

5. My present job requires a lot of ability.

Hypothesis Two

1. So many people in my position do things well that it’s easy to become discouraged.

2. It is very important to me that I have a better job in the near future.

3. I seem to lack the drive necessary to get ahead.

4. I see my present job as a stepping stone to something better.

5. No difficulty can hold a man back if he has will power.

Hypothesis Three

1. It’s the man who can buy the things he wants who’s successful.

2. There is a lot of truth in the saying “the harder you work the more you get.”
3. Success is not determined by how much money you can make.

4. Many men are satisfied if their job allows them to provide a family with the necessities of life.

5. Most men will work at any honest job as long as it pays enough money to live a decent life.

Hypothesis Four

1. On the job, I am made to feel that I am the low man on the totem pole.

2. My boss treats me like an equal.

3. Although supervision is necessary, I can do a better job if I don't feel that I'm always being watched.

4. Many bosses try to make you feel that they are better than you.

5. I feel free to talk to my boss about anything.

Hypothesis Five

1. Few people really enjoy their work.

2. A man usually doesn't get the recognition that he deserves for the work he does.

3. It is only in very unusual circumstances that people really enjoy their work.

4. On the job, I usually feel like doing what I'm told to do.

5. If a man enjoys his work, it isn't hard for him to overlook small difficulties on the job.

Hypothesis Six

1. In spite of the changing times, the man is still head of the family.

2. When the going gets rough, it is usually easier for a woman to get a job than it is for a man.
3. In most families a man and his wife share the position of "head of the house."

4. Nowadays the man is no longer the head of the family.

5. Because of female employment, few men are really supporting their families.

Hypothesis Seven

1. It doesn't matter to most men whether he's head of the family or not.

2. In order for a man to respect himself, he must be able to provide for his family.

3. A smart woman makes a man feel that he's boss.

4. If a man feels that his family needs him, he will try harder to give them the things that they want.

5. Most men, if given a chance, are willing to accept the position as head of the house.

Hypothesis Eight

1. Very few men feel uncomfortable about their wife helping to support the family.

2. Even if it means taking on an extra job, most men would rather their wives did not work.

3. There's still a lot of truth in the old saying that a "woman's place is in the home."

4. It doesn't matter if the women in the family work.

5. It shouldn't take anything away from the man as "head of the house" if his wife goes to work to help support the family.
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