A profile of the Negro male: a theoretical analysis of his psycho-social adjustment to his economic role

Sonja Haynes Stone
Atlanta University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/dissertations
Part of the Social Work Commons

Recommended Citation
A PROFILE OF THE NEGRO MALE: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF HIS PSYCHO-SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT TO HIS ECONOMIC ROLE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
SONJA HAYNES STONE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JUNE 1967
To

MY FAMILY

The McGees, Hayneses, and Stones
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The evolutionary nature of ideas renders me indebted to everyone who has contributed to my entire learning experience... from the halls of ivy to the streets of the slums. In a sense, this is an ethnic effort insofar as it would not have materialized without the assistance, support, and stimulation of people from all levels of the Negro community, many of whom are nameless solely because their names elude me though their essence is pervasive.

I am especially grateful to the following:

Helen Hayes Grape, my original research partner.

My mentors: Genevieve Hill, Edith Ross, Herman Sweatt, and Lloyd Yarborough of Atlanta University, School of Social Work; Alton A. Davis, founder and executive director of the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Authority; Samuel B. and Madeline M. Stratton, historians; Narayan Viswanathan of the University of Illinois, Jane Addams Graduate School of Social Work; Harland L. Randolph, Director, Kappa Alpha Psi Undergraduate Leadership Training Program.

Lois Raye, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Johnnie A. Moore, Information Officer, U. S. Department of Labor; Newton Long, Counselor, JOBS NOW project; Gerald McWorter, Chairman, Organization of Black American Culture; Donald H. Smith, Director, Center for Inner-City Studies, Illinois Teachers College Chicago-North; Walter Stafford,
Researcher, Chicago Urban League; Mildred Brown, Director, Cook County Neighborhood Youth Corps; Olga Markham; George Edgar Riddick, Church Federation of Greater Chicago; Norma Williams, Secretary to Congressman William L. Dawson.

My typist, Christine Redmond, National Bible Guild.

My baby-sitter, Monteena Hall of McGee's Temple.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>THEORETICAL OVERVIEW, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, AND RESEARCH DESIGN</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Introduction Rationale Theory-making Assessment Model Major Concepts Statement of Purposes Premises Method of Procedure Scope and Limitations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>ECONOMIC STATISTICS ON THE NEGRO MALE</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEGRO MALE</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>SOCIAL SCIENCE FINDINGS ON THE NEGRO MALE</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Profile of the Negro Male A Psycho-Social Assessment A Theoretical Analysis A Social Work Dilemma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social workers must understand that all sciences are based on hypotheses and are therefore subject to change. Knowledge is limited and temporal in the broad and narrow dimensions, in the sciences as a whole, in social work research and in social work practice with the situation at hand. However, the more nearly total our understanding, the more nearly complete our services will be.

Richard M. Seaman
CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, and RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The role of the Negro male in contemporary society has come into the forefront of public concern and attention in the recent years. As the civil rights movement advances, the Negro male will become more actively drawn into the various activities and manifestations of the movement. The recent outbursts of violence in black ghettos have already given rise to important questions: Who is the leading symptom bearer? Who is the most severely deprived? Answers to these questions are provided by pointing to the Negro male. It can be surmised, therefore, that further outbursts of riotous activity will bring the Negro male into a pivotal focus of public interest.

These developments in society have immediate and long-range implications for social work. The relevance of these questions, for the social work profession, stems from our commitment to the prevention and alleviation of social dysfunctioning.¹

Rationale

Social workers are to be found throughout those institutional resources which are brought to bear during a crisis — corrections, courts, hospitals, public and private social agencies. In the target areas, considerable responsibility is being thrust upon caseworkers, group workers, and community organizers in the problem-solving process. Hence, a psycho-social assessment of the Negro male would greatly facilitate our ability to deal with the current racial crisis.

Further, reports of problematic aspects of psychotherapy with Negro patients suggest the need for a re-examination of psychoanalytic theory and practice.¹ One author justifies the development of a Negro American personality theory on these grounds:

... The ubiquity of racial prejudice in the United States guarantees that virtually all Negro Americans face at some level the impersonal effects of discrimination ... It is precisely this translation of societal racism into human terms, this consequence of racial discrimination upon the Negro's personality, that calls for a social psychological theory.²

The immediacy of social work intervention in the current racial crisis must be placed into perspective. A theoretical framework with long-range treatment goals and appropriate methodology is equally as


important as immediate measures to meet the present emergency. Thus, a research inquiry in this area is substantiated by both the present emergency and the unmet needs which engendered the crisis. Moreover, insofar as social work is committed not only to the prevention and restoration of impaired role performance\(^1\) but also to the maintenance and enhancement of adequate role performance, this study has additional relevance when focusing on both adaptive and mal-adaptive Negro male behavior.

**Theory-making**

Those aspects of this study which are based on observation, abstract reasoning, and logic are THEORETICAL.

A theory is a scheme which will hopefully provide relationships between all phenomena in which a given investigator is, or by derivation may be, interested. These relationships will be both spatial and temporal, both quantitative and qualitative, both causal and interactive. Most of these relationships can be generalized into concepts, each of which fit with others into a theoretical system.\(^2\)

The chief instrument of theory-making, here, is an assessment model, a purposive, disciplined, scientific process of identification and evaluation of facts.\(^3\) (See model on page 5) The chief skill

---

\(^1\)Boehm, *loc. cit.*


\(^3\)Adapted from "Assessment of Social Functioning: A Tentative Model," Atlanta University, School of Social Work.
employed is extrapolation — inferring that which is not known from
that which is known. ¹

The mechanics are observation, abstract reasoning, and logic. Procedurally, theory-making involves first synthesis and then ana-
lysis.

A synthesis is the integration of complex though related pheno-
mena drawn from multifarious sources. ² Assessment and synthesis are mutually facilitating.

ANALYSIS ³ is the determination of the nature of phenomena once situated in context. The explanation of relationships among phenomena constitutes theory facilitated by extrapolation. Because the researcher is, basically, concerned with the essence rather than the finiteness of these relationships, this is a qualitative ⁴ analysis although relevant quantitative data are presented.

Without further qualification, A PROFILE OF THE NEGRO MALE: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS means, in brief, a description and explain-
ation of significant commonalities derived from the group experience of the Negro male. While this is, per se, an important undertaking, it

¹ Adapted from English, Horace B. and Ava Champney, A Compre-
hensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms, (New
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
**Assessment Model**

### Economic Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psycho —</th>
<th>Adjustment</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ego Functioning</td>
<td>A. Mental Mechanisms</td>
<td>A. Societal Sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Cognitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Affective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Intra-group Relations</td>
<td>B. Behavior</td>
<td>B. Intra-group Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Peers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Internalization</td>
<td>C. Conditioning</td>
<td>C. Socialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aspirations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ideology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Etiology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Patterns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reactions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Achievement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Motivation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Opportunities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Limitations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from "Assessment of Social Functioning: A Tentative Model," Atlanta University School of Social Work*
does not lend itself sufficiently to the applied social sciences, the realm of social work. Hence, the value of the succeeding qualifying terminology lies in its utility and specificity.

Major Concepts

The basic vocabulary of this project is contained in the thesis title. Definitions of these and other important concepts are central to this discussion.

In the context of this study, a PROFILE\textsuperscript{1} is a descriptive outline of a lifestyle emerging from the systematic compilation and exposition of factors contributing to the cognitive and affective processes.

The word, profile, is used to convey, at once, the intrinsic dynamics of a study of human subjects and the pragmatic necessity of delimiting the subject matter. Literally speaking, a profile is a delineated though delimited barometer to complex inner-processes. To use the word is, immediately, to acknowledge the confines of the research. Additionally, the distinct features of the so-called Negroid anatomy are very pronounced in profile. Hence, profile has technical, conceptual and racial connotations.

The term NEGRO\(^1\) refers to a person or group of persons in America either (1) identified by society as holding membership in the Negroid race; or (2) self-identified with the Negroid race; or (3) both of the above.

In view of miscegenation and intermarriage, this is, primarily, a social as opposed to an anthropological definition. On the other hand, Negroid genes are dominant and, as such, continue to regenerate readily identifiable features in a highly visible ethnic group. Distinctive features\(^2\) and high visibility make for group classification which, in turn, facilitates social sanctions.

The fact that Negroes have, as a group, been enslaved, emancipated, segregated, desegregated, and, generally acted upon and reacted to as a group, warrants a group assessment derived from common experience. This is not to minimize individual differences, rather it is to deal with those commonalities which have theoretical implications.

Further classification of the Negro male and correspondingly differential social sanctions point to researchable trends arising from the common experience of the Negro male.

A MALE\(^3\) is one whose physiological structure classifies him in the masculine division of the human species and who, for the purposes

---


3 Adapted from English and English, *op. cit.*
of this paper, has attained a minimum age of eighteen years. The age stipulation is in keeping with the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics which includes males eighteen years old and above in the labor force.

It is important to note that, except for age, sex, race, and group, no additional qualities are being ascribed to the subject population. This is a deliberate effort to avoid biasing the study with built-in cultural expectations around sexual identity. In spite of the obvious physiological differences between males and females, there is no substantial evidence supporting other inherent differences (attitudes, aptitudes, temperaments, intelligence, etc.). In fact, there is compelling evidence to the contrary: that it is cultural conditioning and not sex which produces seeming inherent differences.¹

Freud, when writing on this issue, pointed out that "masculine' and 'feminine' are used sometimes in the sense of activity and passivity. . ."² It is this kind of labeling of asexual phenomena which militates against a scientific approach to sexual phenomena.

While it is within the purview of this study to examine the manner in which cultural expectations impinge upon the Negro male, his genetic inheritance is established in terms of race and sex only. All other variables, save age, are relegated to the socio-cultural axis. A clear


distinction between what is known to be inherent and what is not known to be inherent will permit a more objective approach to the subject matter. This approach has increased validity during the development of this project. Having already established the severe deprivation of the Negro male, it is important to distinguish what he brings with him into the world, what he acquires when he gets into the world, and what the world "puts on" him.

A collective, as against an individual, approach to the endeavor requires the definition of two related concepts: group and reference group.

... the group is a pattern of interacting persons producing and produced by a situational context.1 ... reference group ... a normative system from which one derives his norms that governs the situation in which the individual finds himself.2

The configuration of the Negro male in a group context presupposes interactional patterns; it also presupposes normative definitions of the group situation relative to the general social order. For operational purposes, group will be alternately used to denote the entire subject population. Reference group will identify more direct associations, i.e., familial, peer, local, occupational, fraternal, etc. Although many reference groups are formally organized and ongoing, informal and sporadic groups are also included in this definition.


A conventional social work definition of PSYCHO-SOCIAL is the sum total of man's interaction with his environment. This definition communicates the concept as it is here employed: The self and society in continuous interaction.

Relevant to the concept of psycho-social are socialization and internalization, respectively defined.

Socialization is the process through which those attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavioral patterns undergirding society are transmitted through its institutions and acquired by its members.²

Internalization is a learning process in which the self is fundamentally conditioned by the nature of the subject matter.³ It is distinguishable from socialization in that it conditions the mind while socialization conditions the behavior. A pertinent illustration of the difference in these processes is one who acquires facility in using a foreign language while continuing to think in one's native tongue.

The extent to which the Negro male has internalized and/or been socialized by the prevailing norms is discussed later herein.

The constant process of change which characterizes life, itself,

---

¹ Adapted from Florence Hollis, Casework: A Psycho-social Therapy (New York: Random House, Inc.)


³ Adapted from Gould and Kolb, op. cit., p. 345; and Zadrozny, op. cit., p. 170.
militates against the popular usage of ADJUSTMENT\(^1\) to denote acceptance, satisfaction, harmony, or equilibrium. Instead, it refers to the cultivation of habits and viewpoints to meet situational requirements. Hence, the neutrality of adjustment is established in lieu of any inferential or value-judgments. In the context of this paper, adjustment has no intrinsic value. Qualifying and descriptive discussion will only give it relative value.

**PSYCHO-SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT**, then, embraces those habits and viewpoints cultivated by the Negro male to meet the situational requirements produced by his interaction with society.

A technical term approximating the meaning of habits and viewpoints is mental mechanisms — "Those habitual methods which human beings in our society use in over-coming, avoiding, circumventing, escaping from or ignoring frustration and threat."\(^2\) Examples of mental mechanisms are: compensation, sublimation, rationalization, identification, repression, reaction formation, fixation, etc. These will be defined when they are identifiable in the assessment of the Negro male.

The terse definition of ECONOMIC\(^3\) as pertaining to the provision for the material needs of the individual and of organized groups, must, for the instant purposes, be amplified to emphasize its integral relationship to

---

\(^1\) Adapted from Gould and Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10; and Zdrozny, *op. cit.*, p. 5.


survival and resource-development. Slavery was an economic institution. Deprivation is an economic reality.

It is around the situation of economic deprivation that an inquiry is made into the role of the Negro male.

A ROLE\(^1\) is a behavioral pattern prescribed, expected, developed, and/or utilized in the process of social interaction around a specific social function. Role theory has been internalized in social work knowledge and operationalized in practice. At the intellectual level, role theory is "the study and analysis of social roles in order to better understand group conduct."\(^2\) At a practical level, it enables social workers to look beyond personality factors and to evaluate "...what traditionally might be called a profile of various aspects of an individual's social functioning."\(^3\) A case in point follows:

An example cited of the place of role theory in the strategy of intervention was that of the Puerto Rican father who on arrival in New York finds that he cannot fill his accustomed patriarchal role and deserts his family. If the problem is approached entirely in terms of personality factors, without recognition of the effect on the father of being unable to fulfill his role expectations, the possibility of effective intervention will be lost.\(^4\)


\(^2\)Zadrozny, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 289.

\(^3\)Kogan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 136.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 31.
The formulation of role theory has led to a rapidly increasing set of correlatives, i.e., role performance, impairment, role violation, role confusion, etc., all of which are useful in the process of assessment. None of these are, however, used to impute criteria for role behavior. The researcher is, primarily, interested in extracting, from the literature, objective descriptive data of role behavior rather than adjudging role behavior in terms of cultural expectations.

Statement of Purposes

(1) To explore the relationship of the Negro male's economic role to his psycho-social adjustment.

(2) To make a psycho-social assessment of the Negro male based upon a synthesis of multi-disciplinary studies relative to his economic role.

(3) To suggest theoretical perspectives in terms of appropriate social work intervention relative to the subject population.

Integrally related to the accomplishment of the stated purposes of this study are these objectives:

(1) To offer a critical analysis of the literature.

(2) To advance a psycho-social theory of the Negro male.

(3) To assess the operational value of such a theory.

Premises

Those basic assumptions which underlie the rationale, purposes and objectives of this study are set forth below.
In the United States, racial membership is a determinant of one's economic role.

The restriction of one's economic role due to racial membership is a form of racial discrimination and results in economic deprivation.

Economic deprivation is an important contributing factor in the causation of stress.

The stress of economic deprivation gives rise to a variety of mental mechanisms, manifested in adaptive and maladaptive responses.

The etiology of mental mechanisms relates to the process of socialization.

A primary socializing agent is the reference group.

The process of socialization is, reciprocally, affected by the assignment and/or acquisition of role behavior of which the economic role is major.

Execution of the economic role is related to that aspect of socialization consummated in the reference group.

The systematic identification of the etiological and functional nature of those mental mechanisms, behavior patterns, and specific institutions consistently employed by the Negro male in his economic role constitutes a psycho-social assessment.

The psycho-social assessment of the Negro male is relevant to the general stream of personality and socio-behavioral theory and consequently enhances social work knowledge, generically.

Method of Procedure

This study attempts to identify and to extrapolate from the present fund of social science knowledge those variables consistently reappear-
ing in studies relative to the Negro male. Once identified and extrapolated, these variables will constitute the basis for a psycho-social assessment. The assessment will be used as a point of departure for analyzing embryonic theoretical considerations.

As will be evident throughout, studies dealing with the Negro family generally refer to the absence or inefficacy of the Negro male. Hence, a clear profile of the Negro male, while not readily accessible, is possible through statistical compilations, extracts from history, a synthesis of various studies, and extrapolation. References include secondary sources in history, social science, and social work literature as well as relevant reports from economic opportunity programs currently being geared to the subject population.

The researcher's reliance on available data is both necessary and expedient. It is necessary insofar as historical perspectives are concerned. It is expedient insofar as related social science, social work, and program literature has not, to date, been systematically digested and codified.

As was stated previously, data will be approached by qualitative analysis although quantitative data, i.e., statistics, are included. The processes of data classification and qualitative analysis are not mutually exclusive and will be interwoven by a common thread of critical treatment.

Data will be classified with the assistance of an assessment model.
presented on page 5. The model is intended to reflect the dynamics of the psycho - (the Negro male) in interaction with the social (society). Specific emphasis is being placed on the economic role. The contraposition of the psycho - and social categories produces adjustment. The resulting adjustment makes for a psycho-social assessment. Where applicable, data are classified in terms of this model. A summary of the findings provides a basis for theoretical analysis.

The researcher is aware that the dynamics and fluidity of the life process cannot be captured by or reduced to a model. In reality, all of the categories are overlapping and interactive. Adjustment, itself, is not a static phenomenon but, in turn interacts with the psycho - and social. A model can, however, be a useful analog of the life process in the interest of science which is always analogous to life and never, literally, life.

Scope and Limitations

In the sense that this research effort inquires into the past, evaluates the present, and projects into the future, it is three-dimensional in scope. Historical perspectives date from the enslavement of the

---

1Borgatta, op. cit., p. 22. "But the patterns of behavior the organism manifests to diminish drives may themselves persist and become drives, thus multiplying the base on which the dialectic process occurs and, similarly, increasing the range of stimuli it can differentiate."

2Loeb, op. cit., pp. 4 - 22.
Negro male in America to his present economic and social condition in the United States. Social science perspectives are drawn from contemporary works in economics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, adult education, and social work. Projections focus on areas indicated for social work intervention, e.g., research, planning, and program implementation. The subject population is the Negro male of at least 18 years of age. There is no upper-age limit.

While this three dimensional, multi-disciplinary approach is an attempt to be exhaustive, certain limitations are apparent. First, rich and insightful commentaries from the humanities are not included because of the pragmatic necessity of delimiting the project. Also, excluded are relevant journalistic accounts. Second, the analytical review of materials from many different disciplines is encumbered by multiple frames of reference. Hence, there is difficulty establishing a common frame of reference, the assessment model notwithstanding. Third, there is a dearth of social science materials dealing, specifically, with this subject. Thus, the viability of this effort is, largely, dependent upon the reliability of more general studies in the area.

Substantively, then, the range of this research is confined to the social sciences. Methodologically, its confines are secondary sources, qualitative analysis, and exploratory formulations.
The impact of unemployment on the Negro family, and particularly on the Negro male, is the least understood of all the developments that have contributed to the present crisis. There is little analysis because there has been almost no inquiry.

The "Moynihan Report"
CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC STATISTICS ON THE NEGRO MALE

In this chapter, a summary of statistical data and relevant commentary on the Negro male in the United States economy provides an initial basis for classification and interpretation in accordance with the assessment model. Most of the data and commentary are derived from the United States Census of Population, 1960 and subsequent intercensal surveys.

Occupational Distribution

According to the intercensal report\(^1\) of March, 1965, there were 5,375,000 Negro males 18 years and older in the United States. This figure includes no more than 51,000 members of the armed forces although, also in 1965, a total of 266,773 Negroes (the majority of which, presumably, were males) were reported\(^2\) to be members of the armed forces.

A summary\(^3\) of the occupational distribution of Negro males (exclu-

---


\(^3\)U. S., Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
Professional, technical, and managerial workers... 313,000
Clerical, sales, etc. 256,000
Craftsmen, foremen, etc. 408,000
Operatives 1,118,000
Service Workers including private household workers 597,000
Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers and foremen 290,000
Laborers, except farm and mine 839,000

Total 3,822,000

Of an estimated 5-1/2 million adult Negro males, approximately 4 million are accounted for in the above data; less than 1/4 million are in the institutional population. Roughly 1-1/4 million are not absolutely accounted for in this paper. Since 1,280,000 Negro men are reported to be 65 years and over, it may be speculated that the remaining 1-1/4 million are probably receiving pensions, retirement, disability, or unemployment compensation benefits. There is additional, though inconclusive, evidence of unreported and illicit income.

---

3 U. S., Department of Labor, A Sharper Look at Unemployment, 1966.
"Sub-employment"

The labor force is conventionally defined as including "...all who work for pay or profit, and all who are seeking paid work..."\(^1\) which includes the unemployed. According to the 1960 census, the total Negro male labor force numbered 4,116,194.\(^2\) Both this number and the definition are misleading in terms of the number of Negro males not employed, not considered unemployed, not seeking work but, presumably, able-bodied and potentially employable. Hence, a special survey\(^3\) conducted by the U. S. Department of Labor sought to estimate, among other things, the number of Negro males who are not in the labor force. In order to identify this group in the context of employment problems, a new category of "Sub-employment" was created.

This 'sub-employment' term includes (i) those unemployed in the sense that they are 'actively looking for work and unable to find it; (ii) those working only part-time when they are trying to get full-time work; (iii) those heads of households under 65 years who earn less than $60 per week working full time and those individuals under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than $56 per week in a full-time job; (iv) half the number of 'non-participants' in the male 20-64 age group; and (v) a conservative, and carefully considered estimate of the male 'under-count' group.\(^4\)

---


\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) U. S. Department of Labor, A Sharper Look at Unemployment, 1966.

\(^4\) Ibid.
Among the findings reported by this ten-area survey were the following:

One out of every three slum residents falls into the sub-employment category.

70% of the sub-employment population is Negro.

Of the sub-employed, 38,933 are unemployed; 28,474 are non-white; 18,844 are male.¹

Income

In 1963, the median wage or salary income of all non-white male workers 14 years and older was $3,217.² This figure does not include those receiving income from sources other than employment (pensions, public assistance, etc. — much of which is sub-standard). It can then be estimated that, with the poverty criterion of $3,000/year per family of four, at least 40% of Negro male workers are poor.³

Education

This is a summary of the educational level of the Negro male by occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Years completed in school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and managerial workers</td>
<td>16.+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, sales, etc.</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, etc.</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Ibid.
³Ibid., p. 36.
Operatives ........................................ 10.0
Service workers including private household workers .................. 10.1
Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers and foremen ...................... 4.8
Laborers, except farm and mine ........................................ 8.6
Median educational level .............................................. 9.9

Implications for Assessment

It is now possible, in light of the foregoing documentation, to identify, in terms of the assessment model, three subareas of the economic deprivation of the Negro male: employment, income, and education. This partial assessment is based on the large numbers of Negro males concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations; the extent of sub-employment; the median educational level which is only slightly above grammar school; the median income which is marginal by poverty criteria.

Further assessment of sheer economic deprivation is based on the responsibility of society to relieve deprivation; the actual response of society to the fact of deprivation; the adaptive response of the Negro male to deprivation. These aspects are discussed, in part, here and more fully in the ensuing chapters.

As was stated earlier, most of the statistics used in this chapter are taken from the United States Bureau of the Census. Certain

---

deficits, specifically in relation to this study, militate against reliance on census data. The next section will deal with the relationship of these deficits to society's responsibility.

"Undercount"

The fact that the Negro male statistically disappeared from the 1960 census is a deficit of intense concern and widespread discussion.

According to Bureau of Census population estimates for 1963, there are only 87 non-white males for every 100 females in the 30-to-34 age group. The ratio does not exceed 90 to 100 throughout the 25-to-44 year age bracket. In the urban Northwest, there are only 76 males per 100 females 20-to-24 years of age, and males as a percent of females are below 90 percent throughout all ages after 14.

There are not really fewer men than women in the 20-to-40 age bracket. What obviously is involved is an error in counting. The surveyors simply do not find the Negro man. Donald J. Bogue and his Associates, who have studied the Federal count of the Negro man, place the error as high as 19.8 percent at age 28; a typical error of around 15 percent is estimated, from age 19 through 43. Preliminary research in the Bureau of the Census on the 1960 enumeration has resulted in similar conclusions, although not necessarily the same estimates of the extent of the error. The Negro male can be found at age 17 and 18. On the basis of birth records, the conclusion must be that he is there at age 19 as well.

When the enumerators do find him, his answers to the standard questions asked in the monthly unemployment survey often result in counting him as 'not in the labor force.' In other words, Negro male unemployment may in truth be somewhat greater than reported.¹

Another critical commentary on the census...

... census figures though admissible as legal evidence are sometimes inaccurate. For example, it has been estimated that at least 15 percent of the young, non-white men living in large metropolitan areas like Chicago and Detroit were missed in the 1960 census.\(^1\)

The propensity to undercount is not peculiar to the 1960 census.

The 1950 census is reported to have incurred a similar deficit.

Faith in the eternal verities was sorely tested by a recent controversy about the comparability of population data from the 1950 census and from a special enumeration of the population made by The Bureau of the Census for an intercensal year. Question was raised about the possible effect on the apparent change in population of such factors as changes in the method of enumeration made in the interests of a more accurate count than achieved in the 1950 census, undercount in congested areas where respondents might be fearful of admitting the size of their households, and the like.\(^2\)

In 1930, it was in the area of the Negro professional class that the census was proven to have under counted.

Statistical accounts of the numbers of Negro professionals have been suspect at least since 1934. Carter G. Woodson then demonstrated by actual count that the United States Census reporting was extremely inaccurate in several cities where his workers had surveyed the field.\(^3\)

---


There are at least two additional related deficits which militate against reliance on census data. One is changeable definitions; the other, interchangeable terminology.

In addition trend projection from census figures suffers from frequent changes in the definitions used from decade to decade. In 1950, for example, the 18,150 male Negro Clergymen reported were said to constitute 11.3 percent of all clergyment in the United States. The preliminary figures for 1960 give the total of male Negro clergymen as 13,955, constituting 7.10 percent of all United States clergymen. In fact, the substantial decrease shown is the result of the change in the form of the census occupational questionnaire; for in 1960, the number includes only those persons actively employed in the occupation and giving it as their 'principal, full-time' job. A large number of persons who had been earlier classified as clergymen were excluded from the 1960 count.1

Other commentary indicates that not only was the urban Negro population undercounted but an accurate estimate of the Negro farm population is obscured by changeable definitions.

The definition of farm residence was made more restrictive in 1960, and the 1960 census obtained a distinct undercount of the Negro farm population.2

An example of interchanging terms which are not synonymous is the use of non-white and Negro. This deficit received considerable comment in the "Moynihan Report."3

---

1 Ibid.

As much as possible, the statistics used in this paper refer to Negroes. However, certain data series are available only in terms of the white and non-white population. Where this is the case, the non-white data have been used as if they referred only to Negroes. This necessarily introduces some inaccuracies, but it does not appear to produce any significant distortions. In 1960, Negroes were 92.1 percent of all nonwhites. The remaining 7.9 percent is made up largely of Indians, Japanese, and Chinese.¹

The consistent "undercount" compounded by changeable definitions and terminology make the use of census data highly vulnerable. This kind of vulnerability, however, is not limited to the census. A survey conducted by the United States Department of Labor in 1966 was reported as follows:

This study partially corrects for the first time a fault which had been discovered in the 1960 census report: The missing completely of a large number of Negroes — 1 in every 6 Negro men between the ages of 20 and 30. This means that past nonwhite unemployment figures have understated the situation substantially.

... Between a fifth and a third of the adult males expected (from other statistical sources) to be part of this slum area population were 'unfound' in the November survey. This parallels the census 'undercount' experience. The exact circumstances (and facts) regarding this situation are not yet fully identifiable.²


² U. S., Department of Labor, A Sharper Look at Unemployment, 1966.
Although the use of census and other survey data does permit an examination of trends, the statistical inaccuracies are not to be taken lightly. The "undercount" is, for example, a trend in itself. It can be traced back two centuries ago to the framing of the United States Constitution where Negroes are defined as chattel, three-fifths a person. Historically, then, the "Undercount" has its origin in slavery where economic exploitation controlled statistical enumeration.

The persistence of economic deprivation is prima facie evidence of exploitation. That the Negro male's economic deprivation has not only persisted but is growing worse was recently documented in an article by an economist. It reads, in part, as follows:

...the 1949 data for regions (and the 1959 data as well) show the ratio of male Negro to male white income to have been much lower in the South than in the other three regions. Therefore, given the size of the Negro movement out of the South where Negro income was and is quite small compared with white, and into the North and West, where the income ratio is nearer unity, one would expect ceteris paribus, a substantial rise in the Negro-to-white ratio for the nation as a whole simply as a consequence of the shift in weighting. That this rise did not follow was the consequence of a decline in the relative income position of Negro men within every one of the 4 major census regions.

...The nonwhite-to-white income ratio for men averaged .50 for 1958-60 and fell to .49 for 1962.¹

Also included in the article cited above is evidence that, for Negro women, the reverse of this trend is the case.

Further Implications for Assessment

Given a consistent "undercount" of the Negro male coupled with his consistent decline in income, these trends are evident:

(1) Gross negligence in:

(a) determining the extent of deprivation
(b) alleviating deprivation

(2) Systematic efforts to:

(a) minimize Negro manpower
(b) repress Negro manpower

This chapter has given partial coverage to several categories subsumed in the Assessment Model: Deprivation, i.e., Sub-employment; Education, i.e., ninth grade median; Government, i.e., negligence, repression, etc.

Also emerging from the statistical picture are indicia of adaptive responses. In terms of mental mechanisms, compensation\(^1\) may be a factor in overcoming economic deprivation, i.e., The Negro professional and business man. In terms of behavioral patterns, resistance is a probable factor in illicit and/or unreported income. Accommodation may be operative in the acceptance of a menial job or a welfare grant.

\(^1\)A device which the individual uses to neutralize a feeling of insecurity by making prolonged and excessive strivings in the direction in which intensity of the threatened insecurity.
In terms of conditioning, resignation may be the chief characteristic of the sub-employed. Moreover, any or all of these factors and others may co-exist in the Negro male's adjustment to economic deprivation.

Both the findings and the partial assessment in this chapter are re-evaluated in the final analysis.
The time has not yet come for a complete history of the Negro peoples. Archaeological research in Africa has just begun, and many sources of information in Arabian, Portuguese, and other tongues are not fully at our command; and, too, it must frankly be confessed, racial prejudice is still too strong in so-called civilized centers for judicial appraisement of peoples of Africa. Much intensive monographic work in history and science is needed to clear mooted points and quiet the controversialist who mistakes present personal desire for scientific proof.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Insofar as the present economic deprivation of the Negro male is not an isolated modern phenomenon, historical perspectives serve to illuminate contemporary findings. The fact that Negro history has been the subject of sociological commentary permits an examination of historical trends in terms of behavioral science concepts.

Societal Ambivalence

It has already been established that the "undercount" is an historical trend. Further, it has been suggested that this trend reflects negligence, insidiousness, and exploitation perpetuated by the social system. That Negroes were "undercounted" rather than simply "un-counted" points to ambivalence.

The reading of American history over the past two centuries impresses one with the fact that ambivalence on the crucial question of equality has persisted almost from the beginning. If the term 'equal rights for all' has not always meant what it appeared to mean, the inconsistencies and the paradoxes have become increasingly apparent.¹

The Constitution made it clear that "all" did not include Negroes and "three-fifths of a person" has never been deleted from the Constitution, amendments not withstanding. This ambivalent posture is commonly attributed to ideological conflicts in the American mentality.

...there was nothing in the tradition of English law or Protestant theology which could accommodate to the fact of human bondage...¹

So blatant was this conflict that in 1774 Mrs. John Adams wrote her husband,

...It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me, to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.²

While the Constitution is ambivalence made manifest, the government has been its chief agent.

The most powerful direct force in the maintenance of the two worlds of race has been the state and its political subdivisions.³

During the Revolutionary War, Washington first refused to admit Negroes into the fighting ranks; then, consented, under pressure.⁴

During the Civil War, the Union first refused to admit Negro slaves into the fighting ranks; then, emancipated them; then, paid them less

² Franklin, op. cit., p. 48.
³ Ibid., p. 63.
⁴ Ibid., p. 48.
salary than white troops; then, equalized compensation, under pres-
sure. ¹

During Reconstruction, Congress first authorized the Freedmen's
Bureau to provide comprehensive welfare services to ex-slaves; then,
dissolved the Bureau, under pressure. ²

In 1896, the United States Supreme Court officially sanctioned
segregation. ³

During World Wars I and II, segregation was practiced in the armed
forces.

During the New Deal, World War II and the Korean Conflict, dis-
rimination in housing was enforced by the Federal Housing Adminis-
tration. ⁴

In 1946, Congress dissolved The Fair Employment Practices
Committee created by Roosevelt. ⁵

From 1950 - 1962, the Federal government gradually reversed its
policy on housing discrimination. ⁶

In 1954, The Supreme Court reversed its decision on segregation. ⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 53.
² Victoria Olds, "The Freedmen's Bureau: A Nineteenth-Century Fed-
³ Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537 (1896).
⁴ Eunice Grier and George Grier, "Equality and Beyond: Housing Seg-
regation in The Great Society," The Negro American, ed., Talcott
⁵ Harold C. Fleming, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights:1961-
1965", The Negro American, ed., Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark,
⁶ Grier, loc. cit.
In 1964, Congress reversed its 1946 action on fair employment and created The Equal Opportunity Commission.\(^1\)

In 1965, eleven years after the Supreme Court decision on segregation, one out of every nine Negro children is attending school with white children.\(^2\)

During the present war in Viet Nam, Congress failed to pass the 1966 Civil Rights legislation.

During the Kennedy - Johnson administration, while the executive office has enforced federal laws more than ever before, there has been inadequate voter-protection, unbridled violence perpetrated against civil rightists, and persistent economic deprivation.\(^3\)

The preceding facts attest to a history of ambivalence, reflected in insufficient "gains" and substantial "losses".\(^4\) Present ambiavalences, in light of growing complexities and increasing turmoil, are discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The Negro Male's "Place"

Within the complex and paradoxical network of racism in the United States, there has been considerable role definition for the Negro male.

\(^2\)Fleming, op. cit., p. 385.
\(^4\)Fleming, op. cit., p. 386.

\(^7\)This terminology in race relations is credited to John Dollard, Caste and Class in A Southern Town, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc.).
Paralleling the trend of negligence and ambivalence, has been the decidedly more advantaged position of the Negro female.

...White bigotry regarding free Negroes contributed by showing greater willingness to employ Negro women than Negro men. In the nineteenth century the Negro washerwoman was 'in many instances the sole breadwinner of the family;' in 1849 in Philadelphia, as an extreme example, there were more female than male Negroes in gainful occupations.

In slavery, the advantages of the Negro female were attributable to her utility as a breeder and nursemaid as well as to her sexual attractiveness to the white male. This explanation is, however, not altogether satisfactory in view of her continuing advantaged position.

...The nonwhite-to-white income ratio for men averaged .50 for 1958-60 and fell to .49 for 1962. The ratio for women averaged .61 for 1958-60 and rose to .67 for 1962.

Instead, it would appear that the racist design was to enfeeble the Negro male lest he threaten the status quo.

When Jim Crow made its appearance towards the end of the 19th century, it may be speculated that it was the Negro male who was most humiliated thereby; the male was more likely to use public facilities, which rapidly became segregated once the process began, and just as important, segregation, and the submissiveness it exacts, is surely more destructive to the male than to the female personality. Keeping the Negro 'in his

---


3Batchelder, op. cit., p. 547.
place' can be translated as keeping the Negro male in his place; the female was not a threat to anyone. ¹

This explanation is more plausible in view of his continuing disadvantaged position. Slavery eliminated the necessity for the Negro male to provide for his family; deprivation limits his opportunity to provide. As the plantation provided for the minimum needs of the slaves, so the government provides subsistence welfare grants. The analogy of the plantation to the administration of public assistance serves to emphasize the historical, institutionalized nature of deprivation as a function of an economic system. Excerpts from the historian, Du Bois in 1915, provide additional insight.

The slave codes at first were really labor codes based on an attempt to reestablish in America the waning feudalism of Europe . . .

Out of this older type of slavery in the northern South there developed, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the southern South the type of slavery which corresponds to the modern factory system in its worst conceivable form. It represented production of a staple product on a large scale . . .

Between 1738 and 1830 there had come a remarkable series of inventions which revolutionized the methods of making cloth . . . The South now had a crop (cotton) which could be attended to by unskilled labor and for which there was practically unlimited demand . . . The South no longer excused slavery, but began to defend it as an economic system.²

Ultimately, the rationale that slavery was justifiable as an economic system, substantiated its preservation at all costs. The slave trade prospered, extreme measures militated against escape and protest, slaves were driven to produce for the system. The utility of the male slave is readily apparent. He was not periodically incapacitated on account of child-bearing. His physical strength exceeded that of his female counterpart. His labor was indispensable to the system as was his reproductive ability. His were the hands, the shoulders, muscles of the system. Slavery could not survive without an abundance of male labor. The Negro male's indispensability to slavery, ironically, was the source of his vulnerability. He had to be subjugated. He posed a constant threat to the life of slavery.

That the Negro male posed a psychological threat to the white male is evident in the double sexual standard. When the Negro male was first brought to America, he is reported to have mated with white women because of the paucity of Negro females on the continent. It was not long before there was legislation enacted to prohibit relations between the Negro male and the white female.¹ One interpretation of the double standard follows:

... There is little question that the Negro female was attractive to the white male for mating purposes. The universality of laws prohibiting marriage of white and Negroes is an eloquent testimonial to this fact. These two features, the sexual usefulness of the female and her role as mammy, could only have the effect of increasing the white man's fear of the Negro male, her rightful mate and legitimate possessor. This could not help but lead to the fantastic exaggeration in the white man's mind of the Negro male's sexual prowess. And this, in turn, would necessitate more repressive measures against the Negro male — all caused by the white man's guilt and anxiety. The necessity to 'protect' the white female against this fancied prowess of the male Negro thus became a fixed constellation in the ethos of the South. 1

It becomes increasingly clear that the Negro male was assigned a "place" at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder with a formidable obstacle course militating against his upward mobility. It was a "place" where his cultural roots were destroyed; his customary role, violated; his family ties, demolished; his humanness, challenged. 2 It was a "place" to work, to increase the wealth of the master, to impregnate female slaves and, above all, a "place" to "stay in."

To "Stay" or Not to "Stay"?

These were the basic questions plaguing the Negro male's physical and psychic existence: To "stay" or not to "stay" in bondage? How? When? Where? and Why?

---

1 Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 45.
2 Ibid.
Much has been speculated as to how he "stayed" in his place. How he did not "stay," i.e., escape, rebellion, protest, etc., is recorded in the annals of history. When? and Where? were constant irritants because there was, of course, no opportune time, "no 'hidin' place." Why? though a question of metaphysics is no less obsessive.

To deal with the more mundane questions, a review of the literature is in order.

The "sambo" reaction, synonymous with the "Uncle Tom" personality type is characterized by submissiveness, obedience, loyalty, dependability, and dependency. This "how to" pattern found especial favor with whites who, seemingly, required the reassurance and reinforcement it provided. While the "sambo" reaction was one of several patterns discussed below, its functional value lay in that it was endorsed by the master and, consequently, elicited rewards.

Certain compensations are said to have mitigated the devastating effects of slavery: A closed system which eliminated anxieties around status-striving; identification with the power and affluence of the master; favoritism toward house slaves and mulattoes.

This line of reasoning is questionable in that statuses in slavery were not solid. Through sex, obedience, subterfuge, etc., it was pos-

---


2 Kardiner and Ovesey, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
sible to elicit rewards and to improve one's status. Further, the uncertainties of plantation life, governed by the whims and ambivalences of the master, was undeniably anxiety-producing, i.e., the imminence of separation from loved ones through the slave trade. Moreover, favoritism, itself, points to a degree of fluidity with the system. Hence, this compensatory view of slavery is, essentially, untenable.

If there was any real compensation in slavery for the Negro male, it probably stemmed from his role as a "stud," his ability to mate and impregnate, his virility, his physical reaffirmation of maleness.

While mating among slaves was promoted, love and affection were discouraged. Thus, it has been suggested that the affective life of the slave was stunted.\textsuperscript{1} This suggestion was vehemently repudiated by an ex-slave, Frederick Douglass.

\ldots It is sometimes said that we slaves do not love and confide in each other. In answer to this assertion, I can say, I never loved any or confided in any people more than my fellow slaves.\ldots I believe we would have died for each other. \ldots We were one; and as much by our tempers and dispositions, as by the mutual hardships to which we were necessarily subjected by our condition as slaves. \ldots\textsuperscript{2}

Throughout this discussion, the subliminal issue is: How did the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1}Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 46.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{2}Frederick Douglass, Narrative of The Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, (Boston: Doubleday & Company, 1963), p. 35.}
Negro male handle aggression? A most incisive analysis of this process was written by Hortense Powdermaker. Her findings\(^1\) are reviewed below.

Powdermaker found, among other things, that the servility, obsequiousness, and childishness identified above in the "Sambo" type were distorted expressions of hostility and aggression toward whites. Because of the severe social sanctions, aggression was channeled in devious ways. Intra-Negro crime is another example of misdirected aggression.

While acknowledging covert hostility, Powdermaker's analysis suffers from the same weakness that permeates most interpretations of the slave mentality: De-emphasis on overt resistance. It was only through extreme cruelty, violence, and superior weaponry that the slaves were controlled, ultimately. The following account attests to the extremely punitive measures used to maintain control.

.. Mr. Martin, as a man of experience, declared that 'whipping of any kind' was of little use for the slaves 'will laugh at your greatest severity.' He had, however, invented two types of punishment that 'by several experiments' had proved their success — For sullenness, (sic) obstinacy, or idleness, says he, take a Negro, strip him, tie him fast to a post; take then a sharp curry-comb, and curry him severely til he is well scraped; and call a boy with some dry hay, and make the boy rub him down several minutes, then salt him, and unlose him. He will

attend to his business . . . ¹

After submitting a preponderance of evidence of slave defiance, resistance, and rebellions from the seventeenth century through the Civil War, Aptheker concludes by saying,

There are few phases of antebellum Southern life and history that were not in some way influenced by the fear of, or the actual outbreak of, militant concerted slave action. . . . This study has attempted to meet the need, which has become increasingly evident in recent years, of depicting in realistic terms the response of the American Negro to his bondage. The data herein presented make necessary the revision of the generally accepted notion that his response was one of passivity and docility. The evidence, on the contrary, points to the conclusion that discontent and rebelliousness were not only exceedingly common, but, indeed, characteristic of American Negro slaves.²

Two of the undisputed authorities on Negro Slave Revolts are Herbert Aptheker and, before him, Joseph C. Carroll. It is interesting to note that in a comprehensive bibliography³ compiled by Pettigrew on the Negro, Carroll is not included and there is reference to only a seven-page article by Aptheker on education. The failure of social scientists to acknowledge overt slave resistance suggests that they do not wish to deal with naked Negro aggression and are more comfortable with the "Sambo" and "Uncle Tom" types. This kind of bias is

²Ibid., pp. 368-374.
³Pettigrew, op. cit.
in keeping with trends previously noted: "undercount," negligence, and repression.

The Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras provided for the development of new forms of aggressive behavior. The trend toward self-improvement, education, ownership, and rehabilitation were part and parcel of the Negro ethos at the turn of the century.  

Additional patterns of reacting to caste sanctions include intellectual militancy, nationalism, and non-violent resistance — all spearheaded by the Negro male. Nevertheless, violence in defense of white supremacy has accompanied every major Civil Rights activity: school desegregation, neighborhood integration, voter-registration, non-violent demonstrations. It is, perhaps, the seeming futility of any of these patterns and activities which unleash the Negro male's fury today.

Implications for Assessment

Trends emerging from the historical literature reinforce the notion of systematic societal deprivation through repression, inaction, and exploitation. Further, it is evident that social sanctions were expressed in terms of ambivalence and violence and fortified by superior weaponry. When these sanctions confronted his psychic energy, the Negro male responded in one or more of several ways: Reaction formation


2 Refers to the development in which the conscious life of attitudes and interests are the exact opposite of unconscious attitudes or interests. Thus, a person says or does the opposite of the real unconscious wish. It necessitates a shift of the emotional trends from a set of ideas objectionable to the conscious to an opposite set of ideas which is not objectionable.
e.g., the "Sambo" type in whom hostility is denied and masked by excessive devotion; displacement\(^2\) as indicated by intra-Negro violence and by intra-group remonstrances (particularly after slavery); sublimation, \(^3\) in which aggression was channeled through intellectual, cultural, or vocational outlets (again, a feature of Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction); compensation, as evinced in the quest for education, ownership, etc.; accommodation, as in perfunctorily conforming to role expectations; finally, hostility was expressed directly through resistance, i.e., mocking and provoking punishment, escaping and rebelling. In modern history, nationalistic withdrawal, protest and persuasion are being over-shadowed by riots called, by some, twentieth century slave rebellions.

\(^2\)The emotional value attached to one idea or person is transferred to another idea or person. The individual expresses an emotional attitude toward an object which is either out of proportion to it, or unrelated to it.

\(^3\)A method by which primitive impulses demanding gratification obtain an outlet in modified forms through the conversion of this energy into socially approved activities.
Just as surely as East is East and West is West, there is a "black" psyche in America and there is a "white" one, and the sooner we face up to this social and cultural reality, the sooner the twain shall meet. Our emotional chemistry is different from yours in many instances, your joy is very often our anger and your despair our fervent hope. Most of us came here in chains and most of you came here to escape your chains. Your freedom was our slavery, and therein lies the bitter difference in the way we look at life ... To the average white man, a courthouse, even in Mississippi, is a place where justice is dispensed. To me, the black man, it is a place where justice is dispensed — with.

John Oliver Killens
According to Pettigrew\(^1\) a rounded scientific understanding of the Negro American personality has been deterred by three major weaknesses:

1. Preponderance of research directed at narrow concerns without general theoretical relevance.
2. Special methodological problems inherent in this research are typically not surmounted.
3. There is a great need of a penetrating social psychological theory of Negro American personality.

Past research dealt with narrow issues, i.e., Negro "intelligence" and Negro "adjustment." Invariably, these issues were resolved in terms of white standards and biases. While Pettigrew places a great deal of reliance on consistent analyses of Negro personality written by psycho-therapists who treated Negro patients,\(^2\) it is suspected that the racism of the past has not altogether vanished from current social science theory.

---

1 Pettigrew, *op. cit.*
That racial differences are critical in the research process is demonstrated in the communications problems white interviewers encounter with Negro respondents. It is established that few Negroes, irrespective of socio-economic background, actually "level" with white interviewers. ¹ Hence, communications, basic to methodology, may be immediately and permanently obscured in the process of data gathering. Additional methodological problems are evident in lax controls which have not sufficiently dealt with socio-economic status and regional differences. ²

Despite these major difficulties in interpreting relevant contemporary research, it is, nonetheless, pregnant with trends.

"Man - Child"

And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.

Exodus 1:22

Already, the differential treatment of Negro males and females is evident in the history and in the economy of American society. To what extent sexual partiality is practiced in the child-rearing process has been a subject of considerable discussion.

In this context, studies ³ conducted by Davis and Havighurst, are

¹ Ibid., p 11.
² Ibid.
significant. Among other things, it was discovered that the permissive handling of the early developmental tasks in lower-class children resulted in their learning their toilet habits by exactly the same median age as middle-class children, more rigidly trained. If, as Erikson contends, the neurotic compulsiveness of society stems from its preoccupation with anality, then the Negro male of lower class origin has, a priori, an unconventional orientation to life. For the female, this lack of convention is later inhibited by a greater degree of supervision. The male child is not restrained in the same manner. The male's early involvement with gang activity leads to the internalization of anti-conventional norms in virtually every sphere of social thought. Gang formation is attributed to many phenomena of which those appearing most germane to this paper are capsuled below.

Margaret Mead contends that the increasing similarities in sexual role expectations have resulted in a desperate defense of masculinity through all male activities.

1 Ibid.
That gang behavior in typically an adolescent syndrome corresponds to Erikson's concept of "identity-crisis."  

Cloward and Ohlin, reflecting the influence of Durkheim, contend that gang formation is one inevitable result of an industrial society which sets unlimited goals and aspirations, furnishes too few opportunities for success and too many chances for failure.  

Rohrer and Edmondson relate the Negro male's gang involvement directly to the Negro family.

The culture of the gang can only be understood in relation to the matriarchy. And, just as the matriarchy is primarily organized around some dominant female, and all attitudes are colored by identity with what might be referred to as the 'female principle' in society, the gang is centered around exclusive 'masculine' interests and articulates the 'male principle' in society. It is inevitable, then, that the matriarchy and the gang should regard each other as natural enemies because each is emphatic in its allegiance to mutually exclusive ideologies. . . The generalized enemy of the gang is the 'female principle' in society. This 'principle' seems to be symbolized by women, refined men, laws, morals, religion, education and the striving for success and respectability.

Manhood is defined in terms of independence, secretiveness, and sexual prowess. Thus, to be a man means to renounce entirely the female principle in society. It involves fear of women, scorn for middle-class standards and hatred of authority.

The social life of the gang revolves around strictly

---


masculine activities. It includes such things as drinking, gambling, playing the 'dozens' (a behavior pattern which best exemplifies the completeness with which the female principle is rejected), sports, and telling stories about the outwitting of authorities and the exploitation of women.

It is obvious that the 'masculine principle' with which the gang member identifies provides no basis for the establishment of stable family life. All ties developed in this 'social world' are necessarily temporary and loose. Rarely did we find a gang member who had substantial friendships or heterosexual unions for more than a few months in duration.

All of the above theories seem consistent, compatible, and convincing. The need to defend masculinity is aggravated in a society where politico-socio-economic power is a function of masculinity; the need is intensified by the identity-crisis in adolescence; it is exacerbated by a matriarchal or matrifocal family system. A comparatively recent trend in the literature is to refer to the Negro family as matrifocal rather than matriarchal. This is important insofar as the literature does not support the view that the Negro male is subject to the authority of the Negro female, i.e., matriarch. The literature does, however, support the view that the Negro family is mother-centered, i.e., matrifocal.

What has been labelled as the matriarchy is the uterine relationship which is best understood in a context broader than the Negro family. Mead provides an excellent background on the universal aspects of the uterine relationship which is reviewed below.

---

1 Rohrer and Edmondson, op. cit., pp. 158-185.

2 Kardiner and Ovesey, op. cit., p. 70.
The uterine relationship between mother and child gives the female an immediate source of identity. The girl need only to be like the mother while the boy must learn to be unlike the mother. Long before puberty or latency, even before the anal stage, males are universally compelled to be masculine in the specific context of their culture. "So at the very start of life, effort, an attempt at greater self-differentiation, is suggested to the boy, while relaxed acceptance of herself is suggested to the girl." ¹

In this respect, the pressure for the male to be masculine, the Negro community is not unique. On the other hand, pressure for the Negro male to be masculine may be compounded if his father is absent or inaccessible to him as a role model. However, the functional value of the gang in molding his role is not to be minimized. Sexual partiality toward female siblings is an additional factor in gang formation.

While social workers have not dealt extensively with this subject in their published literature, case records are replete with female descriptions of the absent father and the case worker's findings that male children are often rejected because they resemble their father. Sexual partiality is evident at another level when females are educated in lieu of their brothers. That the gang, then, supplants the family as

¹Mead, op. cit.,
the primary reference group bespeaks an unique adjustment to an universal norm.

**The Group and its Reference Groups**

Caste sanctions affecting all Negroes constitute the situational context in which Negroes interact as a group. The acute sense of deprivation which all classes of Negroes experience has been documented by Dollard, Frazier, Kardiner and Ovesey. Varying degrees and manifestations of deprivation do not alter the fact of deprivation and its unmistakable effects on social functioning. Among its effects has been the tendency to disperse rather than to unite group members. Nevertheless, the axiom that external hostility brings on internal solidarity has held true since slavery. Frederick Douglass, for example, wrote tenderly and nostalgically about his fellow slaves. The mobilization of thousands of Negroes of all socio-economic levels in the civil rights movement also confirms this principle. Group-consciousness is virtually impossible to avoid except in the case of the retreatist who, as Powdermaker put it, is very rare because of the difficulty of making such an adjustment in a race-conscious society.

---

1 Dollard, *op. cit.*
3 Kardiner and Ovesey, *op. cit.*
4 Powdermaker, *op. cit.*
Membership in the Negro group is basically involuntary; however, except for the family, reference group membership is essentially self-selected. The literature furnishes certain clues to the importance of the reference group for the Negro male. Its importance in adolescence has already been shown. Beyond adolescence, Walter Miller's study of a lower-class Negro neighborhood found that: "... a set of age-graded one-sex peer groups... constitute the psychic focus and reference group for those over twelve and thirteen."¹ The middle-class counterpart (fraternities) of these groups was treated at length by E. Franklin Frazier.² In both instances, the reference group furnishes a pattern for economic behavior. The range of behavioral patterns was covered in Chapter II. Here, the significance lies in the fact that the peer group has for both adolescents and adults replaced the family group as a chief determining factor in economic behavior. Case records give considerable insight into the group-orientation of the Negro male. Often female complaints center on the influence of their husband's friends. General female descriptions of their men include reference to stubborn, unreasonable, anti-conventional behavior.

² Frazier, op. cit.
Manpower Development

This section is addressed to the relevance of current programming to the psycho-social trends this far identified in the Negro male's economic role. Most of the programs are stimulated and funded by the United States Department of Labor. Some of the manpower research projects are funded by the Department of Labor as was the study\(^1\) reported below which dealt, primarily, with the hard-core, unemployed Negro male.

\(\ldots\) This research sought to identify factors in the decisions of unemployed, unskilled workers to forego restraining for a higher level of skill. It attempted to gain insights concerning the choice processes by which workers decide for or against retraining, as a basis for planning future retraining programs, especially the manner in which retraining opportunities are offered to prospective trainees.

\(\ldots\) Men who had rejected retraining opportunities in projects established under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, and men who enrolled in these programs were the subjects.\(\ldots\)

Most of the unskilled, unemployed men who rejected training in a skilled or semi-skilled occupation in two of the initial programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act were convinced they could not support their families on the $25 weekly training allowance during a year's retraining.

\(\ldots\) The data.\(\ldots\) support the conclusion that information programs on retraining need to be tailored to the

community. It proved to be especially difficult to enroll potential trainees who were isolated from normal channels of communications by lack of education and extreme poverty . . .

The directors of these training programs experienced great difficulty in filling their classes. Both carried out comprehensive 'grass roots' programs of recruitment to interest potential enrollees in the opportunities for the prospective benefits of training. Recruitment efforts included use of the usual mass media, talks to church congregations, and the distribution of fact sheets in barber shops, restaurants, bars, pool parlors, and other gathering places. . . Significant-ly, few of the men heard the news in church or business establishments, which were two of the principal targets of the 'grass roots' program of recruitment . . .

The Virginia Employment Commission identified and attempted to contact approximately 680 men who were eligible for enrollment in the training programs. . . Of these, 115 enrolled in training. . . about a third of the commission group had no interest in the program which they offered. ¹

Again, the trend of societal ambivalence is reinforced by these findings. In this instance, a subsistence training allowance is contradictory to the goals of the program which professes to raise economic standards. Further, the difficulty in communications and recruitment point to alienation from social resources. "Avoidance learning" is a term which has been used to describe lack of responsiveness to widely publicized and beneficial services. It is a credit to the Norfolk Division at Virginia State College that trainees can now engage in part-time employment. The College also recognized the need for depth communication with prospective trainees; that is, a sense of

¹ Ibid., pp. i - 15.
involvement in the program development process by participation in preliminary workshops. Follow-up reports on the Norfolk project indicate that the gamut of family-centered services were provided in order to prevent drop-outs. Here, social work performed residual services in order to compensate for institutional deficiencies.

Additional findings in this project point to the Negro male's view of opportunities and limitations. No more than 17 of the respondents admitted to a feeling of academic inadequacy. Respondents did not support the hypothesis that the men in this sample lacked self-reliance. With the exception of the few white respondents who were interviewed, the general view of economic opportunity was realistic. The researchers concluded:

Thus, the men reacted negatively to items in the interview designed to ascertain the lack of self-reliance or a welfare mentality. Most seemed eager to find employment and many were interested in retraining. The men did not seem to regard the training program as a form of relief. Despite the limitations of the measure used to gauge self-reliance, the investigators regard this finding as worthy of further study. Psychologists generally believe that long exposure to poverty and bigotry creates a 'welfare mentality' among minority groups. That it had not done so in this case suggests additional factual tests of this belief.

---


The Norfolk project was among those initiated before the "long, hot, summers." A brief review\(^1\) of one of the "anti-riot" measures ensues.

'Jobs Now' is a pilot project funded by The United States Department of Labor and sponsored by thirty-eight private and public agencies in Chicago. It is directed by a staff of eighty in cooperation with The Young Men's Christian Association of Metropolitan Chicago. Having successfully placed 250 clients of 546 processed, it has emerged as the model project for twenty-five urban centers.

While the upper-age limit is flexible, 'Jobs Now' is geared to the 16-21 year olds who are unemployed, unskilled, and not in school. 'Jobs Now' is, essentially, an intensive two-week course in job preparation. Clients are typically recruited by sponsoring organizations from "hang outs" in the community and accompanied to the agency. Extensive physical and psychological testing is administered to determine health needs and aptitudes. Health needs are met by the agency. Aptitude tests provide a basis for job-placement. Non-verbal intelligence scores average higher than their in-school counterparts.

Clients are oriented to the metropolitan transit system, appropriate grooming, applicant and job behavior. Training allowances are $22.50/week.

Observations of the program include the following: While a two-week

\(^1\) *Christian Science Monitor*, February 3, 1967.
training period permits a rapid turn-over and access to large numbers, it is not sufficient as an anti-riot measure; as an incentive, the stipend is too low, clients can "hustle" more than $22.50 per week; the program does not adequately deal with the non-structured orientation of clients, it does not sufficiently challenge the tested native ability of clients.

Despite these and other negative features of the program, it is the "pride and joy" of The United States Department of Labor. Because this aged youth has been identified as the most resistive and most likely to riot, his father, older brothers, and uncles are being deprived of economic opportunity. Thus, the trends seen earlier, particularly in the area of economic statistics, are confirmed.

Implications for Assessment

It is suggested here that the Negro male, almost from the point of birth, cultivates a unique adaptive system to an unrewarding environment. Female favoritism at home and in society is counter-balanced in his reference group. That he is a rebel both at home and in society speaks to residual strengths yet untapped and unyielding. That he continues to be placed at a disadvantage in society is readily apparent in the inadequacy of programs designed to "develop" him.

The Norfolk study is especially important because it challenges previous research\(^1\) which depicted the Negro male as unmotivated.

Research on the Negro male in the social sciences, including social work, is conspicuous in its absence. The negligence of the social sciences in this area is an extension of society's negligence. It is not unusual for science to reflect the mentality of the times. The failure of the social sciences to place the role of the Negro male in proper perspective reflects the racism underlying many social science findings. When science acquiesces to, or comprises with the prevailing attitudes and stereotypes surrounding ethnic differences, it forfeits its authority and functions, instead, as a rationale for prejudice and superstition.
"I ain't gon' let nobody Turn me around!"

Negro Spiritual
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter focuses directly on The Assessment Model.

A Profile of the Negro Male

It is implicit and trite but, nevertheless, necessary to state that Nature is no respecter of races. The Negro male is endowed with the same mental and emotional capacity as all humans. Cognitive and affective development is a function of the social order. Each social order defines its patterns of cognitive and affective expression. Language is one pattern of expression, which is over-emphasized, by the American social order, as an index of cognitive and affective development. Non-verbal intelligence tests are beginning to approximate a culturally unbiased means of testing innate capacity. The ability of "linguistically deprived" subjects to cogitate on an advanced abstract and symbolical level has been demonstrated.

Affective development is very often reflected in artistic expression. The Negro male enjoys unquestioned prestige and success as an artist. While this paper does not stress physical aptitudes, it is pertinent to indicate that the Negro male has also excelled as an athlete.

Thus, the Negro male brings a wealth of human potential into American society. The preceding chapters have proven that society
has abused this potential by negligence, exploitation, distortion, ambivalence, under-estimation, and repression. Existing resources are grossly inadequate. The resulting adjustment is reviewed in the next section which is devoted to assessment.

The uterine relationship poses, for the Negro male as for the universal male, a degree of anxiety around sexual identity. For the Negro male, this anxiety is heightened by his systematic deprivation. In latency, as is not unusual with males, his anxieties are allayed by peer-group affiliation. Racial discrimination limits his peers to other Negro males. Opportunities for interracial exposure are practically non-existent. To initiate friendships with whites is to be rebuffed. The resulting adjustment is dealt with in the assessment.

Physical and social distance from society compounded by the antagonism emanating therefrom, pose difficulties in self-fulfillment. His isolation from the mainstream of society means that he is not socialized by the prevailing ethos: patriotism, capitalism, etc. To the inevitable social confrontation he brings his native intelligence, psychic energy, and a view of self in relation to society. By default, society cannot measure his native intelligence, does not offer him outlets for his energies, and does not reinforce his view of self in relation to society. Ultimately, then, his attitudes and ideas about education, work, and government neither correspond to nor are endorsed by the system. The resulting conflicts are included in the assessment.
A Psycho-Social Assessment

It can now be seen that the socio-economic conditions of the Negro community - racial discrimination, deficient education, economic insolvency, female favoritism, isolation from the mainstream of commerce - all assist in the perpetuation of mother-centered families, subsistence living standards, and, most significantly, role deprivation of the Negro male.

How does the Negro male fare in this disadvantaged position? What are his frustrations and compensations? Does he acquiesce or resist? Has his unique status given rise to a raison d'être distinct from that of his white counterpart? What is his view of self, family, education, and democracy?

Summarily, the same problem which beset the Negro male in slavery - the handling of aggression - confronts him today. The Negro male's struggle with aggression may be described as follows: intense ambivalence toward women; rejection of societal norms and goals; highly charged emotional relationships with peers. If he has rejected the "female principle" in society, then he has not been socialized in his female-based household. So, church, school, and home have failed to socialize him. Where, then, is the Negro male socialized? - In the gang, on the "corner," in the poolroom, at the tavern, or the barber shop - all are very real institutions in the Negro community.
The tendency of social scientists to characterize the Negro family as matriarchal, as against matrifocal, has been unfortunate. Among the results of this misfortune has been the deduction that the Negro community is, itself, matriarchal. This deduction is untenable. A careful reading of Rohrer and Edmondson reveals that the gang culture is powerful enough to counteract the matriarchy; hence, there is a balance of power; therefore, no matriarchy. Moreover, leadership roles in the Negro community have always been dominated by males. In every sphere - labor, business, politics, religion, scholarship, music, sports, protest, etc. — the top Negro leaders are male, notwithstanding the considerable influence of Negro females. Further, social status in the Negro community is generally determined by the husband's occupation not by the wife's. Thus the myth of the Negro matriarchate is, effectively, dismissed.

At no level, lower-class or otherwise, has the Negro male succumbed to the "feminine principle," The fact that he is not economically independent does not render him psychologically indefensible. At all levels, the Negro male has evinced sufficient resistance to social inequities to establish him as a perpetual detractor of the social system. Cloward and Ohlin's finding that delinquency is a distorted expression of acquiescence to societal goals is not altogether applicable to the Negro male. In his quest for self-actualization, the Negro male does not exhibit internalization of the capitalistic doctrine. His
group orientation speaks to an anti-capitalist ideology. The researcher maintains that his resistance, however manifested is directed to the core of the social system not merely at its sanctions.

Rarely does intense emotion exist without ambivalence. The Negro male's emotional framework is not exceptional in this respect. To survive within a hostile environment is to compromise, accommodate, deceive, or be forever at war. While the Negro male may be genuinely ambivalent about his female counterpart, the researcher contends that ambivalence toward the system is compelled because of the constant threat of annihilation.

Hostility is the natural response to repression and aggression is reflexively invoked by hostility but to release aggression through a frontal or subversive attack on the system is, for the Negro, all but suicidal. The violent reprisals dealt the non-violent activists in the Civil Rights Movement, North and South, more than attest to this. Hence, Negro aggression has been partially sublimated through music, dancing, and folklore. It has been compensated for by achievement. It has been masked by docility. It has been denied through reaction formation. It has been camouflaged by accommodation. It has been repressed by violence. It has been channeled through humor, intellect, propaganda, protest, and innumerable other ways. But it has neither disappeared nor been destroyed. It is the challenge of the social work profession to deal with naked Negro aggression.
A Theoretical Analysis

The researcher is convinced that the Negro male's highly charged emotional relationships with his peers represents a form of group orientation or collectivism which it would be well to explore. The theory is that he finds refuge in the group which, during pre-adolescence and adolescence, represents a transplanted womb or home. As the group inevitably disintegrates, he is constantly searching for the original and, by then, idyllic esprit de corps which was so vital to his masculine identification. He searches in vain . . . no era in life is to be recaptured. Nevertheless, the tavern, barber shop, poolroom, and the corner, wherever he may be, provide him with a comfortable delusion, of being back with the 'gang,' perhaps the only solid, emphatic identification he has ever experienced.

Thus far, we have uncovered at least two resources which should be dealt with in therapy with the Negro male: (1) the fact that he is a maverick means that he may well have a unique contribution to make wherever he finds his area of competency - this has been vividly illustrated in the jazz world which is dominated by Negro men. Traditionally, the Negro has excelled in music, the only area where he knew freedom. Similarly, if the creativity of the Negro male were liberated, externally and internally, in all areas, he should, in keeping with his experiences, be dynamic and original; (2) his socialization in the group may be of real positive value in group therapy.
The effects of Negro males, acting in concert, are devastating during a riot. A program which would constructively involve groups of Negro males in sociotherapy may have far reaching and deepening repercussions in terms of the self-actualization of the Negro male.

A Social Work Dilemma

If the profession is to deal effectively with the Negro male, it must:

1. relinquish the notion of the Negro matriarchy
2. question the feasibility of reinstating the time-worn and dysfunctional family system as developed in western society
3. reach out to facilitate the self-actualization of individuals, irrespective of family attachments
4. challenge both the social system and its academic disciplines on deprivation and conceptual misrepresentation of non-white peoples
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents


U. S. Congressional Record. Vol. CXII.


Books


Articles and Periodicals


**Pamphlets**


**Reports**


**Unpublished Material**