A comparative analysis of the Black woman as transmitter of Black values: based on case studies of families in Ghana and among Jamaicans and Afro-Americans in Hartford, Connecticut.

Lillian Anthony-Welch

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/3028

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK WOMAN AS TRANSMITTER OF BLACK VALUES,
BASED ON CASE STUDIES OF FAMILIES IN GHANA AND AMONG JAMAICANS
AND AFRO-AMERICANS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

A Dissertation Presented

By

Lillian Anthony-Welch

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Subject Area: Administration-Leadership-Human Relations

August 1976
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK WOMAN AS TRANSMITTER OF BLACK VALUES,
BASED ON CASE STUDIES OF FAMILIES IN GHANA AND AMONG JAMAICANS
AND AFRO-AMERICANS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

A Dissertation

by

Lillian Anthony-Welch

Approved as to style and content:

Dr. Thomas Hutchinson, Chairperson
Dr. Ernest Washington, Member
Dr. Joyce Ladner, Member

Dr. Norma Jean Anderson, Dean's Representative

Dr. Louis Fischer
Acting Dean
School of Education

August 1976
THIS DISSERTATION IS DEDICATED

TO MY MOTHER, ADELE ANTHONY PHILLIPS,

who transmitted rich cultural values,

TO MY HUSBAND, DESMOND SAMSON WALTER WELCH,

for his lasting African and South American heritage that is strong and vibrant and powerful,

TO MY FAMILY,

immediate and extended for the continuation of our cultural heritage.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

God has blessed me with an abundance of friends, colleagues and associates who have opened doors, given encouragement and lent strength when I had no strength. So many that I cannot name here, but they know who they are, and know that I am grateful to all the H.B.S.

To the University of Minnesota for affording me the opportunity to stretch intellectually with teaching students, and for the receipt of two research grants. My gratitude is extended to the serious scholars at the Institute of the Black World who initiated me in the world of scholarship with admonitions to be steadfast, to be more than competent, and whose courage and scholarship I attempted to emulate: Drs. Sterling Stuckey, Vincent Harding, Lerone Bennett, and Bill Strickland. To Chike Owuanchi who knew of the research and made it possible for me to go to the Conference on Negritude.

To Wilda Stephenson, Edna Johns, and Angie Wead belongs a special category; they transcribed tapes, critiqued and typed pages, and never let me down in any way. To Drs. Joanne Carrigan medical historian and Richard Thill folklorist at the University of Nebraska at Omaha who were willing to read the draft copy of the dissertation editorially.

I am lucky to have friends who tolerate and love me exactly the way I am; one friend in particular—Trudecia Benjamin, Professor at Howard University—who went with me the second time to replicate the
research in Pepease, Ghana, who worked with me and cared for me when the frustration seemed intolerable.

A special acknowledgment to the community of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst: The Ford fellowship program; the first dissertation committee for their assistance and finally and profoundly to the ones who persevered with me through the final process of the research, to Dr. Thomas Hutchinson for his ability to provide me the skills to "operationalize" fuzzy concepts, a sound methodology, research design, and his insistence that I was to remember that I was writing a scholarly paper and it was to be without "flair", when I was resisting the rigors of scholarship; to Dr. Ernest Washington for his scrutiny and advisement, which made it possible to use the data more meaningfully; to Dr. Eugene Piedmont whose dedication to the welfare of students I shall forever be in debt, without having met him I have known his compassion and that awesome gift of being able to be flexible without giving up one's principle; to Dr. Joyce Ladner Carrington for her constant assistance and encouragement, whose advice and direction was invaluable, I am indebted to her especially for being specific in stating how the dissertation could be "drastically reduced" making it possible to keep the essentials; therefore making it readable; to Dr. Norma Jean Anderson who in the role of Assistant Dean for Graduate Affairs encouraged and made possible the total process, in spite of many obstacles; whose faith in me made this work possible, her questions were always profound, my gratitude.

Finally, to the three Black women, their families, and constituents: Queen Mother Adwoa Deda in Pepease, Ghana, Mrs. Carmen Terreano and Mrs.
Elizabeth Bunckley in Hartford, Connecticut, my heartfelt gratitude.

This research would not have been possible if they had not been willing to trust me with parts of their life, allowing me to question them and to participate in their lives. This part of their lives are representative of the millions of Black people to whom I shall be eternally grateful for I know that it is because of their lives, that I live.
ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK WOMAN AS TRANSMITTER OF BLACK VALUES, BASED ON CASE STUDIES OF FAMILIES IN GHANA AND AMONG JAMAICANS AND AFRO-AMERICANS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT (August 1976)

Lillian Anthony-Welch
B.S. - Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.
M.R.E. - Pittsburgh Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
C.A.G.S. - University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.
Ed.D. - University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.

Directed by: Dr. Thomas Hutchinson

The purposes of this investigation were to define (1) some of the viable cultural values of African people (the term "African people" refers to people of African descent living in the United States, the Caribbean, and on the African Continent) by focusing on the African Woman as one of the prime transmitters of those values, and with the data generated from the investigation (2) develop a model for studying the African Woman and (3) to develop a methodology to explore the relationship between values and culture of the Black community and the American Schooling system. The primary question became, does the Black woman transmit viable cultural values?

The research procedures utilized in the study began with an identification of 17 African cultural values gathered from a pilot study in Pepease, Ghana. This was followed by conducting field case studies for comparison analysis. The case studies were centered primarily around women: The Queen Mother, her family and constituents in Pepease, Ghana, a Jamaican Mother, her family and constituents, and an African-American mother, her family and constituents in Hartford, Connecticut.
In gathering data from the case studies the researcher used interviews and participation observation to record the findings. Data collected from each of the case studies were compared with the African norms and standards. The research finding were organized so that each category and its component parts produced typologies which could be analyzed. The comparative analysis of the three case study indices presented evidence for identifying and defining Black cultural values.

Based on the concordance of the typologies the following Black Cultural Values were identified and defined:

1. Oral Tradition
2. Women
3. Older people
4. Religion
5. Nature
6. Harmony
7. Cleverness
8. Ceremonies and Rituals
9. History and Oral Tradition
10. Creativity
11. Strength and Endurance
12. Hospitality and Strangers
13. Education: Formal and Informal
14. Personal Relationships
15. Fluent Speech
16. Name
17. Drama
18. Hands and Fingers
19. Marriage, Family, Children
20. Community
21. Wigs, Dying Hair
22. Superstition
23. Color (not from in African Case Study)

The data developed in this study support the primary research question in the following ways: (1) the research question was supported in the affirmative, with qualifications, based on the study being exploratory, (2) the findings showed differences in the manifestations of
the cultural values, among the three case studies.

The results of this research provided three theories: (1) Theory: the Black woman is a Prime Transmitter of viable cultural values, theory (2) that viable cultural values exist, (3) theory that these viable cultural values transmitted have an African origin. The results of this research also provided enough information for a model for studying the African woman and a methodology to explore the relationships between values and culture of the Black community and the American schooling system.

Based on the analysis of the data, the following general summarized implications were drawn relative to the research findings: Recognizing that this is exploratory in scope, the first implication is that there is need for more definitive research, using larger cross cultural groups for intra-cultural comparisons. The research implies that there is need for a closer scrutiny of definitional applications of concepts to the lives of people without having knowledge of their culture-value reality. The research certainly demands that future students of the Black experience become more critical of the social science references used to interpret the Black experience. Interestingly, when the definitions, the social science theories and the stereotypes were presented and analyzed it was evident that the distorted realities had prevented a true perception of Black persons having viable cultural values.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.  BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. DESIGN OF STUDY</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. RESULTS OF RESEARCH</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A  African Case Study and Interviews</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Jamaican Case Study and Interviews</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  African-American Case Study and Interviews</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  A Chronological History of African Americans in Hartford, Connecticut</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  1970 Census of Hartford, Connecticut</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  A Model for Study of the Black Woman</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G  A Methodology to Explore the Relationship Between Values of the Black Community and American Schooling</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

Beginning Interest in Research

After assuming the role of Acting Chairman and Professor for the Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Minnesota, where research into the total African-American experience was an imperative, I began extensive reading in the area of Africans and African Americans, finding very little research on the Black Woman and African Woman. Very little was found about African or Afro-American culture and values.

A group of female students asked the researcher to design a course on Black Women. What in the world would make up such a curricula? What kind of bibliography would be useful. This was 1969.

The researcher began by sharing her experiences in working with women, particularly Black Women. The researcher began to recall past experiences of early childhood and the strongest thought was always "Mama" or "Mama said." The researcher recalled three years of teaching in Assiut, Egypt in a School serving 750 girls from Egypt, Lebanon, Ethiopia, the Sudan and other parts of East Africa. Remembering that the researcher kept a journal, it was possible to refresh memories and document earlier impressions of African girls over a period of three years of living and working together—in general the researcher had recorded with surprise and pleasure the commonalities of the African girls and the then "Negro" girls. The entries in the journal revealed observations of African culture and values, which the researcher had viewed against the norms and standards of "American Negro Women."
The researcher recalled working in the Elementary School in Indianapolis, Indiana, teaching emotionally disturbed children, all Black children except for one male Caucasian child, a classroom of boys and girls, ages 7-12. Using some of the skills learned in Africa, the researcher found much success in the classroom and there was noticeable academic and emotional improvement among the students. The journal again reflected entries such as "they remind me of the Egyptian and African children learning a foreign language."

In 1962 the researcher was invited by Dr. James Robinson, Director of Operation Crossroads Africa (OCA) to take a group of students on a work study tour to Thika, Kenya in East Africa. This was a multicultural group of college students (undergraduate and graduate), Mexican, Canadian, Caucasian, and Afro-American. The study and work project was from June 1962 to August 1962. The purpose of the project OCA was to study, work, and live with the Africans in a useful way. The task given the group assigned to Thika, Kenya, was to build a school with as many rooms as possible. The building was completed with a floor space large enough to partition and use for three classrooms. The group also completed a recreation-dining room for the YMCA-YWCA Camp site in Nivasha, Kenya. The first two weeks in Thika, Kenya, were frustrating because the group was unable to communicate with the local residents. The local residents would come daily as individuals and in large groups to observe the work, but would not visit the group or invite the group to be with them.

The researcher remembered the 1956-1969 experiences in Egypt recalling the importance of calling on the "important" citizens; the
elders and the school teachers or "masters." The OCA group stopped chipping stone and began visiting the schools and hospitals, introducing ourselves and explaining our purpose for being there and asking their permission to attempt the project. By the end of the first month over 300 persons had come to assist the project, Kenyans, Indians, Somalians, Britishers, and many others very often coming from great distances.

Leaving Kenya in August 1962 the researcher continued to travel in Asia, Pakistan, India, Hong Kong, Tokyo, Thailand, and the Phillipines conducting leadership training for program development for women's groups in each of these places totaling three months. These experiences had provided the researcher with very broad experiences with women.

From 1960-1965 the researcher was in the employ of the United Presbyterian Church as a representative of the Commission of Ecumenical Mission and Relations (COEMAR). The author covered six states, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. It was here that the researcher worked predominately with Caucasian women for five years. As the representative of COEMAR it was the responsibility of the office to interpret the women's programs, the needs of the people overseas, and to solicit funds to meet these needs. The opportunity was provided by a colleague, Dr. Norma Jean Anderson, who knew of the work and who appreciated the effort, suggesting I investigate the possibility of doing the research under the direction of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Fortunately the researcher received a Ford Fellowship, granted through the University of Massachusetts School of Education, Administration, and Leadership Center. In 1965-67 the researcher was in the employ of the Department of Labor as director of a manpower
development program and from 1967-69 was the director of the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department.

All these experiences were shared with the class at the University of Minnesota. The researcher suggested to the class that the course become an exploratory study of Black culture and values focusing on the Black Woman as one of the prime transmitters of cultural values.

Recognizing that the course could be perceived as an indoctrination course for women and not an academic course, the researcher required that enrollment would necessitate the approval of the professor, thereby exercising control for a balanced male-female ratio, and control of ethnic group based on the assumption that too little research had been done by Blacks on Blacks. The class was made up of twenty Black students, ten men and ten women.

The first question the students attempted to answer was: Is there a Black cultural value system? The second question was: Is the African cultural value system the basis for the African American value system? These questions assisted us in designing research proposals which were funded and when engaged in a pilot study in Pepease, Ghana. A colleague who was interested in the efforts introduced the researcher to the Ford Fellowship Program at the University of Massachusetts. Here the researcher had an opportunity to become more familiar with research methodology, to design a study program which was interdisciplinary, including Educational Anthropology, Human Relations, International Studies, Afro-American Studies, and Education.
A requirement of the program was field work. The researcher chose two field work experiences, the Black Woman's Community Development Committee in Washington, D.C., and the Concentrated Employment Program in Hartford, Connecticut. Both of these experiences indirectly influenced the eventual design of the study.

The field experience with the Black Woman's Community Development Committee was to work on planning a Black Woman's Conference to be held in Chicago. The fact that one hundred Black women were invited, representative of all roles of life, provided the researcher with a clear awareness of how important the study could be. When the conference convened and after the evaluations were written it was clear that there was no monolithic Black Woman. It was clear also that there were commonalities. Cultural values were evident, in spite of the evils of status conflicts based on ideological differences but also conflicts resulting from skin color,* education, and class. These dynamics with all of the historical ramifications said to the researcher that the research needed to be limited and as uncomplicated as possible. The conference themes was "The Ties That Bind."

*As the design took shape the researcher deliberately decided not to include these variables, recognizing they could be included in another more elaborate study--however, for the purpose of identifying and defining, Black culture values, they would not be considered.
Interspersed with these experiences the researcher prepared and took her comprehensive examination and prepared a paper which was titled: Black Women: Transmitter of African Culture--Value--Behavior System. It was hoped that the paper would serve also as the proposal of the thesis.

During the examination (which took place at the height of controversy within the School of Education concerning the Black community) a question was asked: If you believe that Black women transmit African values generally why do you have to go to Jamaica, or to South Carolina Islands, why not an urban city? Taking the question seriously the researcher mulled the issue over, and while driving fifty miles to and from the Hartford, Connecticut site daily, it dawned upon the writer that Hartford, Connecticut could be the place-site for continued research. The researcher also returned to Pepease, Ghana for further field study in 1972.

With the two sites identified the research title became:
CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Because of European cultural colonialism, imperialism, and oppression, African people\(^1\) have not been perceived as having a viable cultural value system. African people have usually been defined negatively in terms of bodily form, race, color, and class. The White European-American middle class is presented as the "normal" or "standard," and all others a deviation. These standards and norms are used as measuring rods to define African people as well as most colonized peoples in the world. According to Thomlinson:

Norms are rules in the game of life. It is through social norms and values that the interpersonal relations of members of a society are controlled and directed, usually without the awareness of the persons who are conforming. One intent of sociology is to make us aware of these and other forces that motivate us and our associates...

These "rules" are of four types: techniques, folkways, mores, and laws. Techniques are ways of doing things where the criterion is technical efficiency. Folkways are "correct" ways of doing things; the keynote is etiquette. Mores (singular: mos) are like folkways except that a stronger moral value is involved. Laws are formal means of social control, made explicit through codification...

We may contrast these four types of norms by considering what happens when a person violates each one. If one does not follow a technique, he is simply considered inefficient or wasteful; aside from his boss or wife, no one is offended. A

---

\(^1\) The term "African people" refers to people of African descent living in the United States, the Caribbean, and on the African continent.
person who violates a folkway is socially disapproved through
the imposition of some mild sanction such as a dirty look or
temporary severance of informal neighborhood social
relationships. Violation of a mos brings down a severe
informal penalty such as complete social ostracism. Breaking
a law calls forth punishment by formal authorities, but the
punishment need not be severe.  

With colonization and oppression in the Americas, African people have
not had the institutional power to define themselves regarding their
past, present, or future.

Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen in their research quote
Dr. W. M. Bevis as reporting in 1921 that "Negro children are bright
and full of life, but their mental development starts freezing at
puberty." According to Bevis, the child's life becomes one of sexual
promiscuity, gambling, petty thievery, drinking, and loafing. This
ways of life, based on social inheritance, led to mental diseases,
with dementia praecox heading the list.

This is not surprising when their racial character make-up and
the atmosphere of superstition in which they move are considered.
Much of their usual behavior seems only a step from the simpler
types of this classification.  

Black people have been defined by white social scientists as
culturally deprived, disenfranchised, disadvantaged, dependent, and

2 Ralph Thomlinson, Sociological Concepts and Research (New

3 Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen, Racism and Psychiatry

4 Ibid. There are times when the social scientists often recognized
positive aspects of the Black Woman such as this comment made by a Dr.
Evarts (quoted by Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen in Racism and
Psychiatry): "Since sexual instincts are unrestrained, there are fewer
sexual perversions and a female masturbater is rare on colored wards." p. 9.
disinherited. These concepts changed little since 1921 and during the 1960's were used in the fashioning of poverty programs, Equal Educational Opportunities, compensatory education, and equal employment opportunities (however well-meaning or incidentally beneficial) were also created out of these distorted perceptions regarding Blacks. Some reasons for this phenomena are due to the pathology of the social sciences which have persisted in presenting distorted images of Black people. European-American educational theorists and practitioners have so organized reality from their own backgrounds that their thought produces distorted images of persons of other backgrounds and perspectives--appearing short when tall, appearing ugly when beautiful, appearing unintelligent when intelligent, appearing immoral when moral.

The early 1900's were some of the worst years of overt racism for Black people. The stereotypes left the scientific racists' pages and appeared in music sheets, canned goods, minstrels, books, postcards, trading cards, and in art form such as photographs, paintings, poetry, novels, movies, all which had a tremendous influence on the "mind set" of people. In other words these stereotypes served as "brainwashing" tools to encapsulate a people in the vise of oppression. (Stereotypes in Chapter I and II are graphic illustrations.)

---

5 Disinherited—without historical roots apart from slavery, and focusing on the loss of language and knowledge of self prior to slavery.


7 These distortions are interspersed where appropriate in the first two chapters. The distortions appeared in comic books, advertisements, post cards, music sheets, photographs, toys, banks, literature and novelties.
Distorted models of reality can only produce distorted information and knowledge. Over the years the American schooling system wittingly and/or unwittingly, participated in this distortion, thus preventing the full human growth and development of persons and thereby violating them. Martin Delaney who recognized the importance of women in society, and stated:

No people are ever elevated above the condition of their females; hence the condition of the mother determines the condition of the child. To know the condition of a people it is only necessary to know the condition of their females; and despite themselves, they cannot rise above their level.8

These words became a challenge for the research as their came an evolutionary realization that liberal social scientists had identified Black culture (when it was acknowledged at all) with immorality, slavery, oppression, poverty, and pathological behavior.

This study attempts to identify and define some of the viable cultural values of African people by focusing on the African-American Woman as one of the prime transmitters of those values. In this case the investigator is using an interdisciplinary approach by examining data sources such as social science literature, field studies and personal experiences, or what anthropologists call the ethnography of experience. It was theorized that the African-American Woman transmitted and perpetrated a workable viable cultural-value system, born out of a cultural tradition, tested by facing the realities of life and synthesizing (incorporating) values from both African and western sources.

Although this study focuses on the Black Woman, it is extremely important that it not be perceived as another attempt to subordinate or underestimate the Black Man. There is no inference in this research that the Black Man has no role and is not vital to the Black Experience or to the cultural-value transmission process. Indeed, John Scanzoni in his book, *The Black Family in Modern Society*, specifically addresses the topic of the Black Man as a transmitter of viable cultural values. Another scholar calls attention the the role of the Black Male.

Let us consider the role of the male and the legend of the matriarchy. Almost all writers on slavery describe the slave man as "a guest in the house" who could have no role beyond the purely sexual. The slave narratives and the diaries and letters of white plantation owners tell us something else. His position was undeniably precarious and frustrating. If his wife was to be whipped, he had to stand by and watch; he could not fully control his own children; he was not a breadwinner in the usual sense; and in a word there were severe restrictions imposed upon the manifestations of what we somewhat erroneously call manliness. But, both masters and ex-slaves tell us about some plantations on which certain women were not easily or often punished because it was readily understood that, to punish the woman, it would be necessary to kill her man first. These cases were the exception, but they tell us at the start that the man felt a duty to protect his woman. If circumstances conspired to prevent his fulfilling that duty, those circumstances often included his woman's not expecting it and, indeed, consoling him about the futility of such a gesture. We cannot know what was said between a man and a woman when they lay down together at night after such outrages, but there are enough hints in the slave narratives to suggest that they both knew what a man could do, as well as what he "should" do, especially when there were children to consider. Many scholars suggest that black women treated their men with contempt for not doing what circumstances made impossible. This is a deduction from tenuous assumptions; it is not a demonstrated fact.

Beyond that, the man of the house did do various things. He trapped and hunted animals to supplement the diet in the quarters, and in this small but important symbolic way he was a breadwinner. He organized the garden plot and presided over the division of labor with his wife. He disciplined his children--or divided that function with his wife as people in other circumstances do--and
generally was the source of authority in the cabin. This relationship within the family was not always idyllic. In many instances, his authority over both wife and children was imposed by force. Masters forbade men to hit their wives and children and whipped them for it; but they did it anyway and often. And there is not much evidence that women readily ran to the master to ask that the husband be whipped for striking her. The evidence on these matters is fragmentary, but it suggests that the men asserted their authority as best they could; the women expected to have to defer to their husbands in certain matters; and that both tried hard to keep the master out of their lives. The conditions were unfavorable, and perhaps many men did succumb and in one way or another become emasculated. But we might also reflect on the ways in which black men and women conspired to maintain their own sense of dignity and their own autonomy by settling things among themselves and thereby asserting their own personalities.

Black women have often been praised—and justly so—for their strength and determination in holding their families together during slavery, when the man was supposedly put aside or rendered irrelevant. It is time, I think, to praise them for another thing they seem to have been able to do in large numbers: to support a man they loved in ways deep enough and varied enough to help him resist the mighty forces for dehumanization and emasculation. Without the support of their women, not many black men could have survived; but with it—and there is plenty of testimony that they often had it—many could and did. 9

Because of the historical necessity of the Black Man having to be preoccupied with providing for his family under severe oppression, it separated him to some extent from the ongoing day-to-day functions of the children, particularly during their youngest years. Therefore, the Black Woman came to assume the major role of educator and transmitter of cultural values. Because of economic necessity she assumed the added role of co-provider. Hence, outside observers tended to see her as "laying down the rules," and "head of the family," thus defining the Black experience as matriarchal.

There stood in his room, Jeremiah, in all his glory, in the middle of the walk, with his eyes shut and his tongue sticking out. He might have been a stone for all the motion he made. Of course such a figure would not stand there long without drawing notice.
BECK & WALKER'S
COLORED MINSTRELS

POSTER
In an attempt to clarify these issues, the investigator raised the questions: Why have these myths and stereotypes persisted in the face of contrary evidence? If Blacks had a cultural tradition and value system apart from slavery and oppression, i.e., African in origin, what were their sources and how were they transmitted from generation to generation? It is theorized that the Black Woman as the Black Mother, giver of life, has been the major instrument of culture and value transmission.

According to social scientists the most impressionable period in the life of a human being is from zero to five years of age. Gesell and Ilg state that:

The personality of the child as such bears the imprint of the patterns of the culture in which he/she was born and reared. The early impression of the family life during the first five years leaves the most fundamental and enduring imprint.10

Bloom presents evidence that the early formative years of learning of the child, particularly between the ages of zero to five, are critical and important years.11 Since the Black mother has major and often sole responsibility for the child between the ages of zero to five, we can conclude that Black children learn most of their cultural traditions and values from Black women. It will, therefore, be necessary to identify and define these cultural traditions and values.


In looking first to the popularized stereotypes of Black Women and possible reasons for their persistence, the following questions were developed:

1. How inept were white people's perceptions of Black people generally and Black Women specifically at the time they first became slaves?

2. How influential was the mother viewed in/on the life of the Black Child?

3. Was the Black Woman viewed as immoral because her womb was used as the "bank"\(^{12}\) for the U.S.A.'s capitalistic system?

4. Was the Black Woman perceived as giving birth to children out of perceived immoral sexual acts (polygamy and slavery), therefore, producing an immoral people?

5. As the giver of this "sub-human" life, was the Black Woman perceived as being thus incapable of rearing her children properly?

6. There is an adage which says that there are only two people free, that is, the white man and the Black Woman. Did this adage come about because the white man was free to do as he pleased, and the Black Woman was free to be had by both white and Black males? With the white man taking lascivious advantages and forcing the Black male to use the Black Woman for procreation, both were violating her womanhood. In the process, the "essence of peoplehood" was also violated, both in the person of the woman and in her progeny.

---

\(^{12}\)Bank—"Peopling" the world to be sold as "cash crops."
7. Why has the Black Woman been presented in literature and other media as ugly, grotesque, strong, sexy, and angry? To what extent has this been a calculated design by the Anglo-Saxon managed and controlled media?

Raising these questions assisted the researchers in developing a more systematic study of the Black Woman. Recently, some scholars have suggested that if there is a Black culture and a Black value system, it was born out of oppression, poverty, and destruction. Such scholars view Africa's colonial past, the Caribbean's imperialist history (middle passage) and the slavery experience (oppression, exploitation, and poverty), as necessary variables to study for understanding this authentic culture and value system. Black culture has also been referred to as "street culture," "ghetto culture," "southern culture," and "culture of the poor," reflecting the general exploitation and oppression characteristic of the society at large.

On the viability of Black culture and values, a second set of questions was formed:

1. Did Black people survive and live creatively because of their African cultural heritage?

2. Did Black people survive and live creatively because they developed survival skills which incorporated the African with the Euro-American?

3. Did Black people survive and live creatively because of Black "mamas" in Africa and the New World (Caribbean and United States)?

4. Did Black people survive and live creatively because they were forced to live in isolation, apart from white people; or from
living a marginal life in the New World with limited social contacts with whites, minimal contacts with equals?

5. Did Black people survive and live creatively because of a reaction against colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism; or because of their own humanism? \(^{13}\)

Both sets of questions assisted in the formulation of a direction for study.

And a man said, Speak to us of Self-Knowledge.
And he answered, saying:

Your hearts know in silence the secrets of the days and the nights.
But your ears thirst for the sound of your heart's knowledge.
You would know in words that which you have always known in thought.
You would touch with your fingers the naked body of your dreams. . . . \(^{14}\)

It appears that white middle-class America dominates the total fabric of our institutions, particularly the educational institution which dispenses information that perpetuates the myths about people who are "different" in body form, color, class, and race. In developing theories which control and govern people, the educational institutions have been insensitive to the non-white and the poor. These insensitivities were soon woven into oppressive exploitative patterns of distinguishing persons by color, class, and race. Distinguishing persons in such

\(^{13}\) Humanism— is used here to mean worth and appreciation of human kind.

a manner has been labeled discrimination and segregation, which are forms of institutional racism. Both oppressors and oppressed have been brutalized and victimized, respectively, by the capitalistic-competitive ideology perpetuated in educational institutions.

The American schooling process, as the "holder" of the status quo has institutionalized racism, using "Anglo-conformity" as the ultimate criterion for determining and establishing a cultural value system.

"Anglo-conformity" is a broad term used to refer to the maintenance of Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns. These patterns which consist of the use of language, work ethics, time scales, values, and lifestyle, are recognized as dominant and standard in American life.16

Carter G. Woodson described how this body of knowledge was incorporated in the educational systems which have been destructive to Blacks.

The bias did not stop at this point, for it invaded the teaching of the professions. Negro law students were told that they belonged to the most criminal element in the country, in medical schools, Negroes were convinced of their inferiority in being reminded of their role as germ carriers. . . . In history, of course, the Negro had no place in this curriculum. He was pictured as a human being of the lower order, unable to subject passion to reason, and therefore useful only when made the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for others.17

In 1931, Woodson, a Black educator and historian, insisted that the entire system must be reconstructed if it was to aid Black people

15 Mary Frances Berry, Black Resistance/White Law (New York: Appleton-Crofts, 1971), p. 236. She defines racism as the promotion of white nationalism based on the constitution being designed and interpreted to maintain the racial status quo.


in their process of development.

The words of Woodson almost have the ring of prophecy when one realized that in 1963, thirty years later, liberal social scientists presented research data which present Black people as, "A Case for National Action." Sociologist Nathan Glazer and urbanologist Daniel P. Moynihan in their authorship of *Beyond the Melting Pot*, commented:

> It is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic groups viewed themselves because this is the key to much in the Negro world. . . the Negro is only an American and nothing else. **He has not values and culture to guard and protect.**  

Similar comments have also been made by other scholars such as Howard Odum, who in 1910, wrote:

> Back of the child, and affecting him both directly and indirectly were the characteristics of the race. The Negro has little home conscience or love of home. . . he has no pride of ancestry and has few ideals. . . little conception of the meaning of virtue, truth, honor, manhood, integrity. He is shiftless, untidy, and indolent. . . the migratory or roving tendency seems to be a natural one to him. . . the Negro shirks details and difficult tasks. . . . He does not know the value of his word or the meaning of the word initiative. He is often dishonest and untruthful. He is over religious and superstitious, his mind does not conceive of faith in humanity, he does not comprehend it. Let the influence upon the Negro child at least as far as the school is able to effect this end, lead him toward the unquestioning acceptance of the fact that his is a different race from white and properly so that it always has been and always will be; that it is not a discredit not to be able to do as the whites, and that it is not necessarily a credit to imitate the life of the white man. . . .

Odum's concept of the type of education best suited for Negro children, dictated by race and child-rearing practices, is still believed by many.

---


Contrary to the positions presented by Odum and others, it is theorized that the Black Woman transmitted a workable viable value system. The values were an intricate part of the culture which became the classroom and the day-to-day experiences were "field experiences" guarding and protecting and life-sustaining values. The children managed and coped, learning from the experiences she had in Africa and in the "New World" from the example of the Black Mother.

It should be recognized that this is an exploratory study and that there is need for more definitive research, using larger cross cultural groups for intra-cultural comparisons.
BECK & WALKER'S
COLORED MINSTRELS

POSTER
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

This Chapter is presented to assist the reader in understanding the scope and range of literature and research read to intellectually grasp the complexity of the problem.

The research and literature reviewed is also presented in an effort to systematically chronologize the development of the perceptions of African people (Black) as it relates specifically to the perceptions about the African American women; as these perceptions relate to the determining of her being a transmitter of viable values.

This chapter will discuss six concepts: culture, values, civilization, Black women, Black womenhood and transmission of culture and their definitional relationship to the review of literature and research.

There is also presented a summary of the arguments and controversy about whether or not there is a distinct African American culture or distinct African American values.
The researcher began with this introductory analysis of these definitions based on the assumption that these are seminal concepts which have been used in western literary and cultural heritage which presents and perceives negative images of the Black Experience.

Culture and value theory are receiving increasing attention from the behavioral scientists; for there is much concern about the culture and values in the United States recently, especially as a result of Frank Wills uncovering the notorious "Watergate Case" and the shifting of changing morals among youth, women, and adults in general suggesting new freedoms.

The investigator discovered that there are numerous definitions of culture and values, presented from different points of view and representing various disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Often the definitions are in contradiction with each other or are vague when comparing one to another.

The investigator also found that these definitional concepts were usually applied to all groups when making determinations as to whether or not the group had culture, values, or civilization. These European or Euro-Western norms, standards, definitions, and concepts which are used to formulate theories are also used to educate and indoctrinate persons.

In other words the measuring rod is the Euro-Western cultural values system; if the group compares favorably or appears to "fit" the
Euro-Western definition (norms and standards) it "is" it "exists." If it is different or is at variance then it "is not" or "does not exist." With these observations it is evident that it would be important to test these assumptions when researching the Black Woman as a prime transmitter of a viable value system. The researcher took this matter into consideration when noting that most of the writings about African people were written by Euro-Western writers who wrote very little about the culture and values of African or African Americans and few writers were African or African Americans.

The investigator discovered that the application of the Euro-Western theories to the culture and values of the African experience were negative. The applied Euro-Western definitional concepts presented the African people as not having viable cultures, values, or civilization because the African people did not "measure up" to the norms and standards defined by Anglo-Saxons. Another observation noted was the failure to acknowledge that there is no simple problem of values, but rather a mixture of problems referred to as the problem of culture and values. Another notion appears to be the tendency to study culture and values as if they are abstractions. One is made to think that because it is an abstraction it is not provable, or observable.

Anthropologist Frank Boas (1858-1924), philosopher Oswald Spengler (1880-1926), archaeologist Gordon Childe (1892-1957), sociologist Emile Durkhum (1858), and historian Arnold Toynbee (1889) have all presented theories about the evolution of civilizations. In recent years new theories have emerged from men in the same disciplines, however they perceive the process as a mix:
The new evolutionists reject universal stages outright. Evolution is multilinear, consisting of a number of forward paths of different styles and lengths. Some scholars, nevertheless, would still distinguish between "specific" and "general" evolution. There may be a specific process of evolution for specific peoples, but mankind does generally evolve or progress, with specific peoples providing breakthroughs making all mankind more adaptable to and dominant over the environment and socially more complexly organized. Only in this sense can the whole of world civilization be viewed as the product of a unitary process.¹

**Definitional Considerations of Civilization**

Civilization has a number of definitions. Anthropologists and sociologists have influenced the writers of encyclopedias and dictionaries. Some examples are presented for continued understanding.

The process of civilizing or becoming civilized. The condition of being civilized; social organizations of a high order, marked by advances in the arts, sciences, etc. The total culture of a people, nation, period, etc.: as, the civilization of the Occident differs from that of the Orient. The countries and peoples considered to have reached a high stage of social and cultural development.²

A condition of human society marked by an advanced stage of development in the arts and sciences and by corresponding social, political, and cultural complexity. Those nations or peoples regarded as having a particular group, nation, or region, or by any of these in some particular epoch. The act or process of civilizing or of reaching a civilized stage.³

The achievement of a culture that is complex enough to sustain a heterogeneity of people and ideas, able both to preserve its past and to sponsor innovation, and possessing the resources to insure the transmission of its style and values as well as the unity of the people who comprise it.⁴

³Ibid., p. 246.
⁴Encyclopedia Britannica—Micropaedia, Vol. 11, s.v. "Civilization."
As a culture a civilization is a way of life, more or less coherent body of customs or a view of the nature of things, that characterizes a particular human community.  

Authorities do not all agree about the definition of civilization. Most would accept the view that "a civilization is a culture which has attained a degree of complexity usually characterized by urban life"—that it is capable, in other words, of sustaining a substantial number of specialists to cope with the economic, social, political, and religious needs of a populous society. Other characteristics usually present in a civilization include a system of writings to keep records, monumental architecture in place of simple buildings, and an art that is no longer merely decorative but representational of man and his activities. Moreover, an urban environment is important because of the self-consciousness and pride which it generates.  

The term civilization refers literally to a city-state, at the least to a state that encourages urbanization and industrialization. But in its more general usage it applies a system of living where law and order are maintained with justice and equality, human conflicts both inside and outside the group are resolved with a minimum of violence, and where there is a moral code which people keep, more because they believe in it than because they are afraid of the consequences of breaking it.  

The investigator also found that the terms civilization and culture were often used interchangeably which necessitated delineating by definition of these two terms.

The evolution conceptions of civilization has been helpful. The entries reflected judgments which were based emphatically on the  

\footnotesize{Collier's Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, (1968), s.v. "Civilization."}


norms of Euro-Western man. This lengthy quotation is included here for emphasis:

The term culture in anthropology has been defined variously by different writers, but two broad classes of definitions are useful for this article. The first is a "universalistic" definition, equating culture with the total social heredity of mankind; the classic definition was offered by the English anthropologist E. G. Taylor in 1871:

Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (From Primitive Culture.)

The second broad class of definitions offers a "pluralistic" or relativistic conception of culture. It confines culture to a single person or group; in the words of American Anthropologists Clyde Kuckhohn and W. H. Kelly:

A culture is an historical deprived system of ... designs for living, which tends to be shared by ... members of a group (From "The Concept of Culture," in R. Linton, ed., The Science of Man in the World Crisis, Columbia University Press, 1945)

It encompasses the group's language, traditions, customs, and institutions, including the motivating ideas, beliefs, and values, and their embodiment in material instruments and artifacts. . . .

The word civilization was used early in the 19th century in its now familiar sense, referring to the aggregate of characteristics displayed in the collective life of an advanced people or an historic period—as, for instance, in Greek civilization at the time of Pericles. But the term civilization could be used, at it was used by Tylor, to refer to the total achievements of the most "advanced" people to date, as if civilization were a unilinear development out of the past, with "lesser" peoples at different stages of that development.8

Over the years theories regarding the evolution of culture or cultures are often combined with theories to explain the rise and fall of individual civilizations. The 17th century ushered in the so-called

8 Encyclopedia Brittanica—Macropedia: Knowledge in Depth, V. IV, s.v. "Culture."
Age of Discovery, Age of Reason, Age of Enlightenment, which was the idea of progress, which included the theory of man evolving from a savage to a barbaric stage and then to civilization.

The many varied approaches to understanding the development of values has been researched by social scientists who approach defining values by using structural analysis; using the apparatus of logic and mathematics. This has resulted in a narrow approach which limits the attributes of cultures and values as inherent in things or concepts and disengaged from evaluators. It also presents evidences of a distorted reality.

**Definitional Considerations of Values**

The self is not merely a core of personality, but also the center of one's personal search for standards and ideas.  

We define the value potential as the range of values an individual is able to encompass, in terms of awareness, appreciation, acceptance, and activation. By "ability" we mean a functional aptitude, determined innate potentials as well as by emotional and motivational development.

Values determine goals and goals define identity.

Value is a product, not only of activity, but also of choice.

The values by which people live underlies the whole structure of their culture. How are values learned: through a process called enculturation... the education process, using the form in its widest meaning of socialized learning, to which all human beings are exposed.

---


When these definitions of values are related and interwoven with the definitions of civilization, culture, and myths about Black people; the literature reveals that the portrayal is negative. The definitions and myths have developed out of the same set of western attitudes, assumptions, and premises about Black people in general and the Black Woman specifically.

Educators have been influenced by the mythologies in every aspect of scholarship so that enlightened scholars have stereotyped images of Black people. The African is presented as not having worthwhile values because the African is not civilized, but lives on a dark continent, which is jungle and lives with wild ferocious animals, with whom these savages even resemble in posture, and symbolic communications, of grunts, and sounds, with gyrations that are animalistic. Often the African-American is presented as living in the dark ghetto, which is a figurative jungle, of crime, prostitution, representative of a primitive lifestyle, which includes, breeding babies for welfare care, who have no sense of pride or identity, therefore is comfortable living with the rats, roaches, and filth.

So the arguments of the impact of the environment, the arguments about the impact of poverty, the arguments about intellect all fall within the perview of looking and making value judgments based and derived from inappropriate uses of definitions.
SEVEN UP IN DIXIELAND POST CARD
AUNT VENUS HUNTING

POST CARD
Definitional Considerations of Culture

Culture is of course based on a genetic endowment—indeed presumably very special cerebral genetic endowment. But viewed operatively, culture is supergenetic. It is acquired by learning from other individuals of the species and is practiced and somewhat modified by each member of the human race individually; and his modifications enter into this continuum or doing product which is passed on to subsequent individuals. The chief mechanism which makes communication of human culture possible, and thereby makes culture possible, is the faculty of symbolization and speech.14

Culture, including speech and symbol or idea systems, is individually acquired "learned" by each individual from the others he associates with.15

Even today there would probably be great difficulty in achieving complete agreement on a definition of culture, but by now most anthropologists could agree on certain essentials of a definition, if not on all details. Construed broadly, culture is the way of life of a group of people: the sum total of all the values, customs, mores, habits, institutions, and traditions, as well as the sanctioned modes of behavior and appearance that the individual must have in order to become an acceptable member of his society.16

... essentials of a working definition of culture. First, we must be dealing with a group of people a "society" of defined and delineated. The second essential aspect of culture is its nonbiological transmission. It is passed from one generation to the next. It must be learned; it cannot be inherited genetically. And if culture must be learned, the "teachers" must have some sort of symbol system available that can be employed in transmitting the culture material. This is the third essential of culture, one that makes culture the great human achievement that it is.17

15 Ibid., p. 201.
17 Ibid., p. 3.
One major result of this process of symbolic identification and transmission is that the very way in which the people of a given culture perceive reality, how they view and understand the world in which they live—is shaped and formed by the system of symbols employed in that culture.18

Culture is the total way of life of the people, the way they behave and think. Culture is that part of our environment that is man-made, as opposed to the natural environment.19

The act of developing the intellectual and moral faculties especially by education, expert care and training; enlightenment and excellence of taste acquired by intellectual and aesthetic training, acquaintance with and distinguished from vocational and technical skills; the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts and depends upon man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations; the customary beliefs, social forms and material traits of a racial, religious or social group.20

Education in the Western World has been responsible for these definitions and for their applied actualization. Education as it occurs in the school (elementary, secondary, higher education, universities), the church, the home, business, and all occupational fields supply these definitions to the human experience when persons interact or make policy decisions: Very often, persons who are racially, ethnically, and culturally different from an Anglo-Saxon (or Euro-Western persons), are perceived as deviate because the definitions represent the norms and standards of Euro-Western thought as defining human beings of the "highest order" or an advanced civilization or as having a viable cultural-value system. So we have institutional racism—and cultural domination which stunts and often results in the de-humanization of persons.

---

18 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
The investigator has applied these definitions to the African people and their contextual life. The results have been like soup warmed over too many times; the main ingredients disappear and what is left and what is added becomes different from its original state or completely disappears.

African people when they are looked at in light of these few definitions seem to have completely disappeared or become something different, usually representative of a negative; non-human, sub-human being, having a sub-culture, having evolved from a savage beast—to a barbaric stage, still needing to be civilized (remedial reading courses, head start programs, programs for the culturally deprived, concentrated employment programs, manpower development programs, Title IV, Title IX, etc. ad nauseum).

Recently the investigator asked a sociologist on a mid-western university to assist her in reviewing textbooks and supplemental readings to determine whether or not when civilization, culture, or values were mentioned if African people were either in the contents or index. To date the investigator has not found this inclusion.

Western education has influenced the way social scientists have conducted research so that there is a magnanimous repository of written works which the investigator suggests represents aggressive continual violence to the minds of all human beings.

Using the definitions of civilization to analyze culture and values would make Africa, as a civilization non-existent or not as elevated, with African people becoming Ralph Ellisons' Invisible Man,
Dar ain't no use a-hurryin',
Dar ain't no use a-worryin',
Dar ain't no use a-slavin',
Don' you see?

Ef jes nacherly
you's shirkin',
When de boss he 'specs
you's workin',
You kin be a big
success in life—
Like me!
The Darkey Preacher

"Listen Sistern and Bredren,
You must give up your devilish way
Give up all your wickedness.
Or de good I.awd'll make you pay

Stop drinking dat mean corn likker.
Dat makes you crazy to fight
Stop rolling dose "Galloping dominoes"
Dat makes you stay up all night.

Sisters, don't let your tongues wag too much,
Stop putting on all dat paint.
And don't use dat bleach and powder.
Dat makes you look white when you ain't.

Before we dismiss, we'll jine in prayer
De deacons will now pass the plates aroun,
And if you don't help out de collection.
St. Peter will mos likely turn you down.

©

POST CARD
because African people left "no records," "preserved no past," and no technological advancement or urbanization. If the investigator has a bias it certainly surfaces when noting the ineffectual use of research methodology, when analyzing how the application of knowledge is used to destroy people.

**Definitional Considerations of Black and Black Womanhood**

A logical next step was to examine the concept of Black-Womanhood. Patricia Bell-Scott using an appropriate title "The English Language and the Black Womanhood: A Low Blow at Self-Esteem" was one of the few references addressing the problem.

If one accepts the idea that language, culture, and thought are intimately related, one can then explore how this "relatedness" affects Black women. I argue (and it would be hard for anyone to deny) that racism, the belief that one's own group is inherently superior to the other, form the ideological framework upon which all American socio-cultural institutions are built. Because language is the principal "carrier" of cultural attitudes and values, I contend that the English language "carried" the socio-cultural traditions of racism and sexism. Since Black women have been the victims of both of these "social evils," the English language has dealt a "low-blow" to the self-esteem of developing Black Womanhood.

---

21 Unfortunately Western Education has not deemed it important to write of the African universities which were flourishing in the 14th and 15th centuries, Timbuctu, Mali, Shanghai. Western education has failed to include from their archives the known facts of medicine, law, and architecture all first appearing on the continent of Africa.

22 The investigator was unable to find indexes in the libraries of Black Women, etc. She strongly recommends that libraries receive assistance in setting up an index file on Black women.

Patricia-Bell-Scott using various sources for her research; Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1972); The American Thesaurus of Slang (1960); The Dictionary of Afro-American Slang, and Black Jargon in White to delineate the references to Black and Black female. The evidence presented was that the Black woman defined as Negress, ne-gr sn: a female Negro, that following terms were used as synonyms for a Black person or category of "Negro":

Afric, Aro, ape, black bean, Blackbird, Blackhead, Blacky, boogie, brownskin, buggy, burrhead, charcoal, chocolate, chocolate drop, coon, cotton picker, crow, cuddy, cuffee, cuffeey, dark cloud, darky, dinge, dingy, dink, dusky, ebony, eight-ball, God's image cut in ebony, hod, ink, inkfact, jazzbo, jib, jibaboo, jit, kink, kinkyhead, licorice stick, moke, musk, muskrat, nig, nigger, possum, quashie, scuttle, seal, shade, shine, shot, skunk, smoke, spade, spaninzy, squasho, sunburned Irishman sunshining, thicklips, wooly head, zig, zigaboo, zulu.24

The following words were used as synonyms for a Black female under the heading of "Negress":

Black doll, -mama, -skirt & c., brown-skin baby, brown sugar, charcoal, blossom of lily, chocolate drop, cullud gal, dusky dame, femmoke, jit, laundry queen, nigger gal, piece of dark meat, scuttle sault, shady lady, sugar-brown, Spec. (nigger) wench, esp. a mainservant; aunt, auntie, an old woman, mammy, a nurse; rare piece of dark meat, raven beauty, a beauty Negress; hot chocolate, hot piece of dark meat; a passionate Negress.25

As the compiler of these definitions Patricia Bell-Scott commented on the obvious derogatory entries, purporting that synonyms used to described the Black person, especially the Black woman "one reading senses that there is something inherently negative about being Black

24 Ibid., p. 219.
25 Ibid., p. 219.
Cheek to cheek  
And heart to heart  
Your're really missing  
The grandest part.
Woman." Her conclusions were that her "superficial investigation" of the Euro-American English and the Black references "reeks of sexism and racism." Suggesting that "as the language of white America reflects its cultural traditions the language of African Americans reflects many prevailing attitudes of Black society." She notes that neither presented terms or references of the "historical persistence, strength, or the political togetherness" of much of Black Womanhood. Noting also that to date there are no synonyms which mean "beautiful" sister in a spiritual sense. Finally she suggests that:

In view of the pervasiveness of "black-white" imagery and the colloquial use of negative terms by Euro-Americans to describe Black woman, as well as the previous emphasis upon physical beauty, sex appeal, and complexion color among some African-Americans, one must become concerned with the effects that these language patterns can, and do, have upon the developing minds of Black children. There is a social-psychological entity called the self-concept, self-identity, or self-esteem that must be fostered and stimulated. In general, for an individual to feel good or positive about the group to which she or he belongs. For this reason, many Black philosophers have contended that Black people have also been urged to recognize and cherish the uniqueness of the culture that they have created in America, acknowledging that it is different from that of the Euro-American but equal in its importance and impact.

Transmission

With the brief exploratory consideration of these (culture, values, civilization, Black female, and Blackwomanhood) it becomes obvious that the theory of transmission of the same; as to their worth becomes questionable when applied to the Black woman.

26 Ibid., p. 220.

27 Ibid., p. 221.
MADAME, COULD I INTEREST YOU IN A PAIR OF WHITE KIDS?
If beauty am what you're looking for, No need to look no further!
For clarification, culture transmission has been discussed and presented the process which is the essential elements for the continuity of a people, a civilization, and even societies; in that this ability to transmit culture is one of the essential elements which distinguishes people or human beings from animals. This concept is also based on the assumption that human beings have the capacity to communicate their experiences symbolically; suggesting that without symbols there would be no culture. The most important symbol system used in cultural transmission is language:

Through language virtually every aspect of culture comes to be symbolically identified; hence, it may then by symbolically transmitted from old members of the group to the new. One major result of this process of symbolic identification and transmission is that the very way in which people of a given culture perceive reality—how they view and understand the world in which they live—is shaped and formed by the system of symbols employed in that culture.²⁸

It is recognized that the cultural act is accomplished by its being transmitted by noninstitutionalized methods. Here the field of pedagogical sciences is of great assistance. Educators and others in the field of pedagogical science have recognized that behind all processes of communication, knowledge, or when facilitating the learning process there are components: its phases, its characteristics, its objectives, and its causes. The persons and that person's culture are the elements of learning. Culture is learned. The person is the one who learns; therefore there is no transmission process without these two elements: the culture and the person.

²⁸Dorman, pp. 3-4.
In pedagogical terms, this is referred to as "integration," "psychological evolution." "change of behavior," and "modification of behavior." Something is only learned when it is "integrated" by the individual. In this sense, learning is the only integration of a legacy of experiences. The individuals or the persons behavior changes from what it was formerly, for example, a baby learning not to touch a hot stove: touching it, being burned, then learning not to touch it and learning the symbolic word hot. This process is also indicative of psychological evolution having taken place.

There are two kinds of transmission: institutional transmission and non-institutional transmission.

In institutional transmission or teaching, learnings are organized, directed, and arrayed in graduated degrees of difficulty. In noninstitutional transmission, they are neither organized, directed, nor organized in graduated degrees of difficulty.29

This research is using the latter direction to explore the hypotheses that Black women are one of the prime transmitters of a viable cultural value system.

Transmission is used here to include oral transmission, but to also include the folklore acts which are non-verbal; because there are acts which include the visible dimension. These acts may include dances, transportation, architecture, sewing, facial expressions, magic, social life, and social folklore.

Finally, it is necessary to also consider then the use of the concept survival as it relates to cultural transmission. Usually ancient

events are generally referred to as "survivals" from the Latin supervivere, "supervivitatem esse"; the action of effect of survival, living longer than others, living after another person has died. Edward B. Tylor first proposed the term's use in discussing folklore and today the use of "folkloric survival" is common; as is cultural survivals. Tylor has stated initially that:

These are processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved. Thus, I know an old Somersetshire woman whose handloom dates from the time before the introduction of the "flying shuttle," which new-fangled appliance she has never beven learnt to use, and I have seen her throw her shuttle from hand to hand in true classic fashion; this old woman is not a century behind her times, but she is a case of survival. Such examples often lead us back to the habits of hundreds and even thousands of years ago. The ordeal of the Key and Bible, still in use, is a survival; the Midsummer bonfire is a survival; the Breton peasants' "All Souls" supper for the spirits of the dead is a survival. The simple keeping up of ancient habits is only one part of the transition from old into new and changing times. The serious business of ancient society may be seen to sink into the sport of later generations, and its serious belief to linger on in nursery folklore, while superseded habits of old-world life may be modified into new-world forms still powerful for good and evil. (117, p. 16)30

Tylor used superstition and survival as meaning literally the same thing. The literal meanings he wrote:

The very word "superstition," in what is perhaps its original sense of a "standing over" from old times, itself expresses the notion of survival. But the term superstition now implies a reproach, and through this reproach may be often cast deservedly on fragments of a dead lower culture embedded in a living higher one, yet in many cases it would be harsh, and even untrue. For the ethnographer's purpose, at any rate, it is desirable to introduce such a term as "survival," simply to denote the

historical fact which the word "superstition" is not spoiled for expressing. (Vol. I, p. 71-72)31

It is necessary to recognize that for the purpose of this research it was incumbent that these definitional concepts receive at least cursory overview; for their connectional and operational application to the topic. Like persons, cultures are vulnerable, when definitions express the normative or the standard which determine whether or not one possesses a viable cultural value system.

To date there is very little research focusing on the transmission of values; with little evidence of research findings about African Americans transmitting viable cultural values. Although there is much data to support the premise that the African American has limited or corrupted imitated or acculturated a version of Euro-American cultural values.

Periodically the debate of African cultural values being retained, or by African-Americans surfaces, when interfaced with the arguments set forth by scholars who had scientifically proved that all African cultural values had been erased by slavery, and the African-American, was an American and nothing else. Such was the position of Melville Herskovits at the turn of the century:

31 Ibid., p. 71-72.
The Whole Damm Family
THE WHOLE (DAMM) BLACK FAMILY

COPYRIGHTED BY R. L. WELLS 1977

POST CARD
That they had absorbed the culture of American is too obvious, almost, to be mentioned. They have absorbed it as all great racial and social groups in this country have absorbed it. In other words, it represents, as do all American communities which it resembles, a case of complete acculturation. And so I return to my reaction on first meeting the center of Negro activity, as the complete description of it: "Why it's the same pattern, only a different shade!"

Sixteen years later Melville Herksovits position on African

...entions in African Americans was radically different. It was after

his experience in Surinam in 1928-1929 that the seemingly recognized
the possibility of there being some variance in the cultural aspects
of Blacks and Whites in the United States. In the mid-1930's, Herskovits
went to West Africa. It was after this experience he argued that there
were differences in cultural behavior between whites and Blacks in the
United States, and this concerned for historical and ethno-historical
research. In 1934 he went to Haiti, where he wrote, Life in a Haitian
Valley. In this book he presented the African contributions to family
organization, economics, and religion.

Most definitions of culture included something about language,
speech symbols, or some forms of communication and the early cultural
anthropologists had confronted racists by arguing that "Negroes" were
really not culturally different from White Europeans. Scholars such
as G. P. Krapp and Cleanth Brooks claimed the following:


The first conclusions to be drawn... is that the speech of the Negro and white is essentially the same, the characteristic Negro forms turning out to be survivals of earlier native English forms.34

Melville Herskovits35 and Lorenzo Turner36 came to understand Negro speech in the United States as falling on a continuum of dialects that included various "Creoles" in the West. Present day scholars have begun to further the work begun by Herskovits and Turner in a new discipline called Sociolinguistics which is concerned with the intersections of language, society, and education. One of the leading American theorists of linguistics argues that the goal of linguistics is to account for the 'creative aspect of language use'. Carolyn Fitchett Bins37 a sociolinguist believes that there is an "ethnography of speaking" and suggests that there is an ethnography of contemporary stylized speech of Black Americans, which she calls oral poetry, which takes into account the creative aspects of language from all strata of the Black culture.

The nature of the study dictated that Black contemporary research be investigated which could provide another dimension for the analysis. Houston A. Baker, Jr., in Key Issues presents four theories about Black culture from his research:

1. Black American culture was developed orally or musically for many years.

2. Black American culture was not characterized by the individualistic ethos of white American culture. ... brought in shackles, Black Americans had little opportunity to participate in American dreams of rugged individualism or fantasies of individual advancement.

3. Black American culture is characterized by a collectivistic ethos; society is not viewed as a protective arena in which the individual can work out his own destiny and gain a share of America's benefits by his own efforts.

4. Black American culture is particularly differentiated from white American culture because one of its most salient characteristics is an index of repudiation. Oral, collectivist, and repudative each of these aspects helps to distinguish black American culture from white American culture.38

Recognizing that good scholarship requires that all or most points of view be considered, the investigator includes here Nathan I. Huggins' belief (Key Issues: 1971) that if culture is a "self-conscious thing" and has to be decided upon suggests that "it is not such an overwhelming fact of life as to demand formal study of its own culture." Even those who support the idea of separate cultures most strongly are hard pressed to suggest its character or dimensions. Most think it is impossible to give serious academic study to something so vague.

Suggesting that after considerable scholarship on the Afro-American experience, they would discover that there was a definable black culture. "But we cannot simply make this assumption. Cultures (whatever they are) either exist or they don't, they are never successfully manufactured and promoted."39


39 Ibid., pp. 17-19.
Huggins' argument is justifiable; however, it appears that when he speaks of identifying black culture separately and distinctively that this is distasteful to him because it must be done contestually within the American culture. . . "whatever that is" which on the surface is another manifestation of the very good job that the white educational-American system has done to him. This is not meant as an attack but he is representative of the influence early theoreticians such as Frazier (1966, p. 307), Drake (1966, p. 35), and Clark, *Dark Ghetto*, 1965. Sterling Stuckey, in examining folk songs and tales, theorized a lifestyle evolved with a set of values—an ethos—which prevented Black people from being imprisoned altogether by the definitions which the larger society sought to impose. This ethos was an amalgam of Africanisms and New World elements which helped slaves in Guy Johnson's words, "feel their way along the course of American slavery, enabling them to endure. . ." Sterling Brown, that wise and prudent student of Afro-American culture, has remarked that the values expressed in folklore acted as a "wellspring to which slaves trapped in the wasteland of American slavery could return in times of doubt to be refreshed." Stuckey continues to support his thesis:

---


During the pre-Civil War period shipowners and southern landowners brought to the United States a considerable body of people with a color of skin and cultural values different from those of its other inhabitants. . . . Their values are more emotive, esthetic, and intuitive. . . . (These) characteristics can become an asset for our culture. For these are values with respect to which Anglo-American culture is weak. 43

In the work, The Life and Work of David Livingston, one reads similar words:

The African is not like the Indian, doggedly persistent in his barbarism, and therefore apparently destined to extermination; but under the crushing circumstances which have held him to the earth successive generations. He is still a man. In observance of him, we agree with Dr. Livingston who thinks the native Africans have that inherent manhood, the traces of which no unfavorable circumstances will completely obliterate. . . . The progress already made in the elevation of Africa is wonderful. Schools and churches have been established at numerous mission stations. Agricultural implements have been imported in large numbers for the cause of civilization. There was a time when the man, as sitting under the shadow of a tree while his wife worked in a field from morning to night with a heavy pick. Now she had the comfort of seeing him plow his garden; she has no objection to harvesting and to scuffle a little to take away the weeds. Naked Africans are being clothed and their empty minds filled with thought. Superstition is fast yielding to the Christian religion. True "there remains much land to be possessed," but enough has been accomplished to promise a more glorious future of this continent than was ever recorded of her in the past.

From the "singular indestructibility" of her races, their "peculiar genius," "strong affections," "unspeakable long suffering under injuries," "great endurance," "perceptiveness," and "respectiveness," the marvelous providence that has brought them into our land to be educated (in bitter bondage by Anglo-Saxon task masters) we infer that Africa has a glorious part yet to be played in the great drama history. What if she should prove to be the heart of the world, as the Caucasian race has to be the brains! 44

---


These two accounts may be indicative of the continued confused state of those who viewed blacks from the "outside." The prisms mesh and move kaleidoscopically, together presenting something different and vital, but black peoples' values are measured against pale tunneled views of the Anglo-Saxon which are usually "one dimensional."

Sterling Stuckey believes that the values expressed in folklore possess the highest qualities because of their affirming the humanity of the slaves and because of the lasting imprint folklore left on American culture.  

Just as Stuckey postulates that "black folklore" will affirm black people and their cultural values, Charles Keil postulates, "we had best view entertainers and hustlers as culture heroes, integral parts of the whole, rather than as deviants and shadow figures."  

Both "black folklore" (oral stories and experiences) and the "blues" have also been described as "soul." There has been recently a strong emphasis on the term soul when referring to a way of life, food, music, language, and culture of black people. In 1970, a group of essays were assembled using the title Soul, edited by Lee Rainwater. He speaks of a ghetto subculture in the introduction, which he says "can be reached as the historical creation of persons who are disinherit by their society, persons who have adapted the twin realities


of disinheritance perspectives on social reality (including the norms and practices of the larger society) that allow them some modicum of hope about a reasonably gratifying life, and that preserve for many the slim hope that somehow they may be able to find admittance for themselves or their children to the larger society. In line with these existential perspectives, the ghetto culture has developed as the repository of a set of survival techniques for functioning in the world of the disinheritedd.

The eight contributors of the essays all speak to the culture of black people, Rainwater, Horton, Kochman, Howard, Wellman, Berger, Blauner, Hannerz). Berger, Blauner, and Hannerz speak of the work of Keil with admiration; however, all have their questions and their own assumptions:

For stripped of its mystique, black culture is basically an American Negro version of lower class culture, and race prejudice aside, it can expect on this ground alone to meet strong resistance from the overwhelming majority of the American population which will see in the attempt to legitimate it an attempt to strike at the heart of the ethnic of success and mobility, which is as close as this country comes to having any really sacred values. No lower class culture has ever been fully legitimated in the United States because the basic right of members of the lower class has been to rise out of it but not to celebrate its style of life. Reminescent of Myrdal, Frazier, Drake, Wright?.

His familiarity with the development process of how one came to view and define culture stressed that from looking at people with a common language, common religion, and a national homeland to the holistic concept of culture, growing out of the study of primitive people. He mentions other ethnic groups which did not "fit" the cultural arrangements.

---


48 Ibid., Berger, p. 127.

49 Ibid., Blauner, pp. 135-137.
Though life experience may have been incredible, subtle and complex, the sociological model that captures the immigrants cultural experience is fairly simple. There are basically two variables, the traditional culture and the American values and conditions.\textsuperscript{50}

Afro-American culture is an ethnic as well as a class culture because the history of Black people in the United States has produced a residue of shared collective memories and frames of references. It is because Black Americans have undergone unique experiences in America, experiences that no other national or racial minority or lower economic class group has shared, that a distinctive ethnic culture has evolved.

1. The first source of Black culture in America is slavery,
2. The second source is the subculture of the American South,
3. And a continuing racist social structure has served to consolidate rather than to erase the distinctive experience of the past.\textsuperscript{51}

Hannerz takes on Keil and Liebow, suggesting that there are contradictions related to the self-concepts of Black men in the ghetto and their relationships with women: "On the whole, one may say that both mainstream culture and ghetto-specific culture are transmitted within many ghetto families."\textsuperscript{52}

There are some scholars who have attempted to investigate them and even identify the cultural values. John Blassingame writes of the transferring of the African experience to that in the slave community, which later became a part of the acculturation process in the United

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., Blauner, pp. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., Hannerz, p. 183.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 182.
States. Recognizing that the interaction between the two cultures, European and African, each borrowing from the other, new cultures emerged with retentions and manifestations of the old:

When the African stepped on board a European ship he left all of the artifacts or physical objects of his culture behind him. In Africa, as in most societies, these objects were far less important than values, ideas, relationships, and behavioral patterns.

The similarities between many European and African cultural elements enables the slave to continue to engage in many traditional activities or to create a synthesis of European and African cultures. In the process of acculturation the slaves made European forms serve African functions. An example is religion.53

Some of the cultural elements which were retained and expressed were creative; an emotional religion, folk songs and tales, dances, superstitions and it was through these creative expressions that set the Black man apart from the master and because:

His thoughts, values, ideals, and behavior were all greatly influenced by these processes. The more his cultural forms differed from those of his master and the more they were immune from control of the whites, the more the slave gained in personal autonomy and positive self-concepts.54

Out of this "distinctive culture" the Black people were able to develop a strong sense of group solidarity, making it possible for them to protest the most oppressive features of slavery and to preserve their self esteem:

Having a distinctive culture helped the slaves to develop a strong sense of group solidarity. They united to protect themselves from the most oppressive features of slavery and to preserve their self-esteem.

54 Ibid., p. 41.
The most important aspect of this group identification was the slaves were not solely dependent on the white man's cultural frames of reference for their ideas and values.\textsuperscript{55}

The existence of these cultural forms provided the Black man with skill and ammunition to survive the brutalizing and dehumanizing rigors of slavery. It was possible for the slave, the Black man to develop "psychological devices" for repressing anger and projecting aggressions in ways which contributed to mental health." The ability to create and use a "rebellious language" is a very good example of molding skills with experience.

Blassingame makes the following statement, illustrative of his thesis:

As long as the plantation black had cultural norms and ideals, ways of verbalizing aggression and roles in his life largely free from his master's control, he could preserve some personal autonomy and resist infantilization, total identification with planters and internalization of unflattering stereotypes calling for abjective servility.

The slave's culture bolstered his self-esteem, courage, and confidence, and served as a defense against personal degradation.\textsuperscript{56}

These thoughts are supported by most of these scholars when they wrote about Black experience in the United States as being shaped by two contrasting environments: the Southern staple-producing farm and plantation and the urban ghetto. These historians suggest that Black life and culture in America developed within the context of "a subordinate status whose leading institutional manifestations have been

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., pp. 74-75.

\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., p. 75.
the plantation and the ghetto, a subculture."57, 58

A major work which seems to utilize Blassingame's model is Genovese's work Roll Jordan Roll its very title is reflective of his sensitivity although the works were published two years apart and represents a decade of research each compliments the other, the focus is the same. Each began with the Black man beginning in Africa, thereafter presenting the Black man in America and elsewhere with a viable heritage. Each presented data showing that Black people had a viable cultural value system which was operative. Although there was obvious evidence of the African cultural values, each presented the acculturation aspects of the Black people living in the United States; and presented some of the same evidence to show how white people had acculturated the African cultural values; which certainly could account for the earlier social scientists being unable to recognize African cultural values as being unique or distinctive in the Black experience:

57Ibid., p. 76.

58Subculture is a technical anthropological term, which is de-humanizing. Its use should be discouraged, along with: Minority, non-white, ghetto, slums, culturally deprived, culturally disadvantaged, welfare mothers, welfare children, the Black problem, poverty programs--levels, illegitimate children (you can't put them back), and low income. These terms, these labels continue the negative stereotyping and perpetuate the fallacious concept of white superiority, and institutionalizes racism which blames the victims for the sins of oppression and the oppressors. It might be more appropriate to use terms such as cultural pluralism, culturally different, or simply other culture when referring to any ethnic group.
The cultural continuity with Africa was reinforced and reshaped by the impact of European and Euro-American culture into which it itself fed.\textsuperscript{59}

Both of these historians believed that "the heart of Black slave culture rested in religion:

How very intimate its connections with white religion, emerged as a product of the black experience. For the slaves and for black people generally, religion did not constitute one feature of life or merely one element in an ideological complex; rather, it constituted the fundamental spiritual expression of their entire world-view, as manifested in attitudes toward time and work. . . . Compared with Africa suggest some important cultural continuities. Traditional African time-reckoning focuses on present and past not future. Time, being two-dimensional, moves as it were, backward into a long past; the future, not having been experienced appears senseless.\textsuperscript{60}

A wide divergence of values would appear when viewing the African American in the milieu of White Americans who placed a different value on time and work. It was out of these divergent perspectives which possibly brought about the concept of Black people being perceived as lazy. This theme of being lazy was not applied to all however, for each of the works presented the Mammy as being indispensable:

Who were these Mammies? What did they actually do? Primarily, the Mammy raised the white children and ran the House either as the mistress's executive officer or her superior. Her power extended over black and white so long as she exercised restraint, and she was not to be crossed. . . lie a surrogate mistress—neatly attired, barking orders, conscious of her dignity, full of self-respect. She played the diplomat and settled the interminable disputes that arose among the house servants; when diplomacy failed, she resorted to her whip and restored order. She served as confidante to the children, the mistress, and even the master. She expected to be consulted on the love affairs and marriages of the white children and might


\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., pp. 288-289.
even be consulted on the business affairs of the plantation. She presided over the dignity of the whole plantation and taught the courtesies to the white children as well as to those black children destined to work in the Big House. On the small and medium-sized plantations she had to carry much of the house work herself, and her relationship to the field slaves drew closer.61

Added to the role of 'Mammy' was that of nurse. She too is presented by Genovese sand Blassinghame as being formidable, in that she was highly respected and given charge of the children:

Beyond their medical services, to these nurses fell most of the duties associated with the more formally designated and prestigious mammies. It was they who imparted the speech of the quarter to the children of the Big House, who introduced them to black folklore, who taught them to love black music, and who helped bend their Christianity in the folkish direction the black preachers were taking it.

The black nurses who cared for the planter's children probably did as much to insure the success of the conjurer as any one else. Because the tales they heard from their nurses and black childhood playmates, many antebellum whites were convinced of the conjurer's power.62

Blassingame also states that one of the most important distinctive cultural forms were folk songs and tales, and further suggests that the unfamiliarity of many whites with the slaves language patterns, as represented in the antebellum sources could not have given us an authentic presentation of the folklore.63 He points to the complexities involved in understanding the varied expressions from the Black experience such as the secular songs representing the loves, work, floggings, all 'realities of the slave oppression the profane songs, the spirituals, the stories, the folk tales, their religion all of these addressed their search for God in the wilderness, rocks, storms and valleys in

61 Ibid., pp. 355-357.

62 Ibid., p. 359.

63 Ibid., p. 25.
POST CARD
order to obtain relief from the pain weariness and troubles of the world or patience to bear them.\textsuperscript{64} Out of the folklore has come:

The strong sense of family and community solidarity is indicated by frequent references to relatives and friends by name. . . . Their joyful noises to the Lord indicated that they valued ideals of personal honor, godly living, strict morality, integrity, perseverance, faith, freedom, and family life.\textsuperscript{65}

It is from these examinations of the African experience and the slave experience which provides Blassingame with these conclusions:

Despite their weakness as individuals, they found some protection in the group from their masters. The code of the group, for example called for support for those slaves who broke plantation rules. The most important aspect of the group identification was the slaves were not solely dependent on the white man's cultural frames of reference for their ideals and values.\textsuperscript{66}

Gutman recognizes that new approaches are needed in studying the subjects of the slave family, kinship system, slave demography, slave religion, slave work habits, the sale of slaves, the intimate texture of every day slave life and to research the processes of an adaptive Afro-American slave culture that emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Gutman cautions that because the two authors were not careful in the use of the data or methods, that students of the Afro-American experience may turn away from using such techniques; techniques which would allow the social historians to begin to reconstruct neglected or misinterpreted aspects of slave culture and slave beliefs.

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., p. 46.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., p. 74.

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., pp. 75-76.
Having referred to the syndrome of the stereotypical lazy black earlier in Blassingame and Genovese's works, it was interesting to read Gutman's critique of Fogel and Engerman's treatment or interpretation of the Black persons' work ethic during slavery. The specific chapter critiqued is Chapter Four titled "Punishments, Rewards and Expropriation". Gutman responds with:

The focus here is different. It is one of F & E's arguments and their use of evidence to show that enslaved Afro-Americans worked hard and diligently because they wanted to and because profit-maximizing owners skillfully mixed a few punishments with many rewards to encourage productive slave labor. . . . Racists' beliefs turned slave high achievers into Uncle Toms. The biased beliefs of antislavery advocates and so-called neo-abolitionist historians kept hidden from the ancestors of twentieth-century Afro-Americans had been transformed as slaves into nineteenth century "economic" men and women. Sambo really was Horatio Alger with a black skin. 67

Using the words of Fogel and Engerman (F+E) Gutman concludes that the research which was to correct the traditional interpretation of Black Americans, ironically reinforced the myths and stereotypes, presenting them as not having a culture, without achievement and without development for their first two hundred and fifty years on American soil.

At this writing the most recent and the most controversial, and the most critiqued historians are Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, authors of *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. The first critique for this researcher occurred in 1974 at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History held in Philadelphia, by Dr. John Henrik Clark. Dr. Clark was scathing in his critique, Paraphrasing him, he

67 Herbert G. Gutman, Slavery and The Numbers Game a critique of Time on the Cross, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1975, p. 16.
said, "these would be scholars are saying that slaving was a good life, and we profited from the slaving experience."

A similar critique is made by Dr. Herbert G. Gutman, in his book titled *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross.* Using the co-authors Fogel and Engerman explanation "that their efforts as scholars were to discover what really happened;" Dr. Gutman is critical of the manipulation of the data used by the Economic Historians and/or the lack of data to support the theories presented about what really happened. He is critical of the methodology called cliometrics, suggesting as revisionists, and those who wish to correct history--they neglected to apply sound research methodology:

T/C--its major arguments and the evidence supporting them--convincingly that it is poor social history, that its analysis of the beliefs and behavior of "ordinary" enslaved Afro-Americans is entirely misleading, that it uses a thoroughly inadequate model of slave socialization, and that it contains frequent and important errors of all kinds in its use of quantitative (not to mention literary) evidence essential to its major arguments.

When analyzing the data and methodology used by Fogel and Engerman, Gutman points out that although computers are helpful, as are complex mathematical techniques, that they were not necessary to examine the central arguments, or the literary evidence:

The intelligent reader does not need to know the difference between a chi-square test and a multiple regression analysis to learn that ordinary enslaved Afro-Americans did not conform to the patterns of beliefs and behavior emphasized in T/C.
The concluding statements advisedly stated by Gutman is a challenge to the assumption that the best way to begin examining changing patterns of slave behavior, of course, is not by putting aside the study of planter belief and behavior. But it does require the examination of the ways the enslaved themselves accumulated historical experiences over time (culture), and the ways in which these accumulated experiences helped shape slave belief and behavior. At every moment in more than two centuries that preceded the general emancipation, planter policies, whatever their content, encountered slave beliefs and practices that were much more than the slave work habits, the slave family, slave sexual behavior, and slave culture itself require the study of the manner in which Africans and their Afro-American descendants adapted to enslavement and to changing patterns of enslavement.

Essentially it is now suggested that the African cultural heritage was not severed by the "middle passage" nor was the severity of "new world glory" and that the continuance of this heritage has and still does define the fundamental and basic structure of the Black experience. These fundamentals may be termed an African philosophical orientation which has been discussed and defined by Mbiti, Kaunda, Diop and Sofala. Mbiti defines this philosophy as the understanding, attitude of mind, logic and perception behind the manner in which African peoples think and act or speak in different situations of life.

---


Cheikh A. Diop, Cultural Unity of Negro Africa: The Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity.
The whole question of African survivals in slave culture is so controversial and so limited by inadequate research that one must analyze the primary sources carefully in order to arrive at some tentative conclusions. The debate over this can only be approached by a comparison of African cultural forms with those of the antebellum slaves. Whenever the elements of the slave's culture more closely resemble African than European patterns, we can be relatively certain that we have identified African survivals. Because there are so many universals in culture, however, this procedure almost inevitably leads to an understatement of the African survivals. Then, too, since the slaves had to preserve many of the African elements in their master's language, many Africanisms will be missed because the European equivalents are too obscure for the modern ear to detect. On occasion the Africanisms can be established because of the frequency of such elements in slave culture when compared to European culture.71

This researcher has added the contemporary dimension to the study of African cultural form, those of antebellum slaves.

**Summary**

There is a general consensus that there is a unique Black cultural value system; however, there is wide disagreement about "what it is." Some believe it is a mixture of the African culture, and African American culture, and the White American culture; which evolved and developed from being excluded from mainstream America and coping with these realities.

The most revealing lesson from these writings is that there are enough generalizations to perceive an African Philosophy, an African way of doing things although not one dimensional. The writers are East and West Africans. From these writers we also glean the primary cultural values which are: 1. Africans: enjoy people for their own sake, 2. are patient, 3. are forgiving, 4. rhythm is the very expression of life—force within Africans. . . "it's the illumination of one's spirit." It is symbolic both of the relationship with other people with all created things, 5. are optimistic, 6. have a faith in the goodness of people, 7. a moral respect for elders, 8. one's name, 9. community, 10. religion being fundamental to all, all of these cultural values were found in the research by most of the authors cited in this chapter.

71 Blassingame, p. 18.
There was evidence that between the belief in the "mixture" and the belief that there is no "such thing" is another consideration which is the concept of the bicultural African American.

This is obvious evidence of the African American having a double consciousness, African American and Euro-American cultures both vital forces in the life experiences of the African American, which manifest themselves in unique and distinct ways. This viable cultural value system appears to be more African than Euro-American because of intentional inaccessibility to the larger society and the continuation of the African community (though forced and through restrictions), living together, sharing together, creating together, responding and reacting to the injustices together, which kept the "natural" cultural values operating.

From these evidences there is coherence, a cultural phenomena emerges and forms a cultural-value matrix which is ever changing, but based in the African tradition, seen in "style" and referred to as "soul," sung in songs and danced in dances.
The results became an exploratory study; because although there are studies which report the sociological and biological image and role of the Black Woman, there is a paucity of research data or literature which focuses specifically upon her as a transmitter of a viable cultural value system. This study is also exploratory because the researcher discovered no model for researching cultural value transmission.

It was necessary for the researcher to use a "process methodology," a "pragmatic" process in order to collect important data to design a working methodology. While collecting the data the researcher found that there was a methodology which was developed by Glaser and Strauss called "Grounded Theory" which was somewhat descriptive of the process used by the researcher. The design of the study was not perceived prior to the research, but the design took shape and grew as the researcher made discoveries and attempted new approaches. The review of literature suggested a theory that because of racial stereotypes the Black Woman was not considered to have transmitted viable cultural values.

This author began with a working theory that stated: Women in general have the most access to the child during the formative years

---

women become the first nurturers and transmitters of cultural values; it is conceivable that the Black Woman specifically transmitted a viable cultural value system, based on the indicators of Black people surviving four centuries of slavery in the United States of America, and Jamaica, becoming engaged in all socio-political matters which affected the existence of Black people while denied the rights of citizenship; this existence was compounded by the constant crisis of cultural self-confidence.

The researcher also wondered if the cultural values were of African origin, which produced further elaboration of the theory: A people denied access to a new cultural value system will find it necessary to rely on past experiences and data to survive harsh realities, while adapting or becoming acculturated in a new milieu, ethos, or idiom. The African born person who was brought to the United States of America and made a slave, used, recalled, and transmitted cultural values which were based on the cultural value system of a people which was from an African ideological frame of reference.

Beginning Research

A group of female students asked the researcher to design a course on Black Women. Agreeing to design a course the researcher assumed the role of a facilitator for discovering and learning, recognizing she did not have all the traditional skills for research, and knew very little about the theoretical data related to the questions.
As a facilitator the suggested approach was outlined:

1. First to discover as much as possible about each individual (self) person in the class by writing the family history, and charting their genealogical tree to the earliest member of the family in the United States of America.

2. To make a list of "sayings" each mother had taught or transmitted and to discover where she had received her words.

3. To explore and research literature about the Black Woman.

With assistance from guest lecturers such as Sterling Stuckey, Northwestern University; William Abraham, McAlester College; and Alex Haley, University of California (who had traced his ancestry to Gambia, Africa) the students had an incentive to study in depth. Their enthusiasm inspired the researcher to write a proposal for the students to do library research which materialized into a grant from the University of Minnesota's International Studies Department. The grant provided for transportation and meals. The students did library research in the following libraries: Schomburg Library, New York; the National Archives; The Moorland Room, Howard University; Atlanta University; the Institute of the Black World; and the Library of Congress. From this exploratory investigation the students located specific references about the Black Woman, which they read and annotated which provided a working bibliography.

Logically the next step was to begin researching African literature to note whether or not specific cultural value concepts were evident in the literature. Here again the students read African works and provided an annotated bibliography.
There was an effort to determine if African literature would reveal specific cultural concepts which could be used, and to determine specific values from which we could design a model or test for determining when or whether the cultural values were still used, or retained, by Afro-Americans. The following African cultural traits and values systems were listed from the readings of African literature. This process was helpful and the next step was to test these findings in Africa.

A second grant was made available from the University of Minnesota Graduate School to do a study of oral traditions and oral histories to determine if the African woman was the prime transmitter of a cultural value system in three African countries, Ghana, Nigeria, and Liberia (where free men were captured and brought to the Western World as slaves). This grant was planned for the summer of 1971, to include students, faculty, and community representation. The following questions assisted us as we prepared to be participant observers.

1. If African peoples could use the oral tradition to transmit their culture and values for some thousands of centuries, why could it not be retained by the African in the New World for four hundred years?

2. If musicologists have researched and proven that the African

---

2 The weakness here is not knowing enough about the authors to determine their ability to write about African culture, or how much of their writings were influenced by the western culture in that the English language was the vehicle for writing. (See annotated Bibliography.)

musical heritage was preserved in the New World, why could not other
culture and values be preserved?

3. If Lorenzo Turner's research linked the linguistics of Black people in the United States to that of the Black people in Africa, why
not the retention of the other culture and values?

To begin answering these questions the researcher began without
a specific design. This was the first attempted field study, and this
in itself was an education. The researcher had read:

The preparation and formulation of the questions by the researcher
before he sets out into the field influence the sort of data with
which he will return. Even a talented researcher, using the most
sophisticated research techniques, will only find the answers to
the questions he asks. On the other hand, even if he has excellent
data, unless he submits himself and the data to a rather rigid
discipline, he will not be able to digest it. Moreover, once
digested, it must then be set out clearly and simply, so that the
reader who knows little or nothing about the problem and area
will be able to understand the exposition.5

In 1971, two months before leaving, the investigator was invited
to attend the Conference on Negritude in Dakar, Senegal. It was helpful
to have an opportunity to hear firsthand some of the protagonists for
African culture, along with the antagonists. Each defended their positions
with skill. The exchange made the researcher even more determined to
develop a model to assist in defining Black culture and values. It was
also helpful to hear Africans struggling with the same problems.

4 A detailed study of Gullah is presented in Lorenzo Turner's
Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
1949).

5 George D. Spindler, Being an Anthropologist (New York: Holt,
Field Study

In June 1971, with the grant from the University of Minnesota Graduate School, a grant from the United Presbyterian Church—Youth Division, and personal funds, the researcher took ten Afro-American students of the class to Ghana, West Africa, for a pilot field work-study experience, to determine if our interpretations of the literature were agreed upon (valid or reliable) and to determine if they were transmitted by the African woman. The efforts of the class had generated interest outside the University and several persons from various Black communities asked to participate in the experience. Three persons were permitted to join the group: one from the Afro-American Cultural Center, another who had relatives living in Liberia, and a colleague from Indianapolis who also expressed interest in joining us. That none of these persons had the benefit of the previous learning experience of the class provided other kinds of dynamics for the group process.

Pepease, Ghana

One student, Daniel Affram, who had assisted us in our class on the Black Woman and later who had become our mentor was invaluable to the class because he was from Ghana. Because Daniel Affram was Ashanti (a group) of the Akan people, he was competent to tutor us while studying in the United States and also in Ghana. His father's mother was then Queen Mother in Pepease, Ghana, West Africa. The group decided that by interviewing her and her family constituents, they could
possibly find some answers to the questions. The group discovered that they could not visit her without visiting the chief and elders of the community. All meetings with the Queen Mother, elders, and the chief and most of the community experiences were tape recorded.

The procedures were in some was disastrous at the time; the frustrations of not knowing what to do was devastating. It is only in retrospect that there is a sense of accomplishment. The discovery was that the methodology or questioning was one of interrogation (seen and responded to as western behavior which was resented). We were also too many investigators appearing at the same place descending on a people. The group experienced being participant observers but were responded to as strangers.

The students posited values from the primary sources which matched those from secondary sources. Some examples of the specific recorded accounts which corresponded with the list made from the literature in 1971 were noted. The capital letters were those values noted from the literature and the use of the small case denotes the recorded accounts from participation observation.

A list of cultural values was made and this list was compared with a list from literature which when placed together provided the group with some answers, which became: Comparative Analysis of Values Recorded From African Literature 1971 and Participation Observation Values Recorded in Africa 1971.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALUES RECORDED FROM AFRICAN LITERATURE 1971*</th>
<th>PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION VALUES RECORDED IN AFRICA 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Mother-parents generally</strong></td>
<td>Valued Mother: We were told &quot;to profane mother is worst insult.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. The aged given respect</strong></td>
<td>Valued the elders: Men, women caring for and spoken to in tones of reverence. Given special place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Harmony</strong></td>
<td>Valued harmony: Where there were arguments a call for mediators and if not there was intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Cleverness</strong></td>
<td>Valued the constant use of the term when referring to abilities of persons and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Verbal affective dialogue</strong></td>
<td>Valued fluent speech and drama: the expressive involvement of persons with one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. Ceremony</strong></td>
<td>Valued ceremony and ritual: The traditional celebration with special rituals announcing the return of the sun, the special ritual of funerals and the community's respect for the observances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. History</strong></td>
<td>Valued history: storytelling and sharing the past, the pouring of libation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. Creativity</strong></td>
<td>Valued creativity: expressed in dance, music, arrangement of fabric in the markets, the head wraps, the wearing of robes, the hair styles, the carvings, the interest in others and in technical things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALUES RECORDED FROM AFRICAN LITERATURE 1971</td>
<td>PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION VALUES RECORDED IN AFRICA 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Strength</td>
<td>Valued endurance: long hours in fields working, early hours working complimenting others, or &quot;loud talking&quot; someone thought lazy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Education informal and formal</td>
<td>Valued education: parents wanted to have children educated, mother asking investigator to take child to educate. The care taken to direct children and to provide practical experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Speech</td>
<td>Valued fluent speech: when visiting requests to speak, and did not want anyone to stop, if they spoke those listening would applaud to indicate respect and continuance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Drama, etc.</td>
<td>Valued drama: saw drama in the form of performance, plays, oratory, preaching, large crowds with excitement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Names</td>
<td>Valued one's name: most were concerned that the investigators did not have meaning for the name, and gave each a name, explaining the significance of the name to the day of birth, the family, the tribe and the honored person, and the mother's name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Marriage</td>
<td>Valued marriage: constant surprise indicated when it was known that the women in the research group were unwed, often mothers asked the investigator for permission for their sons to marry the females in the group assuming that the investigator was the mother. Friends and strangers expressed the same importance to marriage and children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. No shame for community

This was a value that was not clearly observable; however, we recognized that the traditions were adhered to because of custom, and if violated we were told this would be indicative of not knowing one's culture, therefore an insult to the community.

17. Hospitality

Valued hospitality and strangers: As strangers always welcome, night and day. If the group requested directions of an individual, the person usually took you, even if it meant leaving their path of destination, or they would pay someone to go with you or direct a child to take you. Would always stop.
Using the Queen Mother in Pepease, Ghana as representative of one responsible for transmitting the cultural value system in that community, the researcher set out to explore the possibility of African American women transmitting a viable cultural value system.

The information resulting from the class on Black Women and the pilot field work study experience in Ghana provided the researcher with enough data and incentive to continue research in this area.

Choice of Pepease, Ghana

In August 1972, armed with the 1971 pilot experience and a research design, the researcher wrote to Daniel Affram and asked permission to continue the research. Returning to Pepease, Ghana to interview the Queen Mother and her family as a case study, using interviews, and participation observation as methods for gathering the data.

Choice of Subject

From primary and secondary resources, plus the pilot study, the researcher recognized the significance of the Queen Mother. The Queen Mother was perceived as being the vital force in the history of the Akan group of the Ashanti people of Ghana. She was perceived as being the giver and preserver of life. The Queen Mother has been written about, talked about as having a continuous lineage in Ghana. It is reasonable that the Queen Mother became the axiom in the case study in that she provided a base from which to view the transmission of culture. She serves as a standard for comparative analysis.
Mechanics of Obtaining Support

Daniel Affram, grandson of the Queen Mother, became our mentor and interpreter, and he continued to be the initial contact person for the researcher. However, after we arrived in Ghana, he referred us to his father who was the son of the Queen Mother and to his uncle, whom he also called "father," Dr. Dankyi. It was Dr. Dankyi who sent word to Pepease to make arrangements for the researcher's arrival.

After a week of arranging contacts through traditional means, and with proper calls having been made on members of Daniel's immediate family, he made arrangements for the motor drive to Pepease. Daniel chose his cousin Michael to join the group, explaining that the cousin was his elder, that the family would respect and appreciate his presence, and that he also spoke English fluently.

After arriving in Pepease, Ghana, Daniel formally called on the Queen Mother and made an appointment for the researchers to visit with her. The same evening, Daniel called on the Chief and notified him through one of the elders that he would like to bring the researchers to his great uncle's home, where all were to reside. Upon arrival the entire household was aroused to greet us. The following day we were taken to the village to meet the community. Therefore, although the researcher had been there previously, the same procedure occurred, and it was two days before we began the formal interviews with the Queen Mother.

The tradition of being introduced to the community proceeded in this order: from the Queen Mother, to the Chief's house, to the members
of Dr. Dankyi's family, to the religious ministers in the community, and to the general citizenry. It was apparent that had this tradition not prevailed hostility would have been expressed, and Daniel would have embarrassed his family, showing "bad manners," thus his guests would not have been welcome and openness would not have resulted. Consequently following the traditions of the family and community, the researchers were received, there was an open response to the interviews, and they permitted the use of a tape recorder, camera, and note taking.

Oral Interviews

Prior study indicated that the African tradition was also predominantly recognized for its Oral Traditions: meaning the histories, stories, folktales, education, and lineage which were transmitted and retained orally. The researcher approached the Queen Mother with no specific questionnaire, but instead expressed to Daniel and Michael the wish to become engaged in the ongoing activities as a participant observer, and where appropriate to have formal and informal interviews. He agreed that this approach would be acceptable. The researcher remembered that the pilot study in 1971 indicated African abhorrence at being "badgered" with questions perceived as interrogation. A general statement was made in the African tradition which began most interviews and visits:

"I am Lillian Anthony. I bring you greetings from friends and family in the United States. I came from the U.S.A., Massachusetts. I

6 See Appendix C for the interviews.
have been here before, and I am grateful to you for allowing me to visit again. I have come because I am a student and want to learn about the culture and values of African people, so that I can make a comparison with the African-American. Tell me generally about yourself and your people."

"May I introduce my friend and colleague, Professor Tritobia Benjamin, who is with me? She will also learn with me. We also bring you gifts, expressions of our appreciation for the Queen Mother."

Participation Observation of Persons in Case Study and the Interpersonal Relations With Members of the Family and Community

1. Observations were made as a participant (as guest in homes), at parties, when invited on trips, when taken to dine in a restaurant, when taken to traditional ceremonies or rituals. Photographs were taken where and when appropriate.

2. Observations were made as spectators.

3. Observations were made of the family formally and informally. Photographs were taken and notes made with the Queen Mother.

4. Observations were made formally and informally of the Chief and the elders.

5. When possible the observations were photographed and at the end of the day or the beginning of the next day entries were made in a notebook outlining the entire day and night.
From the Formal and Informal Interviews
Values Were Listed

1. Rituals
2. Ceremonial hospitality
3. Sentiments of universal brotherhood
4. Human relations
5. Hospitality
6. Good manners
7. Pouring libations
8. Religious observance
9. Respect for elders
10. Respect for ancestors
11. Oral history
12. Extended family
13. One's culture—cultural unity
14. Respect for heritage
15. Respect for beauty
16. Respect for tradition
17. Time no issue
18. Importance of name
19. Clan system
20. Recognition and respect for difference
21. Respect strangers
22. Importance given to marriage
23. Incest not allowed in family (another reason name important and why scarification important)
24. Importance of family unit
25. Respect for patriarchal and matrilineal system
26. Respect for immediate family
27. Respect for mother
28. Respect for grandmother
29. Importance in upbrining
30. Importance of children
31. Importance of knowing family history
32. Respect for coping
33. Respect for self-propelling (self-motivation)
34. Respect for inclusion
35. Respect for early years (children)
36. Everybody is somebody and tradition maintains the self-concept
37. Importance of accepting responsibility
38. Importance of discipline
39. Importance of house chores
40. Importance of manners
41. Importance of adult models
42. Importance of superstitions
43. Importance of life after death
44. Interpersonal relationships
45. Physical appearance not reason for marriage
46. Importance of traditions being honored
47. Importance of customs
48. Respect for chastity-decency
49. Importance of morals
50. Importance of saving face
51. Importance of adaptive behavior
52. Importance of education
53. Importance of day born
54. Importance of inclusion
55. Importance of sharing knowledge
56. Importance of patience—time not important
57. Respect for research effort
58. Importance of what others think of family
59. Immediate family important
60. Important what others think of family
61. Respect for operation of group
62. Importance of history
63. Knowledge of history important
64. Importance of blood to family relationship—family ties
65. Importance of womanhood—puberty
66. Importance of womanhood for childbearing
67. Respect for sexuality
68. Importance of menstrual
69. Importance of restriction during menstrual
70. Importance of roles for women
71. Respect for the dead
72. Importance of sperm
73. Sexual promiscuity unacceptable for men and women
74. Sexual promiscuity bad for family
75. Sexuality recognized early
76. Important not to disgrace family
77. Respect for hard work
78. Respect importance of the Ashanti stool as symbolic of power
79. Importance of permanence and history.
80. Queen Mother especially responsible for woman (could be why women work with women)
81. Importance of accountability
82. Importance of peers
83. Importance of mother to transmit cultural tradition
84. Importance of cultural tradition being upheld
85. Roles of mother to discipline girls
86. Roles of father to discipline boys
87. Queen Mother has same role as all mothers
88. Respect for industry
89. Respect for individual differences in children
90. Leadership not perceived in religion
91. Respect for political leadership
92. Importance of identity
93. Importance of herbs
94. Importance of justice
95. Importance of honesty
96. Importance of being pleasant
97. Women—sellers in market—economically independent
The following list was made in 1972:

1. Observed—women cultivating gardens, each household with assistance from children.
2. Observed—husband preparing the soil.
3. Observed—women selling some of their garden produce in the common markets.
4. Observed—women relationships in garden, gossip, decisions, comforting, political decisions, sharing education, correcting, demonstrating what to do, solving problems, referring to other sources, such as recommendations of remedy for illness after much discussion, rejection of persons, handling of business, money trading, advising, modeling behavior.
5. Observed—trading.
6. Observed—women cooking.
7. Observed—women bathing children or self.
8. Observed—bathing every day in the river and observed bathing from a cup taken from water pumps.
9. Observed—women and men mending, sewing clothes in homes, shops, market on the street (where all could see and ask questions and where children, girls especially, assisted with certain details of sewing depending on age and size). Many times this was done with the baby on back of mother or infant nearby with a child four to five or eight assisting with infant.
10. Observed—boys assisting father with leather crafts, carvings, trading, running errands, cleaning.

11. Observed—how Queen Mother received visitors, formally with strangers, arrangement of family by age from right to left of Queen Mother with the eldest on her left and the procedure for greeting was from right to the left, using only the right hand—if any other act occurred it would have indicated poor upbringing, bad manners, disgrace to family, not knowing history or family tradition, therefore being without identity.

12. Observed—ritual and tradition of passing the libation, pouring of palm wine, or gin, or water symbolizing the recognition of family ties with the ancestors with the dead with history. This served as preserving the history of that family orally. This serves also to educate the children who were onlookers. Older persons poured libations first.

13. Observed—the making of special black pottery in Pepease by the men. Pottery was unique to this area, in quality.

14. Observed—traders on the streets and in the homes, selling threads, needles, dashikies, cloth, etc.

15. Observed—when a member of the family was ill someone remained in the room and usually a child slept nearby.

16. Observed—formal traditions such as introducing a stranger to the community. Beginning with the Queen Mother, the Chief's house, the immediate family, and then throughout the community.

17. Observed—informal traditions of introducing friends to
members of the community; it if was a young child being introduced to an "elder" (official) or older person there were times that the child would prostrate her/his self, bow down on one knee, but always the right hand was extended regardless of age or status.

18. Observed--the importance of purchasing and presenting the Queen Mother and Chief with "Schnapps" for pouring the libations and for an overt expression of respecting the traditions and customs of the people.

19. Observed--the respect the daughters and sons had for the Queen Mother, asking her for permission to proceed, asking her permission to speak, intervening when someone appeared to be out of order, intervening when they thought she needed rest, asking for questions from her, seeking advice from her.

20. Observed--the above behavior in the community when they came to "just sit" or when they came for advice or assistance.

21. Observed--the women did not let the formal interviews with the Queen Mother interfere with their business, their marketing, or their trading or their gardening.

22. Observed--the women relatives and members of the community expressing dissatisfaction with the amount of time spent from their work, they were making no money "sitting and talking" and were not providing for their families "just sitting and talking."

23. Observed--nonverbal expressions by the women: tight lips, tossing of the head to one side, rolling of eyes, glancing at others for confirmation and support, shifting of body, adjusting the bodies on their entire body. The researcher observed the power of a group of
women with the Queen Mother, who acknowledged their dissatisfaction. She dismissed all and invited the researchers to return another day, "come back anytime," indicating it need not be formal the next time, indicating that it would not be necessary to take the women from their work the next time because it would not be formal, requiring the traditional gathering of all the family and community.


25. Observed--the use and extracting of fresh palm juice and the fermenting of palm juice.

26. Observed--a mother holding infant, naked except for two strings of beads around its buttocks. When interviewed informally it was explained that the two strings represented that the child was a girl and that when one string was used it was for a boy. Days later when informally interviewing Daniel's aunt she told us that the beads were also worn by women underneath their clothes, even when in bed. It was observed that she smiled and laughed but was reluctant to specify their use. She later took us to the market to shop, but she took us to a cousin to purchase cloth which had proverbs written on it. She related our question to her in the presence of four other women, who all began to laugh and hold each other, touching, slapping each other, and calling out to others to come and telling them of our question, whereby some of the women began to untie their (Lapa's) and show us their beads. As the women all at once attempted to tell us about the beads, one refrain we clearly heard was "love beads." We were also told that the
women when preparing for their marriage, and later after marriage have
the beads strung to match their garments. The researchers were taken to
purchase beads and then taken to another woman to have them strung.
When we returned for the beads it seemed that all the women knew and
approved of the Black Americans purchasing the beads, several commented,
"you're our sister," "you are like us." Apparently as we continued to
listen, the beads were used for several purposes from puberty for holding
the menstrual napkins, and also for sexual attractions and sexual
adornment.

27. Observed--the disciplining of children. This discipline came
from anyone, friend, sister, brother, relative, member of the community.
Children averting eyes when addressing older people a sign of respect.

28. Observed--the quietness of children at play, seldom did
the researchers hear loud voices.

29. Observed—that we never heard anyone yelling for a taxi bus
or person. We were told that it was bad manners to yell. We did hear
hissing for attention, clapping of hands, or we saw a person running to
get the attention of someone.

30. Observed--students in school studying, hearing group recita-
tion, and individuals studying, talking, or reading aloud.

31. Observed--people assisting strangers and stopping what they
were doing to assist a person whether it was giving directions or
explaining something to a person or persons.

32. Observed—seldom, impatience or boredom.

33. Observed—the strong interest of female parents and relatives
to have the children educated.
34. Observed—the competitive efforts to have one child or relative educated (mothers in group trying to persuade researcher to take one child to educate).

35. Observed—that there were many women alone in the rural areas, because their husband had gone to larger cities for employment, and these women were especially aggressive in demanding a better life for their children through formal education.

36. Observed—spiritual and religious services, dances, and heard reference to planting time with the moontime. Older men's and women's special dances.

37. Observed—the masks used in dances often symbolizing the seasons. The masks often represented animals or persons. The dances were for self-development such as teaching lessons about bathing, clothing, welcoming, worshipping, hospitality, history. The dances were mixed groups of men and women. Also men and women alone.

38. Observed—disagreement among women in the community. Specifically observed several women pounding "fufu" and angrily speaking about the treatment of her children by a neighbor's children, and how their upbringing would bring disgrace on the family if the parents did not do something.

39. Observed—disagreements in the market between two women arguing over who was to sell to a customer, each declared that the purchaser had said they would buy from them. A mediator intervened, who volunteered or was called for to settle disputes. Sometimes it was difficult to determine when they were being playful or were serious. The researcher always asked for clarification.
40. Observed—the use of the Kente\textsuperscript{7} Cloth worn for special and traditional occasions.

41. Observed—the Adrinka cloth worn mostly when there was a death in the family, however, it was noted that it was being worn popularly by younger persons.

42. Observed—the intricate head wraps by the women.

43. Observed—the braiding of the hair in intricate designs.

44. Observed—the wrapping of the hair with black thread.

45. Observed—the women wearing wigs.

46. Observed—that older men and women often dyed their hair.

47. Observed—that persons with gray hair were highly respected; it was explained that this respect was for age and wisdom.

48. Observed—the long hours spent working in the field before sun up and after sun down.

49. Observed—the meals prepared: breakfast was often only tea or coffee, sometimes there was bread, fruit, orange, banana. Sometimes a hard boiled egg was included. This was available in the homes; however, this was the same fare available when traveling, when stopping at a rest stop, hotel or restaurant. The noon meal was usually the substantial meal, with stew, made of fish, tomatoes, onions, etc. served with fufu, kanki, and hot peppers. When invited out for a special meal there would be a variety of main dishes and deserts.

\textsuperscript{7}Kente cloth is finely woven cloth, which is used for special occasions. The cloth is woven by men, and it is rumored that some regions produce finer cloth than in other localities. The cloth is symbolic in meaning and names.
50. Observed—the encouragement given to someone telling a story, or recounting an experience, relating an incident, giving a speech, there was rapt attention, applause to indicate approval and for continuation. Often the approval was expressed with "umms" and "aahhas." Children were sent to the front to hear and see, all would make room or space for the child to crowd in, and it was never observed that an adult shoved a child; it was the contrary.

51. Observed—the use of dramatic expressions when talking. They would demonstrate by using eyes, body. There was audience participation when preaching, when seeing a play, when visiting a night club, when hearing comedians, when watching dancing there was always audience response given.

52. Observed—persons inquiring of another about a person's family lineage.

53. Observed—persons arriving one, two, three hours or a day late with little chagrin or explanation or apology.

54. Observed—specific use of hands. Hands were used for swearing and to indicate disdain (pointing of fingers, crooking of finger). Left hand used for performing hygienic detail; therefore the left hand was not used for eating. The entire hand was used for beckoning a person to come nearer. When hands or fingers were used improperly it was bad manners, or poor upbringing. Women were not to use hands too much.

55. Observed—use of superstitions. The women were not permitted to visit the fetish house it if was their "time" (menstrual cycle).

---

8 Place of worship.
56. Observed—the use of the Queen Mother's stool when receiving guests.

57. Observed—the use of herbs for medical and superstitious purposes. The asafetida around the neck and buttocks of a baby. The use of a white chalky substance around the child's eyes to ward off evil spirits.

58. Observed—women talking about intuition, knowing when someone was coming, sensing illness, danger.
Comparison of Literature—Observations—Oral Interviews for Likenesses and Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALUES RECORDED FROM LITERATURE 1971</th>
<th>PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION VALUES RECORDED IN AFRICA 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Oral Tradition</td>
<td>Oral Tradition: Participated in verbal history, linguist, chiefs, Queen Mother, conversations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mother-Parents Generally</td>
<td>Valued Mother: We were told &quot;To profane Mother is worst insult.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Aged Given Respect</td>
<td>Valued the elders: Men, women caring for and spoken to in tones of reverence. Given special place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Harmony</td>
<td>Valued harmony: Where there were arguments a call for mediators and if not there was intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cleverness</td>
<td>Valued the constant use of the term when referring to abilities of persons and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Verbal affective dialogue</td>
<td>Valued fluent speech and drama: The expressive involvement of persons with one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ceremony</td>
<td>Valued ceremony and ritual: The traditional celebration with special rituals announcing the return of the return of the sun, the special ritual of funerals and the community's respect for the observances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. History</td>
<td>Valued history: Storytelling and sharing the past, the pouring of libation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Creativity</td>
<td>Valued creativity: Expressed in dance, music, arrangement of fabric in the markets, the head wraps, the wearing of robes, the hair styles, the carvings, the interest in others and in technical things, carvings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VALUES RECORDED FROM LITERATURE 1971</strong></td>
<td><strong>PARTICIPATION OBSERVATION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Strength—Endurance</td>
<td>Valued endurance: Long hours in fields working, early hours, working complimenting others, or &quot;loud talking&quot; someone thought lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Education—Informal and Formal</td>
<td>Valued education: Parents wanted to have children educated, mother asking investigator to take child to educate. The care taken to direct children and to provide practical experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Speech</td>
<td>Valued fluent speech: When visiting requests to speak, and did not want anyone to stop, of those spoke, those listening would applaud to indicate respect and continuance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Drama, etc.</td>
<td>Valued drama: Saw drama in the form of performance, plays, oratory, preaching, large crowd with excitement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Names</td>
<td>Valued one's name: Most were concerned that the investigators did not have meanings for their name, and gave each a name, explaining the significance of the name to the day of birth, the family, the tribe, the honored person and the mother's name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Marriage—Family</td>
<td>This is a value that was not clearly observable; however, we recognized that the traditions were adhered to because of custom, and if violated were told this would be indicative of not knowing one's culture, therefore an insult to the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALUES RECORDED FROM LITERATURE 1971</td>
<td>PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS VALUES RECORDED IN AFRICA 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Hospitality</td>
<td>Valued hospitality and strangers: As strangers, we were always welcomed, night and day. If the group or individual requested directions, the person usually took you, even if it meant leaving their path of destination, or they would pay someone to go with you or direct a child to take you. Would always stop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Religion</td>
<td>Introduced to the Presbyterian minister. Queen Mother and daughters tell of their belief in &quot;fetish.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Superstition</td>
<td>The children wearing amulets and chalk colors or black colors to ward off illness, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Period of Introspection and Reanalysis

The investigator transcribed the tapes and read their responses after returning to the United States. It was from the tapes, and their accounts that the investigator produced the list of values, noted, and compared them with cultural traits and values from literature. The observed values matched some and the research revealed others.

Jamaican Hartford, Connecticut

Choice of Hartford, Connecticut

In February 1972, the researcher began to fulfill her field work requirements by working for the Concentrated Manpower Employment program in Hartford, Connecticut. The researcher instituted process courses in decision making and a program for awarding the General Education Diploma (GED). This total experience was related to the researcher's experiences in the Ford Fellowship Program and the researcher was able to receive assistance from the Ford Fellowship Program faculty. It was while working in Hartford and moving about the city that the researcher became aware of the large population of Jamaicans living in Hartford, Connecticut.

Choice of Subjects

Having established rapport with the CEP administration, the staff, and the recipients of the service, the researcher explained to all the
dissertation research and asked for their assistance. The administration had no objections. However, the researcher decided that those enrolled in the CEP Program should not be the informants for the research because too often the needy and the poor had been exploited by researchers taking advantage of a helping situation.

After the decision in April 1972 to focus on an urban community for comparative data, the actual research in the Jamaican community began in 1973 and lasted for a period of eight months. The eight months do not refer to just scientific observation or interviews; instead, this period reflects time spent in research, and establishing rapport, trust, and respect with the Jamaican women. The few initial interviews with the men were cordial, their responses seemed to have been open, and each expressed interest in the research project.

One of the male informants introduced the researcher to his wife, who was a Jamaican business woman (she and a partner operated a dress shop frequented by women). At first she was willing to participate in the effort; however, over a period of time she indicated that she thought the interviews in her place of business would not be good for her business. It soon became evident, although these were data (meaning this experience and this point of view), that it was impeding the progress of the research.

After three months of "polite" maneuvering and trying not to "step on anyone's toes," several realities became apparent. The informant, who was prominent in the Jamaican community, indicated behaviorally that she did not wish to be interviewed, stating (paraphrasing her) that the Jamaicans were hardworking people and were unwilling to take handouts or to be on welfare. The informant also made it clear that Jamaicans re-
spected and loved their children and would not dare hear of them being out of school running the streets like little hoodlums. "It's one's upbringing that causes people to be industrious. . . there is nothing more important than an education, and here, you people get a free education and throw it away, while in Jamaica we have to pay for our education . . . we wouldn't be here if there were more jobs to work. . . if we had more public education for our children."

It appeared that the informant was suspicious and she expressed general hostile feelings about the Afro-American, which she thought it was necessary to express. After a while our times together became a catharsis; at least it seemed to give her an opportunity to unload much of her pent up "negative feelings or thoughts about Black Americans."
The researcher did not respond defensively (at least not verbally), but undoubtedly there were some obvious nonverbals. The comments were not enjoyed.

Mechanics of Obtaining Support

It was a female co-worker who worked at the CEP office and who lived in Hartford, Connecticut for six years, who introduced the researcher to her hairdresser. The hairdresser made it possible for the researcher to be received, welcomed, and respected in the Jamaican community. It was she who made it possible for the researcher to have the opportunity to sit in the beauty shop, observe, and interview anyone who was willing to be interviewed.

The beauty shop is located in the center of the "main" street of Black activities, with record shops, dress shops, grocery stores, small
restaurants with pungent odors, streets bulging with peoplehood enlivened with voices; soft, sweet talking voices, loud angry voices, mixed with laughter, music, screeching of automobiles, and children playing. The beauty shop is located in the center of the expressed Black Ethos. This location was the "hub" of social activity.

The speciality of the shop, whose clientele were ninety percent Jamaican, was that of wig care and attaching large hair pieces\(^9\) for most of the women. In this friendly, and congenial atmosphere the conversations moved from the soap operas to serious politics with a little healthy "cover the mouth" type gossip, which usually came about with someone passing the window, or when someone came into the shop to sell something or to make an appointment. The gossip centered mostly around infidelities and how or what strategies were used to obstruct or intervene in the affair. There was also much advice freely given often referring to Jamaica as their data source, either recounting a similar experience or relating something their mothers or relatives had shared with them. The researcher would approximate that sixty percent of the women (approximately fifty women were interviewed) referred to their grandmother or mother when quoting or sharing some moral or religious lesson. The informants explained that because the mothers often worked in Jamaica, they were left with their grandparents, not just for babysitting, but they actually lived with their grandparents.

\(^9\) The researcher never discussed the reason for the wearing of wigs with the women. An assumption would be some form of acculturation. How the wigs are worn and where they are worn is very important to the Jamaican man and woman.
Most of the women interviewed had been in Hartford, Connecticut less than twenty years. Most had lived in Hartford for about ten years. They came to Hartford because of a relative having come and "made good." Initially, they lived with the relative and after they were able to "make a living" they usually moved somewhere nearby, so that there has emerged a clannish Jamaican community.

Another observation was a "spirit of community" in the beauty shop. When the Jamaican women talked among themselves they would talk without too many questions being asked; seemingly, they always knew who was being discussed or knew about the issue and those who played the major and minor roles. The conversations were lively. It was often difficult to follow, because the researcher did not know what they were talking about and realized that to interrupt or to ask for a briefing would have violated their "community spirit"; the researcher might have been perceived as "an intruder" and/or as a "stranger." As it was, the conversation continued and the inclusion was there with gestures, eye contact, and smiling faces. Usually, after the shop was quiet, the beautician (the informant) would ask if all was understood, and permit an opportunity for clarification or just retell the "happening" with detailed explanations, detailed character descriptions, or detailed chronological sequential family intrigues.

The most exciting moment for the researcher came one late Saturday afternoon in the beauty shop. That afternoon was highlighted by many women coming into the shop to be readied for a special dance at the "club." Everyone who came into the shop inquired of the other whether
or not they were going to the "club." One by one, each patted their hair while looking in the mirror for approval, saying goodbye at the same time. Each one turned to me and said, "See you at the club tonight." This was an invitation and an expression of acceptance.

The West Indian Club was for the researcher one of the newest, and most modern enterprises for socializing in the predominately Black community. Attending the "club" was a delightful experience and invaluable to the research project. While at the club each of the many women who had been in the shop, or who had been interviewed made their presence known and introduced persons with them. Introductions continued all night, and were being made when departing, with shoes in hand because of much dancing.

A strange phenomenon occurred. The researcher was curious to know whether or not all of those who came into the club were Jamaican, remembering the "clannishness" and "suspiciousness" of other experiences. The researcher was curious to know whether this exclusion would be continued socially, where patronage meant financial gains to the club. That night and subsequent nights the Jamaicans pointed out that most of the men who came were Jamaican and the majority of women were Jamaican; however, the gossip was that many of the Jamaican men were courting American women for citizenship. There seemed to be much intrigue around some of these affairs. It seemed that some of the Jamaican women were sitting on the side angrily because the men were dating "American women," and some of the women were Caucasian. There was also expressed open
resentment of American Black women as being too aggressive. It seemed that much of the conversation centered on the male-female relationships, who was with whom, and for what reason.

After the introductory get-acquainted questions, "where are you from," "how many in your family," "what do you do," "have you ever been to Jamaica?", it was difficult to talk of much that was "current." The researcher took refuge in discussing fashions, the preparing of food, seasoning, the differential in climates in America and Jamaica. Gradually when the informants had decided the researcher was industrious, ambitious, educated, and liked to have fun, there was sharing, a great outpouring. They spoke of their dreams for their children, the desire that their children be treated as human beings (often they told of being treated as if they were Negro and how they refused to be treated that way). The informants stressed their desire to have the children love all people regardless of color, without all the "preaching of hate."

Most of those interviewed were Catholic and when they spoke of their community in Jamaica, they referred to St. Elizabeth Parish.\textsuperscript{10} They wanted to keep their children in church, because a religious life was absolutely essential to having a good life.

\textsuperscript{10} Cundall, Historic Jamaica, p. 369. The parish of St. Elizabeth was probably named in honour of Elizabeth, Lady Modyford, the daughter of William Palmer, whose tombstone is in the cathedral. It is one of the largest parishes and one of the most important. The Maroon township, called Accompong, is situated on the northern boundary of the parish and has been referred to in the account of the neighboring parish of St. James.
Oral Interviews

It was because of the aforementioned colleagues introducing the researcher to the owner of a Jamaican Beauty Shop that it was possible to interview Jamaican women in particular. Having worked daily with the Jamaican secretary it was possible to become familiar or to develop an ear for the Jamaican accent and to become accustomed to the transliteration of words in sentences. It was also possible for the researcher to learn something about what the Jamaicans did not like, such as Afro-American intervention. They did not like too aggressive Afro-Americans and they generally had a low regard for Afro-Americans; therefore, the researcher recognized that her behavior had to be modest and confined to the background. This was possible because of the researcher's experiences in Egypt and Africa.

After the initial introduction the researcher called the principal informant for an appointment. In fact, there was never an interview in the beauty shop without an appointment or a telephone call before arrival. The researcher described/explained to the principal informant the background of the research, something of the research in Ghana, and the reasons for the research among Jamaican women. After discussing the research, the author explained also that the data were gathered by two methods, oral interviews and observations. It was also explained that the tape recorded and the camera were used to record data. The principal informant did not object to either. She said that the methods were acceptable, "... if it does not interfere with my business, or my customers."
The researcher found the use of the tape recorder for interviews was inhibiting for the informants and found that taking pictures had to be confined most of the time to photographing the final results of the hair style. The women did not want any candid shots taken at all. It was agreed that the researcher could ask questions and observe the customers.

The Jamaican beauty shop provided some similar dynamics as those in the Pepease research, in that the interview with the Queen Mother took place in her court year. The beauty shop afforded possibilities for similar interaction. There were interweavings of conversations among a variety of women. Those entering the beauty shop were of all shapes, sizes, colors, status, and economic differentials.

The researcher was always introduced to the customers and they were told why she was present. The researcher generally asked the introductory questions of each person: their names, how long they had lived in Hartford, Connecticut; when did they first come to the United States of America; and in general about their family. The researcher recorded each of the persons within a socio-diagram in order to note the specifics of the interaction. Because of the arrangement of the shop, this provided a procedure for keeping notes. It also provided a way to avoid interrupting the speaker to ask "what is your name again please?"

Observed Specific Behavior

The researcher made notes of specific behavior in the beauty shop, the homes, and the clubs. These observations were compiled into a general list, or a composite list of all three.
The List of Values from the Oral Interviews

An example of the process used to generate this list can be seen in the Appendix.

| 1. Home training       | 21. Others               |
| 2. Metaphor            | 22. Hard work            |
| 3. Manners             | 23. Future goals         |
| 5. Discipline          | 25. Love                 |
| 7. Self-improvement    | 27. For nature           |
| 8. To have goals       | 28. Women                |
| 9. Concern for others  | 29. Self respect         |
| 10. Religion           | 30. Obedience            |
| 11. Respect for family | 31. Elders               |
| 12. Appropriate conduct| 32. Coping skills        |
| 13. Industry—work      | 33. Mothers teaching     |
| 14. Culture—manners    | 34. Relationships        |
| 15. Recognition of differences | 35. Listening |
| 17. Differences in values and culture | 37. Children's natural abilities |
| 18. Cultural difference in thinking | 38. Self concept |
| 20. Ability to make adjustment | 40. Morals |
41. Sexuality
42. Honesty
43. Cultural difference
44. Peace
45. Happiness
46. Ethnic solidarity
47. Children
48. Culture of Jamaicans
49. Dancing
50. Status
51. Respect for human differences
52. Life and Failties
53. Stable marriage
54. Pride
55. Tradition
56. Motherhood
57. Endurance
58. Discipline
59. Courtesy
60. Socializing
61. Judgment of others
62. Discreet behavior
63. Culinary skills
64. Superstitions
65. Hair styles
66. Turning a phrase
67. Use of proverbs
Choice of Hartford, Connecticut

The choice of Hartford, Connecticut has been explained in the previous section, however the choice of subjects was difficult and harassing. After explaining the research project to the chief administrator of CEP, he was helpful in suggesting persons to interview. This male colleague arranged for the researcher to have an interview with a family who appeared to be an excellent representation of a family constellation and of the extended family concept.\textsuperscript{11}

Choice of Subjects

The family of three generations all live in a duplex, which included the mother and father of the husband and the mother and father of the wife. After the initial meeting the husband decided that he did not wish to have the family participate in the study, and with expressed regrets he hoped that I would be able to find someone else. After several other attempts it was evident that most of the Black people were research shy and were concerned about what could be discovered in the case study which included interviewing and observing; "suppose we get to fussing and arguing, will you write about that, too?"

\textsuperscript{11} The researcher had hoped to find a family where there were several generations living together so that when interviewing the interaction among the family would be helpful in observing values in behavior, and also to observe evidences of the transmitted values from the mothers. Appendix I presents the details of the case study.
List of Cultural Values From Observation

1. Observed—industriousness—managing business, concentration with customers.
2. Observed—assertive spirit—with principal informant's twin daughters.
3. Observed—honesty—in relations with others, in shop when discussing events, or when disagreeing asked others to support or to mediate.
4. Observed—concern for correctness.
5. Observed—negativism about Afro-Americans—comments on their loudness, aggressiveness.
6. Observed—honesty in relations with others, in shop when discussing events, or when disagreeing asked others to support or to mediate.
7. Observed—sharp, keen business women.
8. Observed—hospitable.
9. Observed—fastidious in dress and hair styles.
10. Observed—high fashion (in Vogue)
11. Observed—ostentatious in dress
12. Observed—colorful
13. Observed—extreme hairstyles
14. Observed—several women working two jobs
15. Observed—most women were purchasing property.
16. Observed—great concern over Afro-Americans not owning property.
17. Observed—clannish groups
18. Observed—dancing with enthusiasm—with music.
19. Observed—dancing with improvisation.
20. Observed—encouraging others to dance.
21. Observed—showing to others new steps.
22. Observed—men asking American women to dance
23. Observed—Jamaican women unfriendly or aloof—with Afro-American and Anglo-Saxon women.
24. Observed—conversations among Jamaicans (gossipy, sharing news from home, political interests).
25. Observed—Jamaican food prepared and served, food was seasoned with spices, often sent from Jamaica directly, or brought by someone recently from Jamaica or purchased from a store which stocked West Indian condiments.
27. Observed—women disciplining children.
28. Observed—women appeared to be particularly sensitive to a phrase turned the wrong way often asking "what do you mean?"
30. Observed—cooking food and serving the male guest, and the women not eating, only serving the men, eating after all had been served.
31. Observed—generosity, sharing with others, those who entered always offering food if eating or a drink, or sweets, if only calling or stopping in for a hello. Insistant that the person not leave without "taking something."
32. Observed—little use of Jamaican artifacts.

33. Observed—orderliness, arrangement of cupboards, shelves, dishes, linen, yards, porches.

34. Observed—use of artificial flowers and orante furniture.

35. Observed—cleanliness, spotless, kitchen floors, all looked scrubbed.

36. Observed—telling of family stories and events, told with pantomime, acting. Calling children together, others enjoying the telling, and remembering.

37. Observed—regular weekly "sporting" in homes (partying) socializing, getting together for good times after working all week.

38. Observed—consummation of large quantities of liquor.

39. Observed—variety of foods served at parties (no snacks or dips), rice and beans, pork, cooked rice, curried dishes, fish. Each household contributing in preparation.

40. Observed—support from family, sending money to Jamaica.

41. Observed—encouragement for the family.

42. Observed—saving money for future and for education of children (going to bank and seeing Jamaicans greeting each other).

43. Observed—caution with strangers.

44. Observed—conversations and references to indicating an allegiance to the British Commonwealth.

45. Observed—proper manners, courteous, polite speech, quiet.

46. Observed—distinguishing oneself as Jamaican among West Indians, "I am."

47. Observed—most Jamaicans were brown or had dark complexions.
48. Observed—men were friendly.

49. Observed—men working at the airport were predominantly from Jamaica and the West Indies.

50. Observed—respect for Martin Luther King, pictures in homes and references to him.

51. Observed—pride in being Jamaican.

52. Observed—pride in not being an Afro-American where there was "mistaken identity."

53. Observed—women shopping carefully, looking at seams, hems, etc.

54. Observed—women rolling their eyes to discipline or to show disapproval.

55. Observed—women standing with hands on hips.

56. Observed—women with hips thrust to one side.

57. Observed—women and their quiet decorum.

58. Observed—the Jamaicans interest in the annual festival, the preparation for the festival of all islanders in Hartford, Connecticut.

59. Observed—the Outstanding West Indian Club, for meetings, dancing, etc., large congregations daily.

60. Observed—pride in Jamaican owned establishments.

61. Observed—women discussing the conditions of a family or person who had a "fix on them."


63. Observed—Jamaican songs, making up additional songs.
Compared Columns for Liknesses and Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Oral Interviews</th>
<th>List from Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hometraining</td>
<td>Concern for correctness, cleanliness, spotless kitchen floors, all looked scrubbed, hospitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Metaphor</td>
<td>Women appeared to be particularly sensitive to a phrase turned the wrong way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Manners</td>
<td>Polite conduct; concern for correctness; hospitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education</td>
<td>Saving money for future and for education of children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Discipline</td>
<td>Concern for correctness, polite conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Self-Improvement</td>
<td>Negative about Afro-Americans and their loudness, pride in Jamaican owned establishments, sharp, keen business women, fastidious in dress and hair styles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. To have goals</td>
<td>Pride in Jamaican owned establishments. Sharp, keen business women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Respect for Family</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events. Support from family, sending money to Jamaica. Encouragement for the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Industry--work</td>
<td>Industrious. Several women working two jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Culinary skills</td>
<td>Jamaican food prepared and served, food seasoned with spices, often sent from Jamaica. Cooking food and serving the male guest, and the women eating after all served.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Cultural Difference Thinking</td>
<td>Pride in not being an Afro-American where was mistaken identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. To make adjustments</td>
<td>Concern for correctness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Respect for Others</td>
<td>Respect for Martin Luther King, picture in home. Generosity, sharing with others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Future goals</td>
<td>Saving money for future and for education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>list from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Nature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Obedient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Elders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Coping Skills</td>
<td>Industrious. Concern for correctness Most women working two jobs. Women discussing the conditions of a family or person who had a &quot;fix on them.&quot; Encouragement for the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Listening</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Parents</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Children</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events. Calling children together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Self Concept</td>
<td>Distinguishing oneself as Jamaican among West Indians &quot;I am.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Morals</td>
<td>Cleanliness, spotless, kitchen floors. Polite conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Sexuality</td>
<td>Honest in relationship with others. Jamaican women unfriendly or aloof with Afro-American and Anglo-Saxon women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Honest</td>
<td>Pride in not being an Afro-American where there was mistaken identity. Jamaican women unfriendly or aloof with Afro-American and Anglo-Saxon women. Women together. Men together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Peace</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events. Women together. Men together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Happiness</td>
<td>Telling of family stories and events. Men were friendly. Women together. Men together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Ethnic Solidarity</td>
<td>Pride in Jamaican owned establishments. Pride in not being Afro-Americans where there was a mistake in identity. Pride in being Jamaica. The outstanding West Indian Club. Ostentatious in dress. Conversations among Jamaicans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Children</td>
<td>Women disciplining children. Telling of family stories and events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Dancing</td>
<td>Dancing with enthusiasm with music. Dancing with improvisation. Encouraging others to dance. Showing others new steps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Status</td>
<td>Name of person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Human Differences</td>
<td>The Outstanding West Indian Club. Conversations and references to indicate allegiance to British Commonwealth. Jamaican women unfriendly or aloof with Afro-American and Anglo-Saxon women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Life and Fraillties</td>
<td>Hospitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Stable Marriages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Tradition</td>
<td>Caution with strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Motherhood</td>
<td>Women disciplining children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Discreet Behavior</td>
<td>Concern for correctness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Superstitions</td>
<td>Women discussing the conditions of a family or person who had a &quot;fix on them.&quot; Women together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Culinary In-Group</td>
<td>Variety of foods. Annual festivals. Consumption of large quantities of liquor. Jamaican food prepared and served, food seasons with spices often sent from Jamaica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Hair Styles</td>
<td>Fastidious in dress and hair styles. High fashion. Extreme hair styles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Turning a Phrase</td>
<td>Women appeared to be particularly sensitive to a phrase turned the wrong way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Use of Proverbs</td>
<td>Women discussing the conditions of a family or person who had a &quot;fix on them.&quot; Telling of family stories and events.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mechanics of Obtaining Support

The case study became a reality in October 1973, when a female colleague suggested that I meet a relative who was eighty-three years old. She had a family "by marriage" who were five generations with an estimate of one hundred fifty relatives living in Hartford, Connecticut. As the researcher sat and listened, learned, observed, and experienced the subject's eighty-seven years of living, and her interactions with those about her, data were recorded.

October 1973 found the researcher meeting the principal informant in her home, which was located in a six-story residence for senior citizens. The informant was expecting us and when we met she embraced us as if the researcher was one of her "children." Welcoming the researcher to, "Come on in, come on in, we were just sitting here wondering if you were really coming." There was an atmosphere of expectancy and even excitement. The informant seemed eager to please the researcher, but also eager to share and participate in "this research." She introduced the researcher to her husband who was sitting quietly on the couch and who remained there, with his cap on, listening, laughing, and only occasionally would he interject something for clarification or assist her with remembering dates of significance. At one point in the beginning, the researcher and the principal informant were off and

12 When interviewed the principal respondent said, "I was born March the Third, 1887."
running in dialogue, just enjoying that moment in history as she relived and recounted events of the past; the informant's husband interrupted with, "I'm eighty-seven, ya know." This struck me as a very honest statement of fact other than his years; he stated his presence. The researcher was able to just be there and not be an interviewer.

The principal informant enjoyed telling about her life. I listened to her experiences from her early childhood to the present day. Apart from the interviewing, the researcher observed her with others—when the telephone would ring, when there was a knock at the door, when her children came—each person was important enough to receive her complete attention. Her home was a center of activity.

The apartment was a one-bedroom apartment with the new conveniences for the senior citizens; she and her husband were enthusiastic about being in the building, expressing their desire to be there rather than with the children. "We are here, we have our own place, and do you know something? We have fun here. There is plenty to do, and they provide buses for us to go places. It's real nice here." There was an occasion to watch her cook "hog head cheese" with side dishes already prepared—slaw, greens, and sweet potato pie. When invited to have some of all of the prepared foods, and after indicating that the researcher was not hungry at that time, she wanted to know, "Well, what can I cook for you?" She loved to cook and feed people.

The informant was particular about her personal appearance and the appearance of the apartment. Although she admitted that she had worked out in homes, cleaned them and had worked in school buildings as
a matron and in the cafeteria, she really did not care too much about housework. She did not like to spend too much time in the house because there was too much to do outside. "There are too many people out there and we needs to help each other, don't you think so? That's the way I feel about it, anyway. There is so much going on in the world if we don't help our children and each other we ain't going to be nothing, we'll just be like them other folks."

The informant helped the researcher realize how important it was to have as much data about a subject as possible. She was from Americus, Georgia, "sister city"13 to Hartford, Connecticut. She had migrated from Buena Vista, Georgia, where she had lived on a farm which "had everything under the sun growing, even sugar cane." The informant had a sense of the significance of property, for her father had owned six hundred acres with three houses which he had inherited from a white plantation owner, and she suggests that it was because her father was his son, and "it was no more than what he ought to have done." She said, "My father's mother was straight from Africa. You can look at me and see a little bit of everything--African and Indian--a little bit of my father's father." Because of the subject's personal history the researcher considered it necessary to find out how African-Americans had come to migrate to Hartford, Connecticut. This notation is in Appendix.

13 The Hartford Times used these terms in an article when referring to Americus, Georgia, p. 3A. Also see Appendices I and J.
Oral Interviews: Procedure

The researcher realized when beginning the case study with the Afro-American respondent that there was a feeling on the researcher's part of "knowing" the Black Experience. There was also an "attitudinal" hang up. The sequence had begun first with the African experience which was new, and then the Jamaican experience which was new. It was initially difficult to consider research on the Black American experience as breaking new ground. It all seemed so familiar to the researcher.

As a result of the initial oral interviews, however, the researcher soon found library research necessary to determine more about how the Black Americans had come to Hartford, Connecticut. The library provided newspapers, books, pamphlets, special projects, and invaluable materials from the historical society. This data assisted the researcher in interviewing the informants.

Observed Specific Behavior: Procedure

The researcher observed interpersonal relations between members of the family and community. Observations were made of the principal informant, Mrs. Bunkley and her husband in their apartment, in the lunch room, in the apartment complex, in the community (specifically going to and from places, and near the north side and at the club house).
1. Observations were made as a guest in their apartment.

2. Observations were made as a spectator in the lunch room.

3. Observations were made as a friend of the family (when introduced as such).

4. Observations were made formally (when calling for an appointment).

5. Observations were made informally after the formal interviews when she prepared foods, dressed to go out, received guests, answered the telephone, prepared to work in the lunch room, cared for plants, visited with others.

6. The observations were recorded.
List of Values from Oral Interviews

1. Hospitality
2. Cordiality
3. Sharing—generosity
4. Knowledge of history and roots
5. Decency
6. Education
7. Decency—chastity
8. Personal appearance
9. Marriage
10. Planners
11. Religion
12. Family
13. Children
14. Husband
15. Mother
16. Hard work
17. Oral tradition
18. Performance of marriage
19. Respect for ingenuity
20. Perserverance
21. Equal Rights—equality
22. Brotherhood
23. Discipline of children
24. Self-knowledge
25. Pride in orderliness at home
26. Caring
27. Childhood
28. Cooking
29. Self Reliance
30. Superstition
31. Social Life
32. Honesty
33. Thrifty
34. Verbal Shaming—Coping
35. Personhood
36. Social Condition
37. Justice
38. Values of Mother
39. Self Awareness
40. Heritage and Experience
41. Creativity
42. Concern for Children
43. Children Expressing Love by Caring
44. Friendliness
45. Acknowledgment of Being Grateful
46. Nature Gardening
47. Consideration of Others
48. Manhood
49. Independence
50. Aesthetic
51. Self Respect
52. Black Consciousness
53. Equal Rights
54. Color
List of Observed and Specific Behavioral Values

1. Observed—relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.

2. Observed—relationships with children revealed love, appreciation, strong maternal feelings without a need to "hang on" but to keep in touch for continuous instillation of caring for themselves, their children, the community, and strangers.

3. Observed—relationship with neighbors, neighbors recognized their home as "a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys."

4. Observed—relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting and visiting socially, cordially, questioning not accepting of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.

5. Observed—the mischievous side of Mrs. Bunkley when dressing and preparing to go out "on a date," when only going to play cards.

6. Observed—the alert and interesting lives while they discussed and planned for a Greyhound Bus trip to New York.

7. Observed—how Mrs. Bunkley received visitors even strangers warmly and cordially.

8. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley preparing foods which are called "soul food" traditional foods, such as head cheese and sweet potato pies, etc., and the use of spices.
9. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley dressing. She was meticulous in her
dress and expressed grateful joy to her children for purchasing "in
style" designs and colors.

10. Observed—the informal traditions of the oldest children
calling her daily.

11. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley's constant inquiry about those grand-
children who seemed to cause parent concern, and her question, "You'll
bring him/her over here Sunday?"

12. Observed—the traditions of all the family visiting Mrs.
Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family
stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good
times which included dancing, singing, and who had talent and who
"couldn't sing a lick," and bad times.

13. Observed—the respect all the children and their children
expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions
of "taking Mama into their confidence."

14. Observed—family, friends, strangers, responding to Mrs.
Bunkley as one "who got things done," as "one who stands by you."

15. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researcher's inter-
viewing to interfere with her work, agreed to assume responsibility of
serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex
who chose not to cook for themselves.

16. Observed—"Picking up the house," keeping papers piled neatly,
curtains straight, dry leaves of plants picked up, or off washing dishes
and placing dishes in cabinets.
17. Observed—overcrowded closets with clothes hung carefully and the use of a footlocker which had other clothes and shoes so "things won't be so messy."

18. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up," and Mrs. Bunkley unhesitating affirmative response.

19. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley on street commenting negatively about the conditions of the people and the streets and expressions of intolerance about the Black people letting the unfavorable conditions prevail. "If you don't help yourself—who will? Respect yourself even if nobody else does. You can see what needs to be done, do it. Don't have to ask nobody—just do it. Don't let nobody call you out of your name."

20. Observed--the noiseless children when around Mrs. Bunkley, active but not noisy.

21. Observed--that Mrs. Bunkley was active, seldom sitting doing nothing, crocheting, gardening, cooking, reading, talking, visiting, and advising. Neighbor came to apartment concerned about a blouse returned from the cleaners. Mrs. Bunkley became the intervener and mediator between her and the cleaner.

22. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley's availability to help others or situations.

23. Observed--the children assuming responsibility by rotating social events on who had the most space. Also observed certain children assuming specific responsibilities for taking them to the bank; the doctor; grocery shopping, etc.
24. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two--but she put a "pot on" because "the children drop by and people like you come."

25. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley discussing socio-political conditions in the U.S.A. and words with residents of the community complex with fervor and passion. Rolling eyes, stance, hands on hips.

26. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something, and as she completed the task.

27. Observed--the respect of the children and in-laws, for Mrs. Bunkley.

28. Observed that no one referred to Mrs. Bunkley as dominating or matriarchal.

29. Observed--that community knew and referred to Mrs. Bunkley as "Mamma Bunkley" or Mrs. Bunkley or "Sister Bunkley."

30. Observed--Mrs. Bunkley reprimanding grandchildren--"Now you know better," "no yelling," or "no loud voices," "no cutting your eyes," and "no rolling eyes."

31. Observed--children repeating their mother's words or her disciplinary doctrines.

32. Observed--affection between members of the family.

33. Observed--females with the children, instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes, "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so you go on help her." "No, you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some water for Mama." "Do you think you could go to the drug store, buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?"
34. Observed—the preparation for going and the enjoyment of games, Whisk and Bingo.

35. Observed—the congeniality and honest give and take between Mother and children.

36. Observed—little discussions between Father and children, quiet respect, and caring. Observed the father's quiet presence and his quiet movements. Observed Mr. Bunkley as a quiet provider who did not talk much; however, he exhibited interest in the discussion of events.

37. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley's discussion of social conditions and conflicts between police and children with friends; however, observed that she respected the authority invested in police and expected children not to violate authority; hands on hips, intervener and mediator.

38. Observed—Mrs. Bunkley in inter-racial situation socially and while serving lunch. She responded to each person as a person. Observed that all responded to her with eagerness and inclusion.

"There's Bunkley." "Let me introduce you to my friends," from Mrs. Bunkley.

39. Observed—the sensitivity Mrs. Bunkley had on injustice which she put in the perspective of discrimination as being stupid and foolish. Observed that she was prepared to copy with an unpleasant situation by having her "own money" and being selective in her choice of friends.
Further observations are simply listed by category:

40. Observed—brotherhood
41. Observed—education
42. Observed—discipline of children
43. Observed—farmers—equality
44. Observed—self knowledge
45. Observed—respect for husband
46. Observed—self respect—pride
47. Observed—pride in home
48. Observed—expressions of caring
49. Observed—respect for Mother
50. Observed—respect for education
51. Observed—respect for education
52. Observed—respect for chastity
53. Observed—respect for childhood
54. Observed—respect for cooking
55. Observed—respect for hospitality
56. Observed—respect for family
57. Observed—respect for sociability
58. Observed—respect for creativity
59. Observed—respect for self-reliance
60. Observed—respect for superstitions
61. Observed—social life
62. Observed—honesty
63. Observed—cleanliness
64. Observed—thriftiness
65. Observed—verbal shaming—coping skills

66. Observed—personhood (worth and uniqueness of each individual)

67. Observed—caring for others

68. Observed—Personal appearance

69. Observed—concern for social conditions

70. Observed—children

71. Observed—justice

72. Observed—respect for values of Mother

73. Observed—self awareness

74. Observed—respect for heritage and experience

75. Observed—creativity

76. Observed—concern for children maintaining a respectful tie with Mother.

77. Observed—concern for children expressing love by caring for others.

78. Observed—friendliness

79. Observed—acknowledgment of being grateful

80. Observed—respect for nature—gardening

81. Observed—consideration of others

82. Observed—demands for justice

83. Observed—respect for manhood

84. Observed—active life

85. Observed—independence

86. Observed—self awareness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Oral Interviews</th>
<th>List from Observation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hospitality</td>
<td>Relationship with neighbors, neighbors recognized their home as a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys. Relationship with general community at lunch when sitting and visiting, socially, cordial rejection of comments without evidence of truth. How Mrs. Bunkley received visitors even strangers, warmly and cordially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her son's case came up and Mrs. Bunkley unhesitating affirmative response.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cordiality</td>
<td>Relationship with general community at lunch, sitting and visiting, socially, cordial rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip. How Mrs. Bunkley received visitors even strangers, warmly and cordially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationship with neighbors, neighbors recognizing their home as a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys. Relationship with children revealed love, appreciation, strong maternal feelings without a need to &quot;hang on&quot; but to keep in touch for continuous instilling of caring for themselves, their children and community and strangers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sharing--Generosity</td>
<td>Relationship with neighbors, neighbors recognizing their home as a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys. Relationship with children revealed love, appreciation, strong maternal feelings without a need to &quot;hang on&quot; but to keep in touch for continuous instilling of caring for themselves, their children and community and strangers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Knowledge of History and Roots</td>
<td>The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation of good times which included dancing, singing, who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telling stories--straightening hair stories, &quot;wrapping&quot; hair stories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of &quot;taking Mama into their confidence.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Decency</td>
<td>Relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting and visiting, socially cordially, rejecting comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education</td>
<td>The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays; storytelling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing... who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females with the children instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes, &quot;You can do that.&quot; &quot;Help your brother.&quot; &quot;That's your sister so you go on help.&quot; &quot;No you can't go out until you finish your work.&quot; &quot;Go get some water for Mamma.&quot; &quot;Do you think you could go to the drug store--buy some film for the lady and bring back the change?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Oral Interviews

6. Education (cont'd.)

The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mamma into their confidence."

Mrs. Bunkley reprimanding grandchildren—"No you know better." No yelling or loud voices.

7. Decency—Chastity

Relationship with husband observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.

Relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting visiting, socially, cordial. Rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.

8. Personal Appearance

Mrs. Bunkley dressing. She was meticulous in her dress and expressed grateful joy to her children for purchasing "in style" designs and colors.

Females with the children instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes. "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so help her." "No you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some water for Mama." "Do you think you could go to the drug store--buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?"

9. Marriage

Relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.

Relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting visiting socially, cordial, rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.
## List of Oral Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Planners</td>
<td>The alert and interested lines while they discussed and planned for a Greyhound Bus trip to New York. Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something and as she completed the task.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Relationship with husband. Observing and heard expressions of respect and caring. Relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting visiting socially, cordial; and the rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>The respect all the children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expression of &quot;taking mama into their confidence.&quot; Stories of mother disciplining—she would throw her eyes more. The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Relationship with children revealed love, appreciation strong maternal feelings without a need to &quot;hang on&quot; but to keep in touch for continuous instilling of caring for themselves, their children, the community and strangers. The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Storytelling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing, who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>Lists from Observations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Children (cont'd.)</td>
<td>The unnoisy children when around Mrs. Bunkley—alive but not noisy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females with children instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes, &quot;You can do that.&quot; &quot;Help your brother.&quot; &quot;That's your sister so you go on help her.&quot; &quot;No you can't go out until you finish your work.&quot; &quot;Go get some water for &quot;Mama.&quot; &quot;Do you think you could go to the drug store--buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Husband</td>
<td>Little discussions between father and children, observed a quiet respect and caring. Observed the father's quiet presence and his quiet movements. Observed Mr. Bunkley as a quiet provider who did not talk much, however, observed his interest in discussions and events. Mrs. Bunkley preparing foods which are called &quot;soul food&quot; traditional foods, such as head cheese and sweet potato pies, etc., and the use of spices. Relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mother</td>
<td>Relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring. Mrs. Bunkley's constant inquiry about those grandchildren who seemed to cause parent concern, and her question, &quot;You'll bring him/her over here Sunday?&quot; The respect of the children and in-laws for Mrs. Bunkley. That no one referred to Mrs. Bunkley as dominating or matriarchal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Hard Work</td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researcher interviewing to interfere with her work; agreed to assume responsibility of serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves. Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something and as she completed the task.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Oral Tradition</td>
<td>The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily. The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Storytelling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing—who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Performance of Marriage</td>
<td>Relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Respect for Ingenuity</td>
<td>Family, friends, strangers, responding to Mrs. Bunkley as one who &quot;got things done,&quot; as &quot;one who stands by you.&quot; Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something—and as she completed the task.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Perserverance</td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researcher interviewing to interfere with her agreed work responsibilities of serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Equal Rights Equality

Family, friends, strangers, responding to Mrs. Bunkley as one who "got things done," and as "one who stands by you."

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up," and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.

Mrs. Bunkley in inter-racial situation socially and while serving lunch. She responded to each person as a person. Observed that all responded to her with eagerness and inclusion "Where's Bunkley." "Let me introduce you to my friends," from Mrs. Bunkley.

22. Brotherhood

Family, friends, strangers, responding to Mrs. Bunkley as someone who "got things done" as "one who stands by you."

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name and with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up" and Mrs. Bunkley unhesitating affirmative response.

23. Discipline of Children

The children when around Mrs. Bunkley--alive but not noisy.

Mrs. Bunkley's constant inquiry about those grandchildren who seemed to cause parent concern, and her question, "You'll bring him/her over here Sunday?"

The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Storytelling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing...who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral Interviews</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. Discipline of Children (Cont'd.)</td>
<td>The respect of all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of &quot;taking Mama into their confidence.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Self-Knowledge</td>
<td>The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing... who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley on the street commenting negatively about the conditions of the people and the streets and expressions of intolerance about the Black people letting the unfavorable conditions prevail. &quot;If you don't help yourself who will? Respect yourself even if nobody else does. You can see what needs to be done, do it. Don't have to ask nobody--just do it. Don't let nobody call you out of your name.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children repeating their mother's words or her disciplinary doctrines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Pride in Orderliness of Home</td>
<td>&quot;Picking up the house&quot; keeping papers piled neatly, curtains straight, dry leaves off plants picked up, or off washing dishes and placing dishes in cabinets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overcrowded closets with clothes hung carefully and the use of a trunk and foot locker which had clothes and shoes so &quot;things won't be so messy.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26. Caring

Relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.

Females with children instilling self-reliance, tying of one's shoes, "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so you go on help her." "No you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some film for the lady and bring the change back?"

Mrs. Bunkley's constant inquiry about those grandchildren who seemed to cause parent concern, and her question, "You'll bring him/her over here Sunday?"

The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up" and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.

Affection between members of the family.

That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two--but she put a "pot on" because "the children drop by and people like you come."

27. Childhood

Females with the children instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes, "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so you go on help her." "No you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some water for Mama." "Do you think you could go to the drug store--buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?"
27. Childhood (cont'd.)

Stories of Mrs. Bunkley—mother only had to take a deep breath—or look with her hands on hips.

The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.

The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing and who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."

The respect of all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

28. Cooking

Mrs. Bunkley preparing foods which are called "soul food" traditional foods such as head cheese and sweet potato pies, etc., and the use of spices.

That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two—but she put a "pot on" because "the children drop by and people like you come."

29. Self Reliance

Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researchers interviewing to interfere with her agreed work responsibility of serving lunch. Researcher observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves.

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up" and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.
29. **Self Reliance (cont'd.)**

Mrs. Bunkley on street commenting negatively about the conditions of the people and the streets and expressions of intolerance about the Black people letting unfavorable conditions prevail. "If you can't help yourself, who will? Respect yourself even if nobody else does--you can see what needs to be done, do it."

Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something and as she completed the task.

The sensitivity of Mrs. Bunkley to injustice which she put in perspective of discrimination as being stupid and foolish. Observed that she was prepared to cope with an unpleasant situation by having her "own money" and by being selective in choice of friends.

Females with the children instilling self-reliance, tying of shoes, "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so you go on help her." "No you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some water for Mama." "Do you think you could go to the drug store--buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?"

30. **Superstition**

That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two--but she put a "pot on" because "The children drop by and people like you come."

31. **Social Life**

The mischievous side of Mrs. Bunkley when dressing and preparing to go out "on a date" although only going to play cards.

The alert and interesting lines while they discussed and planned a Greyhound Bus trip to New York.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Oral Interviews</th>
<th>List from Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>31. Social Life</strong> <em>(cont'd.)</em></td>
<td>Observed relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring. The children assuming responsibility of rotating social events on who had the most space. Also observed certain children assuming specific responsibilities for taking them to the bank; the doctor; grocery shopping, etc. The preparation for going and the enjoyment of games—Whisk and Bingo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>32. Honesty</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her &quot;son's case came up&quot; and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response. The sensitivity of Mrs. Bunkley to injustice which she put in perspective of discrimination as being stupid and foolish. Observed that she was prepared to cope with unpleasant situations by having her &quot;own money.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>33. Thrifty</strong></td>
<td>That Mrs. Bunkley was active, seldom sitting doing nothing, crocheting, gardening, cooking, reading, talking, visiting and advising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>34. Verbal Shaming—Coping</strong></td>
<td>Relationship with general community at lunch and when sitting and visiting socially, cordial, rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip. The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing, who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Oral Interviews

35. Personhood

Thinking of others, Mrs. Bunkley prepared foods which are called "soul food," traditional foods such as head cheese and sweet potato pies, etc., and the use of spices.

The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.

The respect of all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

Affection between members of the family.

36. Social Condition

Mrs. Bunkley discussing social conditions and conflicts between police and children with friends, however, observed that she respected the authority invested in police and expected children not to violate authority.

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up" and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.

Mrs. Bunkley on street commenting negatively about the conditions of the people and the streets and expressions of intolerance about the Black people letting the unfavorable conditions prevail. "If you don't help yourself who will? Respect yourself even if nobody else does--You can see what needs to be done, do it. "Don't have to ask nobody--just do it."

Mrs. Bunkley discussing socio-political conditions in USA and words with residents of the community complex with fervor and passion.
36. Social Condition (cont'd.)

Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something and as she completed the task.

37. Justice

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking Mrs. Bunkley if she would be in court when her "son's case came up" and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.

Mrs. Bunkley's discussion of social conditions and conflicts between police and children with friends; however, observed that she respects the authority invested in police and expected children not to violate authority.

The sensitivity of Mrs. Bunkley to injustice which she put in perspective of discrimination as being stupid and foolish. Observed that she was prepared to cope with an unpleasant situation by having her "own money" and by being selective in choice of friends.

38. Values of Mother

Relationship with children revealed love, appreciation and strong maternal feelings without a need to "hang on" but to keep in touch for continuous instilling of caring for themselves, their children, the community and strangers.

The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.

The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

Children repeating their mother's words or her disciplinary doctrines.
List of Oral Interviews

38. Self Awareness

The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing, who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."

The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

Mrs. Bunkley on the street commenting negatively about the conditions of the people and the streets and expressions of intolerance about the Black people letting the unfavorable conditions prevail. "If you don't help yourself, who will? Respect yourself even if nobody else does--You can see what needs to be done, do it. Don't have to ask nobody--just do it."

40. Heritage and Experience

The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation and good times which included dancing, singing, and who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."

The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.

The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of "taking Mama into their confidence."

That community knew and referred to Mrs. Bunkley as Mama Bunkley or Mrs. Bunkley or Sister Bunkley.
41. Creativity

That Mrs. Bunkley was active, seldom sitting doing nothing, crocheting, gardening, cooking, reading, talking, visiting, and advising.

Mrs. Bunkley moving with assurance and purpose in setting out to do something and as she completed the task.

The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation and good times which included dancing, singing, and who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."

42. Concern for Children

Relationship with children revealed love, appreciation, strong maternal feelings without a need to "hang on" but to keep in touch for continuous instilling of caring for themselves, their children, the community and strangers.

The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.

Mrs. Bunkley's constant inquiry about those grandchildren who seemed to cause parent concern and her question, "You'll bring him/her over here Sunday?"

The traditions of the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sunday. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included dancing, singing, and who had talent and who "couldn't sing a lick."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Oral Interviews</th>
<th>List from Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42a. Maintaining a Respectful Tie with Mother</td>
<td>The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of &quot;taking Mama into their confidence.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing, who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Children Expressing Love by Caring</td>
<td>Relationship with neighbors, neighbors recognized their home as a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The informal traditions of the oldest children calling her daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The traditions of all the family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing &quot;tales&quot; or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times which included dancing, singing, and who had talent and who &quot;couldn't sing a lick.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The respect all the children and their children expressed in the form of hugs, kisses, obeying, but also in the expressions of &quot;taking Mama into their confidence.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The children assuming responsibility by rotating social events on who had the most space. Also observed certain children assuming specific responsibilities for taking them to the bank; the doctor; grocery shopping, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affection between members of the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Oral Interviews</td>
<td>List from Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>44. Friendliness</strong></td>
<td>Relationship with neighbors; neighbors recognized their home as a place where if you wanted something check with the Bunkleys. Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researchers interviewing to interfere with her work; agreed to assume responsibility of serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves. That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two--but she put a &quot;pot on&quot; because &quot;the children drop by and people like you come.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>45. Acknowledgment of Being Grateful</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researchers interviewing to interfere with her work; agreed to assume responsibility for serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves. That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two--but she put a &quot;pot on&quot; because &quot;the children drop by and people like you come.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>46. Nature - Gardening</strong></td>
<td>&quot;Picking up the house&quot; keeping papers piled neatly, curtains straight, dry leaves of plants picked up, or off washing dishes and placing dishes in cabinets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>47. Consideration of Others</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researcher interviewing to interfere with her work; agreed to assume responsibility of serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
47. Consideration of Others (cont'd.)

That Mrs. Bunkley did not cook a meal for two— but she put a "pot on" because "the children drop by and people like you come."

Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name with a smile and caring. Observed a mother asking if she would be in court when her "son's case came up," and Mrs. Bunkley's unhesitating affirmative response.

48. Manhood

Observed relationship with husband. Observed and heard expressions of respect and caring.

Relationships with general community at lunch and when sitting and visiting socially, cordial, rejection of comments without evidence of truth, intolerance of malicious gossip.

49. Independence

Mrs. Bunkley not permitting the researchers interviewing to interfere with her work; assume responsibility of serving lunch. Observed her efficiently serving those in the complex who chose not to cook for themselves.

"Picking up the house" keeping papers neatly piled, curtains straight dry leaves of plants picked up, or off washing dishes and placing dishes in cabinets.

That Mrs. Bunkley was active seldom sitting, doing nothing, crocheting, gardening, cooking, reading, talking, visiting, and advising.
"Picking up the house" keeping papers piled neatly, curtains straight, dry leaves of plants picked up, or off washing dishes and placing dishes in cabinets.

Mrs. Bunkley dressing. She was meticulous in her dress and expressed grateful joy to her children for purchasing "in style" designs and colors.

Females with the children instilling self-reliance in tying of shoes, "You can do that." "Help your brother." "That's your sister so you go on help her." No you can't go out until you finish your work." "Go get some water for Mama." "Do you think you could go to the drug store—buy some film for the lady and bring the change back?"
THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE THREE CASE STUDIES:
AN EMERGING TYPOLOGY

The meaning of a word or phrase to a specialist in literary texts is the function and significance of the word or phrase within its specific literary context. In much the same way, the specialist in the study of cultural values must seek to understand the significance of an act or attitude for the culture under study. Only then can the phenomenon become understandable in terms of other cultures. To this end, the present study seeks to explicate the acts and attitudes of members of three specific cultures (African, Jamaican and African-American). The present study also suggests the possibility that these three cultures form a composite, having a common African heritage.

Data collected from Jamaican and African-American case studies were compared with the findings from the African case study. The results of individual case studies were charted for comparative purposes. Below, the reader will find an explanation of the charts, their terminology, the organization of the data, the methodology used for interpreting the data, and the theories which emerged.

Terminology

The present researcher derived her terminology from independent study in three cultures. The terminology used for each of the identified cultural values is called a category; an example of a category would be "Oral Tradition," which is listed as Category 1," on the chart following."
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 1: ORAL TRADITION

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Interviews revealed the following areas of the importance of "oral tradition":
History
Ashanti Steel
Queen Mother
Pouring Libation
Respect-Ancestors
Sharing Knowledge
Clan System
Respect for Elders
Day Born
Oral History
One's Culture
Importance-Name
Tradition
Importance of History

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1972

Participate in and observed:
Pouring of Libation (visitors)
Use of palm wine--gin--water
Community present--children present--listening and participating

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-1974

Listening
Lifes' Frailties
Tradition
Motherhood

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973

Telling family stories

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

Oral Tradition
Knowledge of history and roots
Education

Family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times and bad times.
The verbal, nonverbal, behavioral, and symbolic manifestations are called descriptive elements. Some examples of descriptive elements identified with Category 1 (Oral Tradition) are:

- Pouring Libations (nonverbal)\(^{14}\)
- Ashanti Stool (symbolic)
- Sharing Knowledge (verbal)

These analytical procedures yielded an indexing system much like a library card filing system. The identified cultural value (Oral Tradition) became the major heading (category), and the component parts of related areas became the descriptive elements.\(^{15}\) This method may have added another dimension to the study of Black culture. With the possible exception of Herskovits' work\(^{16}\) previous investigators have failed to identify descriptive elements suitable for intra-cultural comparison. However, the present researcher has identified cultural values in the context of three apparently different cultures. A formulaic construct of the mode of definition would read:

\[
\text{Identified Cultural Values (African)} \quad \text{(literary sources)} \\
+ \\
\text{Descriptive Elements (interviews, participation-)} \quad \text{(observation)} \\
= \\
\text{Definitions}
\]

\(^{14}\) Reason for nonverbal used here will be explained later.

\(^{15}\) The technical language in Library Science would be subtitle. This researcher avoids terms she considers dehumanizing, such as "sub" (subculture, etc.), because usually the "sub" means "less than," "minus," "hybrid," "under." In other words not comparable to the superior order.

This in itself hopefully will be meaningful. Recognizing that chapters one and two vividly present data to the contrary; the search of the literature did not present Black people generally or specifically as having viable human values to protect or hold. This researcher had identified twenty-two viable human values from these three Black Case Studies and using one of the Black Case Studies (the African) as the normative.

The descriptive elements of each case study were placed on the large sheets and labeled as cultural values. After the descriptive elements of each case study had been written on the large sheets, the African Case Study Index was affixed to a designated space and then the Jamaican Case Study Index was placed beside it with the African-American Case Study Index following. This arrangement provided the researcher easy access to the data, using the African Cast Study Index as the normative for the comparison of the three typologies.

The following list represents the identified cultural values and their definition:
Oral Tradition


Women: Queen Mother and Mother

Considered center of society. Central to writing. Women have identity. Women's visibility always present.

Older People


Religion

Ontological rhythm. "People have a notion of God as the Supreme Being. This is the most minimal and fundamental idea about God, found in all African Societies. African knowledge of God is expressed in proverbs, short statements, songs, prayers, names, myth, stories, and religious ceremonies. All these are easy to remember and pass on to other people, since there are no sacred writings in traditional societies." (Mbiti)

Nature

All living and non-living things. Ability to evoke and activate into life.

Harmony

In harmony with life. Polyrhythmic union. Recognizes life forces.

Life-Death
Unborn-Life Continuous
Man-God

Cleverness

Expressions of intellect-energy experiential and institutional.

Ceremonies and Rituals

Ritual is the immediate act of commemorating. Ceremony is the paraphernalia which is attached--(the special dress-use of masks--use of drums--words--pouring libations).
Performance and preservation maintained with oral transmission which is another form of documentation and a means or method for use of memory.

Functional expressions of intelligence which includes ingenuity, alternative reasoning (acts), intuitive acts. They are the reflective expressions of life (art--dance--music--style, etc.). All of life is a creative process. Utilization of environment.

Ability to endure hardships. Reacting to aggression with patience. Patience and tolerance. Not easily panicked. "Take it easy" attitude. Accounts for certain phenomena: such as not working to indoctrinate others. Cooperation expected.

"Every stranger is a noble person." Strangers received and given an opportunity to become acquainted with customs.

Attainment of knowledge, from formal institutions such as secret societies and schools. Informal education from parents (mother especially from birth to puberty), family-immediate, extended community.

Ability to speak effectively, convincingly, with gesticulation, without boastfulness. Speech encouraged to learn more about person, such as family background, lineage, education

Friendly--open--responsive affective.

An immediate reminder of one's character. First name "soul" name. Second name is character name. Name bears responsibility. Moral shame more than guilt shame. Entire family criticized or judged by person's act.

Must excite response from audience--may be clapping--"umms"--"ahas"--shouts--approval--disapproval encouragement. All ceremonies dramatized to imprint on memory.

Right hand used in public. Left hand to be kept to self. Women are not to use hands excessively when talking. Should be most modest. Use of fingers can mean profanity.
Marriage—Family—Children

Marriage union of two families and more. Children are the future. Children to be reared for self and others. Children belong to community.

Community

All should live in harmony. What one does in community affects entire community.

Wigs—Dying Hair

Traditional wigs for ceremonies and rituals. Contemporary Euro-Western wigs worn by women.

Superstition

Use and belief in the:
1. Supernatural
2. Spiritualism
3. African Religion

Color

Pigmentation of skin "light" skin recognized as more acceptable than dark skin. Black skin recognized as more acceptable than "light" skin.
Category 1--Oral Tradition

Interviews

Each of the informants stresses the importance of "telling" the children the importance of who they were. Each informant also expressed the process of how they told their children and others stories to illustrate or emphasize something important.

Analysis of the results revealed that there was a difference between attitudes evinced by Pepease informants and the interviewees from Jamaican and African-American cultures. The Pepease informants stressed the importance of Oral Tradition for the maintenance of their culture, history, and tradition. Indeed the Pepease informants mentioned the term "Oral Tradition," as an important process for maintaining one's cultural awareness.

The Jamaican and African-American informants did not make specific reference to the term "Oral Tradition." Their reverence was more general in that they allude to the process. Frequently, Jamaican and African-American informants stressed the importance of listening to what older people had to say and the importance of the mother telling the children what was best for them. Generally, Jamaican and African-American informants spoke of the importance of maintaining the traditions of struggle against adversity, a religious life, and good manners. For them education was knowing one's history and roots.
Participation Observation

The informants in all three cultures manifested the significance of telling family stories as a means for maintaining heritage.

The African informants used the pouring of libations as an outward expression of remembering one's history. The Jamaican and African-American informants did not pour libations.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 1: ORAL TRADITION


AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Interviews revealed the following areas of the importance of "oral tradition":
- History
- Ashanti Steel
- Queen Mother
- Pouring Libation
- Respect—Ancestors
- Sharing Knowledge
- Clan System
- Respect for Elders
- Day Born
- Oral History
- One's Culture
- Importance—Name
- Tradition
- Importance of History

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1972

Participate in and observed:
- Pouring of Libation (visitors)
- Use of palm wine—gin—water
- Community present—children present—listening and participating

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-1974

Listening
- Lifes' Frailties
- Tradition
- Motherhood

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973

Telling family stories

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

Oral Tradition
Knowledge of history and roots
Education

Family visiting Mrs. Bunkley on Sundays. Story telling through sharing "tales" or family stories which included experiences and events of appreciation for good times and bad times.
Category 2—Women

Interviews

The informants in each culture (men and women) stressed the importance of the woman. The Queen Mother was valued as woman and as a symbol of Ashanti Heritage. These were evident from interviews with the Queen Mother and other informants. Significance was attached to women assuming the traditional roles of women: childbearing and home-making. The woman is also presented as being vital to the family continuity "blood times," etc. The comparative analyses suggested that each culture held the Black Woman in high esteem because of her role of mother, but significantly also because they were women.

The descriptive elements of the interviews suggests that adult female models are important to the maintenance of cultural values and heritage. The most frequently mentioned female adult models were the mother and the grandmother. Interestingly, self concept as a descriptive element appeared with the Jamaican and African-American but did not appear as obviously to the researcher in the African Case Study.

Participation Observation

Observing the women in various situations, performing various activities, their behavior suggested that the women respected their
role expectations and appeared to enjoy their womanhood. Without a doubt the African literature suggests that the African woman was indeed the most "valued value."

The outstanding descriptive elements from participation observation was women being together. Women enjoying being together in all three cultures.

The comparative analyses suggested that each culture held the Black woman in high esteem because of their roles as mothers, but significantly also because they were women.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 2: QUEEN MOTHER MOTHER

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Considered center of society. Central to writing. Women have identity. Women's visibility always present.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Importance of adult models
Blood Family Relations
Importance of Name
Clan System
Sharing of Knowledge
Family Unity
Partrilineal & Matrilineal System
Respect for family
Respect for Mother
Respect for Grandmother
Importance of home maintenance by women

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Women Trading
Queen Mother responsible for women
Cooking
Grey hair respected on women
Cultivating house garden
Bathing children
Sellers in market
Economically independent
Queen Mother receiving visitors
Daughters respect of Mother--Queen Mother
Community respect for Queen Mother--Children
Women wear Kente cloth--symbolic for women
Queen Mothers role same as other women

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Women
Self respect
Self concept
Mothers teaching Parents

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Women together
Telling family stories

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Mother
Grandmother

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Respect for mother and care
Concern that children maintaining a respectful tie with mother
Mother
Heritage and experiences—taking mother into confidence
Children of Mrs. Bunkley repeating mothers words to children
Category 3--Older People

Interviews

Respect for older people was spoken of directly and indirectly. Directly, "We respect the elders;" indirectly, "you can know something about a person's upbringing by the way they behave with elders." The interviews indicated the Akan of Pepease viewed healthy human relations as the inclusion of all people, but especially the older people, because they represented life. This was also evident in the Jamaican and African-American cultures.

Participant Observations

In all three cultures the researcher observed that the children were taught to respect the aging by the mothers. Another common denominator appeared among the three cultures, that of referring to the "older" persons who were deceased in the present tense; indicating the presence of the deceased.

At any occasion the researcher observed the Africans in Pepease showing great respect for the worth of men and women who were going. It soon became evident that this respect transcended simply the fact that they were getting "old," had knowledge or wisdom, but it appeared to be a "reliance" or even "dependency" upon the older citizens for their continued strength and being. If an analogy is appropriate here, it
would be represented with older persons having others standing on their shoulders, representing a pyramid with the older people providing the support for those younger than themselves.

In all three cultures the older people were present for at least part of the time. It was observable in other ways such as a guest being introduced to the older person in each culture.

Among the Jamaican and African-Americans the grandmother appeared to receive the greatest respect with an honor position.
## IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

### CATEGORY 3: OLDER PEOPLE

**DEFINITIONS OF IDENTIFIED VALUES**


### AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

#### INTERVIEWS 1972

- Respect for elders
- Respect for ancestors
- Respect for grandmother
- Respect for tradition
- Importance of knowing family history
- Family
- Importance of manners
- Importance of not to disgrace family
- Importance of cultural traditions being upheld

#### PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

- Observed young children being introduced to older persons—prostrating self on floor or ground—right hand always extended regardless of status or age—young to old—old to young
- Observed children being disciplined
- Children averting eyes of older persons sign of respect
- Observed special dances performed by older men & women (esp. women)
- Observed younger persons asking permission for right to speak
- Children sleeping near older persons especially when ill.
- Procedure of introducing older persons first.
- Older person pouring libations first

### JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

#### INTERVIEWS 1973-74

- Elders
- Mothers teachings
- Tradition

#### PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

- Telling family stories
- Orderliness, arrangement of cupboards, shelves, dishes, linen, yard, porches
- Observed women standing with hips thrust to one side.

### AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

#### INTERVIEWS 1973-74

- Children's respect for Grandmother (demanding)
- Recounting respect for parents.
- Expressing alarm over treatment by younger people.
- Expressing need to discipline children early to respect older people.

#### PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

- Disciplining children with stories of childhood with regard to obeying and respecting older people.
- Community referred to Mrs. Bunkley as Mama Bunkley or Sister Bunkley.
- Respect Mrs. Bunkley had for older Senior Citizens.
- Giving service to older citizens.
Category 4--Religion

Interviews

In each culture the informants unhesitatingly spoke of their being religious. The African informants in Pepease were specific about their religious preference, some were Christian; however, many including the Queen Mother expressed belief in the "fetish" religion as translated by the interpreter. The informants in the Jamaican culture were Catholic, the African-American informants were Protestant, members of Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal Churches. The Jamaican and African-Americans spoke of religion being responsible for where they were and their reliance on religion. All three case studies expressed religious convictions.

Participation Observations

The researcher did not have any opportunity to observe the informants in places of worship. She did attend and observe a wedding, witness a special festival in Pepease. Both events were religious ceremonies. The Jamaican informants had Catholic religious symbols in the home and in the beauty shop. In the African-American home there was the symbolic Bible present. There was no obvious religious symbol present in the African homes. In the African-American case study "caring for others" seemed to be a significant religious theme.
DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Ontological rhythm... "People have a notion of God as the Supreme Being. This is the most minimal and fundamental idea about God, found in all African societies... African knowledge of God is expressed in proverbs, short statements, songs, prayers, names, myth stories, and religious ceremonies. All these are easy to remember and pass on to other people, since there are no sacred writings in traditional societies." (Mbili)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERVIEWS 1972</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed religious observances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership not perceived as leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believed in life after death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstitions vital part of religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1972</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended spiritual and religious services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed and had explained Adinkra cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of superstitions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious symbols in homes, crosses--incense--bibles--candles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heard discussion of importance of religion in life--in family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious symbol--bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring for others in building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring for others on streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring for older son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 5—Nature

Interviews

Central to the cultural avvalue termed "nature" among all informants was procreation. Therefore, sexuality and all of the condiments were evident. Procreation was also viewed externally such as by the Sun, life giving forces, the Moon, changing seasons— with reverence and appreciation. Thus, the cosmic world was significant to each of the informants.

Both the African informant, and the Jamaican informants addressed the topic of nature, speaking of the power of the external forces, which have been called superstitious beliefs by those unfamiliar with Black Culture.

The African-American informants did not address the subject of nature as did the African and Jamaican informants. The African-American informants spoke of enjoying the out-of-doors, farming, family, etc., but did not have the reference of cosmic power being significant to their life's experiences.

Participation Observation

In all the three case studies, it was observed that in each case "nature" culturally was expressive, in music, dance, gardening (or use of artificial flowers), concern for social conditions, and actual lives. The African case study had within, its emphasis on nature symbols of nature in masks, dance, and music. This was not observed in the Jamaican or African-American case studies.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 5: NATURE

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES
All living and non-living things. Ability to evoke and activate into life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEWS 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Womanhood—Sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of herbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women cultivating house gardens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men preparing soil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masks and dances—symbolizing seasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of herbs for medicinal purposes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation of Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and frailties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting hair with moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers—plants—around homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing and Dancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked of living on farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joy of living on farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked of life and death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preserverance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for ingenuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked of cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair with moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing food—hog-head cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working gardens and flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music—Singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern with social conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocheting—toys and dolls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 6--Harmony

Interviews

All informants stressed the importance of each member of their family and community having opportunity for self development and fulfillment to the fullest capacity. All informants spoke of mutual expectations in order to maintain harmony. All three case studies had a common thread of human relations being of high priority with family first. Each spoke specifically of some aspect of "living harmoniously with others." The "family" was valued in each case study. Caring for each other and one another was also another recurring theme.

The African-American informants expressed working harmoniously in political terms such as: Equal Rights, "Equality," "Perserverance." This was distinctive verbally among the African-American informants which was not verbally expressed among the African and Jamaican informants.

Participation Observation

The principal informants demonstrated their concern for maintaining harmony by assuming the roles of interveners and mediators. The situations were different, for example: In Africa the researcher experienced the personal intervention of the Queen Mother's daughters who expressed their
concern for their mother's health, terminating the interview.

Situationally, in the Jamaican beauty shop there would be a lively discussion, and one of the women would intervene and contribute suggestions or more information or stop discussions. The African-American experience had the same components. One example was the request of a neighbor of the principal informants to intervene between her and a cleaning establishment.

It was observed in each community of the case studies the aggregate gatherings of groups in heated discussion and arguments, requesting an intervener or mediator to calm a situation or atmosphere.

The informants in the African-American case study were intensely, actively involved in creating harmony. The informants seemed to be deliberate about their intent, and efforts to bring about harmony, demanding "justice." The researcher observed the African-American informants preparing to go to court, observed the heightened interest in social conditions, their immediate environment and those external to their immediate community. The African and Jamaican case studies did not reflect this political interest.
## Category 6: Harmony

In harmony with life. Polyrhythmic union. Recognizes life forces. Life-Death; Unborn-Life Continuous Man-God

### African Cultural Values Identified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews 1972</th>
<th>Participation &amp; Observations 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Relations</td>
<td>Little impatience of boredom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for beauty</td>
<td>Women disagreeing and requesting mediator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition and respect for</td>
<td>Harmony—Intervenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for strangers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of family unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for inclusion—everybody—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maintains self-concept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of accepting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of discipline</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Womanhood—Sexuality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice and honesty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Jamaican Cultural Values Identified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews 1973-74</th>
<th>Participation &amp; Observations 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>Honest in relations with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>Martin Luther King, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for human differences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and frailties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgment of others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Improvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### African American Cultural Values Identified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews 1973-74</th>
<th>Participation &amp; Observations 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Brotherhood—Inter-racial situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>Equality—Sensitivity to injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordiality</td>
<td>Social life—will to cope with unpleasant situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing—generosity</td>
<td>Honesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanence of Marriage</td>
<td>Demands for justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping Son and others</td>
<td>Consideration of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social condition—mediator—Intervene color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concern for social conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caring for others, concern for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children expressing love for each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frinedliness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 7—Cleverness

Interviews

Expressive activity, energy, and intellect were noted as being clever. If a person was industrious, worked hard, or showed ingenuity they were clever.

Each cultural group talked about self-respect, self-motivation, self-reliance as an importance of teaching these values to children. The descriptive elements in the interviews also suggested an appreciation for hard work and that this vitality was necessary for survival.

The difference appeared in the African-American experience where the informants perceived "cleverness" as being "smart" (being able to put something over on someone), or "not getting caught," and called this "cleverness" ingenuity.

Participation Observation

These descriptive elements in the column of participation observation complimented the elements in the section of interviews; the outward manifestation of energy/vitality and intellect among the women was present. There were the elements of hard work being a constant.

This section was more vivid in manifestation of the informants stressing cleverness in their tasks, or to "dress up" in their fancy
head wraps, their dress, and their sense of management. The ability to manage was in each of the cultural groups; whether in African area of trading in the markets, the Jamaicans managing their beauty shop, with the vendors, etc. Purchasing property, etc. or this African-American, a retired worker, still working and managing a household. The activity or the active person was clever. Too, personal appearance seemed to be indicative of self-respect and self-motivation.

The difference appeared in the Jamaican and African-American stressing independence as a value.

Another observation was that the dancing and musical abilities were not noted as "being clever or smart."
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 7: CLEVERNESS

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES
Expressions of intellect—energy experiential and institutional.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972
Respect for self motivation
Respect for political leadership

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972
Women trading—selling
Men trading—selling
Process of tapping palm trees
Wearing Kente cloth
Head Wraps for women
Women explaining intuition
Making patterns
Making of Kente cloth
Music and Dancing
Making pottery

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74
Self improvement
Self respect
Children
Ambition
Coping skills
Industry
Adjustment
Children's natural ability
Hard work

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74
Keen—sharp
Business women
Music
Dance
Women purchasing property
The shops—clubs—successful frequented by Jamaicans—West
Indians
Dress

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74
Planners
Respect for ingenuity
Perserverance
Hard work
Education

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74
Independence
That Mrs. Bunkley was active, seldom sitting, doing nothing, crocheting, gardening, cooking, reading, talking, visiting and advising
Independence
Dress
Category 8---Ceremonies and Rituals

Interviews

The informants in Pepease specifically mentioned the significant "ceremonies" and "rituals" and explained the reasons for them. The Jamaican informants spoke of the yearly festival celebration in Hartford, Connecticut only. The African-American informants never mentioned a specific ceremony or ritual.

Participation Observation

In Pepease the informants made it possible for the researcher to participate and observe ceremonies and rituals. The Jamaican community also invited the researcher to their yearly festival. The African-American informants did not mention having ceremonies or rituals, however, they did invite the researcher to spend holidays with them.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 8: CEREMONIES AND RITUALS

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Ritual is the immediate act of commemoration. Ceremony is the paraphernalia which is attached (the special dress—use of masks—use of drums—words—pouring of libations).

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Cultural traditions
Ritual and ceremonies
Pouring libations
One's culture
Respect for beauty
Importance of tradition—being honored
Importance of customs
Family
Ashanti—Steel
Permanence and history
Tradition
Time no issue
Upbringing important
Knowing family history

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Visiting Queen Mother—ritual and ceremony were carried out—pouring libation.
Ceremonies—dress—dance—song—proverbs
Rituals—visiting—funerals—marriages—naming child—festivals—puberty rites—religious services

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Dancing
Pride
Tradition
Socializing
Festivals—yearly

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Self concept
Responsible for child
Children
Culture of Jamaicans
Weekly socializing
West Indian yearly festival

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74
Category 9--History and Oral Tradition

Interviews

The descriptive elements in the cultural group indices pointed to an importance of self-knowledge, which came with knowing one's history which was transmitted orally. Each placed emphasis on having "self concept" which was not as individuals, but as a people.

The African descriptive elements were specific and very much tied to ceremonies and rituals. The Jamaican and African-American were less specific.

Participation Observation

The informants were all observed giving significance to history and oral tradition, especially with children. In the African experience elements 11, 19, 30. The same was true of the Jamaican elements 4, 24, and the African-American elements 6, 22, and 12. Another descriptive element which was common to each was story telling, which often told some aspect of that immediate or extended family's history. Each seemed to have had some part of the history preserved because of the respect given to the older persons, the elders.

There was one very distinct difference which appeared among the African informants which was not observed in the Jamaican or African-American culture, which was the wearing of the love beads.
The love beads were used as an aphrodisiac and for the physical adornment. All classes of women wore them underneath the garments.

The descriptive elements of the Jamaican group and the African-American group were without the ceremonies and rituals; whereas the African groups were interwoven to include the story telling, sharing the history, which was done regularly in some ceremony or daily ritual such as pouring a libation to the (memory of) deceased.

The Jamaican informants included the British Commonwealth when referring to their history or self-knowledge. The other groups did not use "outside" group as a reference.
193

IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE
AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS
1971

CATEGORY 9: HISTORY AND ORAL TRADITION

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972
Libations
Ancestors
One's culture
One's heritage
Tradition
Importance—name
Class system
Patrimeal & Matrimeal
Family
Importance of upbringing
Importance of family
Importance knowing family history
Traditions being honored
Importance of custom
Importance of day born
History
Ahsanti-Steel
Permanence and History
Respect for elders
Oral history
Everybody is somebody
and tradition maintains
the self concept
Importance of sharing
Knowledge
Importance of Mother
transmit cultural tradition
Importance of cultural
tradition being upheld

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972
Queen Mother receiving visitors
Ritual and tradition of libations
Introductions important
Presence of Schnappes and gifts to
Queen Mother and Chief—libation
Love beads
Children asking Queen Mother
things—sign of respect
Community—same
Children in school hearing group
recitation, and individuals studying,
talking of reading aloud.
Spirituals and religious dances and
heard reference to planting time with
moon time.
Gray hair highly respected for age
and wisdom
Encouragement given when telling a
story, or recounting experiences,
Use of dramatic expression when
talking. Audience participation—
responses
Persons inquiring of another about
a persons family lineage.

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74
Family
Ethnic difference
Ethnic solidarity
Culture of Jamaicans
Self concept
Mothers teaching
Cultural difference
Values and culture
Tradition
Elders
Use of proverbs

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74
Concern for correction
Clannish group
Telling family stories and events
in pantomime—acting
Pride in being Jamaican
Encouragement for family
Distinguishing oneself as
Jamaican "I am"
Jamaican song—making up
additional songs
Conversations among Jamaican
(gossipy, sharing news from home,
political interests)
Conversations and reference to
indicating an allegiance to the
British Commonwealth

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Permanence and preservation maintained
with oral transmission which is
another form of documentation and
a means or method for use of memory.
Category 10--Creativity

Interviews

Creativity as a concept was not addressed verbally by either of the groups. Each did stress the importance of ingenuity, hard work and self motivation (note Category 7--Cleverness); however, the following area participation observation provided more data.

Participation Observation

Each cultural group manifested Creativity in areas of "making things" (performance, dancing, singing, being dramatic). Making things such as African pottery. Singing Jamaican songs and making African-American foods, "being dramatic." Dancing, singing, dressing, styling (hair styling), these were common to each group.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 10: CREATIVITY

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Functional expressions of intelligence which includes ingenuity, alternative reasoning (acts) intuitive acts. Is the reflective expressions of life (art--dance--music--style, etc.). All of life is a creative process. Utilization of environment.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972
Respect for beauty
Respect for self motivation

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972
Pottery making
Traders bargaining
Head wraps of women
Wearing and weaving of Kente cloth
Wearing and making Adranka cloth
Braiding hair intricate styles
Wrapping hair
Intricate and interpretive dances
Music--instrumental and song drumming
Dying of cloth--decorative hair styles
Cooking of foods with different mixtures of fish, vegetables, seasonings
Music, song, dance, art

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973–74
Metaphor
Life and frailties
Motherhood
Culinary skills
Turning a phrase
Use of proverbs
Women discussing the condition of family--someone who has a fix on them
Concern for correctness
Higglers
Hair styles

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973–74
Sharp keen business women
High fashion (in vogue)
Colorful (mixing of various colors and designs)
Fastidious in dress and hair styles
Extreme hair styles
Jamaican food prepared and served, food was seasons with spices.
Dancing with improvisation
Concern for correctness
Jamaican songs
Annual festival--preparation

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973–74
Planner
Respect for ingenuity

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973–74
Creativity
Cooking
Preparing foods
Dressing. Mrs. Bunkley was meticulous in her dress and expressed grateful joy to her children for purchasing "in style" designs and colors
Category II—Strength and Endurance

Interviews

The informants throughout the interviews stressed verbally the importance of strength: physical, spiritual, and mental; and endurance. The informants each explained that endurance meant hard work and should be stressed in bringing up the children. The hard work included accountability and responsibility to self and to others.

Participation Observation

The informants were manifesting their own belief system as each of them worked hard. Even the Queen Mother continued to give counsel and to serve as Queen Mother. Each woman assumed the role of being strong and enduring. The descriptive elements included for each the operative belief system of hard work. The variance appeared with the Jamaicans criticizing the African-American for not working harder.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 11: STRENGTH AND ENDURANCE

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED AVALUES

Ability to endure hardships. Reacting to aggression with patience. Patience and tolerance. Not easily panicked. Take it easy attitude. Accounts for certain phenomena: such as not working to indoctrinate others. Cooperation expected.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1972</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Women cultivating gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of upbringing</td>
<td>Men preparing soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for coping skills</td>
<td>Traders—bargaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of accepting responsibility</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction with too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of discipline</td>
<td>Talking when there is work to be done in market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of adaptive behavior</td>
<td>Men farming (acres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of patience</td>
<td>Long hours in the fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for hard work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for industry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time not significant with time piece but what is accomplished.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industry and work</td>
<td>Industrious—managing business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endurance</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to make adjustments</td>
<td>Several women working two jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard work</td>
<td>Pride in Jamaican ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future goals</td>
<td>Most women purchasing property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
<td>Concern over Afro-Americans not owning property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coping skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 12—Hospitality and Strangers

Interviews

Their informants were vocally adamant about the value of being concerned about another human being. Each informant interviewed in the case studies stressed the importance of human relations, which included concern for others, hospitality and socializing. There was no appreciable difference in the stress of its importance.

Participation Observation

The verbal statements indicating the value of hospitality and strangers were manifested in their behavior. The hospitality shown strangers was important. Each stressed the importance of appreciating differences in individuals. Often the hospitality was stressed by the women in each case study. There was a decided difference in the reception of strangers among the Jamaican informants and from general observation of Jamaicans. Although the data in the interviews stressed the importance of hospitality and strangers, the observations of hospitality being intended was often contingent on who was present or who was introducing the individual. It also appeared that their attitude expressed was one of caution, which did not encourage or invite strangers to approach persons. This caution was not obvious among the informants in Pepease, Ghana or African-Americans in Hartford, Connecticut.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 12: VALUED HOSPITALITY AND STRANGERS

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

"Every stranger is a noble person."
Strangers received and given an opportunity to become acquainted with customs.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1972</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentiments of universal brotherhood</td>
<td>Queen Mother receiving visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human relations</td>
<td>Introduction of strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>Assisting strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good manners</td>
<td>Meals prepared for strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family</td>
<td>Introduction of strangers to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Queen Mother—Chief—Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of being pleasant</td>
<td>in traditional form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time no issue</td>
<td>Recognition &amp; respect for difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for strangers</td>
<td>Respect for strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for inclusion</td>
<td>Respect for inclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of manners</td>
<td>Importance of manners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relationships</td>
<td>Interpersonal relationships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern for others</td>
<td>Caution with strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for manners</td>
<td>Polite conduct—no profanity, courteous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of difference</td>
<td>Hospitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural difference in thinking</td>
<td>Honest in relation with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human relations</td>
<td>Men asking American women to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home training</td>
<td>Men friendly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Regular weekly &quot;sporting&quot; in homes (partying) Socializing-getting together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers teaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtesy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socializing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>Sociability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordiality</td>
<td>Friendliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generosity—sharing</td>
<td>Pride in home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers teaching human relations</td>
<td>Social life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of difference (son)</td>
<td>Grateful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personhood</td>
<td>Now Mrs. Bunkley received visitors, even strangers warmly and cordially.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 13--Education: Informal and Formal

Interviews

The most obvious finding among the categories among the three case studies was the absolute significance of education. Fortunately the researcher had indicated in the beginning of this section the insignificance of the numbers within the indexed space. Had this not occurred the reader could attach meaning to the number of descriptive elements under the designated category education.

The informants when interviewed always mentioned the importance of institutional education and education in general. Each stressed the importance of the "Mother" or "the Woman" in being the "significant" other (educative force) in transmitting the educational process, whether home training or motivational goals, and models. Each told of their mother as being significant to their educational life.

Participation Observation

It is in this category that the commonalities of the informants were most obvious. This researcher perceives disciplining children (or persons, any age) from birth onward as education. Therefore, in disciplining the children, the women in each behavioral case study demonstrated the same disciplinary techniques.
1. Each used their eyes to discipline the children. The informants "rolled" their eyes at the children to indicate "disatisfaction" or "displeasure" or to indicate that the child or children should stop or there would be other consequences.

2. Each would place their hands on their hips when emphasizing an intent or some idea, whether pleasant or unpleasant.

3. Each used the intake of breath, with the air coming through the teeth to express satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This sounded like a hissing sound.

The members of the case studies all referred to the mother as the inspirational reference for stressing education.

The difference appeared in the African index where the mothers were teaching the children the ceremonies, rituals or customs, such as "bowing down" when greeting persons.

The data also showed that proverbs were used to discipline and educate African and Jamaican children, while family stories or "sayings" or "Mama saids" were used at times to discipline children or to educate children.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 13: EDUCATION FORMAL AND INFORMAL

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Attainment of knowledge, from formal institutions such as secret societies and schools. Informal education from parents (Mother especially from 0-puberty) family--immediate extended community.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Mothers transmit
Upbringing
Children
Knowing history
Self motivation
Inclusion
Early years
Everybody-somebody
Accepting responsibility
Discipline
House chores
Manners
Adult Models
Tradition honored
Chastity-morals
Customs
Adaptive behavior
Formal Education
Sharing knowledge
Respect for research efforts
Family
History
Womenhood—Sexuality
Accountability
Being pleasant
Mothers to discipline girls
Fathers to discipline boys
Identity
Individual difference respected
Difference—respect

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Women cultivating garden—
Assistance
Men preparing soil
Women selling garden produce—common market
Women trading and selling
Ritual—libation—family
Instructions to strangers
Introduction to community—
Queen Mother—Chief—General community
Informal tradition of introduction of children—bow down
Disciplining children
Quiet—no yelling
Students in school studying
reciting out loud
Strong interest of female parents and relatives to have children educated
Dances—teaching children lessons
in bathing—dressing—worshipping—history
Pounding fufu—children assisting or present—caring of money non-verbals
Blinking eyes—hands on hips—beckoning—rolling eyes—sucking teeth
JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Hometraining
Manners
Education
Discipline
Self Improvement
Ambition
Future goals
Self respect
Mothers teaching
Responsibility for children
Morals—appropriate conduct
Courtesy
Socializing
Decree and behavior
Love
Listening
Sexuality
Use of proverbs
Women

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Polite conduct
use of proverbs
Jamaican food preparation
Cooking food
Orderliness
Cleanliness
Telling family stories
Saving money for children's education
Proper manners
Women rolling eyes (discipline)
dissatisfaction
Women standing with hands on hips
(anger)
Women hips thrust to one side
dissatisfaction
Women and quiet decorum

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Decency
Education
Mother

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Education
Discipline children
Personal appearance
Cooking
Self awareness
Chastity
Expressions of caring
Pride in home
Independence
Self knowledge
Soul’s life
Honesty
Cleanliness
Thriftiness
Personhood
Consideration of others
Social conditions
Preparing foods
Rolling eyes, hands on hips, sucking
teeth, telling family stories and
having different ones recite.
Category 14--Fluent Speech

Interviews

The comparison of the three interviews had a pattern which first suggested that each informant considered fluent speech an asset. The interview also reflected the self consciousness in talking with the researcher. However, the matter under discussion had enough meaning for them to speak with the researcher. In any case, the running thread was sharing knowledge. The interview data suggested that each informant considered fluent speech as important and perceived as a part of one's culture, rather than one's personality. Fluent speech used here was not "talk-talk" but the ability to express one's self effectively and convincingly about one's self, history, or experiences.

The distinguishing difference occurred in the African-American interviews. One informant expressed concern about the radical rhetoric used and the need to have more people who could speak like Martin Luther King. She expressed these ideas in the context of the Black heritage experiences, and in knowing one's history and roots, in other words, radical speech was not reflective of Black people's heritage--"we were not raised that way," were her words.
Participation Observation

The comparison includes the use of "verbal shaming" which was expressed thoughts usually spoken when there was concern, anger, or in an attempt to ward off unpleasantness. The women were observed using verbal shaming when usually doing something else (speaking indirectly). However, the person to whom the informant directed (wanted to hear that was near enough to hear) the words was not required to respond, because the words, the eyes, the physical body was not addressing the individual, but the task, this was the focus—while cooking, sewing, cleaning, etc., usually this was most dramatic, in tone and movements; jerks—snatches, etc.

The most noticeable difference from the listing of the descriptive elements was the indication of the Africans disapproving of African-Americans speaking loudly, which was also noted in the Jamaican indexes.

The researcher observed that the African-American informants used fluent speech in coping with unpleasant and difficult experiences, this was not noticeable in the other African and Jamaican case studies.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 14: FLUENT SPEECH

Definition of Identified Values

Ability to speak effectively, convincingly, with gestulation, without boastfulness. Speech encouraged to learn more about person, such as family background, lineage, education.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Sharing knowledge

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Dramatic expression
Afro-Americans speaking loudly
Verbal shaming

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEW 1973-74

Metaphor
Turning a phrase
Listening
Use of proverbs
Sharing heritage

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Afro-American speaking loudly taboo
Men friendly
Verbal shaming

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEW 1973-74

Hospitality
Cordiality
Sharing-generosity
Knowledge of history and roots
Oral tradition
Self knowledge
Verbal shaming
Heritage and experience
Equal rights

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Verbal shaming
Coping skills
Category 15—Personal Relationships

Interviews

In comparing the three case studies descriptive elements the strongest commonality was the emphasis placed on considering, or expressing concern for others. These "others" went from being the familial to the general concern for others. Each was concerned about family relationships, however, they expressed the need and the concern about other persons. Both the Jamaican and Africans include social life as being important to personal relations.

The most noticeable difference was seen when comparing the African interviews with the Jamaican and African-American around the viewing of the descriptive element, valuing physical appearance as an attribute for marriage. During the interview the African informants stressed the importance of the ability to be pleasant, consideration of others, and having good interpersonal relationships over against physical attributes.

Color as a cultural value was used as significant in personal relationships only in the Jamaican index.
Participation Observation

The descriptive elements which represent commonalities among the three case studies were receiving guests, verbal shaming ("loud talking" is often the expression used for verbal shaming among African-Americans), and the insignificance of time attached to appointments.

The manifestations of the descriptive elements listed in the interviewer's index matched those listed under participation observation. Another observation especially noticeable was the African-American caring for others, respect for the husband, respect, too, for others' manhood, and the special notation--relationship with husband.

Those descriptive elements which implied difference was noted in the African experience, the cultural value of assisting strangers; whereas the Jamaican seemed to be sandwiched somewhere between the African and the African-American, because the Jamaicans observed, seemed cautious, but were not unwilling to assist strangers. The African-Americans were observed giving assistance to strangers, but with reticence, seemingly unsure of how their efforts would be interpreted.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE
AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS
1971

CATEGORY 15: PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

| Friendly—open—responsive affective |

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1972</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human relations</td>
<td>Queen Mother received visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family</td>
<td>Assisting strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Angry pounding fufu for all to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time no issue</td>
<td>Verbal shaming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan system</td>
<td>Women disagreeing in market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognize and respect for difference</td>
<td>People arriving two and three days late.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusion</td>
<td>No apology needed, accepted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everybody—somebody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical appearance— marry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being pleasant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Honesty in relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Clannish groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for human difference</td>
<td>Women together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position status</td>
<td>Men together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for others</td>
<td>Generosity—sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of difference</td>
<td>&quot;sporting&quot; parties regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>Consumption of large quantities of liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human relations</td>
<td>Special foods variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color</td>
<td>Jamaican songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social life</td>
<td>Caution with strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British allegiance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS 1973-74</th>
<th>PARTICIPATION &amp; OBSERVATIONS 1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consideration of others</td>
<td>Expressions of caring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td>Social life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement of</td>
<td>Personhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being grateful</td>
<td>Caring for others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>Consideration of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personhood</td>
<td>Respect of manhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social life</td>
<td>Relationship with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expressions of respect and caring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enjoyment of games—whisk and bingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Bunkley availability to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>others or situations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Category 16--Name

Interviews

The informants in the African and African-American cultures spoke of the importance of one's name. The African informants explained the importance of naming the child, which included ceremonies and rituals which was the observation of old traditions. The African-Americans spoke not of the traditional importance of the name but the importance of not letting anyone call you out of your name. "I don't let nobody tell me who I am, I know who I am." "I was named after a great aunt and my father was named after Mr. so and so who was a kind man."

The glaring difference was the absence of any descriptive element for the Jamaican index. The informants indicated that a name was not important, but "it's important how you act because that determines who you are." While the descriptive elements in the African index represent the total life experience of the individual and the name is representative of one's identity.

Participation Observation

The data analysis of the three case studies was paralleled inference of the interviewers. The African and African-American indexes included descriptive elements which were indicators for valuing an individual's name. If you could not tell them the meaning of your name they expressed sorrow for your situation of not knowing. The
researcher observed some African-American informants telling children (or other persons) the importance of not permitting anyone to call them out of their name, stressing with this admonishment self knowledge. The researcher did not observe any elements which stressed the importance of one's name among the Jamaican informants.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 16: NAME

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

An immediate reminder of one's character. First name 'soul' name. Second name character name. Name bears responsibility. Moral shame more than guilt shame. Entire family criticized and judged by person's act.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Name represents one's culture
Respect for heritage
Importance of name
Importance of clan system
Importance of marriage
Incest taboo
Importance of family unity
Importance of knowing family history
Importance of day born
Importance of identity

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

When introduced asking meaning a name given African name by the day

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Observed use of artificial flowers and furniture
Martin Luther King
Pride in being Jamaican
Honest in relation to others
Fastidious in dress and hair styles
Most women were purchasing property
Women together

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Importance of naming children after respected loved—important person at that time
Self knowledge

Don't ever let anyone call you out of your name
Self knowledge
Category 17--Drama

Interviews

In each of the case studies little was said or implied about drama. Each referred to drama in reference to events. When making some sequential reference as describing the facial expression or the tone of voice, the informants would often demonstrate during the interview until the point was made, whether they were describing a ceremony, describing social life, or one's history.

Participation Observation

Each had descriptive elements representing drama as a cultural value. However social life was the value most obvious and easily observed. This included being at the ceremonies and festivals.

The variance appeared in the visible dramatic performance of each during the socializing. Such as dancing with improvisation. Both the African and African-Americans had more evidence of the personal use of drama such as Dramatic Speech and the African-American use of the physical self to dramatize or to convey a message.

The Jamaican index had more self expression which represented drama as a cultural value. Dancing, drama, improvisation, etc. over against the use of Drama.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE
AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS
1971

CATEGORY 17: DRAMA

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Must excite response from audience—
may be clapping—'umms' 'ahans'—
shouts—approval—disapproval—
encouragement. All ceremonies
dramatized to imprint on memory.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Ceremonies
Rituals

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Dramatic speech
Attended festival
Ceremonies

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973–74

Social life (discussion—
conversations)

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973–74

Dancing
Dancing with improvisations
Encouraging others to dance
Showing others new steps
Women rolling eyes—women
Hands on hips—women and quiet decorum
Festivals
Social life

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973–74

Mother
Sharing history
Grandmother
Oral tradition

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973–74

Cutting of eyes
Hands on hips
Rolling eyes
Deep breaths
Sound life
Category 18--Hands and Fingers

Interviews

Only in the African interviews did fingers and hands appear or seem to be recognized as a cultural value. The Jamaican and African-American informants made no reference or inference as to the importance of the use of fingers or hands. During the interviews, specific instructions were given to the researcher about which hand to use for greetings, by the African informants.

Participation Observation

The African index includes specific observable behavior which denoted the importance of hands and fingers being used for specific purposes, in specific ways. When the hands were observed being used inappropriately by the informants, the researcher, or the general community, one was scolded. If the person persisted, they may be excused, as in the case of "thumbing," a ride with the thumb bent back, in Pepease, however, the sign was considered profane, and served as saying bad things about a person's mother. If one continued then one may be cursed, or receive physical harm.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 18: HANDS AND FINGERS

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Right hand used in public. Left hand to be kept to self. Women are not to use hands excessively when talking. Should be modest. Use of fingers can mean profanity.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTerviews 1972

Tradition
Time no issue
Importance of manners

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Queen Mother—greeting right hand shakes
Specific use of hands
Disapproval of inappropriate use of hand "Thumbing not acceptable"

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTerviews 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTerviews 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74
Category 19--Marriage, Family, Children

Interviews

Marriage as a concept seemingly was respected as an institution, a way of life which automatically included children, and other members of the family. Each of the informants attached particular significance to the concept of marriage, and each spoke specifically about the importance of the family unit and how all that they did in the families affected the children.

In the African category there was strong emphasis placed on the taboo of incest. This expression was not verbalized in the other two case studies.

Participation Observation

The most obvious and demonstrative aspect of this category was the feeling of respecting family and family unity. This was often seen in the disciplining of children, which included encouraging the children to assist their parents, father, grandparents, other children and strangers. The other very noticeable descriptive element was the inclusiveness and the sense of community that existed. This sense of community was seen in each of the case studies with the informants having the children listen to the story of the family, the events of the family, which stressed caring for themselves and the family,
which included the immediate family and others outside the category
of relatives; which included strangers who were Black. In each of
these instances the family stories and the observations stressed
respect for the fathers or the menfolk in general. The principal
informants in the Jamaican column were divorced, however, she spoke
respectfully of the husband and there was conversational sharing which
included respectful mentioning of the men in their family.

In the African community the women carried the babies on
their backs whereas in the families of the Jamaican and African-
American communities they did not carry the babies on their backs,
but often on the side or hip.
## Identified Values from Literature and Participation Observations 1971

### Category 19: Marriage — Family — Children

#### Definition of Identified Values

Marriage union of two families and more. Children are the future. Children to be reared for self and others. Children belong to community.

### African Cultural Values Identified

#### Interviews 1972

- Importance of identity
- Queen Mothers role
- Father-boy-puberty
- Family
- Blood-family
- No disgrace-family
- Extended family
- Clan system
- Marriage
- Incest taboo
- Family unity
- Patrilineal-matrilineal
- Family
- Mother
- Grandmother
- Family history

#### Participation and Observations 1972

- Baby on Mothers back
- Boys assisting fathers with leather crafts
- Queen Mother receiving visitors
- Child sleeping next to older members
- Men farming
- Disciplining of children
- Inquiry of family lineage

### Jamaican Cultural Values Identified

#### Interviews 1973-74

- Family
- Love
- Sexuality
- Pride
- Children
- Children's natural abilities
- Motherhood
- Stable marriage

#### Participation & Observations 1973-74

- Family stories
- Financial support of families in Jamaica
- Encouragement to others
- Disciplining children
- Repremanding children—showing dissatisfaction

### African American Cultural Values Identified

#### Interviews 1973-74

- Family
- Husband
- Respect for Marriage
- Children

#### Participation & Observations 1973-74

- Discipline of children
- Respect for childhood
- Concern for children
- Expressing love
- Respect for family
- Respect for husband
- Social life
- Relationship with children (theirs), the community and strangers
- Inquiry about grandchildren who caused parent concern
- Quiet respect and caring
- Father's quiet presence
- Relationship with husband
- Expressions of respect, caring
- Affection between family
- Unnoisy children
- Respect (in form of hugs, kisses, obeying, "taking mama into their confidence")
Category 20—Community

Interviews

During the interviews there was little mention of community. When there was a reference to community it was in the area of pride as showing respect. In the African-American column the descriptive elements include the importance of the mother assisting the sustaining of community, which included hard work, perseverance, and knowing one's history.

Participation Observation

The community was observed as being inclusive of families, persons, and the general environment in which the people resided or frequented. Pride in the words, cleanliness, business, criticism of keeping community clean, and sound life are the environmental descriptive elements mentioned in the Jamaican and African-American column stressing the environment. Whereas the African informants stress was on the persons and the relationship of the persons to others. The person's conduct was also used to determine who the person was. Their being considered as a member of the community was based on behavior and tribal identification.

The spirit of community was indicated in the Jamaican and African-American category, the "clannishness," the weekly "sporting," being with Jamaicans, eating Jamaican food. These similar expressions were seen in the African-American case study when observing Mrs. Bunkley
active in the community. Her remarks and the responses to her and others were descriptive elements expressing the valuing of community.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 20: COMMUNITY

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

All should live in harmony. What one does in the community affects the entire community.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

You will now a by how he acts

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Knowing history, what one does in family reflects on community which is family recognition of others.

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Pride

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1973-74

Orderliness
Cleanliness
Telling family stories
Regular weekly sporting
Consummation of large quantities of liquor
Variety of food—prepared by different households
West Indian Club—meeting place
Pride in Jamaican businesses
Clannish groups

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Mother
Sharing History
Sharing generosity
Hard work
Perserverance
Cordiality

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1973-74

Expressions of caring
Social life
Personhood
Caring for others
Mrs. Bunkley on the street walking and the many people who spoke to her by name and caring.
Relationship with general community at lunch and when visiting socially, cordial, intolerance of gossip.
Criticism of keeping community clean.
Category 21--Wigs, Dying Hair

Interviews

The African and African-American interviews mentioned hair, the importance of how one's hair appeared, either in wigs, dyed hair, or braids. Style was valued. The Jamaican category is without the listing of descriptive elements. The principal informant was a beautician by trade and the valuing was not discussed, but discussed as an enterprise.

Participation Observation

In several of the African festivals the wigs were used dramatically, presenting ancient and old rituals.

Wigs and hair dye were observed in each of the case studies. Each seemed to value wearing wigs and dying hair. The Jamaican column had more entries, however, the site of the interviews was in a Jamaican beauty shop, "The Jamaican atmosphere."
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 21: WIGS—DYING HAIR

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Traditional wigs for ceremonies and rituals contemporary Euro-Western wigs worn by women.

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Wigs
Dying Hair

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1972

Wigs for drama, had been used for centuries ceremonies observed during festival, dancing. Intricate hair styles

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1973-74

Orderliness
Cleanliness
Telling family stories
Extreme hair styles
Women together enjoying each other—Beauty Shop
High fashion in Vogue
West Indian Club
Pride in being Jamaican
Fastidious—hair styles

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1973-74

Family lineage—white—Indian—Black
Reference to skin color

Women weaving wigs
Category 22--Superstition

Interviews

The African interview spoke directly or indirectly to the matter of superstition. The informants would explain by use of proverbs and folk beliefs the importance of superstition. The informants did not use the word superstition, however the description would be called superstitions among people of a Western orientation.

Participation Observation

Only in the African case study did the researcher observe "superstitious behavior"; the children wearing asafetida (the use of a white chalk solution around eyes to ward off evil spirits), and the women who did not bath in the lake water, cooking, worship, when having menstrual because of the belief that engaging in any of the aforementioned would bring bad luck to them and others.
IDENTIFIED VALUES FROM LITERATURE AND PARTICIPATION OBSERVATIONS 1971

CATEGORY 22: SUPERSTITION

DEFINITION OF IDENTIFIED VALUES

Use and belief in the
1. Supernatural
2. Spiritualism
3. African Religion (Fetish)

AFRICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1972

Belief in a "fix"
Use of proverbs—folk beliefs

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1972

Superstition
Use of asafetida
Not going to river to bath
Not going to fetish house
Not cooking food

JAMAICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

Belief in a "fix"
Use of proverbs—folk beliefs

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATION 1973-74

Superstitions

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES IDENTIFIED

INTERVIEWS 1973-74

I was told of herbs and use of herbs
Knowledge of history and roots
Sharing cooking and medicinal remedies

PARTICIPATION & OBSERVATIONS 1973-74

Cooking of hog head for New Year
Use of herbs—tea, asafetida
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS OF RESEARCH

Theory: The Black Woman Is A Prime Transmitter of Viable Cultural Values

The theory of a Black Woman being a prime transmitter of viable Black cultural values has three elements:

1. That viable cultural values exist.
2. That these viable cultural values transmitted have an African origin.
3. The Black woman is a prime transmitting agent.

Each of these three elements will be discussed in terms of the data used:

a. The data analyzed from the charts.

b. Specific values.

c. Evidence of viable cultural values being the same in some specific ways.

d. Analysis of the role of the Black woman as educator.

ELEMENT I
Viable Cultural Values Exist

The existence of viable cultural values being present within and adhered to by Black people seemingly has not been a part of the general
intellectual belief system nor the general public's opinion. The results have been that the definitions used to determine one's cultural values have militated against persons who were not Anglo-Saxons, or racially identified as Caucasians (as Egyptians have been identified), given the existing set of definitions which were in common use perpetuated distortions, it is necessary to create definitions which are consistent with the results as interpreted by the researcher.

**New World Black Culture.** New World Black Culture is learned behavior which includes the earlier African experiences. They were not erased by slavery or migration, or acculturation, adaptation, assimilation, oppression, or technology. New World Black Culture includes the above and therefore becomes a mixture of cultures retaining the African base which is passed on to subsequent generations.

**Values.** Values were idiomatic expressive actions of emotions they evoke and the social contexts in which they occur. Succinctly, Black (idiom) values are Black people's responses to life, based in reality.

**Civilization.** Human beings who make up human societies.

**Black.** Those peoples who have one or more African persons in their genealogy, provided they identify themselves as having some part of an African genealogy which may then include the use of the terms Negro or Coloured. Thus Black is defined here as self identification, claiming of Black Africa in identification of one's self as a member of the Black community; and including some basis in fact (color—physical characteristics—proof).
Black Womanhood. Women who are Black psychologically, as a state of identification with a group that are Black Women; having to respond to life as an adult while still a child. Women of African descent with self awareness and other directed awareness. Meaning that she has developed out of self actualization with the Black community being her "significant" other, who has been able to develop as an individual under harsh circumstances. She has not had the usual societal constraints, or the protection of society, therefore she has been free to develop herself in her community. Unable to work out childhood slowly; Black Woman child.

Black Woman. Black who is a woman. Women of African descent. The African woman with a historical reality, as an African free woman as a slave, as a free woman, as a woman oppressed, exploited, Black woman who are a part and contributor to the human family generally, and to the Black family specifically.

Usually the lay definitions of the Black Woman were negative apart from being perceived as hard working and strong. The review of literature revealed that the literature did not present the Black Woman as defining herself. The social scientists have been influenced by racist and sexist notions so that there were no appropriate definitions for this researcher to use. Primarily most definitions presented the Black woman from the perspective of her presence being evaluated within the dominant and oppressive society, not within her own society; or as a part of the dominant society.

Placing the Black woman in her ethos, within her ethos, within and applying the above definitions, the Black woman emerges as a viable
human being, therefore, she is capable and expected to transmit viable cultural values.

Apart from this theory there is also the data analysis in Chapter Three which identified viable cultural values, which may be applicable to the human families globally; if so theoretically, these are viable human cultural values and these have been identified as being possessed in three case studies; theoretically Black viable cultural values exist.

ELEMENT II

These Viable Cultural Values Transmitted Have An African Origin

Based on the research data, the comparative analysis of the data, and the interpretation of the data, the following hypothesis is presented as being representative of identified and defined viable cultural values transmitted, having an African origin.

There were thousands of books published, representing every discipline which has told of the horrors of the Euro-Western intervention in Africa called the Slave trade. Therefore it is not necessary to rehearse the drama again. Suffice it to say that all know of it, but despite the evidence distortions of reality are still common. As a recent example, one might cite Time on the Cross. ¹ There appears to be no comparable period in history of the attempt to dehumanize another

group for material gains alone or for self aggrandizement. Even the attempted destruction of the Jewish people is not analogous, for the Jewish people were always recognized as people, with a viable cultural value system, respected and even envied.

However, in spite of the attempted dehumanization process, Black people did not die out, Black people continued to survive and fight for their humanity and for the humanity of others. Black people continued to respond to insanity with humanness. This researcher hypothesized that although the condition of slavery caused the mutilation and crippling of the bodies, that neither the slave masters nor the condition of slavery were able to perform a cerebral lobotomy of the brain. Therefore, the mind that encased the memory, the data bank, provided Black people their personhood and their humanity. Their earlier traditions of millennia passed on from generation to generation could not be erased overnight, meaning even four-hundred years. It is also hypothesized that the slave master refused to permit the slaves to participate fully in the Anglo-American culture, and that the isolation of the slaves from the dominant culture helped to preserve African cultural values. Therefore as they related to one another and to the slave masters, their minds responded operationally out of the African experience. Very often the slave master interpreted this behavior to be that of an idiot, a clown, a lazy, immoral, deprived, barbaric thing based on his rearing (Anglo-Saxon). Judging from his own values, the master expected the slave to respond in kind (raping, killing, murdering, debasing, being profane, killing babies, burning flesh).
Instead the African people planned raids, rebellions, and revolts for freedom not retaliation. Black women and babies were used for the capitalistic revenue, yet she cared for the children, Black, mulatto, and white. She loved them, she disciplined them, not out of fear, but out of her cultural values instilled long before she knew of the Americas, the New World. These viable cultural values were hers and she transmitted them by sustaining her people, by giving birth to them, and possibly by caring for those given to her care who belonged to the oppressors. She transmitted values which were humanizing, and which are still obvious today.

**ELEMENT III**

The **Black Woman is a Prime Transmitting Agent**

Central to each of the case study indexes was the woman. This element appeared even when the researcher was not looking for it. In the literature it was overwhelmingly present. The women in the literature were often presented as the preservers of the culture, the protagonists for their people, and the story tellers or the speakers of words of wisdom. Interestingly, whether it was role expectation, objectivity, or reality, women were portrayed as pillars of strength, although most of the literature was written by men.

The comparative analysis of the three case study indices present evidence for defining the African American Case Study Index with the Jamaican Case Study Index as African cultural values based on the Black woman being one of the prime transmitters of these cultural values because
of the following survivals which were first evident in the African culture on the continent of West Africa in Pepease, Ghana.

1. Wrapping hair and peculiar braiding hair.
2. Rolling of eyes to discipline children (or others to caution). "Cutting of Eyes" used for manipulation, quiet behavior.
3. Deep breathing to discipline children (intakes of deep breathe).
4. Placing money in corners of handkerchiefs and knotting for safety (Africans knotted corners of Lapas).
5. Use of herbs for medicinal purposes (asafetida).
7. Verbal abuse and "loud talking" without openly confronting the person (Hinting loudly--to warn person or persons).
8. Emphasis placed on religion (Rhythms as expressions--shouts--audience response).
9. Special preparation of foods (use of spices, okra, yams, etc.).
10. Fluent speech--verbal dialogue.
11. The placing of hands on hips.
12. Tying up hair in cloth--headwraps, herchiefs, night wrap.

These descriptive elements were found in each of the case study indices. These are specifically African types of behavior and acts, based on these studies.

It is theorized in this study that if the women have passed these specific cultural values from generation to generation, and these are identified as African cultural values, then it is highly probable that
other cultural values are being manifested; namely those identified in the African index.

It is also theorized from this study that the mother, (the Black woman) is the first educator from the beginning life of the child through the developing period of the child's life. It is the mother's presence in smell, touch, sight, hearing, speech, that the child comes to know and rely upon. It is also the mother that the child seeks to care for its first needs, comfort, and love. All of the viable cultural values may be manifested during these formative years.

The woman during this period is a vital force in the life of the child. The woman is also the stabilizer in the life of the child. These two forces, may be manifested through the use of the Oral Tradition, continuously speaking to the child so that the child comes to know the "mother tongue" with all of its various vibrations and connotations. Through the use of Oral Tradition she instructs the child, and although she may not use the African proverb, she may instruct the child with these words or similar words (the researcher's personal ethnography included hearing): "My mother would never permit me to do that," and "as long as I am your mother you will do as I say," or "you will do so over my dead body."

Other "Mama said's":

"Mama salways said God don't like ugly."

"Mama said if you try that one more time you're gonna pick yourself up off the floor."

"Mama said if you keep on being fast you gonna bring something in here you don't want."
"My mama said if you keep on switching your behind you gonna be switching something else."

"Mama said give me an inch and they'll take a mile."

"My mama said if you roll your eyes at me like that again, I'll come over there and knock your head around to the other side of your body so that you can't see."

"Mama said I want you to get an education, but I sure don't want you to come in here acting like an educated fool."

"Mama said when I would go out on a date keep your dress down and your bloomers pulled up."

"Mama said don't go out there and bring no bread snatchers in here."

"Mama said don't let nobody walk over you like you some rug."

"Mama said if you slam that door again I'm gonna get up from here come over there and knock your head off, down to the bottom of stairs and then I'm gonna send you down there to pick it up."

"Mama said don't play crazy on me you know very well what I'm talking about."

"Mama said I brought you here and I'll take you away."

"Mama said don't you start nothing, but if they start something you finish it, don't come in here crying, wipe your face and go on out there. You gonna face them sometime, might as well be now."

"Straighten up your face; ugly is as ugly does."

"Mama said stand up for your rights, don't back down to nobody, but don't be no fool."

"Mama said a dog that'll take a bone will carry a bone."

"Mama said if a fork is dropped a woman is coming."

"Mama said if a knife is dropped a man is coming."

"Mama said a baby born with a veil over his face is good luck, the baby will grow to know the future."

"Mama said if you throw your hair outdoors the birds will get it for a nest and give you a headache, and somebody can take it and put a fix on you, flush it down the toilet or burn it."
"Mama said this is your yard—stay in it and don't go out of it, and don't let anyone in it either if I'm not here."

These "Mama said's" may indicate that the words of the mother are repeated from generation to generation which sustained the cultural values and reinforced the status of the woman in the family and the community.

It is theorized from this study that the Black woman as the mother represents the cornerstone of the structural family and the structural community in that she is the reference. It is she who cements relationships; it is she who provides the humanizing force, which provides the foundation for the building of other life forces. These forces are shaped and formed out of realities, out of coping with life. It is theorized here that the coping behavior assisted in sustaining the African cultural values, and in providing education for the child, the Black woman being initiator and educator.

According to Murphy (1962), coping is a process which includes all the complex ways in which one deals with reality as seen by that individual. Defense mechanisms which temporarily deny reality, evade it or distort it, are involved in the coping process when direct efforts to handle reality are not possible, or fail. One's direct efforts to reach a goal, to change the state of affairs, to study one's needs are included. Coping is recognized as mastering a situation or object. The function is integrative and adaptive; the result is resistance to or freedom from a tendency to disintegrate under stress.

An individual coping and pursuing his or her ends must always express purpose or else life is meaningless. One strives to survive with minimal pain and maximal pleasure including the pleasure of achieve-
ment, of pride, and of loyalty to principle. All this requires an infinitude of doing, trying, and failing, trying and succeeding, compromising and going ahead, stepping back, stepping aside, perhaps even running away. It involves fights and embraces, bargains, and donations, gestures and conversation, joking and playing. Emergencies are constantly arising, making for new events and new situations. With each maneuver the individual learns more about reality and his or her potentiality for dealing with it. This process requires constant alertness.

Coping Devices: 2

1. Turning to mother or someone resembling mother for protection and comfort. It was mother who gave the "magic" touch, the soft reassuring words, the soothing rhythm of the "ole rocking chair" (Figuratively or literally).

2. Ritual of eating together. Sometimes and an individual smokes, chews gum, suck's thumb. . .

3. Self discipline sometimes takes the form of laughing off suppressive and repressive efforts being imposed externally. Laughter permits or provides a suitable release of unconscious aggression.

4. Crying it out serves as a warding off function, as it recognizes the existence of, positive and negative object relationships.

5. Swearing gives a sense of relief from a state of tension.

6. Big talk—tall tales relieves chronic apprehensiveness and insecurity. This is manifested by boasting and even lying.

7. Withdrawal into excessive sleeping patterns; making sleep manifested by apathy which is essentially an emotional withdrawal. This is the worst of the two because the individual loses interest, does not care anymore, gives up so to speak.

8. Talking it out relieves tension and implies the establishment and the maintenance of a contact with another human being. From this association:

   a. certain ideas emerge
   b. new viewpoints may be arrived at
   c. conflict resolved by hearing one's own statements spoken aloud

9. Thinking through its a process resembling Hamlet's Soliloquy: one talks to one's self or to some imagined listener.

10. Working off excess energy by means of neuromuscular system, in a chart for this idea would look like this:

    | ACTION | SPEECH | THOUGHT |
    |--------|--------|---------|
    | gives  | is a   | gives   |
    | greatest| happy  | least   |
    | relief  | medium | relief  |

11. Fantasy formation, may be carrying out aggressive attacks and even a destructive program; or they may be fantasies as compensation, gratification, and indulgence; if fantasies are partially conscious, they are called day dreams.

12. Symbolic substitution: diversion and substitute gratification. When older children see adults in dire circumstances, they generally comfort and minister to the younger children. Empathy is or can be learned
early in life.

The researcher suggests that the review of literature (negative and positive), the interviews, the field study of participation observations (see Chapter III charts), strongly indicate that it was the ability to "cope" with reality (action) which made it possible for the Black Woman to continue to transmit viable African cultural values. Through the sharing of these values, manifested orally and behaviorally, she has been and continues to be one of the transmitters. She is the first and continuous educator (see Index Number 13).

HYPOTHESIS FROM ANALYSIS OF DATA

Oral Tradition

1. It was hypothesized from these findings that the symbolic referent, the use of terms, the naming of the process is not important in attaching significance to a cultural value and its continuity. In other words the cultural value, in the case of Oral Tradition, exists with the specific name among the informants in Pepease and without the specific name "Oral Tradition" in the Jamaican and African-American case studies.

A society based on oral tradition, with its dependence on the memory of elders, links people together in small tribal groups and in their families. In other words, oral communication keeps people together, binds people to each other, while print in our day loosens these bonds, creates space around people, even isolates them in some ways.3

2. It is also hypothesized that as a result of these data, that the oral tradition is important to the maintenance of their culture.

3. Therefore it is further hypothesized that one important role of the Black mother is to teach the children to respect the oral tradition. This has caused her to become a prime transmitter of the oral tradition by her telling stories to the children, referring them to the past, the use of proverbs, songs, sayings, etc. The woman assumed the role of preserving the culture and the tradition, causing her to become a prime transmitter of the cultural values through the oral tradition, which was language. Most behavioral scientists consider language as primary in maintaining and transmitting cultural values.

Oral Tradition is listed first here because all other categories of identified cultural values seemed to relate to this phenomenon. The researcher did not attempt to give any significance to the order in which the other cultural values appeared, except to wonder how the informants of three cultures would rank each in importance. Another study would be of value to make this determination along with interviewing a larger population.

Given the wealth of data it is not sensible for this author to identify all possibilities. This researcher, given her background, simply put down those cultural values which she perceived to be important for this study.
Women

1. Black women are important to the maintenance of cultural values and heritage. The findings suggested that the most frequently mentioned female adults were the mother and grandmother. It is possible to hypothesize that it was not necessary for the African on the continent to stress self concept. However, among the Black women of the Jamaican and African-American case studies it appears that the history of slavery and oppression necessitated the importance of maintaining positive self concepts.

2. The Black female is presented in literature as a whore, bitch (animal referred to in Chapter II, p. ), and as a sexual commodity; so that there was a need to re-affirm one's being, their maintaining that positive self concept was encouraged and enhanced by Black women reinforcing one another. The descriptive elements from participation observation presented women enjoying being together. It is hypothesized also that Black women being together is significant in that it possibly resulted in the continuation of African cultural values, and may be the reason for the continuation of the extended family.

3. It is also hypothesized that the Jamaican and African-American grandmother was symbolic of the Queen Mother concept in Africa (and the importance of older persons), based on her importance also in the Jamaican and African-American case studies.
Older People

1. It is hypothesized that caring for the aged among Blacks in their homes in the U.S.A. has not been based on economics alone, but based on cultural values which rejected the western philosophy of the aged being worthless. Therefore, respect for older persons and caring for them at home and in the church is an indication of a moral responsibility and recognition of an individual's human worth. One writer, Jacquelyn Jackson suggests that "Most old Blacks with kin can legitimately depend first upon kin for their instrumental and affective needs... Where available most old Blacks tend to rely especially upon their eldest daughters."^4

2. It is also hypothesized that the depending and the expectation of Black women by older Blacks has been a part of the preserving of African based cultural values.

Religion

1. Here it is hypothesized that the Black woman is perceived as being responsible for the child's spiritual development, based on literature.

2. Many social scientists have suggested that the Black person was gullible and childlike, which accounted for their being "Christenized" ^4

---

so easily, and was also evidence of their willingness to adopt western values. This researcher suggests that the Black person has a cultural value system which was operative prior to western intervention, and that there was misinterpretation of the African religious reality. The African's religious beliefs stressed the respect for strangers and this may account for receiving the "outsiders" and respecting their religious and cultural beliefs. Although much of Newbell Nils Puckett's works reflect prejudices, even he recognizes that the Black person's religious self was not Euro-Western; he commented:

The mere fact that a people profess to be Christians does not necessarily mean that their Christianity is of the same type as our own. The way in which a people interpret Christian Doctrines depends largely upon their traditions of the past. . . . Most of the time the Negro outwardly accepts the doctrines of Christianity and goes on living according to his own conflicting secular mores, but sometimes he enlarges upon the activities of God to explain certain phenomena not specifically dealt with in the Holy Scriptures.\(^5\)

3. Hypothetically it is possible to consider that African religion continued its manifestations, in that the common sense, sagacity, style of life, wit, wisdom, music, literature, politics, and prophecy represent a wide spectrum of Black life in each case study.

4. Therefore it is hypothesized that the Black woman has had major influence in the early belief system of the child, which includes the (transmitting of an African based religious system) child's religious beliefs which are later translated to all other aspects of life.

---

In the words of Dr. Gayraud Wilmore:

It was the slaves African past that did the most to influence his style of religion, his rejection of the spiritual and political despotism of the white man, and made the most important contribution to his coming struggle for freedom. 6

Nature

1. It is hypothesized that the geographical environment for the African has been significant to the life experiences of the African in Pepease, Ghana, for survival. The people of that area developed rules and regulations to survive the often harsh environmental realities.

2. It is further hypothesized that an appreciation for nature and life came about in part because of the above, which reflects the developed philosophies and human values.

3. It is further hypothesized that the philosophies and values underwent drastic adaptation for Black people in developing Jamaica and the U.S.A., because the environment was not generally theirs to engage as they desired; nevertheless, the Black people were familiar with the harsh environmental realities.

4. It is hypothesized that because the universe was not theirs (even though they assisted and developed it and they nurtured it, it was not theirs), nevertheless, they rejoiced about nature and its being conquered or its benefiting them. The expressions and feelings about nature were manifested in poetry, writings, songs, compositions, dance, and drama.

Harmony

1. The research hypothesizes that this cultural value is still evident; however, the manifestations have been interpreted as being docile, having a Sambo mentality in favor of whites, being an Uncle Tom, etc.

2. It is hypothesized that the struggle against slavery, oppression, and racism are evidences of the Black seeking harmony for centuries.

Cleverness

1. The constant reference of being clever or smart among the Africans continues to be verbally stressed and complimented. It is therefore hypothesized that the western mind has seen advances in technology as being "clever" and being "smart." The Black person residing in the western world was not perceived by the Euro-Western persons as being human, endowed with the potentiality for being "clever" or "smart." Therefore the African-American stressed "self-motivating" forces, rather than merely developing skills to survive. Some of the examples of "self-motivating" forces (inner rather than external) are seen with inventors such as Charles Drew and Lewis Latimer.

2. It is hypothesized that the Black woman, Black mothers, aunts, grandmothers, etc. "said": "There ain't nothing you can't do if you put your mind to it," and "Don't let nobody turn you around" to encourage self accomplishments, and not merely as a reaction against oppression.
Ceremonies and Rituals

1. It is hypothesized that the continuance of the ceremonies and rituals on the African continent prevails visibly because they are a part of their everyday life style and not threatened.

2. Therefore this researcher hypothesizes that her experiences as a Black person have not included the recognition of ceremonies and rituals among African-Americans and her research revealed no information about African-American rituals.

3. After studying one of the more definitive studies, The Rites of Passage\(^7\) by Van Gennep, she found that he (Gennep) included the "rite of eating and drinking together," "the act of shaking hands," "kissing one another," "Christian Communion," "holding hands," "embracing," "explaining gifts of cloth, garments, weapons, gold, silver, coins, banquets, garlands, pipes, rings, kisses, and beard," and many more. However, this researcher had not in the research noted any of the activities as ceremonies or rituals, indicating a lack of awareness. In reflection the researcher suggests that the African-American's mode of dress, singing, language, and Masonic Lodges, sororities, meals, hospitality, may be noted as ritualistic and celebrative, which become ceremonies. It is significant that the researcher in using the African experience as the normative was unable to identify ceremonies and rituals for the African-American experience because of no prior reference. This does

not indicate they do not exist, but that they have not been identified. It is also hypothesized that the process has remained nameless. Therefore this researcher would suggest for herself that because the process may be a ceremony and because it was not so called she did not recognize it as a cultural value in the African-American experience.

History and Tradition

1. It is hypothesized that the slave narratives also presented African-American histories which seemingly stressed preservation of the creative endurance of Black persons when facing adversity and hostile forces.

2. It is hypothesized that because of the African Oral Tradition being transmitted over centuries to generations of Black people their heritage was reinforced through historical knowledge.

3. From the interview it is hypothesized that history gave meaning to life; and that while cultural values may have different manifestations from generation to generation, they maintain a relationship to the past.

4. It is therefore hypothesized that the Black woman played a major role in preserving the continuity of the historical Black person by coordinating the past and present when meaningful and beneficial.
5. Simply stated this researcher hypothesizes that new cultural values were incorporated into the existing black cultural value system, which also "blackened."

Creativity

1. It is hypothesized that Blacks manifest creativity in areas of "making things," performance, dancing, singing, being dramatic, improvisation, and presenting philosophical ideas, such as justice and harmony.

Strength and Endurance

1. It is hypothesized that the Black woman has been stereotyped as being "Big, Strong, Overpowering, Domineering, Matriarchial, or Big Black and Ugly" because of her ability to work hard, not for herself, but for her people and others. This perception is based on the data suggesting her indefatigable energy and abilities plus willingness to work hard. She has been self sacrificing.

2. It is also hypothesized that the Black woman manifesting strength and endurance is the result of an African based philosophy of life.
Hospitality and Strangers and Personal Relationships

1. It is hypothesized that the role expectation of the Black woman and the "mothering" concept included helping children and others to become hospitable to each other and to strangers. Based on the data, this is African in origin, according to Diop's concept of Xenophilia for African people and Xenophobia among Caucasians.

2. It is hypothesized that the Black mother's modeled behavior of relating to others in spite of injustices and hostility has been responsible for the maintenance of this African cultural value.

Education: Formal and Informal

1. The hypothesis here is a statement. The Black woman is an educator. The data reflects the educational process.

2. It is hypothesized the process is African-based. Those identified African methods of expressions were seen and heard and talked about among African-American women and people in general.

3. It is also hypothesized that the continuance of Mama's sayings throughout generations provided the necessary symbolic language to keep the Black woman in a significant position in the Black community.
1. It is hypothesized that the African-American's stressing the importance of one's name is not seen as African because the names over the past three hundred years have been European. Therefore, the naming of African-Americans after important persons, or worthy persons, has not been perceived as African. Naming a person George Washington Lincoln Jones may indicate the African's concern that the child receive the name of a person of supposed worth, meaning a person of principle and integrity.

17. Drama and 14. Fluent Speech

1. This researcher hypothesized that the inability to name the African processes which were ceremonial and ritualistic continued to be expressed in areas, which were in the affective domain, such as socializing, dancing (at funerals, religious services), shouting at religious services, amens, and responses with congregation and ministers.

2. It is hypothesized that the dramatic writings of the African-American include the affective domain and the cognitive domain which is African-based in linguistic style and phrasing.
18. Hands and Fingers

It is hypothesized that although the researcher did not list descriptive elements as values in the Jamaican and African-American categories, there is evidence daily that the hands and fingers are values. The evidence is present in the greetings, slapping of hands, raised fists, use of hands when dancing, and the vogue of "dapping."

19. Marriage--Family--Children

1. Because Black people have been perceived as being without morals or values, and viewed as being deprived of human qualities, it is not surprising that the intellectuals and the general public have judged them ineffectual as a family in caring, loving, and rearing capabilities. Thus this researcher hypothesizes that such a distortion in perception has contributed to the view that Black people do not value marriage, family, and children.

2. It is hypothesized here that the African cultural value of marriage, family, and children is significant in each of the cultures; however it appears that the African-Americans have had to defend this value more than the other cultures, making it an even more important value to the African-Americans.
20. Community

1. It is hypothesized that the Black community represents peoplehood, and reflects a sense of collectivity, which includes both group-identity and self-identity.

2. It is hypothesized that this value is African-based, in that the continuance of a community spirit (without the support of the majority population) has been transmitted and preserved as a reality by the Black woman.

21. Wigs—Dying Hair

1. It is hypothesized that the African's valuing drama and creativity may be the reason for dying hair, wearing wigs, and having intricate hair styles.

22. Superstitions

1. It is hypothesized that the superstitions provided some of the ingredients for the African values continuing among African-Americans.

2. It is hypothesized that taboos in a culture are remembered long after other memories fade.
23. Color

1. It is hypothesized here that "light skin" color became a value in slavery within a dominant white culture and is not an African value.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY--IMPLICATIONS--RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The comparative analysis of the three case studies, African in Pepease, Ghana, and Jamaican and African-American in Hartford, Connecticut, resulted in twenty-two viable cultural values being identified and defined. The African case study index was used as the normative when making the comparisons. Therefore, the generic term Black is used when referring to the three African-based cultural values systems.

Based on the concordance of the typologies the following Black Cultural Values were identified and defined.

1. Oral Tradition
2. Women: Queen Mother and Mother
3. Older People
4. Religion
5. Nature
6. Harmony
7. Cleverness
8. Ceremonies and Rituals
9. History and Oral Tradition
23. Color (One cultural value was identified and defined only in the Jamaican and African-American case studies. This value was not found in Pepease and therefore is not considered to be African-based.)

Although the focus of this investigation was to identify and define viable Black Cultural Values and to study the Black woman as one of the prime transmitters, it is appropriate here to note that the researcher is fully cognizant of the fact that acculturation is a process which includes the total family, schools, neighborhood, peer groups, church, and many other community organizations. Two of the primary educational units are considered to be the home and the school. It is through the efforts of these major interactional systems that the child becomes acculturated and is thereby given a place in society.
These two major interactional systems may best be understood when viewed within the framework of role theory. Role theory is new within the study of behavioral sciences. The basis of this theory examines human behavior against the imposed norms, standards, and rules of society. The concepts of interest and applicability when examining the role of the mother as a prime transmitter of viable cultural values and the school as educational institution are role expectations.

Again because of the nature of this study focused primarily on the Black woman as one of the prime transmitter of cultural values, it is important to briefly indicate that within a broader context, i.e., there would be some consideration given to the interactive process of Black men and women. This process would without doubt include the mother, the Black woman, transmitting values that the father also considers important. Most Black girls grew up in a home where the mother worked, and where the father generally expected her to work; therefore, the valuing of industry and work was sanctioned by both the mother and father. With economics being one of the major crises in the lives of Black people, the Black woman has often found herself in a dilemma of marrying and not knowing whether or not the husband, because of a racist society, would be able to provide for the family. The African-American informant was the epitome of this observation. She talked of her husband being a good provider, and raising her daughters to expect the same from the men they married. Since fatherhood has sometimes been viewed as synonymous with economic and physical comfort of the family, it is recognized that exploitation and racism prevent him from assuming the role of fatherhood with dignity. These factors interacting on the life of the Black man
and woman as husband and wife, as father and mother, certainly would have some influence on the valuing of marriage and the valuing of children.

Black people in the United States have not lived in cultural isolation, but with alien and foreign cultural forces which have had some impact on the lives of Black people. However, in spite of and/or because of these forces, Black people have maintained some of their African values or why would there be the constant conflict of manifested values?

The data also provided the researcher with information for developing the following hypotheses:

1. That there is a need for the use of new definitions when defining or studying the Black experience.
2. That viable Black cultural values exist.
3. That viable Black cultural values outside of Africa have an African origin.
4. That the Black Woman is a prime transmitting agent.
5. That the Black Woman is a prime transmitter as an educator.
6. That the Black Woman as a prime transmitter transmits primarily a human ideology which is the maintenance of the African Origin—Humanism.
7. That the Black Woman reinforces her words (the Oral Tradition) by action, primarily educating children and persons by manifesting coping strategies for life and its realities.
8. That the Black Woman transmitted cultural values which were reality-based for self-actualization rather than competition and which include all of the twenty-two identified and defined cultural values.
9. That color (number 23) which was not an African cultural value, but which is a cultural value for those in the Jamaican and African-American case studies, implies a need to understand this new phenomenon.

The terms, norms and standards that have been used in the past to define Black people and their heritage, particularly when these norms and standards were based on white concepts such as culture, values, civilization, Black, Black people, and specifically Black Womanhood, led to misperceptions of Black cultural values. Unfortunately, peoples of African descent because of historical injustice (which includes exploitation, slavery, institutional racism in all of its varieties) have not had their cultural values presented accurately. The results have been that the research about Black people and the presentation of research about Black people have usually not been to their best interest. The information disseminated has served instead to perpetuate the dehumanization of a people.

The research presented here is informative, it raises questions, hopefully it will also raise consciousness. One question is how have a people survived and maintained any semblance of sanity other than by performing magic? The research indicates that Black people have had a viable cultural-value system which assisted them in sustaining their life and the lives of others which the researcher has called a human ideology.

The human ideology is read in the transcribed interviews and seen in the comparative analysis of the concordance of indexes. There is another dimension not specifically identified in the data; but left to be considered in this final statement. It appears that there is a
major sustaining factor which provides more than mere survival; it is also a method of divising new ways to survive, which strengthens Black persons physically, spiritually, and mentally. The greatest success perceived by this writer is that Black people are ever present, alive, and making creative contributions to the world; and that life and values have been preserved through transmission with the Black woman as a prime transmitter.

From this study a model and a methodology for further study developed and may be found in Appendix

General Implications

-Recognizing that this research is exploratory in scope, the first implication is that there is need for more definitive research, using a larger Black population for intra-cultural comparisons.

-The research implies that there is need for a closer scrutiny of definitional applications of concepts of people without having knowledge of their culture-value reality.

-The research certainly demands that the future students of the Black experience become more critical of the social science references used to interpret the Black experience. Interestingly when the definition, the social science theories and the stereotypes were presented and analyzed it was evident that the distorted realities had prevented the perception of Black people having a viable cultural value system.

-When the influencer and influenced are on different consciousness levels, cognitive planes, commitment levels, professional levels, and perception levels of how the world is and how the world ought to be it will affect professional responsibilities and professional ethics.

-The operative values and belief systems which denies the humanity and the cultural values of a people born in that society, that society is not compatible with the human and societal needs of emerging post-industrial society (Operative values are those which can be inferred from actions taken not those for which some profess allegiance).
-With technological advancements, increasing complexity of society, increasing complexities in human relationships, continued hostility among groups in urban areas, and increasing difficulties in finding solutions to social, economic, and environmental problems, necessitate changes in educational purposes, content, practices and methodologies.

-It is the obligation of the schools to teach new values and belief systems that will enable young people to view their environment critically and face existing problems as challenges to be met rather than impossible, and realistic conditions to be adjusted to, considering the cultural values each brings to the change.

General Implications for Educational Curriculum

1. Since cultural values may be reflected in the student's cognitive style, a rejection of that style may entail not only a rejection of the theoretical implications derived from this research but more importantly a rejection of the student's own culture.

2. The possibility arises of designing educational programs that result both directly and indirectly from the value orientation and cognitive style of the student.

3. In designing educational curricula and in the formation of more thorough teacher training, negative stereotypes of Black people, which are held by educators and other persons, could be dispelled with the inclusions of Black cultural values in the components of the educational systems.

4. With the continuance of Black value identification, parents, students, and other community members of the Black community could assist in the sensitizing of participants in teacher training programs.
5. Educators could learn much from observing Black parents and their relationships with their children.

6. It is necessary that an educational program providing information about Black culture be designed which is consonant with the philosophies of cultural democracy. This program could serve two purposes: (a) to provide positive images of the Black experiences for all students, but especially for the Black student, (b) to assist those students in developing a bicultural identity.

7. Black cultural information would enable white teachers, students, and parents to develop a positive image of Black people and Black culture. Presentation of this information is essential in assisting them in overcoming their handicap of being unappreciative of the Black experience.

8. To encourage the development of a bicultural identity among Black students, a cultural matching curriculum should be designed.

9. The research indicates that a curriculum designed to assist all ethnic groups in identifying their cultural values could be beneficial in helping all peoples to think futuristically about a pluralistic society.

10. Women studies programs should seriously treat the subject of the Black woman and their "history" in the total curriculum.

11. The field of study designated as social science must study more carefully the impact of definitions and their affect on the lives of human beings, which may include admitting faulty research methodology and inaccurate interpretations of the data.
12. The implications also suggest the possibility that the survivals were not all reactive, but that some were creative responses which were historical in nature; in other words the African cultural value system provided those of African descent strategies for holding in creative tension "two warring souls" and "two conflicting ideologies."

**Recommendations for Further Research**

1. The most immediate need is to research and develop a bibliographical system for libraries to provide better facilities for continuing research on the Black Woman specifically and the Black Experience generally.

2. A Bibliographical Concordance should be developed, which requires extensive research from every aspect of the Black Experience.

3. There is need for further research using this design with a larger population so that the data could become generalizable.

4. A computer data bank should be established for the accommodation of the types generated by this study.

5. Using this design, projects, seminars, workshops, mini-courses, could continue to test the data and the hypotheses.

6. The twenty-third index which appeared on the Jamaican case study and the African-American case study deserves further research. This identified cultural value was "color."

7. There is need for this design or one similar to investigate Anglo-American or western women to determine the influence of the mother woman as a prime transmitter of viable cultural values.
8. There is need for curriculum to discover the realities of the Black experience as they relate to the Black woman.

LIFE STUDIES

to hate one's self and one's people is not normal
to perpetually wish to be like other people is not normal
to act against one's self and one's community is not normal
that which is normal for us will never be normal for us as long as the abnormal defines what normality is.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


Bohannan, Paul J. Africa and Africans. Garden City, New York: The

Bolt, Christiane. Victorian Attitudes to Race. Toronto: University

Bond, Mildred (ed.). Negro Heroes of the American Revolution. NAACP,
   1963.

Borgese, Elizabeth. Ascent of Women.


Bowen, Elenore Smith, (ed.). Return to Laughter. Garden City, New York:

Bracey, John H. Black Matriarchy--Myth or Reality. Belmont, California:

Bradford, Sarah Elizabeth (Hopkins). Scenes in the Life of Harriet


Brawley, Benjamin. Negro Builders and Heroes. Chapel Hill: The Univeri

Brawley, Benjamin and Bible and Tennem. The Negro Genius.

   Dog Ghosts and Other Texas Negro Folk Tales. Austin: University of Texas
   The Word on the Brazos: Negro Preacher Tales from the

Brookes, Steila. Joel Chandler Harris: Folklorist. Atlanta, Georgia:
   University of Georgia pPress, 1950.


Douglass, Frederick. Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Hartford, Conn: Dark Publishing Co., 1881.


The Souls of Black Folk. Chicago: McClurg, 1903.


Ebony Classics. Sjourner Truth Narrative and Book of Life.


Fadipe, N. A. The Sociology of the Yoruba. Ibaban University, 1970.


Forten, Charlotte. A Free Negro in the Slave Era.


Harmin, Merrill; Rath, Louis E.; and Simon, Sidney B. *Values and Teaching.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Co., 1966.


Herskovitz, Melville J. \textit{Life in a Haitian Valley,} 1934.


Johnson, Guy B. Folk Culture on St. Helena Island. Chapel Hill, South Carolina, 1930.


Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. The Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures.


Kyerematen, Dr. A. A. Y. Kingship and Ceremony in Ashanti. UST Poess, Kumasi, 1969-70.


At the Court of An African King. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1949.

Moody, Anne. **Coming of Age in Mississippi.** New York: Dell, 1968.


Noble, Jeanne. **The Negro Woman's College Education.** New York: Columbia University, Teacher's College, 1957.


Oyono, Ferdinand. *The Old Man and the Medal.*


Reed, Ruth. The Negro Woman of Gainesville, Georgia. Athens, Georgia, 1921.


Rothschild, Constantina Safilios. Readings in the Sociology of Women.


Senghor, Leopold. *From Conference on "Negritude" Dakar, Senegaldwing, April 1971.*


___________. *The Data of Ethics*. London, 1890.


Washington, Booker T. Industrial Training for Southern Women.


Periodicals


Conley, Madelyn. "Do Black Women Need the Women's Lib?" Essence, 1, August, 1970.


Franklin, Robert M. "Attitude of Negro College Student Toward Intra-family Leadership and Control," Marriage and Family Living, August 1954.


Herskovitz, Melville J. "What has Africa Given America?" New Republic, 1935.


Lee, Don. "Black Writing: this is u, this is u," Negro Digest, XVIII, March, 1969.


___________. "Educating the Black Male at Various Class Levels for Marital Roles," The Family Coordinator, April, 1970.


"Ideological Conflict in Family Analysis," The Black Scholar, October, 1971.


C. CURRICULUM


APPENDIX A

AFRICAN CASE STUDY AND INTERVIEWS
CASE STUDY OF AFRICAN WOMEN OF PEPEASE, GHANA

TRANSMITTERS OF BLACK VALUES

The Queen Mother is the vital force in the history of the Akan of Ghana, for she is perceived as being the giver and preserver of life. The Queen Mother has been written about, talked about has having a continuous lineage in Ghana. It was reasonable that the Queen Mother became the axiom for the research and that she could provide a "base" from which to view the transmissions of culture.

The observations study and field research upon which the Black women of Pepease, Ghana are based, cover a period of six months. The first research which was exploratory began in Ghana in 1971 when the investigator took a group of students for field research. The formal research began in August 1971 with the Queen Mother of Pepease, Ghana.

Pepease, Ghana is approximately 100 miles north of Accra, Ghana. Pepease is a town within the Okawau (Kwahu) traditional area. The people of Pepease and Twenedrase had a common ancestress who came from Danase Ayaase. "They were of the Bredua clan whose relationship exists to this generation. They arrived in Kowawu when Nana Obiri Yeboa (1660-1697) was Ashantihene." This is the first record of migration.

---

1 The 1968 map of Ghana shows the city of Kwahu. Pepease and Okwawu do not appear.

Population:

Pepease in 1971-1972 was a community of about five hundred people. In square miles it was small enough for one to travel most of it by foot. The terrain was rolling country with small ant hills which seemed to grow progressively into mounds and slopes covered with lush fauna. Driving into Pepease we were surrounded by mountains and trees seemingly touching the sky. It appeared that Pepease retained much of the culture and social organization of the traditional rural communities of Ghana. There were, however, many modern architectural structures with a mixture of the mud homes and buildings, and modern conveniences in some areas, such as street lights on the main street where the chief lived (although the chief did not have these conveniences in his court or houses). The home in which we stayed had electricity and an indoor lavatory. The water system was not central; few homes had tanks which caught rain water, but most drew their water from a community well.

For livelihood, most of the people of Pepease depended upon farming and fishing in the Affram river, principally by wading in the water and using nets and small water craft. Household gardens and a few larger plots of cultivated soil were secondary source of support, which provided little cash income but were important to nearly all families. The people of Pepease stemmed from petty trading and farming traditions rather

---

3 Ibid., p. 11. "Owusu Mensa II died on April 11, 1950, after a brief illness. He is even remembered by the erection of a modern simple palace through his influence. Osusu Mensa II was succeeded by his nephew Kwaku Duro Alias Ampadu Keyere II, Son of AMa Ofe Maa."

4 Ibid., According to local tradition, during the reign of Kwaku Adane Gasare 1888, the people of Abe Tifi claimed the Affram ferry at Asare Tinpomu. There was a counter claim made by Kwaku Adane Gasare;
than a fishing tradition. The women cultivated the gardens, with the assistance of their children (often it was the husband who prepared the soil for planting), and the produce was sold in the common market where the women could trade their products with each other and where they could sell their products.

Most of the activities occurred outside in the courtyard: cooking, bathing, mending, washing, and visiting. The inside of the homes were usually for sleeping or for visiting after darkness and when mosquitoes prevented comfort out of doors.

There was some side income from pottery-making in Pepease which was most unusual. The pottery made was black in color and very fragile. There were small shops for commodities such as toilet paper, soap, matches, kerosene, instant coffee, Sweppes, and of course, the traders were ever present selling shirts (dashikis), trinkets, jewelry, leather goods, herbs, medicine, needles, thread, and fabric—a veritable walking Woolworth's.

and "he burnt the village whereupon he made his slave Tintintar responsible for the place." This dispute continued during the reign of the subsequent chiefs, with several chiefs being dethroned over the Affram ferry. The last known decision about the Affram Ferry was given in 1916 when Kwaku Apau, son of Adwoq Mura questioned the ownership of the river from Obetinbum to Adentem. The resident District Commissioner, H. J. Hobbs, acting as Magistrate on June 6, 1916 gave a judgement on the controversy: "That the Asaretinponmu Ferry be jointly controlled by Adontenhene and Ohene of Pepease and the tolls shared equally." "The Adontenhene, Kawabena Ageman II, who also appeared uneasy about the decision, petitioned the District Commissioner. He held magistrate Hobbs responsible for any commotion which might occur between the two towns, Abetifi and Pepease, as a result of his judgement. The distance between the two towns is three miles. This threatening letter of the Adotehen caused his destoolment as stated in the Abetifi Tradition," p. 7.
In this small community there were two bar-night clubs with fancy painted women on the outside of the building.

The night we entered the village, the interpreters, Michael and Daniel, stopped at a market to purchase staples for the coming days. They purchased eggs, kenke (soured ground meal), dried fish, hot sauce, bread, and coffee. While he and his cousin were making the purchases, they were greeting people whom we later discovered were his relatives. One of the women working in the market joined us in the car and continued the trip with us to Pepease. She had been told who we were, and she was curious to know more about us. Shyly she asked how we were enjoying the trip and how did we like Ghana. Answering that we were thoroughly enjoying Ghana, she beamed and said that she would be seeing us again and hoped that we would continue to enjoy our stay.

When we arrived at the home where we were to reside, the Dankyi home, the first person we saw recognized the investigator from a meeting in 1971. After a few minutes she recognized and embraced me, holding me away from her in disbelief. The interpreter, Daniel Affram, said that she wanted to know where my other children were. (Somehow she had come to believe that the students of 1971 were my children. I realize now that part of the esteem they had for me was because I was thought to be very fertile and a strong woman having ten children who were now big and strong and all in the university.)

5 Soak dry corn for three days. Grind set grains of corn. Make dough and have it stand for three more days.

6 History of Okwawu Pepease of the Gyamfi lineage of chiefs the last of whom was Kofi Dankyi II. "In like manner the Adontenhene,
She gathered all the children up and had them to go for the adults in the immediate area. There were three adjoining houses with the common court yard. Several women and older children came to greet us, bringing refreshments of water and oranges. Daniel gave them the provisions we had purchased which they prepared. The oldest woman of the group explained that the "old man" was not well and that we could go to his room and greet him. She then poured libations before we ate and gave thanks for our return. 7

When we went in to greet the old man, we found him very weak and frail, yet he recognized the researcher and began to speak in English with a big smile. This had been a great joke on the researcher. In 1971 when asking questions of the interpreter, a fairly rhythmical question and answer procedure developed so that it flowed almost in a dual conversation. It was the morning after one of these flowing dialogues that the "old man" greeted the researcher and inquired about the goals of the students. Suddenly, it was evident that he was speaking English and I yelled out, scaring him half to death. He had spoken in perfect English. With a shy grin and looking at the researcher through half-closed eyes, this became our private joke.

Kofi Dankyi II opposed the promulgation of the name Owusu Mensa II as Kyidomhene of the traditional area. This was in order to reassert his authority as Adontenhene over Pepease. The attitude of Omahene especially, painted a gloomy picture of relationship between him and the people of Pepease. For nine years, Owusu Mensa II reigned without having been recognized by the Central Government." p. 10.

7 In the African context 'libation' is an act of creating an atmosphere or climate consonant to particular rituals and ceremonies in the following ways: invoking the spirit of their forefathers for the occasion, by pouring wine or blood of animals. The reasons given for libations are: reference for ancestors, to have participants establish attitude for rituals step by step, motivation to respond without fear or shame, to create a sense of hope and confidence for the oppressed, sick, afflicted.
Daniel and Michael left us to go to the chief's house and to the Queen Mother's house to greet her and the family formally and to ask for formal permission to have interviews with the Queen Mother.  

The morning of August 1, 1972, the day began with the younger children assisting us with getting buckets of water for our wash-up. They were all spectators—some covertly looking from behind curtains. Whenever we moved there were little shadows questioning our every move; under these circumstances one had very little privacy.

With our formal permission to interview the Queen Mother, we set out. First, we had to stop and purchase "Snappes" in the next town; this was presented to the chief also when we later visted him.

---

8 The most definitive work about the Queen Mother has been presented in the works of Eva Meyerowitz. The most noted are:  


10 From these works there were references to the Queen Mother or special chapters or sections devoted to the Queen Mother. Eva Meyerowitz presented. From these sources the researcher presents these aspects of the Queen Mother:

  The Queen Mother was sacred: She was seen as the divine life-giving Queen Mother with the moon. The moon gave life to the universe. The concept of the Queen Mother as the daughter of the moon, and her son the King, was seen as the son of the sun.
The earliest known account of these symbolic references were with Tyiman, introduced into Bono by Bonohene Obunumankoma and his sister, the Queen Mother Sewas, who lived at the end of the fourteenth century. The Akan of Ghana: Their Ancient Beliefs, p. 23.

The Queen Mother is the owner of the state: Her chief duty is to care for the women, for their welfare, to have concern with everything connected with birth, marriage, and family life. During the 12th and to the 15th centuries, she had a decisive voice in all state affairs and could influence the decisions taken by the King and his counsel. Her function is to whisper advice and give inspiration to the King, behind whom she sits. She is the King's advisor in cases arising from disputes over marriage, payments, divorce, charges of rape, seduction, or intercourse in the bush, and other matters involving women. The Sacred State of Akan, pp. 37-38.

The Queen Mother as mistress of the women of the state: The growing of the girl children, rituals, protection, and advice. The Sacred State of Akan, p. 44.

The Queen Mother is patron of agriculture: Most of the crops, apart from rice and yams are grown by women: millet, cassava, guinea corn, ground nuts, beans, onions, bananas, and plantains. The Queen Mother was also a rain-maker. When a drought threatened the crops, she would go in procession and accompanied by her girls, prayers Nuame were said and eggs were often sacrificed. The Sacred State of Akan, p. 29.

The Queen Mother as Patron of the Home, of female crafts and fashions: She was responsible for the ceremonial utensils. Among the crafts and industries in which women were chiefly engaged was pottery. Later, in 1655-78 a Queen Mother initiated the manufacture of the teteaso beads used for monetary exchange. Believed to be the first currency used in Asante. Later the casting of glass beads was introduced by women. Spinning was entirely in the hands of women as was soap-making. In fashions, it is said that it was Queen Mother Owusus who first wore an embroidered cloth. Various hair styles were also made fashionable by Queen Mothers and their adoption was frequently enforced by law. Jewelry was adopted by the Queen Mothers and then copied, such as the arm ring (benfena), bracelet (gyabun), anklets, the toe ring (suntica), waistlet chains (averka), all of which are still worn by the Queen Mothers and chiefs on ceremonial occasions. The Sacred State of Akan, p. 48.

The Queen Mother's Household Organization: Very much like the King, the Queen Mother's household includes those patomufo, who dress her and groom her, who walk before her when she goes out, attending receptions at night and usually sleep in the
patio next to the Queen mother's sleeping room. There is someone to bathe her, others who care for the drinking water, palm wine, corn wine, and gin for official occasions. She has cooks, nursemaids, stool carriers and cushion-carriers, (placed on stool) and sandal bearers. The Sacred State of Akan, p. 51.

The Queen Mother as War Leader: Wherever Kingship had not yet been introduced, if she was particularly kind as well as Queen Mother, or if the King had died or had been deposed and no successor had been appointed, she became the leader of the war. Yaa Asantewaa of Ejisu, one of the confederated states of Asante, was the last Queen Mother to lead an army. In 1900, she roused the whole Asante nation to rebel against the British, and the war was subsequently named after the Queen Mother. Akan Tradition of Origin.

The Queen Mother synonymous with Nyame: Nyame has been accepted by all the Akan as the name of the universal generatrix, the one supreme deity without beginning or end. The substance of body of Nyame, in her aspect of Moon and firmament goddess, is envisaged as fire; the life-giving spirit of poer that animated the fire, and caused the birth of the universe is called the Kra. Kra was a moon ray shot into the blood-stream of mena, beasts and plants who received life and remained alive so long as the Kra vivified their blood. The Akan of Ghana: Their Ancient Beliefs, p. 31.
It was annoying to have to make the trip to the next town because the Queen Mother was expecting us and this was the investigator's reason for being there; however, for Daniel, the issue was to have the "Snappes." He said that the Queen Mother would understand. Having had similar altercations with Daniel that previous year, the investigator came to realize that ritual took precedence over time, that it was inconsequential if we were late with a legitimate explanation, but there would be grave consequences for him if he did not have us present the "Snappes." It would have been a poor reflection on him and his family, suggesting that he did not know his culture or respect his heritage, should he appear without the "Snappes."  

After the Queen Mother was presented the "Snappes," the researcher presented her with a gift of fabric from the U.S.A., for which she and her daughter expressed thanks.  

After about an hour of the interviewing there was rustling of bodies and an undercurrent which caused the researcher to ask what was going on. Daniel inquired and was told by the oldest daughter of the Queen Mother that the Queen Mother was getting tired. It was suggested by the researcher that we come back at another time to continue our interview with her, suggesting that we would continue with her research.

---

10 Dr. Nana Nketsia has explained that these traditions were the work of the ancestors who were once elders themselves; he refers to Dr. Taylor's reference, "The whole body of customary law was seen by the Akan as their concrete ideas as to how their descendants should live, that being the way in which they themselves lived. The Akan did not say: "What was good enough for my ancestors (Menananom Nsamanfo) is good enough for me. He said: "What has been enjoined on me by my ancestors must be good enough for me. In any case I must carry it out." From Nana Nketsia's Dissertation, The Effect of Christian Missionary Activities on Some Akan Social Institutions from the Portuguese Settlement on the Mina Coast (1482-1916). (London: Oxford University, 1959), p. 373.
daughters. Interestingly, she decided that she was not that tired, and that she preferred to remain and continue the interview.

While we continued the interviewing we became aware again of fidgeting. Asking again what was happening, we were told that the women were restless because they wanted to be dismissed to do their market work. One of the more outgoing women began to complain about so much time being taken from their work. It then was like a flood gate; one by one little explosive comments were made, with tight lips, hands on hips, tossing of the head, glancing at others for confirmation, shifting and adjusting the babies on their backs needlessly, all descriptive behavior showing agitation. One by one they explained that the weekday was for farming, etc., and they had not intended to spend all their time talking (we had been there all of the morning—approximately four hours). Needless to say, that ended the formal interview with the Queen Mother for that day. The weekends were different, all were more relaxed.

Later the researcher wondered if their agitation may not have also been due to our willingness to have the interviews without the Queen Mother who had expressed being tired, and their behavior stopped the interview.

**Queen Mother's Court**

When we arrived at the Queen Mother's house we were taken to an open courtyard where the oldest daughter of the Queen Mother welcomed us, and introduced us to two younger sisters. In the courtyard already assembled were male and female people from the community and many little children. We were seated in the center of the courtyard to await the
Queen Mother. The Queen Mother Adowa Deda\(^\text{11}\) appeared and greeted Daniel Affram and Michael Kwadwo. She complained about not seeing well, saying that she could see forms, but could not distinguish persons. The researcher said to her, "You are beautiful at ninety-one."

We were asked to change our seating so that we could receive our seats from the Queen Mother and she would then seat herself on the stool.\(^\text{12}\)

The Queen Mother came and sat on a very small Ashanti Stool. Before we began it was necessary to have Palm wine poured for us. The Queen Mother took her palm wine and poured libation for the ancestors. An interesting feature to the pouring of the libations was that Queen Mother did not pour libations on the ground because it was Tuesday, therefore, it was poured into a cup, which one of the younger sisters provided. It looked like a yellow clay jug. After the drinking of the palm wine and the pouring of the libations, we began the interviews. After awhile the women became restless and when asked if they were tired, they responded with, "We want to go to work."

---

\(^\text{11}\)Kwabena Ameyaw-Gyamf, p. 12.
Dynasty of Queen Mother of Okwawu Pepease
1. Paopo Alia Oponko Bire—Dead
2. Oforiwa Poky———Dead
3. Ama Byafo———Dead
4. Aku Kyerewa———Dead
5. Twewaa———Dead
6. Gyanewa———Dead
7. Yaa Faa———Dead
8. Adwoa Deda———Living

Adwoa Deda, the principle respondent in the research, is represented here as coming from a long family lineage which began approximately in 1630.

\(^\text{12}\)Stool—meaning—Queen Mother stool meaning seat of authority.
An invitation to join the women at the market was extended and accepted. On the way to the market we stopped at the place where the Palm wine was sold, and we were able to see the felled palm tree, with the juice dripping into a jug. It was difficult to look at the process, because of the bees swarming around the tree. Another interesting feature was observed that the tree had not been cut off leaving a stump, but the tree had been uprooted, and the tree speared. It was explained that the juice assisted the flow. On this same farm was growing plantain, cocoa, casava and yams.

When we arrived at the market, a very small market in comparison to markets in Accra and Kamasi, the first women we approached extended her arm to us rather than her hand, explaining that she had been handling fish. Throughout most of Africa it is appropriate to shake hands when meeting a person, and leaving a person's presence, without doing so is an affront.

While taking human interest pictures, the researcher noticed a mother holding a baby with two strings of beads around the baby's buttocks. Daniel and Michael explained to us that the two strings of beads were used to denote that the child was a girl, and that one string meant that the baby was a boy. It was not until some weeks later that the researcher learned that the men were basically correct; for we were introduced to the "love" beads, which we found varied in color and were worn with outfits most of the time. The mature woman wears them next to her body as a beauty adornment, and the beads are used also for practical purposes such as holding the napkins during menstrual periods. When the infant girls are wearing them, they are being readied for the mature wearing of the beads.
A Biographical Profile of the Principle Respondent in Pepease, Ghana

Small in stature and with failing eyesight the Queen Mother of Pepease came with her two daughters who were carrying the "stool." Her arrival with the "women" and the "stool" were both symbolic of the Queen Mother's personality. She expressed concern about the women and their affairs and she represented the power or the force in the community which has its historical foundation.

When first meeting the Queen Deda, there was almost a feeling of reverence from those who were present and the little children seemed to also have this sense of her presence being somewhat different from the other people.

In appearance she looked to be somewhere between the ages of seventy and seventy-five. She was ninety-one years old. When questioning and complimenting her she smiled and said she was really about ninety-one. As she told us about her five children, the oldest being Daniel's father, her age was more believable.

Her upbringing was "far more different" from the other girls of her age group. She said that she had fun as a child but that she did not play as other children. When questioned or asked to explain more fully, her reply was that she was born the "Queen Mother." Because of family and her birthright she was thought of and trained to be the "Queen Mother" therefore she was treated differently and her training was different. Although she was allowed to play with other children, she was required to spend much more time with the older women who helped prepare her for the role of the Queen Mother.
The Queen Mother was an excellent conversationalist, and she was an excellent listener. She did not only listen to your words, but she was very penetrating in looking. Realizing that she had failing eyesight it was necessary to ask if she was really looking at us that intently, having asked this question of the interpreter, it was surprising to have her answer with "from a distance I can only see forms" but now I can see your face a little but I can see your voice." She smiled and that was sufficient for us to know that she could see in her wisdom and out of her experience.

Queen Adwoa did not with her presence demand respect; however, there was an attitude of love and respect emanating from those around her. It did not appear that the affection expressed for her was because of her age, but because of who she was and what her life had been. The children would snuggle against her, the young women seemed to wait for her every word, and the older persons seemed to be very proud that she was their "Queen Mother." Not as her protectors but as her colleagues.

When listening to the Queen Mother address the group or an individual member of her immediate family she spoke with confidence or concern; in other words there was not an atmosphere of dominance, authority, but there was the spirit of leadership without a need for control.

The Queen Mother liked her role and she shared freely and without hesitation when responding to our questions, so that when you listened one felt that she was hearing intimate experiences with strangers and she was encouraging us to ask questions.
Briefly she spoke warmly of her marriage and her five children making jokes about the one that was her favorite, the oldest son, but that her third child was the responsible, the dependable one. As she shared anecdotes about their childhood everyone laughed and teased the children who ranged in age from thirty-five to seventy, about their childhood. She had a great sense of humor.

Life for the Queen Mother was not boring, indeed her life was filled with activities, observance of festivals, rituals, and the concerns of women. On one occasion a woman came to see the Queen Mother and she lowered herself on one knee and kissed the hand of the Queen Mother before speaking. The Queen Mother accepted the gesture graciously, and had everyone leave her with the woman. We could see them, we observed that she comforted the person and seemingly firmly but gently asked to express herself. The interpreter's words to us were, "You do not waste the time of the Queen Mother." After a month of observing the Queen Mother and talking with the interpreter it was mutually agreed that she was no push over and never had been.

The Queen Mother knew what was going on in the community, and she wanted to know about the blind shop keeper. She was concerned about the old woman who was older than she. The old woman was the oldest woman in the community and her suggested age was one hundred and ten years. The Queen Mother had the family arrange with the "old woman's" family an interview with her.

The Queen Mother small in stature and failing eyes, was a woman of indomitable spirit, who assumed her role as recognized traditional force and power in the community which was to be protected, but it did not seem to be manifested in her behavior for her personal self, but for others seen and not seen.
CASE STUDY OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN PEPEASE, GHANA

INTERVIEWS WITH QUEEN MOTHER AND CONSTITUENTS*

RESEARCHER: This is the official ceremony of welcoming at the Chief's headquarters. Gourds are being passed and palm wine is also being poured into the gourds. (It was necessary to meet the Chief before the Queen Mother.)

INTERPRETER: He says, "he is glad you are here because we are all brothers and sisters and he is glad that you came back to the motherland, and as soon as the Chief gets back, they will do all of what is necessary to make your stay here very enjoyable."

INTERPRETER: "The drink we brought according to customary traditional procedures we have to use part to ask for blessings of it for a safe journey, quite alive, to continue to do what you came here for to go back safely.

INTERPRETER: "Have to ask for blessing and safe arrival here. He has asked Blessing from Ancestors."

RESEARCHER: "Shall we stand." (we do)

OBSERVATIONS: Libations poured by elders

ORAL TRADITION: Responses from participants.

INTERPRETER: This was libation is to chiefs. before the present chief. That was a historical account he just agave. What he is explaining is that when you came here you were received as brothers and sisters who had left and come back so you can ask, so that you will be satisfied with your journey.

GROUP PARTICIPANT: We are Blacks. In our struggle we are here to understand more about our heritage and our search for truth about ourselves in questioning our teachers and elders to help us understand, we were told of our African Heritage. That is why we are here.

INTERPRETER: What the Chief is saying is that he is welcoming you on behalf of himself and people of town and he is glad that brothers and sisters and who left several years ago have come back to find out about their heritage.

NOTE: The interviews are presented here verbatim from tapes without editing.

*Constituent: family—friends—people living in the immediate community.
INTERPRETER: Even in Ghana some people who left to go to other places, and after several years they came back to find where they are originally from, so it is nothing that is new, he is so glad that you have taken the opportunity to come here to find about yourselves.

INTERPRETER: The chief says, "if you do not know about your heritage, it is not your fault, he will be pleased to let you know about yourself because he realizes that where you were did have the clan, that we have it. If he leaves here to go to another place he will have to find some people there who would be treated as ab rother or sister—so he welcomes you again and you will be told whatever you ask for.

INTERPRETER: If you leave on eplace to go to another place and they ask you for your name and you say "Kojo"—Kojo means the day you were born, that is nothing. You have to know which clan system you are from, you are considered to be illiterate and a bad person and that's why you don't know where you belong to and if you go to another place and if you are going to live there for a long time, it is your clan name and clan system that is going to put you right where you belong.

INTERPRETER: The importance of this clan system is that when you travel to a place despite the fact that there is genetic relationship the clan system would make you a member of the family there—brother—sister—uncle—nephew or great-grandfather. There are a lot of people working for government that they do not care about those things and the reason is they have not been trained in the traditional system and those people do not intend to live there and become a part of the area. To be a part of it you have to know where you belong so you can fit into the system.

INTERPRETER: He says, "If you knew your clan system he would have had the elders to take you to their home and you live as a member of the family."

GROUP PLEASED: He is explaining that here the day on which you were born automatically becomes your first name before given name of family name or father's name. He was wondering whether you knew which day you were born.

RESEARCHER: Yes, we do. The first question was to introduce yourselves. Names--Ronald Holbrook--born Thursday. My name is Lillian Anthony. I was born on Tuesday. Martha Mitchell, born on Sunday. Linda Reed, born on Saturday. Lewis Irwin--Sunday. Mary Merrill--Wednesday. Terry Addison--Wednesday. Sussett Gaines--Saturday. Carl Gaines--Wednesday.
Chief was born on Wednesday. You are free to ask your questions. Who wants to start first?

On behalf of all the other Black brothers and sisters that we have left in the States we feel very honored. We have a lot of respect from our presence here and thank you for our given names from Chief and Elders here in the Court. We feel more African and we claim it as our birthright. We feel that we have lost our names and identity in the United States as Black People. Our spirit is one. What we are attempting to do is understand the relationship between our black brothers in United States, we come as children because we feel that the teachings are one and the same. You can help us to understand to know how a child learns of their heritage through the mother.

The chief says that he knew that there were some Black brothers over there. All the time they have been led to believe that everyone was white. Glad you have come—not everyone has had an opportunity to go there and see for themselves.

He says—Everybody has a family and no one marries in the family. The family does not have to be brother and sister but clan system even two hundred fifty miles apart and not related. Because you do not belong to the same family the child is told when born to which family she belongs so as to avoid possibility of marrying in the family.

Among Akan especially the Akopien who have patrilineal inheritance which means when father dies his sons take over inheritance but still the same family system prevails regardless if patrilineal or matrilineal.

If you live with your Father you would have to go and visit your grandmother's family on your mother's side, you are told about that side of the family.

The result of this relationship between the two families is that they go to the grandmother's house to say good afternoon before going home, in other words, if you marry and live six miles away children would have to go there and visit the home and you would introduce the rest of the family. This is the way the children learn where they are from.

And when getting married the father does not take sole responsibility because girl has a family.
So, if you have a daughter who visits another family you are not worried about it.

The upbringing is done by child when very young not artificial. Explaining breast feeding as opposed to bottle feeding. This is the beginning that makes you feel that mother attachment. When child is not feeling well—not every little illness do we go to the hospital. Before medicine was developed women knew how to take care of the baby so mother had water and managed little baby. And children almost every mother knows herbs to use and put into water for children.

After you get married you become one flesh, one family, mutual agreement. You go to shop farm together. No prescription for behavior of woman. Individual kind of thing. If you are not able to provide for woman's needs you bear the brunt for not providing for her. Since you get married and one flesh, society is not going to dictate how women behave, something no one can do. If you have children it is responsibility of man to bring him up.

What about girls?

This in terms of providing everything.

Does father have a different responsibility, different from the mother?

The main responsibility on women because man is usually working, gets up in morning. Queen Mother talking about discipline yesterday there is a difference between discipline and upbringing of girls, house chores, manners, and woman takes care of that. The financial responsibility is that of the man.

Is there a belief or inclination to feel that when a child is born he comes with a mission or special purpose in life or to mother, father, the larger family or service to the community or to the family?

No belief in being born with special powers, determined by how you bring a person up.

Are there any proverbs or sayings you can remember from his mother?

Several, some questions are funny, the answers are yes so they think it's a ridiculous question.*

*Much laughter from all who were present.
RESEARCHER: We would like to know if there is anything important we could share with our children.

INTERPRETER: When your child is growing up you go with him. Almost every mother knows the amount of herbs to keep children healthy. Some of them are put into water when washing them.

RESEARCHER: When I was a little girl my mother put something around our neck called asphidity—it had a bad smell.

INTERPRETER: We have something similar, one put around the neck is called something to do with one they put around the arm and one that is put around the waist.

INTERPRETER: This might avoid infant mortality. Another one some women who anytime they have a baby it dies very young, maybe less than a week, and they believe the same baby is reborn in the family so that this child will eget this. Elders say this is how to stay alive.

RESEARCHER: In relation to death how is life viewed?

INTERPRETER: We believe that you go to come back into the family. Everybody, there is life after death into the same family.

RESEARCHER: What if a woman marries a person who was not of same religious persuasion?

INTERPRETER: There is always intermarriages between religions and no conflict. He has a wife who is Christian and he has to conduct the customery rites, she goes to her church.

RESEARCHER: Would it be appropriate to ask about the concept of love between husband and wife, is there a term, love?

I asked Toby if she had the tape recorder on and startled her, and she forgot the calabash was round on the bottom and it spilled out.) Then after it spilled out the Queen Mother said, "Well -- hadn't poured any to the ancestors anyway so it was all-right."

RESEARCHER: She wants us to pour libations? So I'll pour some out for all the ancestors in Africa and to my ancestors in the United States and in the world. I've already made a big mess, but I'll try it again. This is for my ancestors in Africa and my ancestors in America.
RESEARCHER: The Ya is part of Thursday?

INTERPRETER: Ya is Thursday and Tua is Thanksgiving. I would like to explain that we are going to begin our interview first with the Queen Mother and there are just general questions that we need to ask.

INTERPRETER: She was born on Monday, so she is called Adwoa and her true name is Edaa. That's the whole name.

RESEARCHER: Would we call Pepease a rural community? Are you going to interpret for the Queen Mother, or is he? What's his name?

INTERPRETER: Michael Kwadwo Ofori Atta.

RESEARCHER: . . . and the other people who are present. There are many children who are present. Do these children belong to this household? Who is this, another sister?

INTERPRETER: Goaewaa.

RESEARCHER: She's the oldest daughter and Afua, she's the next oldest.

RESEARCHER: . . . But she's not here. How do you spell that?


RESEARCHER: What day is that?

INTERPRETER: Friday.

RESEARCHER: and the rest have given names?

INTERPRETER: Mireekua.

RESEARCHER: . . . and the little one?

INTERPRETER: Adwoa. Oforiwaa. Oforiwaa is a man and the aa at the end serves as male distinction.

RESEARCHER: Ask them if the children who are here are they their children, or their children's children? Are they their son's or daughter's children?

INTERPRETER: They are their children's children. That's the daughter of this one.
RESEARCHER: What were you explaining to us about the morning palm wine and the afternoon palm wine? One is sweeter than the other?

INTERPRETER: Yes, the afternoon palm wine is sweeter than the morning.

RESEARCHER: Why?

INTERPRETER: Because it is fermented palm wine from the evening, or from the afternoon until the next morning. Palm wine from this tree and the one coming from the afternoon, from the morning, to the afternoon about 3:00 will be sweeter. It is fresh. It does not ferment.

RESEARCHER: Oh, I see. This came from last night.

INTERPRETER: Yes.

RESEARCHER: In the Western world we are taught not to drink from the same vessel. May I pass this to somebody? You want to finish it?

INTERPRETER: If you don't want tit you can pour it on the ground. It's perfectly all-right.

INTERPRETER: I'm pouring this for all the Queen Mother's ancestors in this house.

INTERPRETER: That's why we are bringing him that water he drinks. He is learning the custom.*

RESEARCHER: Can you blame him? Are you blaming him, he's just a child.

INTERPRETER: He is learning.

RESEARCHER: When do I give her my gift? I can do it now? Who was that who just greeted us? What is her name?

INTERPRETER: She thanks you and thanks you for the gift you gave her father. Her name is Ya because she was born on Thanksgiving.

RESEARCHER: Does she have any more to her name than Ya/

*A young child about two years old or older was given water to drink.
RESEARCHER: Whose daughter? Your daughter. Thank you. She wants to know should I put her name down, too.

INTERPRETER: You have all the names?

RESEARCHER: Yes. Most of the names. Michael you may begin.

INTERPRETER: I should read them first in English? What are some of your peculiar beliefs?

INTERPRETER: He says that's one of the daughter's of the grandmother. Amme Adome.

RESEARCHER: So that means he has four daughters?

INTERPRETER: That is her father's daughter.

RESEARCHER: Oh, I see now. I just want to get it clear.

INTERPRETER: We always greet from the right.

RESEARCHER: May I start?

RESEARCHER: Yes, you may.

INTERPRETER: What are some of your peculiar beliefs?

INTERPRETER: She says that the only belief (main belief) she has for the family is to think good, or well, of a family so that nobody in the family will do anything bad for the family. She said that actually, if you have a family, and it's extended to anyplace, it's the same thing. The same thing that they all say. (Everyone is adding comments.)

INTERPRETER: How do you relate to other Africans in Africa, Europe, America, South America?

INTERPRETER: The Queen Mother has explained that actually for those who were taken from here as slaves to other places for trading and, this woman asked her whether by that time she was born.

RESEARCHER: Oh, she asked her mother?

INTERPRETER: Yes, she asked the Queen Mother, whether by that time she was born.

RESEARCHER: Yes, yes I see, and what did the Queen Mother say?
The Queen Mother said whether she was born or not, she knew.

Does blood have any special significance?

She says the blood is the same as in relation so if anything happens to one of their relatives it happens to you, too. So you have to feel.

Of what significance is the menstrual cycle for girls?

I think they have all come to the same conclusion. That means that the girl is no more a girl, but is a woman who can have a family.

Are there matters she should not engage in when she is menstruating?

The Queen Mother has answered the question and I think it is the same continuation... of the other.

She's expanding on it? Want to tell us what it is

Yes. Actually when a woman menstruates there are certain things that she should go through. For instance, she shouldn't go to the Chief's house or the Queen Mother's House. One should not bathe and we have some rivers or streams, if she wants to she must be out there.

You're out? What do you mean?

You're out of menstruation before you go.

You're over menstruation, you mean?

Normally when a woman menstruates and she cooks for a man, the man won't even eat it.

Could you explain... Could you have her explain why the Chief's house, why they shouldn't go to the river, and why men wouldn't want the women to cook for them?

She has explained already. All the stools are liquid and makes you achieve sickness. Our Queen Mother is sacred, but when you menstruate she does the same rules.

Are there any others?
INTERPRETER: When it happens that somebody is dead in this house and you have seen the dead body you should not have sex.

RESEARCHER: I would like to ask another question. Is there any time during the menstrual when it is good? It seems as though you have described that it's bad, when a woman is menstruating, to do those things—that that is not good.

There is certain things that she didn't do within the family. Can you list any peculiar loss regarding the family? You are talking about loss in the family?

RESEARCHER: Right. Relatives deceased—a special loss.

INTERPRETER: Right. She is saying that a loss in the family, that is you have a ritual. According to her a loss in the family determines the ritual.

RESEARCHER: She is tired.

INTERPRETER: Yes—she will see you tomorrow and thanks for coming. Her daughter wants you to go with them to the market.

RESEARCHER: Thank her for her kindness, we are grateful and appreciative. Yes, we would like very much to go to the market if not in the way.

RESEARCHER: How many generations are here?

INTERPRETER: She is the fourth generation of her family. This is the fifth. I will be the sixth. For some she is grandmother... and great-great-grandmother to some of the children here.

RESEARCHER: What are some special duties of the Queen Mother?

INTERPRETER: First, hold festivities as duty. Adi pours libations on Stool during festivals which comes every forty days. The Stool which makes her a Queen Mother.

RESEARCHER: May we see the Stool?

INTERPRETER: Some people who are to be here are not here.

RESEARCHER: Has the family always lived in this place?

INTERPRETER: She, Queen Mother, has always lived here.

INTERPRETER: She takes care of all women's affairs here.
RESEARCHER: Did the Queen Mother learn to become "Queen Mother?"

INTERPRETER: She learned some from peers and real situations, but about how to live she learned from her mother.

RESEARCHER: Where was her mother from?

INTERPRETER: Here. Have to come from family, born to be Queen Mother, not taken from anywhere. Queen Mother for life unless she does something against the tradition; if she does she is de-stooled. Tomorrow when you come you have to bring a bottle of gin.

RESEARCHER: When the children do things which displease the family, how do they discipline them?

INTERPRETER: He says, when it is very little then the discipline is through word-of-mouth, at that don't do this, but as it grows and if he becomes obstinate, then he will give him a whipping.

RESEARCHER: The Queen Mother, does she have to whip her daughter?

INTERPRETER: The Mother disciplines the girl and the father disciplines the boy.

RESEARCHER: Ya, did you ever get any whippings?

GROUP PARTICIPANTS: Tell them that presently, many people don't believe in that, but my parents believed that if you didn't do that to the child you really spoiled him and that the rod needed to be applied.

RESEARCHER: When you are very pleased with your child because of success or because of behavior, how do they let the child know this?

INTERPRETER: If the child is good, in terms of being hard working, he grows to think that you give him what he wants because of his sobriety and beauty and things like that, but if the child is bad and he asks for something, then you wouldn't give it to him as punishment.

GROUP PARTICIPANT: Also, ask if there is a way of disciplining the child by just looking at them, would they understand certain looks?

INTERPRETER: He says there are two types of children—-one you have to whip, the other you just have to raise your voice to discipline him or her.
RESEARCHER: Can you use your eyes sometimes and not your mouth to stop the children from doing something sometime?

INTERPRETER: She says some of them just close your eyes, like this if you don't want him to do something and there are some people around where you cannot whip him, and if that child is a good child he will stop what he is doing.

GROUP PARTICIPANT: And if he didn't he's going to get it when company leaves. Right on. School's out.

INTERPRETER: What was the question again?

GROUP PARTICIPANT: Do you remember the expressions that their parents which expressed great joy, weariness.

INTERPRETER: Facial expressions or verbal expressions?

RESEARCHER: Verbal expressions of joy or happiness, or weariness, of anything. Like my feet are killing me, I'm dead tired, you know that means I'm tired. Can they give me some similar expressions?

INTERPRETER: That's the same thing, I'm tired, I just want to rest. That's what she just said.

RESEARCHER: Are they all Christians?

INTERPRETER: Well, some of them are and some of them are not.

A doctor as such, but the medicine man or woman. They know a little about some of the things necessary, but is somebody who is almost like the professional type who knows most of the herbs, but you do not have to go to this man for the everyday ordinary needs. We all know a little bit about some herbs.

GROUP PARTICIPANT: My grandmother, before she died. . . I represent a northern Black man, I guess, but anyway, I've been told that my grandmother. . . If there was someone who came to the house that she didn't want around she would drink salt. I'm wondering is anything observed here like that.

INTERPRETER: He says that they don't do that. They don't experience anything like that, but what they do is go to the house and tell the person that I don't want you in my house. If it happens to be a child, or considered to be a bad child, that his children. . . he doesn't want them to play with. They'll go and tell the child's mother that we don't want your child to come to our house.
Are the children out of school for the day?

They have to go back at 1:30.

As young girls what special matters are young girls taught?

At time of growing up the girls taught prepare good food—wash—to take care of husband.

Taught be be very polite—pleasant—obedient. If asked to cook, or wash clothes should do so and must learn to smile at him. When married if he gets a visitor you treat him same as if he were home. Our girls are taught through folklore for young girls and they do the same.
APPENDIX B

JAMAICAN CASE STUDY AND INTERVIEWS
Careful reading of newspapers, pamphlets and early writings suggest that the first Jamaicans arrived at the shores of Hartford, Connecticut in the late 1600's as seamen, and that the business relationships were friendly and lucrative, so that some began to gradually settle in Hartford, Connecticut. This information was helpful


Jamaica was discovered during the age of exploration which ushered in the capitalist era, Jamaica was shaped and forged by the same forces that created the new economic and political order. ... The English wrested control of Jamaica from the Spanish and then ruled it uninterruptedly for more than 300 years. As a colony, Jamaica was profoundly influenced by England. In the economic sphere, Britain created the export-oriented, commercial crop agriculture that was the mainstay of the island's livelihood. In the political sphere, the British brought the rule of law, which gave stability to the local governments of successive generations.


There has been much discussion of the derivation of the name Jamaica. A brief summary is presented here from the writings of Frank Cundall. In his book, Historic Jamaica, Cundall presents an outline of dates with the suggested source of the word Jamaica. 1737, John Atkins, in his "Voyage to the Guinea, Brazil and the West Indies," says that Jamaica was altered by King James, it being a compound of his name and 'ca' and island." In 1972 James Knight in his draft of his history of Jamaica gives the derivation as "In the original it was Jamajaco. Jamo in the Indian language is a country and Jaco is water." Long wrote in 1774 that "It is not improbable that Jamaica is a name of Indian extraction, perhaps derived from Jamacaru, the Brazilian name of the prickly pear, which overspreads the maritime parts of the south side. Bryan Edwards, writing in 1793 says, "The early Spanish historians wrote the word Xaymaca. It is said to have signified in the language of the native, a country abounding in springs." There are other definitions given the name Jamaica, however there were no evidences of a general acceptance of derivation of the word Jamaica.
to the researcher because it was difficult to understand intellectually Jamaicans living in Hartford, Connecticut, realizing that most Jamaican communities were predominately in New York, Florida, and California; reasoning that the migration of Jamaicans to the United States was incumbent on relatives providing opportunities for each other, so that there were few evidences of adventuresome explorations onto the new found land.

The records reveal that Connecticut's geographical location made it possible for it to become a thriving seaport and waterway, which gave Connecticut a unique position as a New England import state. Because of its waterways there were skippers and traders who became Hartford, Connecticut's affluent merchants. During those formative years the sea captains were called "River Gods." Also because of the waterways the lucrative business of importing and exporting brought many foreigners to this new found land, not only from Europe, but from the Caribbean and Africa.

At first glance the library resources suggested that the Jamaicans first came to Hartford, Connecticut because of another unique feature, that of being the only New England state producing tobacco for industry, and that World War II created a shortage of helping hands, and Jamaicans were imported for the tobacco industry.

The waterways leading to Connecticut did provide adventure from the mid-sixteen hundreds until the late 1800's... with the main item of interest being rum from the West Indies. It is said that "more West Indian rum was imported into Connecticut in proportion to the size of
the state's trade than into any other state in the union."²

The largest number of Jamaicans to arrive in Hartford, Connecticut came in 1941, due to labor shortages brought on by World War II. At this time entry into the United States was fairly simple because of the relaxed immigration laws, which made it possible for Jamaicans to qualify for "immigrant visas without any special quote, and the 1950 Census found 245 in Connecticut."³

One would ask, why would so many come and/or want to come to the United States from a land of warmth and sunshine, to this place of varigated seasons, people, and lands. An informant who had shared his views publically referred the researcher to the newspaper article printed in the Hartford Times in 1963 suggesting that the affairs and opinions of the Jamaican were expressed.

The article suggests that life in Jamaica was difficult, because of a "dull, non-industrial economy,"⁴ and Jamaicans migrated to the


³"The Hartford Times," Tuesday, November 26, 1963, p. 15A Column One. Since passage of the McCarran Walter Act in 1952, the West Indians have come under the same harsh quotas as other non-whites. They can no longer immigrate freely, despite their British passports. Nonetheless, many have continued to come, and often have married Americans (Negro) wives, thus qualifying for naturalization and citizenship on a non-quota basis. (A significant number have separated from their wives since achieving citizenship.)

The 1960 Census found almost 4,200 West Indians in the state, more than half in Greater Hartford. About two-thirds were born in the West Indies; and the rest were born to West Indian or West Indian-American couples."

⁴Ibid., p. 15A.
United States because of job opportunities, "despite discrimination conditions are much better here." It was also suggested that whereas Jamaicans had at one time come to Hartford to pick tobacco, that they eventually began working in the factories. The pattern began to change; so that those arriving from Jamaica went to Florida, from Florida to New York, and New York to Hartford, Connecticut and remaining because they liked it.

The migration has usually been precipitated by the need for economic advancement, security and education.  

5 Apparently with their migration, the Jamaican came with a sense of "being" and a sense of

---


The development of education for the Negro in the Caribbean was, and is, of slow growth. As in the United States, missionaries were the pioneers. The Mico Charity continued the good work in Jamaica, and the Canadian Mission to the Indians, together with the prominence of denominational education, still emphasize today the part played by religious orders in the educational system and secular lack of interest in education. The basic reason for this illiteracy is the poverty, the excessive inequality of incomes, the political weakness of the masses. But this is the deliberate policy of planters and governments to keep the people ignorant and unlettered. pp. 70-71.

In the words of one planter: "Give them some education in the way of reading and writing, but no more. Even then I would say educate only the bright ones; not the whole mass. If you do educate the whole mass of the agricultural population, you will be deliberately ruining the country. . . . Give the bright ones a chance to win as many scholarships as they can; give the other three hours' education a day. . . but if you keep them longer you will never get them to work in the fields. p. 73.

Education means discontent, and planters must have their labor supply. These are the candid words of a planter. p. 73.
"self-awareness" and was inclined to expect to get employment because of skills and abilities and not to be denied access to employment, education and housing based on his color, although the Jamaican had suffered slavery and deprivation. It seems that the Jamaicans reflect that spirit of independence which was expressed in 1763 and throughout the New World, struggling for freedom from slavery, which came in 1833. It is understandable that the migration of the Jamaican from an environment of independence into an environment of paternalism and

---

6 Ibid., p. x.

The economic ambition of the British in Jamaica were responsible for the dislocation of a people from their homeland. The forced migration of Africans to the Western Hemisphere had few precedents in world history. The slave trade, an important source of commercial wealth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, brought large numbers of Africans to the island to create the plantation economy. They were forced to suffer the degradation of slavery, which left emotional scars on subsequent generations. Deprived of their cultures and society, these people salvaged some of the old customs and traditions, adding on to them much that was new from their adopted land.

Eric Williams' analysis of the beginnings of slavery in the new world is presented with the chronology of the Indians first being in slavery, the whites being in servitude, to becoming servants, to the arrival of Africans as slaves. He writes, "White servitude was the historic base upon which Negro slavery was constructed. The felon-drivers in the plantations became without effort, slave-drivers. In significant numbers, writes Professor Phillips, "The Africans were late-comers fitted into a system already developed. Here, then, is the origin of Negro slaver. The reason was economic, not racial; it had to not with the color of the laborer, but the cheapness of the labor. As compared with Indian and white labor, Negro slavery was eminently superior. In each case writes Bassett, discussing North Carolina, "It was survival of the fittest. Both Indian slavery and white servitude were to go down before the black man's superior endurance, docility, and labor capacity. The features of the man, his hair, color and detifrice, his 'subhuman' characteristics so widely pleaded, were only the later rationalizations to justify a simple economic fact: that the colonies needed labor and resorted to Negro labor because it was cheapest and best." This was not a theory, it was a practical conclusion deduced from the personal experience of the planter. He would have gone to the moon, if necessary, for labor. Africa was nearer than the moon, nearer, too, than the populous countries of India and China. pp. 61-62.
racism would cause them to revolt again and feel revulsion for what they perceived as a "Negro" or "American Black." The Jamaicans said loudly, "I am JAMAICAN and were heard."  

The estimate from the 1970 Census shows Jamaicans are roughly one thousand to fifteen hundred of the population in Hartford, Connecticut.  

Most of the women and men are in semi-skilled jobs with average incomes of $6,500 to $7,500. They are often shopkeepers, small building tradesmen. There were no professional categories mentioned or noted for the Jamaican community, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc. The employment for women was generally in the area of nursing, factory work, secretarial employment, nurse's aid, LPNs, receptionists, and live-

---


The first African slaves were brought into England in 1440. According to Phillip's statement, between 1655 and 1805 there were 850,000 slaves imported from Africa to the West Indies. The method was for the European slaver to pay a "customs" to the African king, who then allowed him to trade with African slave merchants on the coast, there in turn trading with others in the interior. The country thus covered extended from Senegambia on the north to the Congo on the south. Writers describe the Mandingoes of Senegambia and the windward coast as lighter in color than the ordinary African and without Negroid features, "of better intelligence," says Long (hence often put to trades), with a "high spirit" and "a tolerable share of fidelity," but also with a reputation for viciousness such as often results when a backward race comes into contact with a sophisticated one. pp. 3-4.

8 The 1970 Census of Hartford, Connecticut did not identify West Indians or Jamaicans, only two groups by race were identified in the Census--White and Negro. See Appendix G. The general characteristics of the population of 1970 showed the white population to be a total of 610,041 in Hartford County and the Negro to be 50,518 and the total of persons was listed as 663,891. In 1963 the estimated population of the West Indian was 2,300 with two thirds being Jamaican, and the remainder came from Trinidad, Antigua, Barbados, Aruba and British Guiana.
in housekeepers. Some few were employed by the Concentrated Employment Program as directors of special programs.

The housing pattern in Hartford, Connecticut indicates segregated housing by race and color; therefore, the Jamaicans have found themselves housed among the most disenfranchised peoples... the Afro-Americans. The community in general is like most urban cities, crowded and congested, buildings without window panes, trash and litter in the streets and alleyways, however, this was not the overwhelming environment, there were also those modest, and expensive well-kept homes with clean streets and alleys.

Introduction

After the decision in April 1972 to focus on an urban community for comparative data, the actual research in the Jamaican community began May, 1973 for a period of eight months. The eight months do not reflect just scientific observation or interviews, instead, this period reflects time spent in research, and establishing rapport, trust and respect with the Jamaican women. The few initial interviews with the men were cordial and their responses seemed to have been open and each expressed interest in the research project.

One of the male informants introduced the researcher to his wife; who was a businesswoman; at first, she was willing to participate in the effort; however, over a period of time she indicated that she thought the interviews in her place of business would not be good for the business. It soon became evident that, although this was data (meaning this experience and this point of view), it was impeding the progress of the research.
After three months of "polite" maneuvering and trying not to "step on anyone's toes," several realities became apparent. The informant, who was prominent in the Jamaican community, indicated behaviorally that she did not wish to be interviewed, stating the Jamaicans were hard-working people and were unwilling to take handouts or to be on welfare. The informant also made it clear that they respected and loved their children and would not dare hear of them being out of school running the streets like little hoodlums. "It's one's upbringing that causes people to be industrious... there is nothing more important than an education and here you people get a free education and throw it away, while in Jamaica we have to pay for our education... we wouldn't be here if there were more jobs to work... if we had more public education for our children."

Well... it appeared that she was suspicious and she expressed general hostile feelings about the Afro-American, which the informant thought and felt necessary to express. After awhile our times together became a catharsis, at least it seemed to give her an opportunity to unload much of her pent up "negative feeling or thoughts about Black Americans." The researcher did not respond defensively, verbally, but it is doubtful that there was not some obvious non-verbals, because the comments were not enjoyed.

It was through a female co-worker who worked at the CEP office and who lived in Hartford, Connecticut for six years who introduced the researcher to her hairdresser. The hairdresser made it possible for the researcher to be received, welcomed and respected in the Jamaican community; it was she who made it possible for the researcher to have the opportunity to sit in the beauty shop, observe and interview anyone who was willing to be interviewed.
The Beauty Shop is located in the center of the "main" street of Black activities, with record shops, dress shops, grocery stores, small restaurants, and pungent odors that bulges with peoplehood, streets enlivened with voices, soft, sweet talking voices, loud angry voices, mixed with laughter, music, screeching of automobiles, children playing. The Beauty Shop is located in the center of the expressed Black Ethos. This location was the "hub" of commercial activity.

The specialty of the shop; whose clientele were ninety per cent Jamaican was that of wig care and attaching large hair pieces\(^9\) for most of the women. In this friendly, and congenial atmosphere the conversations moved from the soap operas to serious politics with a little healthy, "cover the mouth" type gossip, which usually came about with someone passing the window, or when someone came into the shop to sell something or to make an appointment. . . the gossip centered mostly around infidelities and how or what strategies were used to obstruct or intervene in the affair. There was also much advice freely given often referring to Jamaica as their data source, either recounting a similar experience or relating something their mothers or relatives had shared with them. The researcher would approximate that sixty per cent of the women (approximately fifty women were interviewed), referred to their grandmother or mother when quoting or sharing some moral or religious lesson.

\(^9\)The researcher never discussed the reason for the wearing of wigs with the women. An assumption would indicate some form of acculturation, however, how the wigs are worn and where they are worn is very important to the Jamaican man and woman.
Inquiring about this reference the informants suggested that it is because the mothers often worked in Jamaica and they were left with their grandparents, not just for babysitting, but they lived with their grandparents.

Most of the women interviewed had not been in Hartford, Connecticut over twenty years. Most had lived in Hartford for an average of ten years. Most of the informants had come to Hartford, Connecticut because of a relative having come and "made good." Initially, they lived with the relative and after they were able to "make a living" they usually moved somewhere nearby, so that there has emerged a clannish Jamaican community.

Other related observations were that there was a "spirit of community" in the beauty shop. When the Jamaican women talked among themselves they would talk without too many questions being asked; seemingly, they always knew who was being discussed or knew about the issue and those who played the major and minor roles; so that the conversations were lively. It was often difficult to follow, because the researcher did not know what they were talking about and realized that to interrupt or to ask for a briefing would have violated their "community spirit" and the researcher would have been perceived as "an intruder" and/or as a "stranger". . . as it was the conversation continued and the inclusion was there with gestures, eye contact and smiling faces. Usually after the shop was quiet the beautician, the informant, would ask if all was understood, and permit an opportunity for clarification, or just retell the "happening" with detailed explanations, or detailed character descriptions or detailed chronological sequential family intrigues.
The most exciting moment came for the researcher one late Saturday afternoon in the Beauty Shop. That afternoon was highlighted by many women coming into the shop to be readied for a special dance at the "Club." Everyone who came into the shop inquired of the other whether or not they were going to the "Club" one by one each patted their hair while looking in the mirror for approval, saying goodbye at the same time, each one turned to me and said, "See you at the club tonight." This was an invitation and an expression of acceptance.

The West Indian Club was for the researcher one of the newest and most modern enterprises for socializing in the predominately Black community.

Attending the "club" was a delightful experience and invaluable to the research project. While at the club each of the many women who had been in the shop, or who had been interviewed made their presence known and introduced the persons with them. Introductions continued all night, and were being made when departing, with shoes in hand, because of too much dancing.

A strange phenomenon occurred. . . the researcher was curious to know whether or not all of those who came into the club were Jamaican or not. . . remembering the "clannish" and "suspiciousness" of other experiences. The researcher was curious to know whether this would be continued socially, where there was patronage which meant financial gains to the club. That night and subsequent nights the Jamaicans pointed out that most of the men who came were Jamaican and the majority of women were Jamaican, however, the gossip was that many of the Jamaican
men were courting American women for citizenship. There seemed to be much intrigue around some of these affairs. It seemed that some of the Jamaican women were sitting on the side angrily because the men were dating "American women", some of the women were Caucasian. There was also expressed open resentment of Black women as being too aggressive.

It seemed that much of the conversation centered on the male-female relationships and who was with whom and for what reason.

After the introductory get-acquainted question, "Where are you from, how many in your family." "what do you do," "have you ever been to Jamaica?", it was difficult to talk of much that was "au courant." The researcher took refuge in discussing fashions, preparing of food, seasoning, the differential climates in American and Jamaica. . . Gradually when the informants had decided the researcher was industrious, ambitious, educated, and liked to have fun, there was sharing of great outpouring. Their dreams for their children, the desire that their children be treated as human beings, (often they told of being treated as if they were Black American "Negroes" was their term) and how they stood tall and told them that they were Jamaican and how they refused to be treated that way. The informants stressed their desire to have the children love all people regardless of color, without all the "preaching of hate."
Most of those interviewed were Catholic and when they spoke of their community in Jamaica, they referred to St. Elizabeth Parish. They wanted to keep their children in church, because a religious life was absolutely essential to having a good life.

A Biographical Profile of the Principle Jamaican Respondent in Hartford, Connecticut

Carmen a professional beautician, was an outspoken, aggressive person who had expressed goals and a sense of direction. As the interviews and the acquaintance developed, it became obvious that her aggressive spirit, her goals and her sense of direction were not confined to Carmen, but she wanted other people to live life more fully and correctly.

Carmen exercised these attitudes with her twin daughters and with the women who worked in the shop, and also with the salesmen. She was clear about what the conduct should be in "her shop" and she was clear about the conduct of the girls, "You are not going to grow up on the street!" Carmen was also a smart woman, there were times when she seemed to recognize that she had taken undue liberties, and that her aggressive spirit was resented and she would then "turn a phrase" as another respondent said, "to lighten the words."

---

10 Cundall, Historic Jamaica, p. 369. The parish of St. Elizabeth was probably named in honor of Elizabeth, Lady Modyford, the daughter of William Palmer, whose tombstone is in the cathedral. It is one of the largest parishes and one of the most important. . . The Maroon township called Accompong on the northern boundary of the parish has been referred to in the account of the neighboring parish of St. James.
Carmen came to the United States, residing first in New York in 1963. Because she did not like New York City and because her brother lived in Hartford, Connecticut, she decided to stay in the United States. She went to a Beauticians School, determined to have her own shop and within the same year met her husband, who was a Black American. She was married for eight years and from the marriage she had twin girls who were six years old. Over a period of time Carmen expressed regret that she and her husband were no longer together; however, she only complained about "their cultures being different, and his being jealous of her."

At first Carmen was very strong in her negative comments about Black Americans and their ineptness, their aggressiveness, and their lack of morals as evidenced by the number of women on welfare, and the number of unwed mothers. There were times when Carmen provoked negative feelings in the shop and even socially, but she also was an honest person, and she seemed to be expressing the sentiments of those who were around for often the bobbing head in agreement supported her verbal observations.

In the beauty shop Carmen was all business, in the home and socially, she was a very hospitable and gracious person, manifesting the conduct that she had expressed as necessary for a good life, such as manner, politeness, courtesy, hospitality and productive energy.
CASE STUDY OF JAMAICAN WOMEN IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

INTERVIEWS

RESEARCHER: Did your mother give you important information?

RESPONDENT A: My aunt raised me and she said the most important thing was home training. She used to say what begins at home ends abroad. My aunt used to refer to the etiquette book, too.

RESEARCHER: When did you come to Jamaica?

RESPONDENT A: Ten years ago. I was brought up by my aunt, she was a school teacher and she had a school for the retarded children. She was an organist and was what you would call a disciplinarian. Her name was Mrs. Rosalind Garden.

RESEARCHER: Do you have brothers and sisters?

RESPONDENT A: Oh ye, four brothers and six sisters. Two boys and a sister are here in the States.

RESEARCHER: How did you happen to come to the United States?

RESPONDENT A: I went to New York and didn't like it, and I came to visit my brother here and just stayed. I liked it here, and opportunities were a good improvement.

RESEARCHER: Tell me more about your aunt.

RESPONDENT A: My aunt was special, she taught me charity—the Reading, Rightin' Rithmetic, and Religion, she was religious.

RESEARCHER: What about you?

RESPONDENT A: I practice unity, my aunt was Seventh Day Adventist.

RESEARCHER: What advice did your aunt give you about male relationships?

RESPONDENT A: Not too much; she was afraid to tell me too much. I learned from my other sisters, not that she did not know but she didn't know how to put it over. She became married when she was very young, her husband died and she remained a respectable woman. She never had men in the house. She was well respected by everybody in the community, well thought of by everybody.
RESEARCHER: What about your relationships with other girls or women?

RESPONDENT A: She felt that women should be very industrious and well cultured.

RESEARCHER: What do you mean?

RESPONDENT A: Most West Indian women can do anything, and we believe on way; we are different from American women.

RESEARCHER: What are some of the differences?

RESPONDENT A: A lot of things we do different. We cook our food different, we think different. We have an accent. When I first came to the States I spoke plain English with an accent. I was not understood; I had to make an adjustment to speaking. I changed my speech, it made life easier for all of us. Not that it is not correct English, but first impressions last forever. Jamaican women work hard, we are hard working, we women are always aiming for the best.

RESEARCHERS: Aiming for?

RESPONDENT A: Aiming for something for a period of time. Being ambitious, aiming for that goal, you don't work unless you have ambition.

RESEARCHER: Do you consider yourself a religious persons?

RESPONDENT A: I don't criticize no religion. I wouldn't call myself a Christian either. I used to love to get by.

RESEARCHER: I'm not sure that I understand what you mean.

RESPONDENT A: I love people. I try to understand them.

RESEARCHER: What about prayer?

RESPONDENT A: I pray, but no special time or place.

RESEARCHER: When you go home what do you like most to do?

RESPONDENT A: I love to ride horses, milk cows, pick up eggs, see I am farm girl. My father lives in St. Catherines, he has a big farm, bananas, celery, sugar cane, corn. Higglers come to the farm to buy.

RESEARCHER: What does Higglers mean?
RESPONDENT A: Higglers are traders, and most of them are women, they come and trade with my father and then go to their town or to the open markets and sell or they buy something to make something else.

RESEARCHER: What are some of the things you teach your daughters?

RESPONDENT A: Home training.

RESEARCHER: Can you describe or tell me what you mean?

RESPONDENT A: Respect for one, meaning what you think about yourself and others. Love, meaning to love everyone regardless, and teach it and show it to teachers, and anyone they come in contact with. Obedience, and no impertinence.

RESEARCHER: How long have you had the beauty shop Carmen?

RESPONDENT A: Four years.

RESEARCHER: Have you always wanted to be a beautician?

RESPONDENT A: No, I wanted to be a dietician but because of financial problems I had to do something else.

RESEARCHER: Why are you successful as a beautician do you think?

RESPONDENT A: I think I'm a born artist, anything I do I do well. I'm also Pisces, March 19th is my birthday.

RESPONDENT B: I've been listening to you all talk and my mother taught me to watch the company I keep and to listen when people talk, and I listen to what they say to other people. People can lead you into trouble more than anything else. My mother was religious too, she was a real religious person, she was Baptist, went to church almost every Sunday. It makes a difference let me tell you.

RESPONDENT C: I have family here in the States too--two brothers in New York and one sister here in Hartford.

RESEARCHER: Do you agree with what the other women have shared with me?

RESPONDENT D: We're all the same you know and I say how my parents lived and how my bigger sisters and brothers lived and I followed them, what they do, I do. I don't have to teach my children how to dress or how to put colors together, they learn from looking at T.V. and looking at books, so they learn from me how to act by looking at me, and doing what I tell them to do. They know I would not tell them wrong. I teach children morals.
RESPONDENT C: Mama don't wear my soul out, there's more to life.

RESEARCHER: Like what?

RESPONDENT C: Life is sexy, too, you know.

RESPONDENT A: My husband and I could not agree. My culture and his culture didn't mix. You can't raise after they are grown and you can't know who is right for who.

RESPONDENT A: My husband was an American, all my friends when I first came were Americans.

RESEARCHER: Where was your husband from?

RESPONDENT A: Gonazalez, Louisiana, we divorced but I hope to marry again for peace and happiness. I don't want no jealous man, when I want to dance with someone I want to dance.

RESPONDENT A: Each nationality likes to get together. I go to a dance now on Saturday night, I can't make church on Sunday important. When you are grown you are grown. My girl is 10 says I'm not Jamaican, I told her to make her sentences again, I told her she was Jamaican. In school she don't want to be different from the other children. It don't matter who you marry. Love is the unique thing. This woman said to a Jamaican man, why you marry white, had children? It was bad manners to ask him why he married a white woman, although I don't see that they had anything in common. I believe that we should live and let live, that's something my mother taught me, and no man has a right to do otherwise.

RESPONDENT D: I heard a girl say she would not get married because she was ugly. I said, "don't say that." She was cursing herself when she said that.

RESPONDENT A: I like honesty, I can't play games.

RESPONDENT C: Me too. I got to get it off my mind. When something is bothering me, I told my husband, "I'm drying up I need loving, and he said he was tired when he came home because he worked at night. He is working two jobs you know. I got him in that bed and he soon forgot how tired he was. I also know what table he is coming off of.

RESPONDENT D: I don't marry for joke.
RESPONDENT B: Jamaican women want to marry and keep married, but these folk here want divorce, it's in the air.

RESPONDENT E: The older Jamaicans stay together through thick and thin.

RESPONDENT D: The young women are looking for property.

RESPONDENT A: Some want to have sweetheart living together rather than getting married.

RESPONDENT D: Some of the girls don't have pride.

RESPONDENT A: Pride is something you have to teach children.

RESPONDENT B: I would prefer to be widow than a divorcee.

RESPONDENT C: Mothers are the foundation of our life so I would rather you be a widow too.

RESPONDENT A: I mean mothers are important to our upbringing and there is not so much gossip or explaining to do to children or to another man, huh?

RESPONDENT B: Honesty is important.

RESPONDENT C: Manners can choke you too while you are trying to hang on.

RESPONDENT E: I talk to the Lord.

RESPONDENT A: You don't lust after what you don't have.

RESPONDENT B: One time I came home from school for lunch and had only cereal, I would not eat it and I cried, but I cried more when she got through whipping me. I ate the cereal and went back to school.

RESPONDENT C: Crab walked too much lost his claws.

RESPONDENT D: I was taught twenty three brands of don't do's.

RESPONDENT C: Don't go out too much. Never love him for what he has, for when its finished its finished. Marry for love. Teach. Taught us to behave, if you love someone make sure he is decent, if dog he will give you puppies.
RESPONDENT A: When I was growing up and we were offered candy or food she did not like this, she cut her eyes at us. We had to say no thank you at first then she may give us permission to take it.

RESPONDENT A: I enjoyed every bit of my childhood.

RESPONDENT C: Thank the Lord.

RESPONDENT D: My girl goes to school, she don't want what they have for lunch, she criticizes the food, calls the lunch room a gravy train.

RESPONDENT C: I raised my child properly. She eats what's placed before her and gets no complaints.

RESPONDENT D: My child kisses us, she is a good child.

RESPONDENT C: That's good because some of these children today will fart in your face.

RESPONDENT A: Children must be educated at home.

RESEARCHER: Is it all right if I talk to the lady under the dryer?

RESPONDENT A: You know it's ok with me. Ask her. I'll introduce you.

RESEARCHER: Thanks.

RESPONDENT F: I saw you at the Club.

RESEARCHER: Do you like to dance as much as our friend.

RESPONDENT F: I like to sport anytime.

RESEARCHER: Sport?

RESPONDENT H: You like to sport too.

RESEARCHER: Yes, I do.

RESPONDENT A: They are teasing you.

RESPONDENT F: You are fun, so you sport but your blood is light. It is not like a lot of Americans.
RESPONDENT A: I'm going to Canada and visit to have some fun. I love to have fun. If I had the money I would be on a plane every weekend and have me a man waiting in every city with the only string being those in that city.

RESPONDENT I: I like to go too, and drink a few in the bars, but you can't do that here, you have to go out of town.

RESPONDENT J: If you ask me I do what I want to, but I'm discreet, people will talk even when there is nothing to talk about... a duck and his bill will quack.

RESPONDENT A: That's why I go to Canada.
APPENDIX C

AFRICAN AMERICAN CASE STUDY AND INTERVIEWS
CASE STUDY OF AFRO-AMERICAN WOMEN IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT AS TRANSMITTERS OF BLACK VALUES

The researcher realized when beginning the case study with the Afro-American respondent that there was a feeling of "knowing" the Black experience with the realization that the case study could become an exercise for the research methodology, feeling truthfully that it was a waste of time because of personal experiences. The researcher could be a witness to give testimony to the answerable questions which were designed to receive information which was designed to better understand the Afro-American values.

There was also an attitudinal "hang-up." The sequence had begun first with the African experience which was new and then the Jamaican experience which was new, and it was hard to get into the Black American experience which was "old hat" to the researcher.¹

A male colleague from the CEP program arranged for the researcher to have an interview with a family who appeared to be excellent representatives of a family constellation and of the extended family

¹These words on paper cause the researcher to question what the implications are for young Black minds when studying the Black experience as subject matter or when given an assignment to complete about the Black experience--they, too, may think they know. It seems that continued contemplation and serious consideration may be necessary in assisting young and old to learn about their own ethnic or cultural heritage.
concept. ² This family of three generations all live in a duplex, which included the mother and father of the husband and the mother and father of the wife. After the initial meeting the husband decided that he did not wish to have the family participate in the study and with expressed regrets he hoped that I would be able to find someone else. After several other attempts it was evident that most of the Black people were research shy, and were concerned about what could be discovered in the case study which included interviewing and observing; "suppose we get to fussing and arguing, will you write about that, too?"

The case study became a reality in October, 1973 when a female colleague suggested that I meet a relative who was eighty-three years old³ and had a family "by marriage" who were five generations with an estimate of one hundred fifty relatives living in Hartford, Connecticut.

All of the confusion began to disappear and the "knowing" dispelled as the researcher sat and listened, learned, observed and experienced the eighty-sevens years of living, and her interactions with those about her.

October, 1973 found the researcher meeting the principal informant in her home, which was located in a six-story residence for senior citizens. The informant was expecting us and when we met she embraced us as if the researcher was one of her "children." Welcoming the researcher to "come on in, come on in, we were just sitting here wondering if you were really coming." There was an atmosphere of

²The researcher had hoped to find a family where there were several generations living together so that when interviewing the interaction among the family would be helpful in observing values in behavior and also to observe evidences of the transmitted values from the mothers.

³When interviewed the principal respondent said, "I was born March the Third, 1887."
expectancy and even excitement. The informant seemed eager to please the researcher, but also eager to share and participate in "this research." She introduced the researcher to her husband who was sitting quietly on the couch and who remained there, with his cap on, listening, laughing and only occasionally would be interject something for clarification or assist her with remembering dates of significance. At one point in the beginning, the researcher and the principal informant were off and running in dialogue, just enjoying that moment in history as she relived and recounted events of the past, the informant's husband interrupted with, "I'm eighty-seven, ya know." This struck me as a very honest statement of fact other than his years; he stated his presence. The researcher was able to successfully include others in the interviews and later was able to just be there and not be an interviewer.

The principal informant enjoyed telling about her life, her experiences from her early childhood to the present day. In sharing her life and when observing her with others—when the telephone would ring, when there was a knock at the door, when her children came—each was important enough to receive her complete attention.

The apartment was a one bedroom apartment with the new conveniences for the senior citizens; and she and her husband were enthusiastic about being in the building, expressing their desire to be there rather than with the children, "we are here, we have our own place, and do you know something? We have fun here. There is plenty to do, and they provide buses for us to go places. It's real nice here." There was an occasion to watch her cook "hog head cheese" with side
dishes already prepared—slaw, greens and sweet potato pie. When invited to have some of all of the prepared foods, and after indicating that the researcher was not hungry at that time, she wanted to know "Well, what can I cook for you?" She loved to cook and feed people.

The informant was particular about her personal appearance and the appearance of the apartment, although she admitted that she had worked out in homes, cleaned them and had worked in school buildings as a matron and in the cafeteria, she really did not care too much about housework, and did not like to spend too much time in the house because there was too much to do outside. There are "too many people out there and we needs to help each other, don't you think so? That's the way I feel about it, anyway. There is so much going on in the world if we don't help our children and each other we ain't going to be nothing, we'll just be like them other folks."

The informant helped the researcher realize how important it was to have as much data about a subject as possible, and to realize that going back was significant to continued research, for the informant was from Georgia, "sister city"4 to Hartford, Connecticut. She had migrated from Buena Vista, Georgia, where she had lived on a farm which "had everything under the sun growing, even sugar cane." The informant had a sense of the significance of property, for her father had owned six hundred acres with three houses which he had inherited from a white plantation owner, and she suggests that it was because her father was his son, and "it was no more than what he ought to have done." She said

4The Hartford Times used these terms in an article when referring to Americus, Georgia, p. 3A.
"My father's mother was straight from Africa. You can look at me and see a little bit of everything—African and Indian—a little bit of my father's father."

The informant had nine brothers and sisters, a large family, and she had continued the tradition; she had twelve children with her oldest children having died, each born in Hartford, Connecticut.

On one occasion one of the daughters came to take her father to the bank, and she was as cordial and warm as the mother. She invited the researcher and family to come and spend the Christmas holidays with them so that we would have an opportunity to meet all the family. They inquired of each other about various members of the family with suggestions, judgments and with the informant stating that at times she would look into matters, or that she had done all she could and it was now in the hands of the Almighty. Things would work themselves out, seemed to me her theme when there was adversity. She said, "Honey, you can't let nothing like that get you down, or we'd been gone long time ago. We can do anything if we just put our minds to it you know."

AFRO-AMERICANS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

Black Americans first arrived in the State of Connecticut as Africans bound in the institution of slavery. The same ships that carried molasses from the Caribbean to the New England states and that carried rum to Africa brought slaves to the Caribbean and to Connecticut;
at this time a slave was worth a barrel of rum or $60.00 in cash.¹

The historical account of the Black persons' beginnings in Hartford, Connecticut makes an interesting chronology.

It was helpful for the researcher to determine when and how the first Black people came to be in Hartford, Connecticut, which is sandwiched in between New York and Boston, both thriving metropolises; Hartford, Connecticut seemed out of the way for migration. It was helpful to begin by making a chronology of dates which presented a general overall picture of the Black person in Hartford, Connecticut. (See Appendix)

Very few people have known much about the beginning history of Black people in Hartford, Connecticut and fewer still knew how the concentration of Black people began on the South end.

The first known information was gathered from the interviews with Dr. John Rogers, Newspapers, articles, pamphlets, a project report and the City Directories.

The first known and recorded Black family to settle in Hartford, Connecticut was the Jerry Jacobs, a cobbler, came in 1765 and owned land in the South end near Wyllys Street. The city directories² list

¹ The Hartford Times, Hartford, Connecticut (November 26, 1963), p. 4A.

² Hartford Couvant, Part II (October 24, 1915), Feature Section. From 1916 to 1850 the known job areas held by blacks were: dining saloons, carpenters, servants, coachmen, grocery owners, soap manufacturers, waiters, bookkeepers, cashiers, porters, painters, ministers, tailors, barbers, hairdressers, railroad construction. In 1850 the Irish began to appear as immigrants and job competition began negatively to affect the economic and racial situation of the Black people. Leon F. Litwack described what happened in North of Slavery.
Jeremiah Jacobs as part owner of the Sands Dining Saloon at 154 Asylum Street. Later Mr. Jacobs moved to Wadsworth Street on the South end, opening a grocery store when his interest shifted to farming, therefore his name appears in the city directories from 1850-1860. It is known that Jeremiah Jacobs was a black businessman also because city directories listed Blacks separately until 1870. There were prominent Blacks in numbers and position, some articles suggest that the Black population had a mixture of businessmen, women, poets, ministers and few educators.  

In the beginning... the Center Church was the first place of worship for Black people; however, they had to worship apart from the whites in the congregation and like so many spirited Black people, the time came when the situation became intolerable and Blacks started their own African Religious Society, later called the Talcott Street Church, which was significant in worship and politically for the church became an important station in the Underground Railroad.

It is estimated that the Black population in Hartford, Connecticut in 1865 was about one thousand, however, by 1920 it was four thousand one hundred ninety-nine and by the 1970 Census it indicated over fifty thousand.

---

3 Ibid., The Hartford Couvant. There was little or no emphasis placed on education for Black people. In 1831 a critical incident occurred when a Miss Crandall admitted a Negro girl to her school, which eventually caused the school to be destroyed. Later, James W. Pennington in 1846 demanded quality education for Black children, which resulted in a New School. In 1865 there was one Black teacher teaching in the African school, Selah Africanus.
World War I was to bring about a drastic and rapid change which paradoxically may be viewed as beneficial to Black people. Strict quotas on immigration from Europe was instituted. Those Europeans who were brought to the U.S. as indentured servants or who came as laborers for a growing economy were denied entry to the U.S. for security reasons. Hartford needed laborers for their factories and industries and World War I production demands and nearby tobacco fields needed cheap labor.

The communities of Black people developed in Hartford, Connecticut's south end are now predominately Black. These communities are comprised of privately owned homes and federal housing projects. There is still a small Black community in North Hartford, and there is a Black community in Dutch Point. Dutch Point was first viewed as a temporary residence, but Black people remained, tied together by what an occupant calls "real community feelings."

4 Ibid., Hartford Couvant.
"In the two decades preceding Civil War, Irish labor continued to pour into the manual employment, depress wages and drive Negro competitors. Irish workers soon dominated canal and railroad construction" (p. 166). Litwack continued by quoting Frederick Douglass, "Every hour sees us elbowed out of some employment" (p. 166).

5 Ibid., Hartford Couvant.
The Irish immigration had other undermining effects such as influencing residence of Blacks as they moved to the communities the Blacks it appears moved to the North, becoming a concentrated living community of Black (usually referred to as a Ghetto).
A Biographical Profile of the Principle Afro-American Respondent in Hartford, Connecticut

Mrs. Bunkley was a woman of tremendous warmth! She seemed to be a giving person, who when giving was also presenting lessons to be learned, for she seemed to have the gift for giving without causing the person to be ashamed; in other words, she seemed to possess an awareness of her own human dignity which she lavished on others.

Mrs. Bunkley seemed to be a woman of strength, spiritual strength, and great physical strength. She was always active and she was always busy. If the researcher was there for a scheduled visit she would be cooking or preparing a special dish to be tasted, just because the researcher gave her an excuse to cook. She cooked unusual dishes, yet they were familiar to the researcher's experience. For example, she would cook a bread pudding, saying that the reason she made it was so that she would not waste food, because food was too high. She would tell you every ingredient she had put into the dish; in the bread pudding she put apples and raisins, it was delicious.

A woman of experience, a woman who had spent most of her life with people, the researcher found her still enjoying people in the high rise apartments for the "aged." She did not complain about being there, but suggested that "this is the best place in the world for people like me and my husband, we always did like to be independent; we know the children love us, but we can't live with all of them and we don't want to, so being here is real nice. We go any place we want to, and when we feel like talking or visiting we can, it's real nice here."
She also seemed to be a woman who had enjoyed life, but wanted to continue to expand herself and all who would join her. She was a woman who was very current and in tune with life, which included people, plants, nature and events.
CASE STUDY OF AFRO-AMERICAN WOMEN IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

INTERVIEWS

RESEARCHER: I would like to visit and become acquainted and maybe it would be helpful if I told you something about myself.

RESPONDENT A: That would be nice, where are you from; are your from around here?

RESEARCHER: I am now living in Omaha, but I was born in Indianapolis, Indiana. I went to school and lived there until 1956, when I went overseas to work.

RESPONDENT A: Where'd you go?

RESEARCHER: I went to teach in Egypt, and I lived there for three years, working in a city called Assiut. I loved it but missed my family, my mother, stepfather, and sister were in Indianapolis and my brother and father were in California.

RESPONDENT A: I come from Buena Vista, Georgie in 1919.

RESEARCHER: Were you born there?

RESPONDENT A: Yes, I was born in 1890 non September 16th in Buena Vista, out on a farm; we raised everything—collards, cotton, sugar cane—everything. We had this land because the man who had owned the plantation sold it to my father.

RESEARCHER: How did the whites happen to sell to your father?

RESPONDENT A: He was part white and his mother knew all-right who his father was. She was straight from Africa, and my father's mother was mixed with Indian. I feel like I was taught how to work, iron, clean and sew when I was growing up.

RESEARCHER: What about schooling?

RESPONDENT A: My father could read and write, I didn't get much of an education, but I've done a lot of work and helped others. I wanted to be a teacher.
RESEARCHER: What are some of the things you were taught by your mother which has stayed with you?

RESPONDENT A: To be descent and keep nice, don't be running around and to stay home. My mother used to say... now listen, you don't go around with that girl anymore, cause she done broke her leg; meaning she was gonna have a baby. I was eighteen before I knew what that means. My hair was red, and people said I was good looking... there was nine of us (she speaks deliberately) Fanny, Floyd, Elizabeth (me), Henry (oldest brother), Blanche, Alma, McKinley (after the President), Jeff (named after Father), and E. G. My father married again, her name was Nancy, guess I was about twelve or fourteen years old. It's a woman's place to explain life to a girl, I didn't get much explaining except to go to work. When I went to work or to play or to church I was told how to behave. We did a lot of talking when we were cooking. After I grew up and married, I had twelve children and I raised eleven. Clifford, he died, Margaret's dead, then there is Johnnie (assistant teacher), Evelyn (a widow), Mildred (she's sick now), Pauline, Florine, Fannie Mae (now working as a registered nurse), Howard, Helen, and Odel.

RESEARCHER: How did you teach them?

RESPONDENT A: Everything (with strong emphasis, straightening of body and lifting of head). Since I grew and learned, if you go out there and "stump your toe, it ain't no secret." I told them what was wrong, I told them what would happen if the girls ran around with men. Back in the old days, got what I needed I did the same for my children. I married in 1910, everytime I wanted something my husband gave it to me.

RESEARCHER: Fact is you had a good husband (he had been sitting quietly most of the time).

RESPONDENT A: Until death do us part.

RESPONDENT A: I was born in 1887 March Third as John Bunkley, born in Americus, Georgia. My mother was here and I came to visit, she was born in Macon, then went to Americus to Florida, came on to Hartford, and we came to visit in 1919. I was a railroad brakeman in Americus, and came here and did rubber work, automobile work, did some construction work, and I retired working for the typewriter company. I was seventy when I retired (said with much pride). I always believed my mother taught me to treat people the way you want to be treated.
RESEARCHER: How were you two able to remain married and live together for sixty-three years?

RESPONDENT A: I wanted to be like my mother and father (Mrs.). The little I saw of my father and mother, my father was the head of the house he didn't holler, he talked, and I tried to live like my mother and father. My mother used to say until death do we part. My father was a farmer and my mother helped.

RESEARCHER: So you modeled your behavior after your mother?

RESPONDENT A: I didn't know it then, but after I was big enough to understand that's right. (As if remembering placed her in that time and place she smiled, put her head back and said), there is a time and place for everything. At Christmas time we got shoes and some candies (she sits up as if she realizes that she is no longer there and says), 1940 went back, and didn't know my father. Father was a carpenter, built houses so the house was stilltthere and in good condition.

RESEARCHER: How did you and your husband meet?

RESPONDENT A: Went to church, father let me walk back home.

PARTICIPATION OBSERVATION OF RESEARCHER WITH FAMILY

RESPONDENT A: I have seen some changes, and what sticks out in my mind is the colored and the white were together more. Blacks were in politics.

RESPONDENT B: We need to get good teachers for our children. Lots of teachers don't discipline the children cause they are Black.

RESPONDENT A: If I was going to teach a Black child I would teach the child as if he was a white child, giving that child the best. While some of our Black teachers are just as sorry as the white.

RESPONDENT A: I worked with children, and the people I worked with called me "bossy." I know I am "bossy" I know my own children, too, even my one hundred grandchildren.

RESPONDENT A: I tried to boss my husband—he always said I was bossy. He naturally worked and took care of the family. He would bring his money home as the man gave it to him.

RESPONDENT A: He helped out plenty, he never had to whip the children, except Howard, never the girls.
RESPONDENT A: He was (Clifford, son) so good to us but during depression times were hard I wanted to go on welfare, but my husband would not go.

RESPONDENT A: My church is Primitive Baptist Church, now Faith Congregational.

RESPONDENT C: Mama hasn't always had time to enjoy herself, she worked all her life to give us a decent home and every last one of us finished high school, we didn't always have what we wanted, but when we look back we had everything.

RESPONDENT D: My children come over here and they don't act a fool, they respect my mother or I would know the reason why.

RESPONDENT E: You saw how they were, they are not bad children, noisy, but children are children.

RESPONDENT F: We got to do something about the schools though, everything is going on in those schools, dope, babies. When I went to school if I came home with a baby, lord have mercy—now they seem to be proud or something to have a baby as if it brings them status or...

RESPONDENT A: Yes, but who takes care of them? I told each one of you that I raised you and that I was not going to raise yours.

RESPONDENT G: That ain't got nothing to do with it, these girls just don't care.

RESPONDENT C: I guess we were just raised different.

RESPONDENT A: I wouldn't give anything for growing up when I did, because ain't no telling where I would be, I was fast then, but I knew which side my bread was buttered on.

RESPONDENT B: I haven't heard them words in a long time.

RESPONDENT A: Do you like hog head cheese? That's what I am cooking now and I got some cornbread and sweet potato pie.

RESEARCHER: I would love to learn how to make hog head cheese, we used to have it as a child and it was delicious.

RESPONDENT A: I love to cook and all my children can cook too. I taught my boys, too. But they'd like my cooking, you see how they come here on Sunday and eat.
RESEARCHER: What about using herbs for cooking or medicine?

RESPONDENT A: I use everything for cooking like seasoning, but I don't use too many herbs like I used to, I still use my goose grease and stuff.

RESEARCHER: Did you use any special kinds of herbs for your children?

RESPONDENT A: You know we used everything, because we didn't have doctors like we got now, but we used to use herbs to stop bleeding--especially after the baby was born. I used to put asphidity around my children's chest, and they didn't like smell, but I told them I didn't like it either but I'm still here to talk about it.

RESPONDENT A: I like to play Bingo and Whist, we play a lot here.

RESPONDENT C: But if you were dirty and smelled bad she would not let us bring you in the house... 

RESPONDENT E: I don't know where folks got the ideas that we were dirty, guess it's cause our skin is dark, but we had to turn them mattresses every week and look for bed bugs we called them "chinches" in between the ridges.

RESPONDENT D: She used to make me sick, calling my name to do this, do that.

RESPONDENT B: Naw, chile, what used to get me was to go to the store and come back with the wrong thing, she would make you take it back, I don't care what it was.

RESPONDENT B: I tell you to tell the grocer that she was no fool and wasn't raising no fools for children. Sometimes I would feel sorry for the man, she would start talking from our house, talking loud all the way down the street, and then get in the store and just show out, huffin' and puffin', so that other people would step back and then she really showed out. She'd say, "No honey, you go on, I got plenty of time now that I had to stop my work and come down here, cause somebody thought I was crazy, now you go on, I got all day." Girl, everybody knew there was going to be a mess, and most of the time people hung on so that the poor grocer just stopped--I guess so he could get mama out of the store, and he would listen, try to explain, but he had good sense, he just gave mama whatever she asked for and then some more, didn't make no difference if he was white or black, they both got the same thing.
RESPONDENT A: I'm going to get ready to go and visit Miss Emma, she's not feeling too well. I like this purple outfit the children gave this to me about a year ago—they give me so much I don't have time to wear it all. How do I look?

RESPONDENT A: They used to say I was good looking. I'm not too bad now. I know you got to go, but let me tell you one more thing before you go. This country is in a mess, you can't trust nobody. You know some of the things that are happening we just wouldn't do. These people would kill their own mama; you know what they will do to us...

RESPONDENT B: And our young kids running up on those policemen.

RESPONDENT A: That's why I have to say in the courtroom, some of our people are always in there, either because he is fighting justice or justice is fighting him, whichever way it goes we lost most of the time.

RESPONDENT B: We never gave Mama no trouble, but I guess that is why we have to help. Mama was always helping and I guess she drug us everywhere with her so we learned to go.

RESPONDENT E: Any old dog or cat Mama helped, couldn't nobody come to our house and mama not offer them something of what we had. Even when poor white trash used to come to the back door as hobo's she'd give them food, always said we were not too good to help nobody.

RESPONDENT A: My husband's in the hospital. He has never been sick in his life. He took sick last Saturday and he did not talk to me unless I said something to him. That was not like him and I asked him what was the matter. He stopped talking altogether and I took him to the doctor and he said he had had a little light stroke. I think he has just been working too much.

RESEARCHER: How are the children taking his illness?

RESPONDENT A: The children come everyday to see him at the hospital, now that he is sick they get made cause they only let two in at a time to see him.

I'm so glad you came. You said you were coming by. I told you to come on because I knew if I told you I was busy you wouldn't have come and I wanted to see you.

RESEARCHER: You are something, you mean I have come all the way here and you are going some place else?
RESPONDENT A: You know I have to keep busy, so I help serve lunch here.

RESEARCHER: I brought the transcriptions for you to read, and to see if they were all-right.

RESPONDENT A: I feel so lucky to be here and able to read them over.

(While reading she comments)

We got over two hundred people who live here and about forty have their food prepared.

I sure like reading this over. I wonder if I could have a copy to show the children, this is something we ought to keep. In fact I wish that I had told you some more things, maybe you can come back.

This is a little thing I made, a poodle dog. I keep on making them and give them away. I'm tired of making them now, all the children have one.

RESEARCHER: What about selling them to people who could give them to little children for toys or you could make them for hospitals or something. . .

RESPONDENT A: I don't need no more money. I don't want to make too much money or the children wont take care of me, and they need to do that.

RESEARCHER: What do you mean?

RESPONDENT A: Well, they need to think of some one other than themselves, and they need to give some love back. This also keeps them caring for other people, they know we don't need nothing and we give it away or we help others, so they know that they are helping too, even if they fuss. . .

RESPONDENT A: Will you answer the door for me?

RESEARCHER: Sure. (A lady enters and wants to use the telephone.)

RESPONDENT I: Would you mind if I used the phone, Mrs. Bunkley?

RESPONDENT A: Aaahh, go on and use the phone. Before you do that let me introduce you to some more of my children (she used children because a friend had joined me at her house).

RESPONDENT I: You always got peoples around you.
Miss, would you dial this number for me, I don't see too good. . . they brought my blouse back from the cleaners and the sleeve is torn clean out and I had only worn it once, do you think they will take care of it?

RESPONDENT A: Take care of it, sure they will or you will want to know why. . .

RESPONDENT I: (She talks on the telephone to someone at the cleaners)

They sure were nice. They said to just give it back to the cleaning man and if it cannot be repaired they would make it good, ain't that nice?

RESPONDENT A: They're just doing what they are suppose to do.

I'm getting ready to go down to serve lunch. I'll see you downstairs in a few minutes, I want to show them the dining room anyway, and the flowers.

RESPONDENT I: She is the one who plants all the flowers. She is having the whole back plowed up so that we can plant a garden.

RESEARCHER: How often do you have friends coming in for assistance?

RESPONDENT A: Oh, I don't know. We help each other.

You know in those papers I talk about helping other people, but you know sometimes it's harder to help your own kind. Take that son of mine, he is a drunk and there ain't no other way to say it. He comes when he's in trouble and it used to worry me when he came to the house drunk. Well one day I don't know what got into me, but he came to the door and I asked him what did he want and he said he was sick and I said this is not a hospital and you need to be there. He leaned up on the door and I went to the telephone, called the police, and had them take my child to the hospital.

RESEARCHER: Why did you trust them to take care of him?

RESPONDENT A: They knew me and when my children were young and getting into little things I let them know that they could not abuse my children or anyone in our neighborhood. We didn't stand for it.

Let me tell you about the time he came and he wanted to stay here. I told him he could come over and get some food, told him to get a cab. He came and I told the cab to wait and I gave him a big plate of food and clean underwear and a clean suit of clothing, but I could not let him not be a man, he could not keep coming back here and living there.
God knows I was not going to have my child hungry, dirty and having to lie in the street. He might be a drunk, but he'll be a clean drunk. Why he drinks the way he does is beyond me. None of the other children are like that at all. He didn't get it from me or his father, his father, he just won't say nothing to him. He just let me keep on fussing and keep on doing for him. Ain't never said I wasn't to help him.

The next time you come I want to have the family together again and if we can't all squeeze in this little place we will all go down to the dining room.

RESPONDENT A: Remember the other time you were here and I told you about the poodles, well I'm planning a trip. If my husband gets better we are going to New York. It is one of those excursion trips and everything is taken care of. You just go then you can stay with the group if you want to, or you can go on your own.

RESEARCHER: That sounds great. Will you fly?

RESPONDENT A: Oh no, we'll go by bus, that way we can get out and stretch our legs.

RESEARCHER: That's right, New York is just about a three hour drive from here.

RESPONDENT A: Wouldn't make no difference how far it was, we'd go.

Some of the people going are nice to be with, some of them others ought to stay here.

We'll have our money together so that if they act up we will just take ourselves on, wherever we want to, even if that means back home. I'm too old for foolishness and stupidness. . . you know how some of them are, don't want to be around you, but can't leave you alone. I could tell you some things, and I plan to the next time you come--everytime you come I got something to do.

We sure were expecting you at Christmas. You know the family was real disappointed that you didn't come. You remember my daughter, who asked you to stay with her? Well, she said to tell you she is sorry to miss you this time, but she will see you when you come back.
APPENDIX D

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
THE RECORDS REVEAL THE FOLLOWING SIGNIFICANT DATES:

1703  The first Connecticut laws regulated the slave trade. There were 1,500 slaves in the colony, in other words there was one slave to every thirty white inn percentage.1

1753  Lemuel Hayes was one of the 3,000 to fight with Washington.2

Lemuel Hayes was born in West Hartford, Connecticut, became a famous writer and Congregational Minister; churches are named for him in Pittsfield, Mass., and Jamaica, Long Island.3

1774  The legislature passed an act stating: "No Indian, Negro, or Mulatto slave shall at anytime hereafter be brought or imported into the colony."4

1776  A company of the Black Infantry men were attached to the Butler Regiments of the Connecticut Line.5

6,000 Black people were in the State of Connecticut at the time of the American Revolution.6

1783  Jupiter Hammon was the property of Joseph Lloyd of Queen's Village, Long Island; however, during the British occupation of Long Island, Joseph Lloyd lived in Hartford, Connecticut. Jupiter Hammon wrote what is believed to be the first American Negro poem, entitled "The Kind Master and the Dutiful Servant," which was printed in Hartford in 1783. The poem presents something of the condition:

1 The Hartford Times, Hartford, Connecticut, November 26, 1963, p. 4A
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 59.
6 Ibid., p. 59.
Come, my servant, follow me
According to thy place,
And surely God will be with thee
And send thy Heavenly grace.

Dear Master, now I'll follow thee
And trust upon the Lord.
The only safety that I see
Is Jesus's Holy Word.

An edict ordered that any child born in slavery be freed at age 25. Free Negroes out-numbered slaves in the state (Free--2,771 to Slaves--2,648).

The first Negro Church was the African Religious Society. It later became the Taloott St. Church and is now the Faith Congregational Church.

Miss Prudence Crandall admitted a Negro girl to her Boarding School, and there were violent reactions to this admission.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was founded.

"The Amistad Incident" is viewed as a turning point in Connecticut history.

James W. C. Pennington (born a slave in Hagerstown, Md., in 1809 as Jim Pembroke) remained a slave until he was about 18, escaping to Pennsylvania on to Yale. In Hartford as the Rev. James W. C. Pennington, he published a textbook titled, Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People.

---

7 From the new release from the Hartford House, 800 Main St, Hartford, Connecticut, August 31, 1869.

8 150th Anniversary Passbook to Past and A Promising Future, p. 59.

9 Hartford Times, 1963, p. 4A. In the beginning colonial days there was an "African corner" for those Negroes who attended churches.

10 Ibid., p. 4A

11 Ibid., p. 4A.

12 Ibid., p. 4A

1846 Rev. James W. C. Pennington became a spokesman-abolitionist and demanded quality education; equal to that of white children for Black children. This demand resulted in a new school olocated at Pearl St. near the present fire station.\(^{14}\)

1846 Slavery was made illegal within the State, and at that time there were six slaves to be freed.\(^{15}\)

1850 After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law required all slaves to return to their masters.\(^{16}\)

1860-1930 The U.S. Census "Titled Foreign Born in the Population of Hartford," does not acknowledge the Black population (see Appendix ).

1860 The Union Baptist Church was founded.\(^{17}\)

1876 Negro men given the right to vote. All females were classified with "children, idiots, criminals, unfit for the franchise."\(^{18}\)

1899 Shiloh Baptist Church was founded.

1900-1910 The migration from the South began... Negro population in Hartford increased 140 per cent. The population went from 1,746 just before World War I to 4,199 in 1920. Forty years later in 1960 the population was 24,855, which was doubled by 1970 census to over 50,000.\(^{19}\)

1915 The Hartford Couvant, presented a feature page titled: The Colored People Who Lived in Hartford.\(^{20}\)

\(^{14}\)Hartford Times, p. 4A

\(^{15}\)Passbook to the Past and Promise for the Future, p. 59.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 59.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 4A. Union Baptist Church was formed by 30 Negroes who had broken from Talcott St. Congregational Church. After they did not have a place to worship, they used a boxcar until they were able to relocate to a room. Shiloh Baptist Church broke off from Union in 1899. The founding churches are still the wielders of power and their congregations attract the Black middle class to worship.

\(^{18}\)Passbook to the Past and Promise for the Future, p. 59.

\(^{19}\)Hartford Times, p. 23.

\(^{20}\)Hartford Couvant, Part II, October 24, 1915, Feature Section.
1916 The Urban League recruited from Southern Trade Schools and colleges more than 1,400 students to work in the tobacco fields.21

1920 Women through Suffragettes Movement were able to vote.22

1921 An Urban League Survey reported that 37% of the Negroes in Hartford, Connecticut had been born in Georgia.

1944 Urban League reported 42 per cent of the Negroes were from Georgia.

1974 GEORGIA. ... The researcher soon realized that the references to Georgia and the large number of Black people migrating to Hartford, Connecticut was significant. The city of Americus, Georgia which is 1,000 miles from Hartford, Connecticut, became a prolific provider of laborers, and has been given the dubious title of being a "sister city." (From page 3A of the Hartford Times, 1963).

The records tell of Americus, Ga., having steady streams of immigrants (3A) to Hartford, Connecticut. The migration was so intense that ministers, doctors, and teachers followed those who had relocated. Rev. Goode S. Clark had been a minister to three churches in Americus; however, as the membership disappeared, he too relocated moving to Hartford, Connecticut. He worked as a hod carrier until he could reassemble the members of his church. He reestablished a church, Mt. Olive Baptist Church with a membership of 370.

The initial contact for recruitment was made by the Urban League in Hartford, however, as the years went by the members of families and neighboring friends found their way to the city of Hartford and to the homes of Black Americans, for the migration was seen as providing better socio-economic conditions.

21 Hartford Times, p. 3A.

22 Passbook to the Past and Promise for the Future, p. 59.
APPENDIX E

1970 CENSUS OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
### Table P-1. General Characteristics of the Population: 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Tracts</th>
<th>Part in Hartford County</th>
<th>Part in Middlesex County</th>
<th>Hartford</th>
<th>Total SMSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Hartford</td>
<td>Balance</td>
<td>Total Hartford</td>
<td>Tract 5601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RACE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>663,891</td>
<td>607,517</td>
<td>55,374</td>
<td>11,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>50,918</td>
<td>50,002</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE BY SEX</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male, all ages</td>
<td>320,612</td>
<td>262,634</td>
<td>74,051</td>
<td>210,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 years</td>
<td>28,371</td>
<td>25,433</td>
<td>2,938</td>
<td>17,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9 years</td>
<td>31,414</td>
<td>28,504</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>18,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 14 years</td>
<td>33,487</td>
<td>29,473</td>
<td>3,914</td>
<td>20,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 19 years</td>
<td>35,569</td>
<td>30,514</td>
<td>4,055</td>
<td>22,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 24 years</td>
<td>37,653</td>
<td>32,573</td>
<td>5,080</td>
<td>24,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34 years</td>
<td>39,741</td>
<td>34,574</td>
<td>5,167</td>
<td>26,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44 years</td>
<td>41,835</td>
<td>36,575</td>
<td>5,260</td>
<td>28,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54 years</td>
<td>43,929</td>
<td>38,574</td>
<td>5,355</td>
<td>30,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64 years</td>
<td>46,023</td>
<td>40,574</td>
<td>5,449</td>
<td>32,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 to 74 years</td>
<td>48,117</td>
<td>42,574</td>
<td>5,543</td>
<td>34,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 years and over</td>
<td>49,211</td>
<td>43,574</td>
<td>5,637</td>
<td>36,637</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

A METHODOLOGY TO EXPLORE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUES AND CULTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND AMERICAN SCHOOLING
What follows are two models which are examples of approaches which may be used to formulate a core curriculum. The Model can be used for the African-Jamaican and African-American cultures.

The first is a model designed to use the artistic and creative works such as, the novel, short stories, songs, autobiographies, poetry; for discovering Black cultural values.

The second is a methodology of learning about Black and White Values and their relationship to the American School System is for a comparative study. Muska Mosston calls this methodology "Anatomy of Guided Discovery."

The teachers major responsibility in the pre-impact set is to design the questions (or clues) that will lead the student to the focus, or target, determined by the teacher. A focus to be discovered by the student can be a fact, a series of facts, a particular relationship, concept, principle, formula, structure, rule, or anything else in the structure of the subject matter. (p. 125)

The execution phase of Guided Discovery is the test of the sequence design. The flow of the process from step to step will indicate the appropriateness of the questions. (p. 125)

The charts presents a sequence of questions so that one must ask and answer the questions in order to develop a model to explore the relationship between the period and the institutions and human relations. This chart also graphically indicates those components which must be considered in understanding this relationship and its consequences. The research presented in chapters one, two, four, and five is essential to answering the questions posed. This chart will also assist the researcher in developing a systematic approach to the question of

---

relationship of Black and White cultural values. Hopefully it will assist the educator in developing a core curriculum in keeping with Educational philosophy and which will benefit the larger society.
APPENDIX G

MODEL FOR DEVELOPING A COURSE FOR STUDYING

THE BLACK WOMAN
STEP I

CULTURE
1900 to now

White
Black

VALUES
1900 to now

White
Black

Self Concepts
1900 to now

White self concepts
I-Other Relationships

Black self concepts
I-Other Relationships

QUESTIONS

What are the commonalities in white American culture?

What are the commonalities in Black culture?

What are the commonalities in white American values?

What are the commonalities in Black values?

How do the commonalities in white values manifest themselves in white self concept?

What do the commonalities in Black values manifest themselves in Black self concept?
STEP II

CONSEQUENCES FOR BLACK PEOPLE
1900 to now

CONSEQUENCES FOR WHITE PEOPLE
1900 to now

QUESTIONS

What is the consequence for white people?

What is the consequence for Black people?

STEP III

AMERICAN EDUCATION

SOCIAL SCIENCES CURRICULUM

PRE-SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

PRE-SERVICE TEACHER TRAINING

ADMIN. TRAINING

ANTHROPOLOGY

SOCIOLOGY

PSYCHOLOGY

HISTORY

QUESTIONS

What are the relationships of the Black self concept to American schooling?

Identify the difference between Black culture/values and American schooling.

How can we minimize the above differences so that Black people do not experience schooling based upon alien values?

How should American schooling incorporate Black values in the educational system so that it benefits the larger society with admission?
APPENDIX H

LIST OF VALUES FROM AFRICAN LITERATURE
LIST OF VALUES FROM AFRICAN LITERATURE*

1. Oral Tradition

_The Anthill_, Obi B. Egbuna (Marriage, Family, Children, Superstition)

A play that oscillates between Europe and Africa about Nigel and Bobo, two young men away from home at school who live together, Bobo is driving everyone crazy with paintings of anthills.

_THE LEOPARD'S CLAW_, Ekwensi, Cyprian (History, education, superstition)

A story of how a young boy runs away from college, turning his back on life, going deep into the interior only to find a secret society of Leopard men and the adventures of the mysterious Old Man Forest.

_Ordained by the Oracles_, Asare Konadu (Religious Ceremonies, Rituals, Marriage, Family, Children)

Boating, a prosperous trader in Elmina, has the beginnings of disbelief in old customs. His wife dies suddenly and he is put through forty days and forty nights of rituals. At this time of emotional crisis he begins to see the reasons behind the rites.

_Eze Goes to School_, Onuora Nyekwu (Education, marriage, family, children)

A story of a father's dream for his son to be educated and the entire family's determination to see the dream fulfilled.

_No Bride Price_, David Rubardiu (History and Oral Tradition, marriage, family, children)

A novel about a young African caught between the world he lives in and the world he is a part of.

_The Lion and The Hewel_, Woke Soyinka (Marriage, Family, Children)

An enjoyable story of the cunningness of an old African Chieftan and how through trickery he takes the village belle as his new wife. The main themes are the wizardry of age—old chief and the fresh awareness of the young girl.

_Ajayi and His Inherited Poverty_, Amos Tutuola (History, superstition)

A folktale. A fantasy written about a person who lived about two hundred years ago and was reincarnated today.

---

*Values found indicated in ( ).
The Old Man and the Medal, Ferdinand Oyono (older people, oral tradition)

The story of an old man, Meda, who lives in an African village where the missionaries had come and brought Christ to the natives.

Mine Boy, Peter Abrahams (Personal relationships, marriage, family, children, oral tradition)

An excellent fiction story of life in South Africa which highlights many interesting aspect of the black man's existence in that part of Africa.

The Blanket, A. A. Murray (oral tradition, ceremonies and rituals)

Traditional life and beliefs are complicated by Christianity and the white man's interverance.

On African Socialism, Leopold S. Sanghor (History and oral tradition, drama, ceremonies and rituals, personal relations)

Senghor is the originator of the concept of Negritude and in this book stresses the role this culture of Negritude must play in the hope for a better life in Africa.

2. WOMEN

The Man of the People, Chinua Achebe (women, history and tradition, education)

A novel written by a Nigerian that depicts the personal problems of highly educated in relating to his preliterate elders, romance (finding a wife, suitably, educated), political motivations, and the realities of politics in a recently independent African country.

The Dilemma of a Ghost, Christince Ama Atce Aidoo (education, community family, women, marriage, children)

A short play about an African man and an Afro-American girl who marry after graduation from college. He takes her to his country and try to make a true African of her. He tells her she must not have children until they are ready and no one in the village can understand this so she becomes an outcaste because she does not understand the customs and they (the villagers) do not understand her and they have a miserable life.

The Wooden Gong, Ntievong Udo Akpan (women, creativity, ceremonies, religion, superstitions, other values)

A novel describing a secret society whose membership was restrictive and excluded women; governed by a King and council of elders, strict obedience of rules and absolute faith were demanded. Any breach resulted in penalty ranging from money to death, the death penalty was often commuted to sale into slavery.
A Few Nights and Days, Mbelle Sonne Dipoko (women)

A story very reminiscence of an African-European "Romeo and Juliet" scene. A twenty-three year old cameroon student studying in Paris becomes involved with a nineteen year old naive, insecure and overprotected girl who becomes more involved in the relationship than he.

The Burnt Out Marriage, R. Sarif Easmon (women, superstition)

A very warm and human novel where people are more important than ideas. The story concerns a chief whose wife's unconventional actions take him by surprise.

An African Night's Entertainment: A Tale of Revenge, Cyprian Ekwensi (superstition)

A tale of a man who sets out to get vengeance because his promised wife was taken by a rich man. He succeeds with his plan but in due time gets back his share.

Passport of Mallam Ilice, Cyprian Ekwensi (marriage, family, children)

A sad tale of Ilice who is wedded to a life of misery through his marriage to a mysterious woman. In winning his wife in combat, he receives a life-long adversary, Osuman, who causes him to kill his wife, Osuman and himself. He dies as he tells his life story to the son he had never seen.

The Looming Shadow, Legson Kayira (creativity, marriage, family, children)


Sailor Boy in Town, Segun Sofowote (harmony, marriage, family, children)

A play about a sailor who finds himself involved in a husband-wife dispute after trying to help. He is then blamed for his involvement.

The Lion and the Jewel, Soyinka Wolfe (cleverness, marriage, family, children)

An enjoyable story of the cunningness of an old African chieftan and how through trickery he takes the village belle as his new wife. The main themes are the wizardry of the age-old chief and the fresh awareness of the young girl.
The Palm wine Drinkard, Amos Futola (drama)

An epic like tale of a man's guest in an effort to bring a relief from a famine that is plaguing his people, the Yorubas. A very romantic, adventuresome book, underlining the African belief in the spiritual world.

Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle (marriage, family, children, women, education)

This is a short story, folklore of a girl who was rich and wanted to know what "poverty" and "punishment" was like. A fantasy of how she obtained this knowledge.

Mission fto Kala, Mongo Betti (Alexandre Biyidi) (Marriage, family, children, women, education)

Though the story ostensibly deals with a young man being forced to do a favor for his cousin, i.e., the bringing back of his runaway wife. The real significance of the story lies in the adventures of Jaan-Marie Medza in the village of his cousin's wife. Medza is a city boy who has gone to the white man's school and though he is educated, the so-called "savages" of the cousin's wife's village really teach him a great deal about life and the colonial experience. In respect to the portrayal of women, this novel shows that the cousin's wife was a determined woman who had been beaten repeatedly for no good reason and was determined to better herself.

The Wreath ofor Udome, Peter Abrahams (women)

A story of a bloodless African revolution and the important part played by women.

3. OLDER PEOPLE

Chike and the River, Chinua Achebe (marriage, family, children, community)

A novel about an eleven year old boy who is sent to live with an uncle in the "big city." He faces the typical problems of a growing manchild coupled with constant dilemma: his peers talk of adventure, travel, while his uncle imposes strict rules. He discovers a way to travel and finds himself a well rewarded hero in a village across the river for assisting in the capture of a village traitor and a band of thieves.
A Man of the People, Chinua Achebe (marriage, family, children, older people)

A novel written by a Nigerian that depicts the personal problems of the highly educated in relating to his preliterate elders, romance (finding a wife suitable educated), political motivations, and the realities of politics in a recently independent African country.

A Reed in the Tide, John Pepper Clark (nature, ceremonies, drama, religion)

A collection of thirty-four poems which deal with the mystical and spiritual powers of nature. Very deep and powerful.

Okomfo Anoye's Golden Stool, Michael F. Dei-Anamgi (history and oral tradition, ceremonies, drama, religion)

A Ghanian play concerned with the life of Okomfo who becomes the most significant priest in Ashanti history; mainly deals with the alliance of Okomfo with Osei Tutu, and how he receives from the sky the Golden Stool, symbol of the nation. A very good look at the Ashanti culturally and historically.

Potent Ash, Leonard Kibera and Samual Kahiga (creativity, personal relationships, religion, marriage, family, children)

A collection of short stories describing hardships endured by East Africans. Repeatedly points out how Christianity and Westernization is destroying communal way of life, creating hatred for the white man and nothing but hardship for the Black man.

Blade Among the Boys, Onuora Nzoku (ceremonies, rituals, family, marriage, children, religion)

The story of a Nigerian's desire for priesthood and the efforts of his family and sweetheart to save him from the shame of celibacy.

Want of Noble Wood, Onuora Nzoko (history and oral tradition, religion)

The story of a struggle of a Nigerian between western concepts and its traditional religious background and the ensuing heartache and tragedy.

The Blanket, A. A. Murray (history and oral tradition, religion)

The traditional life and beliefs are complicated by Christianity and the white man's interference.

Medicine for Love: A Comedy in Three Acts, James Henshaw (drama, creativity, harmony)

A play commenting on the ramifications caused by social changes taking place in Africa. Depicts how western (civilized) concepts are breaking down traditional away of life, and harming the in minds of the Africans.
Weep Not Child, James Ngugi (creativity, marriage, family, children, harmony)

A story of the struggle in Kenya for the return of the land to the Africans, and the destruction of the family and home life because of the disunity among the people.

The Forest of a Thousand Daemons, Wole Soyinka (personal relationships, hospitality and strangers, creativity, ceremonies and rituals, harmony)

A translation of the late Chief D. O. Toginwa's novel, Ogboju Ogbu Irwmmuli, a Yoruba fiction capturing the struggle for lasting happiness and peace of mind among mankind.

A Humanist in Africa, Kenneth Kaunda (ceremonies and rituals, personal relationship, harmony)

A story about the humanistic aspects of the African but mostly about the building of the African nation.

Poems, John Pepper Clark (cleverness)

A South African prose anthology for schools.

No Longer at Ease, Chinua Achebe (history and oral tradition, hospitality, and strangers)

The story of an African educated by the English who strays from his tribal traditions, and the subsequent tragedies that befell him.

Things Fall Apart, Chinua Achebe (history and oral tradition)

A novel written by a Nigerian that depicts the traditional life of the village before the coming of the white man and the disintegration of life after the white missionaries and administrator intervene after European conquest.

A Calabash of Life, Khadambi Asalache (history and oral tradition)

A novel about a young man who is rightfully chief of the village and how he struggles to get his throne back and the difficulties that he encounters to get married.

The Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born, Kwei Ayi Armah (marriage, family, children, history, oral tradition, creativity)

A novel that tells how a new West African nation's lust for power, money, and prestige, humiliated, disillusioned and embittered the author through his experiences in urban life in Ghana. A sign on the back of the bus saying, "The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born" stayed on his mind leaving an aching empty feeling that this was all life could offer him.
The African, William Conton (history and oral tradition, education)

An absorbing fiction story of a young African who relates his life experiences in utilizing his intellectual capabilities for the advancement of his people and country. Would appeal to students from junior high and up.

The New Patriots, R. Sarif Easmon (history and oral tradition)

An anthology of prose, essays, papers covering a wide range of topics and issues. The "New Patriots" are very frank and direct in their analysis and discussion on traditional and not so traditional African problems.

Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah (history and oral tradition)

A superb book written by one of Africa's great leaders concerning Ghana and its people and their development from an African perspective. Very interesting readings for those interested in the state of Ghana.

No Easy Walk to Freedom, Nelson Mandela (history and Oral tradition)

A group of articles, trials, and speeches and testimonies concerning the liberation struggle in South Africa, Johannesburg.

Africans Unbound, Alex Quaison-Sackey, (Personal relationships)

This book is written by a brilliant and dynamic African writer and statesman. He offers his ideas and conclusions for the liberation of Africa, and gives interesting insight into African history on the political, economic and social levels. He also deals with the African personality and negritude and does a great job of making one feel proud to be of African descent.

Dear Parent and Ogre, R. Sarif Easmon (women, personal relationships, marriage, family, children)

A three act play based on the lives and loves of a modern day African family that is caught up in the conflicts of the old and "new" Africa. A very respectable, influential African politician and his French wife disagree on his daughter's right to choose, and choice of a prospective mate. The father wants to arrange a political marriage much to the anguish and dismay of his daughter who already has chosen a childhood sweetheart. The father gives in to his wife, who has threatened to leave and the emotional damage that would be incurred by his daughter.
Orphan, Ikello Oculi (marriage, family, children)

A village opera in the form of poetry centered around an orphan boy seated at the junction. The people as they pass on the way to the village have an effect on the life of the boy.