Doctoral Dissertations                                    Dissertations and Theses

August 2015

# An Ethnography of African Diasporic Affiliation and Disaffiliation in Carriacou: How Anglo-Caribbean Preadolescent Girls Express Attachments to Africa

Valerie Joseph

## Recommended Citation

**AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN DIASPORIC AFFILIATION AND DISAFFILIATION IN CARRIACOU: HOW ANGLO-CARIBBEAN PREADOLESCENT GIRLS EXPRESS ATTACHMENTS TO AFRICA**

A Dissertation Presented

By

Valerie Joseph

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2015

Department of Anthropology

# AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN DIASPORIC AFFILIATION AND DISAFFILIATION IN CARRIACOU: HOW ANGLO-CARIBBEAN PREADOLESCENT GIRLS EXPRESS ATTACHMENTS TO AFRICA

A Dissertation Presented

by

Valerie Joseph

Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Robert Paynter, Chair


_____
Amanda Walker Johnson, Member


_____
Kevin Quashie, Member


_____
Tom Leatherman, Department Head
Department of Anthropology

DEDICATION

For my husband, Jim, who supports and loves me beyond all possible reckoning.

And when music comes to us
With its heavenly beauty
It brings us desolation
For when we hear it
We half remember
That lost native country

<div align="center">From the poem "Music" by Anne Porter</div>

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One evening, about twenty-five years ago, I attended a scholarly lecture on palm reading. Held in an upscale Washington, D.C. bookstore, the gentleman offered, after the talk, to read the palms of anyone who was interested. I got on the line and when it was my turn, he looked at my palm and said, "You're going to get your doctorate." In that moment, I realized he was a quack.

How fitting, at *this* moment, then, to acknowledge this gentleman who will never know how I held fast to his words as tightly as I'd hold a talisman in my fist. During my most difficult times in this journey, I'd say "Maybe he wasn't a charlatan. Maybe he was right and I actually will succeed in finishing this degree." Thank you wherever you are. You helped me get through.

Thirty years ago, I videotaped a group of young girls performing "cheering" and knew that I was witnessing something beautiful and special. They do not know how powerfully they moved and influenced me to explore African retentions in the Americas and the ways in which Africa has deep meaning whether or not we acknowledge that fact. Thank you.

There are so many other people whom I will unintentionally neglect to mention. And I apologize in advance. I am rushing to get this thing submitted and this section, correctly done, should have taken a week or so. But, I am at the eleventh hour! If your name or affiliation is not listed, please know as you read this, that I feel regret for the lost opportunity to honor you publically.

To my friends and family and folks in Carriacou, how I miss you. I miss the rock-solid daily sense of belonging that I experienced during the three years of fieldwork

My dissertation committee was the best committee in the world! The feedback and support I received was incomparable. I grew in so many ways because of your enormous contributions to my thinking. You all challenged me in the best ways possible. Thank you to former members, David Samuels and Martin Wobst. Thank you to the current committee: Amanda Walker Johnson, Kevin Quashie and my incredible, amazing, chair, Robert Paynter. Bob, when I had absolutely no faith, when I panicked and knew I was not going to finish (at least not in May 2015), when I thought I was going to jail (not really but still!), you were the warm calm voice that said, "We'll get you through this." You encouraged me to write in any way I could, giving me exactly the right amount of the freedom and guidance that I needed. You understood my work and made the powerfully insightful suggestions that helped me bring forward the critical insights that, for all its flaws, make me proud of this dissertation. Thank you.

I need to thank my fellow Anthropology students, especially the Sister Scholars who are all brilliant and powerful folks: Andriana Foiles (Xmas!), Vanessa Martinez, Julie Skogsbergh, Samantha Davis (Political Science), Evelyn Jeffers, and Donna Moody. Thank you ladies! Writing together in the same space, sharing food and talking about our struggles and accomplishments was so important. I am glad we did it.

The warmth and support from other anthropology folks must be mentioned: Liz Braun, Angela Labrador, Juan Florencia, Chris Douyard, Zach DuBois, Kamela Heyward, Anthony Martin, Quentin Lewis, Alanna Rudzik, Broughton Anderson, Chris Sweetapple, Vania Payne, Heidi Bauer-Clapp. Thank you all.

I have to thank the professional administrative staff in the department office: Debbie Averill, Grace Rock, Lisa Wegiel, and Shelley Silva. They are, each one, beyond

To Mogatsaka (Daddy Boom Boom) and Zanaya (Baby Boom Boom).  I love and appreciate you both.  There are not enough words in the world to express what I feel. You are intrinsic to who I am and what I do everyday. Ke a lo rata. Thata.

# ABSTRACT

# AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN DIASPORIC AFFILIATION AND DISAFFILIATION IN CARRIACOU: HOW ANGLO-CARIBBEAN PREADOLESCENT GIRLS EXPRESS ATTACHMENTS TO AFRICA

MAY 2015

VALERIE JOSEPH, B.A., ANTIOCH COLLEGE

M.A., ANTIOCH NEW ENGLAND

M.A. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST

M.A. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Robert Paynter

This dissertation explores how the contending forces of powerful African memory and enduring ideologies of British colonialism meet in the young Afro-Caribbean girls of Carriacou, Grenada through their contemplations and performances of game songs and danceplay, resulting in multi-layered and seemingly contradictory affiliations and disaffiliations with their African heritage. For the most part, Carriacouans' expressions of African affiliations and disaffiliations are below the level of consciousness. In the case of African disaffiliation, a striking finding is that many in the population – adults and children –respond with a deep fear when confronted with direct questions about Africa. Some children also respond with psychosocial dissonance – a profound conflicted state in which they are unable to make any commitments at all. In the case of African affiliation, boys and girls respond differently to the display of non-verbal African culture practices and depending on their understanding of their ancestry, African affiliation seems

strongest among girls and what mitigates for that may be girls' apparently greater

familiarity with and connection to Africanist play and Big Drum Nations Dance.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

# LIST OF TABLES

# LIST OF FIGURES

**CHAPTER 1**

**INTRODUCTION**

*[The] 'starting-point' of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory..*
                                                            *Antonio Gramsci*


*…therefore, it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory.*

                                        *Edward Said's completion of Gramsci's*
                                        *translated sentence – left out of the*
                                        *published translation*

*You tell her, "Actually, my lips are perfect.  My momma told me that my lips are perfect.  I don't know what your momma told you about your lips but my momma told ME that my lips are PERFECT."*

                                        *My instruction to our then-six year old Black daughter after she*
                                        *was teased about her "big lips" at day camp by another Black girl.*


**<u>Statement of the Problem</u>**

My dissertation project investigates several dimensions of African affiliation

among African descended primary school girls on the island of Carriacou in the nation of

Grenada, a former slave state and former British colony. By focusing on the cultural

production of Black girls' musical play in Carriacou, I explore the extent to which Black

girls assert, memorialize, celebrate, and accept their African heritage in the face of the

overall Western demand to deny, ignore, and disparage that heritage. This study

centralizes the physicality of African-descended body as being a key component of

African heritage.  This is why I include the epigraph that recounts an incident in my

daughter's life when her body was disparaged on the basis of a characteristic indigenous

to Africa. I model for her a fierce and uncompromising love and acceptance of her

1

African features that I believe she needs to internalize as part of her arsenal of tools with which to combat the racism that uses those features as an excuse for discrimination, disparagement, diminishment. I model an affiliation with Africa.

African affiliation is the affective positive connection with/to, partnership with, alignment with, or relationship with/to that which is African, Africanist or *seen to be* African or Africanist. African affiliation may be that of which the subject has some awareness or none at all; it may be direct or indirect, ambiguous or clear. That affective response can be "read" in gesture, posture, tone, and word. In this dissertation, I consider that positive African affiliation may be critical to the project of resisting the dominant culture's representations, projections and imaginings of people of African descent.

The positive connection to and welcome acceptance of one's African heritage on the part of African descended people is what the regime of global white supremacy sought to destroy (Mills 1997). The acceptance of one's African heritage, therefore, is always at risk of withering in the face of the pressures to accept the historical European idea of Africa as innately inferior, ugly, intellectually deficient, wild, overly sexualized and uncivilized. To affiliate oneself with Africa, then, is to engage in a battle against hegemonic forces, even those with whom one is unaware.

As a study about African affiliation and disaffiliation, I do not investigate racial or ethnic identity per se. There are multiple studies documenting how children construct a concept of themselves as racial and/or ethnic beings and how racial and ethnic identities are imposed upon, sought after, developed and accepted and rejected by them (Cross 2011; Hardiman 1982; Jackson III 2012; Phinney 1989; Waters 1994). Indeed, many Caribbean people of African descent think of themselves as Caribbean rather than Black

or African (Gordon and Anderson 1999) – identifying with place rather than race – something my research seems to confirm.

While anthropology has disavowed the notion of race, stating that it is nothing more than a social construction (Sacks 1995; Smedley and Smedley 2005), the physicality of African features as distinctive and tinged with negative social meaning have the intended consequence of marking Black people (and things with which they are associated) as a justification for discrimination (Lake 2003). While "race" may not exist, it is deployed quite successfully by racists and racial systems and structures to inflict harm to people of color and it is needed by anti-racists to identify and fight racism.

Rather than studying racial identity, an exploration of African affiliation goes after something more subtle. Identity is a consciously chosen designation (Friedman 2004), whereas while African affiliation is not necessarily consciously chosen, it can be enacted or performed. African affiliation can occur without cognizant acceptance of a relationship between oneself and one's African heritage. As a result, there is no ideology that the girls and others need to adopt in order for African affiliation to take place. African affiliation manifests in a sense of appreciation for something that is African or African derived: the enjoyment of African or Africanist movement; the loving acceptance of one's kinky hair, nose, and lips and, perhaps most importantly, skin.

I assumed that I would see this loving acceptance in Carriacou. I believed that Carriacouan girls' attitudes towards Africanist musical play performed by others and their performance of musical play would reveal a conscious, unambiguous and positive affiliation with Africa that was at least, in part, grounded in their body. I based my hypothesis on Carriacou's status as a location widely acknowledged among researchers to

3

have strong and unambiguous socially acknowledged cultural ties to Africa (Collins 2008; Hill 1974; Hill 1998; Hill 2005; Marshall 1983). It was not that long ago, for example, that Hill reported that "the people call themselves 'African people' as well as Creoles" and "Big Drum is the branding iron [sic] for that unifying African identity" (Hill 1998: 191). In addition, some Carriacouans did report to me that they knew "their nation" while it was also true that many did not.

Thus, I note that the experiences of Black girls are not universal and have various cultural, social, economic and ethnic dimensions. I acknowledge, along with Enloe (2000) and Silva (2007), that the Western ideological and political system governs the experiences of race, gender and class. I also note that the identity formation and ethnic or cultural affiliations of African-descended girls (highly correlated with self-esteem) have not been the focus of much research in anthropology. It seems that much of the research has been in the fields of education (Buckley and Carter 2005; Sutherland 2005; Weekes 2002), and mental health and psychology (Adams 2003; Doswell 1998; Thomas 2006; Townsend, et al. 2010) with the focus on Western Black girls. While there is research by anthropologists, most notably the work done by Kyra Gaunt (2006) and Signithia Fordham (1993), they also work with informants in the United States. There are, though, studies focusing on Caribbean girls in the Caribbean (Charles 2003; Miller 1973; Young and Bagley 1979).

I posit then, that the issue of African affiliation and disaffiliation is an unexplored topic that has particular salience for people of African descent who are the subjects of anti-Africa and racist projections and actions. While it is true that non-Africans can also affiliate and disaffiliate with Africa (and do), that set of attitudes and behaviors on the

4

part of non-African- and non-African-descended peoples takes place in vastly different racialized historical and social contexts. The costs and benefits of African affiliation accrue differently depending upon the individual, group or political entity claiming affiliation.

## **Background of the Problem**

For an African descended child, self-love is intrinsic and basic to their existence. The everyday oppression they suffer, results directly from the global society's relegation of Africa, in the words of Denise Ferreira da Silva, to a place "not comprehended by universality and self-determination" (Silva 2007: 2). This means that Black children are not automatically granted a location on the map of humankind but must fight for it. This is a burden that children are too young to consciously carry; nevertheless, it is the subtext of their lives.

In actuality, then, the essential intervention is not just self-love, but *radical* self-love. The Oxford English dictionary defines radical as "belonging to, or from a root or roots; fundamental to the natural processes of life." In this I echo the call of Carter G. Woodson who says that Black people need to practice a "radicalism" that comes "from within" (Woodson 2009 [1933]) – a form of self-care that promotes the self-interests of people long exploited and encouraged to work against their own interests. This is what Flecha (2013), referencing Freire, calls "radical love" - a powerful love that the oppressed enacts as a "dialogical commitment to liberation" (Freire 2005: 89). The radical love that Black people must have for themselves is embedded in their roots that are necessarily fixed in the African continent. On this matter, American activist, El Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X), was eloquent and precise when he said (referring to Black

people), "You can't hate your origin and not end up hating yourself; you can't hate Africa and not hate yourself" (X 1990: 168).  In phrasing the sentiment in a positive construction, Shabazz might have expressed it thus: "The love of Africa is necessary for the love of self."

In the case of radical self-love, I would argue that Black *girls* face an urgent situation. One of the sites of struggle for radical self-love is the Black female body – a body that has historically been debased and exploited, reflecting Western society's institutions and systems in ways that attempt to forget, distort or erase that humanity. Gilman documents the development of the iconography of the Black female body, writing that it served as "the site of corruption and disease" (1985: 231) "an icon for Black sexuality in general" (1985: 209).  Those projections of the nineteenth century positioned the Black female as having a sexuality not worth protecting.  Gynecological researchers, sensitive to the modesty of White women, for example, used Black women as models for photographs of genitalia since Black women – by their very nature –  were supposedly inured against shame (Brumberg 1998: 149).  Through the scientific explorations of Black female bodies (especially their genitals), researchers relegated those group of bodies to an inferior status (Roberts 1997; Wallace-Sanders 2002).

Going further back in time, the African female body in the colonized world was, first and foremost, an object of profit.  So was the African male.  However, the female's ability to produce more workers meant that her ability to procreate as well as work rendered her more valuable.  Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to John Epps dated June 30, 1820 wrote: "I consider a woman who brings a child every two years more profitable

than the best man of the farm.  What she produces is an addition to capital, while his labors disappear in mere consumption" (Jefferson and Betts 1999).

Descriptions and depictions of the black female body are ubiquitous in the colonial literature.  One of the more notable is the treatment of Sarah Baartman whom Sander Gilman suggests, along with the white prostitute, "fulfilled an iconographic function in the perception and the representation of the world."  Displaying these women alive and dead, at least in the case of Sarah Bartmann, served an important purpose for the scientific politics of the time, adding to the debate as to whether Black people belonged to the human race. There was a discussion about whether Man (sic) had evolved through polygenesis (a theory that various peoples originated in different places with very different core attributes) or monogenesis (a common origin for all humans that led to the notion of commonalities among present day peoples) (Lorimer 1988).

Black male bodies were subjected to a similar kind of  "scientific" scrutiny, though Gilman (1985) states otherwise. Gilman holds that there was no parallel process of dissection and study of Black male genitalia.   He goes on to conclude that " the uniqueness of the genitalia and buttocks of the Black is thus associated primarily with the female and is taken to be a sign solely of an anomalous female sexuality" (Gilman 1985: 218). Johnson and Bond (1934) present evidence that White researchers subjected all Black bodies  to similar scrutiny whether it was attention to their skull or brain size, foot shape or bone density.

It is the case, however, that the comparative size of the male penis was of particular interest.  For example, in a paper Charles White read to meetings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester in 1795, he declared the following:

> That the penis of an African is larger than that of an European, has, I believe, been shown in every anatomical school in London. Preparations of them are preserved in most anatomical museums; and I have one in mine. I have examined several living negroes, and found it invariably to be the case [White 1999] .

It is well known, also, that along with other body parts, such as fingers and toes, Black men's penises became souvenirs after lynchings (Harris 1984).

In this present study, I focus on the Black girl for whom the pathologizing of the black female body exists in the present day. This reality means that in a Black girl's relationship to the notion of self-love, she interrogates her African phenotype within a context of hegemonic White male supremacy and internalized oppression. A Black girl's radical self-love must attempt to transcend – through the body – the negating, diminishing and rejecting racial and gendered landscape into which she was born. Her radical self-love must aim to confront the ontological imperative of Africa's subaltern status. The love of herself has to be radical – rooted and elemental – because the Black female body is one of the sites where dominant ideology inscribed the problematic of the ideological foundation of the inferiority of Africa. Africa is the predominant geographic source of her genetic makeup used in the racialization process and, thus negatively marks her hair, nose, lips, skin and buttocks.

When I was a child and then a teenager, I experienced this negative racial marking when I pursued gymnastics. I was enchanted with the sport and yearned to gain the poise, strength, beauty, grace, agility and courage that I saw in the most skilled and famous gymnasts whom I admired: those from the then U.S.S.R, Olga Korbut, Ludmilla Tourischeva, Elvira Saadi; and the most famous one from United States, Cathy Rigby. I had kinky hair that I refused to straighten, medium brown skin and a body that

8

was strong and muscular with a decidedly African butt. At that time in the early nineteen seventies, none of the elite female athletes in the sport bore the slightest resemblance to me. That did not deter me – I had enormous will to succeed and felt I could succeed.

I took gymnastics classes, devoured every book I could find on the sport, kept a scrapbook, I attended every meet and exhibition I could (including occasions where I saw the team from the U.S.S.R. in Madison Square Garden), and wrote in a journal with the idea that I was documenting my progress to the Olympics. I worked out at home, doing strength and flexibility exercises, pushing my body to its limits. When I earned a spot on a YMCA team, gymnastics became even more of an overriding passion.

My coach (whom I will call Saul), hailed from Kentucky, and did not know what to do with this Black girl who did not look like the others and did not act as he expected. Saul choreographed all the floor, beam and bar routines for the team and as much as I know he cared for me, could not hide his racist attitudes. For example, he expressed open-mouthed astonishment, when I did not quickly pick up a piece of choreography in my floor routine. How was it possible that I – a Black girl –was not preternaturally good at dance? I swallowed my hurt and anger at Saul for placing me in a box with attendant Black stereotypes.

Saul also determined that I was overweight and needed to go on a diet. At 5 foot 3 inches, I weighed about one hundred and fifteen pounds, and the need to lose weight did not make sense to me at first but I eventually figured that he must be right – I must be fat. After all, I definitely was not like the white gymnasts on the team or on television and this launched me on years of yo-yo dieting. For years I hated my silhouette, convinced that I was overweight with a body that was not right because I was not White. I gained

9

insight into another dimension of Saul's racist perspective when another coach told me that she thought it was my anatomy and not my weight that was the issue. My African butt had been read by Saul as "fat."

Not long after retiring from gymnastics, I pursued modern dance and again encountered the ways that the African body was challenged and devalued, even in putatively Black spaces. At the Alvin Ailey School where I was a certificate student, natural hair was decidedly frowned upon and outright discouraged in the professional dance company. Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater was an interracial dance company, with an Africanist perspective that performed works celebrating the African diaspora. The irony of it all did not escape me. Nor did it escape some of my fellow dancers, some of whom straightened their hair so as to be more acceptable.

The embodiment of Africa was the issue with which I contended as a dancer and a gymnast. Inside burned an anger and a love – a radical love that fuels my work and is critical, especially, I argue, for Black girls.


**African and Blackness Dis/Affiliation Stories**

After leaving Ailey's certificate program, I briefly worked as substitute teacher in Brooklyn. It was there that I encountered the issues of how Africa inserts itself in the lives of Black children. I offer two stories from my experience in a Brooklyn school in the mid-1980s that illustrate the opposite poles of African affiliation and disaffiliation that served as the impetus for my research. The first story describes the disdain that children had for the very notion of African heritage, while the second story is a dramatic rejoinder that puts their disdain into question. Read together, the stories are reminders of

the multitudinous realities of African diasporic people under racial domination.  African

descended people contend with the dynamic oppositions in a spectrum that ranges from

the internalization of racial oppression to self-love and appreciation whether

subconscious or conscious. I saw this theme repeatedly in my work in Carriacou.

The first story is an example of one side of the spectrum whereby I observed children's

internalized oppression with a clear African disaffiliation.

Story 1: Inside the Classrooms at the Crown Heights Brooklyn School in 1984

*I worked as a substitute teacher in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn New York in 1984-1985. There, I witnessed the behavior of teachers who were dismissive or hostile towards the majority Black student body. Some members of the mostly White teaching staff referred to the children as "animals" and didn't hide their aversion and disgust at dealing with them. In one instance, a teacher had talked to me about an art assignment she had given her students of making abstract self-portraits. She showed me the materials she was using and when I commented that I didn't see shades of brown among the choices she had laid out for the children, she unselfconsciously replied that she wanted the children to use "pretty" colors. By conceptualizing shades of brown as ugly, whether or not she expressed this to the children directly, surely she did so in more indirect ways.  By removing those colors from the options the children had at self-representation, the teacher communicated that brown and Black children were not attractive, but embodiments of what Page calls "unembraceable Blackness" (1997b). In the Brooklyn school, many Black children, like this teacher and presumably others, accepted the dominant, negative or marginalizing messages about their African phenotypes and origins. Among the insults they hurled at each other in seriousness or in jest was the word "African" as if "African" was an epithet. I was alarmed that these children had learned to insult each other using that word, but not completely surprised. It seemed clear to me that they had absorbed the hegemonic racial ideology that was supported in the school by some of their teachers.*

*I was so disturbed by the children's internalized racism that I determined to address it directly. Because I was a floating substitute teacher, the administration assigned me to different classrooms each day and therefore I was in contact with many children from first grade to fifth. I decided to talk in each class about the children's African heritage by asking the students about their families and their ancestry, encouraging them to tell me where they were from and where their parents were from. This seemed to be a novel idea to them.  The children would list their West Indian or United States birthplaces, and the various locations from where their parents and grandparents had come. But, pushed to go back much further in time, to beyond their great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great grandparents ("as far back as you can imagine"), not one child reported African ancestry. When I pointed out that our shared*

*historic origin was Africa, many of the children by physically recoiling in shock. "No!"*
*they exclaimed, horrified – for a few moments each class would be in an uproar. Most of*
*the students, it seemed, had never heard anyone positively convey that they were of*
*African heritage. Getting over their astonishment and dismay, they were usually hungry*
*to know more. I told them a little of what I knew about Africa and I told them a bit about*
*the story of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. They were thoughtful and serious as they*
*listened and queried me about various aspects of their history — so much so that on*
*occasion children approached me after school wanting to talk further.*

This Brooklyn classroom story illustrates core concerns.  For one thing, the teachers are expressing the racism of the culture and seeing "other people's children"  as inferior and impaired (Delpit 1996).  They act accordingly and without thinking carefully about their pedagogy, some teachers re-inscribe society's stereotypes about Black children. These stereotypes are absorbed by children, who are too young to critically assess, question or counter them.  I note here, too, that it is almost certain that Black people also propagated negative stereotypes.

The issues of Black self-concept (which includes Black self-hatred, Black identity, Black self-perception and Black self-esteem) have long been a subject of scholarly research (Anderson and Cromwell 1977; Clark and Clark 1939; Clark and Clark 1940; Clark and Clark 1950; Hare 1977; Hraba and Grant 1970; Leary 2005; Powell-Hopson and Hopson 1988), growing in sophistication of method and analysis (see Steele's 1999 studies on stereotype threat).  These studies confirm and challenge the conclusions that have become almost an article of faith among many in the Black community: that many Black people in the States have been psychologically altered by racial subordination and segregation.  The Clark studies gave support for this notion that segregation from Whites psychologically damaged Blacks and used this argument to bolster support for the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation case.

The potent power of the message of internalized subordination has led to several non-scientific repetitions of the Clark doll studies delivered to the general public. In 2005, 18 year old filmmaker, Kiri Davis, repeated aspects of the study and created a YouTube film documenting the results. She interviewed 21 Black children, asking them which doll they preferred. In the film, the voiceover announces that 15 out of 21 children preferred with White doll (Davis 2005). ABC news also did a version of the doll study (Unknown Director 2009). All results appear to indicate the internalization of negative notions of Blackness.

Some version of a study or interview exploring children's racial self-concept was aired on Grenada television and one of the nine-year-old Carriacouan girls, Jilisa[1], with skin the color of honey, talked about it when I interviewed her:

| Valerie: | So is there one [color] that is the best? Which is the best? |
|---|---|
| Jilisa: | Brown's the best. |
| VJ: | And why is that the best? |
| J: | [Emphatically] Because no one want to be Black Black! |
| VJ | Why not? |
| J: | I ain't know. Because they have some children on television [talking about] color. Some people asking them which color they want to be Black, brown or White and all the children say White. |
| VJ: | Hm. And why did they say that? |
| J: | Because one of them said, black was too ugly for them. |
| VJ: | And do you agree with them? |
| J: | Yes |
| VJ: | You agree. Okay. All right. Where do you think that people learn those sorts of things that black is ugly and fair is okay? |
| J: | [animatedly and as if it were obvious] Well someone who is a genius! |
| VJ: | You think that's where they learned it from. So, somebody really smart told everybody that. |
| J: | Yes. |

---

[1] All participants were given pseudonyms.

William Cross, a psychologist specializing in models of Black identity development, has studied the identity of children of color as it relates to school outcomes. He is most concerned with his perception that children of color are succumbing to a kind of self–sabotage (Cross 2011). He cites John Ogbu (1992; Ogbu 2003; Ogbu 2008), an anthropologist, who posits that many students develop an oppositional personality – a kind of personality type developed by some students of color in response to their perception that the opportunities were limited and thus these students negate the importance of school and behave accordingly. Ogbu suggests that oppositional personality is an outmoded or archaic response to the situation of oppression. Cross cites scholars from the "hip hop generation" who state that the opposition is not dysfunctional but responsive to present-day realities that include heightened surveillance, disproportionate drug sentencing, disproportionate prison populations. Though Cross seems to be saying that he agrees with both perspectives, he rejects the notion that a connection to the past (presumably a past including Africa) is helpful and he suggests, instead, a focus on present situations and initiatives that address the present conditions. What is needed, Cross suggests, are programs that are "both ecologically sensitive as well as grounded in the realities of the present rather than myths about the past" (2011: 16).

I agree that a powerful commitment to the present is critical; therefore, I suggest that to the extent that Africa inheres presently in the bodies of African-descended people, and African phenotype serves as a justification for racial oppression, is the extent to which researchers give critical attention to how Africa is regarded, remembered, internalized, and performed in the present day. I argue the self-evident: that there is no present without the past. In doing so, I embrace the West African Akan concept of

Sankofa – which says "to profit in the present from experiences of the past [is] to prosper in the future" (Jørgensen 2001: 121). In that light, my dissertation research explored how pre-adolescent girls on the island of Carriacou understand, discuss and perform the conflict that lies in the space between giving and withholding consent to the hegemonically propagated expectation that they reject their African heritage. In so doing, I respond, in part, to Gordon and Anderson's call for "an ethnography of diasporic identity formation" (1999:51) in which the focus shifts from how academics theorize diaspora and ascribe Black identity to how "the folk" themselves develop their own cultural theories of diaspora and self-identification. I sought to find what Kyra Gaunt calls "multiple and contradictory meanings lurking behind" (2002:125) the apparent diversity of opinion and individual position what through the lens of a diasporic comparative distance may appear to be greater unanimity in perspective than what generally is acknowledged.

If the first story illustrates African disaffiliation, the story reveals the other end of the spectrum – a clear example of African affiliation.

Story 2: In the Playground of the Crown Heights Brooklyn School in 1984

*Alarmed at the extent to which the children had internalized racist ideology, I was galvanized by the challenge I set for myself of making the attempt to shift or shock the children out of their complacent and damaging self-belittlement. Because I was only a substitute teacher, I could not implement a comprehensive plan to deepen the children's knowledge of their history and counter the powerful societal messages about race and Africa. I didn't tell any of the teachers nor the principal what I was doing either, imagining that I would be asked to stop or simply not asked back to work. In each class, in all the grades, I continued to talk to the children about Africa. In each class, they all registered similar initial shocked distress and then interest in what I had to say about Africa.*
*Based on my experience in the classroom, nothing prepared me for the way my perception of the children would change. I was shocked out of my understanding of the children as victims of internalized racial oppression when one day while in one corner of*

*the schoolyard during lunch break, I heard the rising and falling sound of some kind of singing. I was at a distance and couldn't quite make out the words. It didn't sound like any song I had heard before. Following the sound, I saw a group of girls performing a dance to their singing. Organized in lines and alternately dancing in unison and one by one, they sang, chanted, clapped, stamped and shook their hips. It was an exuberant, rhythmic and poetic musical dance-play. The girls called it cheering and to me, as a professionally trained dancer, it appeared to have been built from elements of West African dance. I was stunned and deeply moved – it was the most beautiful thing I had ever seen.*

The girls' musical dance play seemed to be a complete repudiation of the children's vociferous denunciations of Africa and Blackness and their connections to Africa. Cheering contained elements of West African dance: polyrhythmic stamping and clapping, the arching and hollowing of the torso, isolation of body parts, and call and response (Daniel 1991). With what seemed to be the clear existence of African elements in cheering, I wondered if I could create a way for the children to critically regard the two contradictory visions of Africa that I saw them enact.

I imagined telling the girls that cheering had African elements, it was wondrous and beautiful and a powerful and important example of cultural treasure. I wanted to believe that once given this enlightening information, the girls' vibrant connection to and love for cheering would thwart the negative visions of Africa, expressed in racial name-calling and insults. I wanted to believe that upon hearing that cheering was African (at least in part), the girls would be intrigued and then excited to understand some of the connections to the continent

I had to admit that my visions of an Afrocentric consciousness-raising for elementary school children, were wildly unrealistic imaginings since, for one thing, I knew the girls had been so negatively indoctrinated about Africa – in and out of school. I could not be confident that informing them of cheering's African roots would not result

in the girls rejecting it. A successful program of changing the children's perceptions about Africa would require dedication from critically informed administration and teachers at the school – a concerted and committed effort to help children resist the dominant culture's indoctrination.  Years away from formally studying anthropology at that point, I still knew that I, as a teacher, had enormous power to impose symbolic violence on the children with a poorly conceived and implemented intervention[2].I also know I could not accomplish large-scale change on my own. So, captivated by the girls' cheering, I simply watched them during every lunch period that I could.  I finished out my year of substitute teaching knowing that I had done my best to intervene in the internalized racism I saw the children exhibit.

The following September, I enrolled in a year-long certificate program in movement analysis at the New York City Laban/Bartenieff Institute for Movement Studies (L.I.M.S.).  The Institute's programs are based on the work of Rudolf Laban (1879-1958), dancer, teacher and theoretician and Irmgard Bartenieff (1900-1981), dancer, choreographer and physical therapist.   Together they pioneered an approach to movement that entailed close attention to the body's interaction with energy dynamics, space, and shape.  They created an innovative way of describing, theorizing and making therapeutic interventions in the body's movement.  One of the requirements of the L.I.M.S. certificate program was a research project in which the students intellectually and physically engaged the Laban/Bartenieff theories.

---

[2] see Hastrup 1992

Eager to apply to a study of cheering what I had learned at the Institute, I decided on a comparative analysis of the movement dynamics of cheering and African dance. I wanted to demonstrate the cheering was an African retention. I visited two branches of the New York Public Library: The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and The Doris and Lewis B. Cullman Center at Lincoln Center – the most likely locations, I thought, where I would find such film. Strangely, very little footage of West African dance seemed to be available – the library personnel only had one or two pieces of footage for me to view.

Because I did not have access to much footage of African dance in Africa, I decided to compare cheering to dance movements observed in Africa and documented by colonial-era European explorers. Explorers commented on the polyrhythms, arching and bowing, corporeal dynamism, and pelvic undulations of African dance, albeit through their biased18[th] and 19th century European perspectives. I knew that a comparison between cheering and the explorers' descriptions did not fit the requirements of scientific study since I could not "prove" that the girls' dance play existed as a link in an unbroken chain from Africa. Still, my study gave me a very basic introduction to comparative research while at the same time confirming what Foucault terms "subjugated knowledge" (Foucault and Gordon 1980) within the Black community that African retentions were real and enduring. Indeed, many people with whom I spoke considered cheering's Africanness a forgone conclusion.

A necessary step in the research process was the recording of the children. I arranged a date with the school and found an acquaintance through my church who would record the girls. It was only on that sunny and unseasonably warm December day in 1985

that I discovered the extent to which cheering was a highly organized activity. I had thought I had issued permission slips to only the fifth graders, instead who showed up with documents signed by their parents, were fifth *and* third graders. The cheerers whom I had seen in the schoolyard were not a loosely organized group of girls who randomly gathered and cheered occasionally.  Rather, this was an assembly of two well-organized cheering groups with leaders, a repertoire of cheers, special nicknames for each girl, and rules and values around fairness, aesthetics and propriety. The leaders kept the dancers disciplined, stipulated which cheers would be performed (with input from the group), chose the formation of dancers, and controlled when to start a cheer.

Not long after the recording session, I interviewed three of the girls (two who had been videotaped and the twin sister of one) and found more information about the ways in which cheering constituted a world of activities and interactions involving aesthetics, status and power.  Cheering was a highly valued part of the girls' lives and during the interview, again, I avoided exploring the issue of its relation to West Africa and West African dance.  Based on what I suspected were their sub-conscious and conscious attitudes towards Africa, I feared the ramifications of such a revelation.

I wrote my LIMS paper in which I analyzed cheering movements, and compared them to colonial-era drawings and descriptions of African dance on the continent.  I demonstrated that the colonial explorers in West Africa noted the pelvic undulations, the clapping and stamping, and the rhythmic dynamism that also characterized cheering (Buel 1890; Carnes 1853; Cowley 1928; Jobson 1623). For example, J.A. Carnes, wrote in 1852:

Those who compose the dance divide into couples opposite to each other and the dance commences by their throwing themselves into many wild, ridiculous postures, advancing, retreating, leaping stomping on the ground, bowing their heads to each other as they pass, and muttering some strange noise [371-372].

I put the video and my paper aside and did not retrieve them for several years. However, the startling (yet seemingly everyday) juxtapositions of open and self-implicating disparagement of Africa with the often unseen or unacknowledged Africa or African retentions was never far from my mind.

## **Background of the Present Research Project**

Almost exactly nineteen years after I had videotaped the girls in the Brooklyn schoolyard, when I became a graduate student in anthropology, it occurred to me that the long forgotten video (degraded, but viable enough to be digitized) might be important to an anthropological project of exploring issues of internalized racism, especially negative internalizations of Africa. Because it was clear to me that the footage showed Africanist movement, I wondered if the cheering footage would prove to be a valuable tool for eliciting reflections and impressions related to Africa among Black viewers.

In small ethnographic projects in the United States, I showed this footage to Black people: the principal, children and teachers at the same public school where I had worked years before; friends; family members; and, finally, practitioners and teachers of African dance and drumming. The professional dancers and drummers validated my initial impression that cheering was an African continuation. As a result, I was able to substantiate my claim that the cheering footage could be used as a key research tool.

Thus endorsed, the cheering footage allowed me to observe how viewers respond to Africanist cultural production. Positive responses to the footage would correlate to

20

positive attitudes about Africa, while negative reactions to the footage would correlate to negative attitudes with Africa. I suspected that most Carriacouan girls would not only have a positive response to the footage because of the rich presence of African retentions on the island (a discussion of Carriacou's Africanisms to be discussed further in Chapter 2), but they would also find the movements familiar or similar to what they did in their musical play. This method is similar to the photo elicitation method described by Collier (1986). Video elicitation, along with interviews, observations of musical dance play, and learning and playing the games, participation/observation of daily life in Carriacou would give a contextualized picture of girls' affiliation and disaffiliation with Africa.

## Organization of the dissertation

In chapter 2, I discuss the methods and procedures of this study. My approach employs critical ethnography whereby my biases and allegiances are made explicit as well as my sense of the research's socially transformative potential (Simon and Dippo 1986). I also describe the procedures of formal and informal interviews, participant/observation.

Acknowledging that a major component of affiliation is a sense of history, chapter 3 tackles an overview of the production of Grenada and Carriacou's history. Trouillot tells us that an understanding of the production of history is critical. If history is "the fruit of power" (1995: xix), then a review of history tells us how power is deployed and how we are variously implicated, empowered, victimized and marginalized by it. In this chapter, I also examine the rhetorical creation and destruction of space/history, which sometimes serves to de-Africanize it.

In chapter 4, I examine the Grenadian fourth grade social studies textbook as a technology of racialization and ideological whitening. The Africanist elements of girls' musical play appear to create a counterweight to the powerful forces of colonial ideology.

In chapter 5 and 6 (spatiality) and 7 (performance) consist of three foci through which I ground the presentation of my research. Chapter 8 is the conclusion. I went to Carriacou to study Black girl's danceplay and affiliation, and quickly realized the complexities of asking about this topic in today's Carriacou. As a result, the dissertation research and writing became explorations of affiliation and disaffiliation, of memories and amnesias, of histories and futures, of continuities and disruptions, and of psychosocial consonances and dissonances. The result of this exploration is a much more nuanced understanding of what Africa means in Carriacou today, for young and old, and the interwoven nature of persistent White Supremacy, ideological whiteness and radical Black love in the lives of girls. The dissertation charts this journey.

# CHAPTER 2

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY and PROCEDURES

*Yes, but what are you doing for our people?*

My cousin's question after I gave him a detailed
explanation of the research project

In this section, I discuss the methods and procedures used in this inquiry: What role does Black girls' musical dance play in Carriacouan Black girls' affiliations and disaffiliations with Africa

This study took place in Carriacou, Grenada 2009-2012. I traveled in late August with my husband, James Carroll, a doctoral candidate writing his dissertation – a comparative analysis of African musician Fela Anikulapo-Kuti and African American musician Sun Ra – and our then-eight year old daughter, Zanaya Joseph-Carroll. We moved into the house in an area in the southern part of the island called Hermitage. My mother built the house in the late 1990s in anticipation of the day when she will move back to Carriacou. In this, she was like other emigrants to the United States, England and other countries who moved away and built houses to which they planned to return in retirement. The local term for these people are JCBs for "Just Come Back." My mother's house sits on land passed down by her mother – my grandmother – Sylvia who inherited it from her father – my great grandfather – Benjamin. Because the land was one parcel amongst several parcels owned by cousins who had also inherited land, Jim, Zanaya and I lived amongst cousins from different generations. We were ensconced in a welcoming environment, where Zanaya had a wealth of playmates and I and Jim an abundance of contacts and support.

While Carriacou would have been a tempting place for fieldwork because of the familial connections and familiarity with the island, I chose it for a much more critical reason.  Carriacou serves as an excellent location for research on African affiliation because the island is "nearly unique in the English-speaking Caribbean" (Hill 2002: 1) due to the people's claim of descent from specific African nations  (McDaniel 1985).  These are the same nations represented in Big Drum (also known as the Nation Dance), a ritual dance performed at special occasions.  Because of the presence of Big Drum and other African continuations in Carriacouan culture, I expected that not only would I see Africanisms in the dance play, but also I would see a set of certain behaviors and attitudes reflecting a particular stance towards Africa.  I expected to observe positive responses to the Africanist dance play of other Black girls and I expected to discover that Carriacouan girls' imagined relationship to Africa would be strong, positive and unambiguous.

To this end, I formally interviewed fifteen Black girls, and gave group interviews to one hundred and forty Black children (seventy-five girls and sixty-five boys).   I removed the responses of two White children from the data. In addition, 5 children's responses were removed from the study because of illegibility or lack of writing capacity.

I followed the protocols for my IRB approved study for which I sought and was given approval for research by the Grenadian government.  In addition, all the schools granted me further permissions to conduct research on the site.

The data was analyzed using NVIVO qualitative data analysis (QDA) software. It allowed for a detailed analysis of my group interview data whereby I could discern patterns in the data for the purposes of classification, sorting and analysis.

Though anthropology has attached a greater significance to the study of children in recent years, there is still not the focus necessary, especially in light of their numbers in human populations (Hirschfeld 2002; Schwartzman 2001). In addition, there is a significant absence on research of "the relationship between the child, the state and global economic and political forces" (Schwartzman 2001: 5). Further, ethnographic inquiries that focus on how preadolescent Black girls come to know and understand their world and how they live within its contradictions are rarely the foci of ethnographic research. According to Annette Henry (1995), the life stories of young Black girls need critical exploration. In the intersection of race and gender expression and oppression, they have unique experiences and viewpoints. Though Henry was referring to Black American girls specifically, Black girls of the African Diaspora have also long been neglected and though there is some research on Caribbean girls (Curtis 2009), there still a gap.

In this chapter, I describe in more detail, the key assumptions and terms, the context for the research, my situatedness as a Carriacouan, my worldview, my research strategy, research procedures, United States Pilot Projects and design dilemmas with which I contended.

## **Key Assumptions, Terms, and Concepts of the Dissertation**

Any research endeavor is situated within a research paradigm, with associated assumptions, key terms, and concepts. The research paradigm according to Guba and Lincoln (1994):

> …may be viewed as a set of *basic beliefs* [or metaphysics] that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a *worldview* that defines for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts [1994:107].

25

I base my study of African affiliation on Carriacou through the lens of girl's play on three premises: 1) White supremacy is a global phenomenon, 2) a positive regard of Africa is critical to one's positive sense of oneself, 3) "African" continuations hold emotional historical significance. Throughout this dissertation, I elaborate on the rationale for and the implications of these assumptions. The beginning of this elaboration happens in this section's presentation of key terms.

African affiliation is the positive connection with/to, partnership with, alignment with, or relationship with/to Africa. Affiliation and disaffiliation to Africa involve affective responses – the emotional connection to Africa. These responses may be that of which the subject is aware or unaware – residing in their subconscious. They may be direct or indirect, ambiguous or clear.

While anyone, including European descended people and others, could claim African affiliation by virtue of their appreciation of Africanist cultural ideas, customs or behaviors, African affiliations, for the purposes of this project, references the responses to Africa and the part of people of African descent. This is because African descended people have a singular socio-historical relationship to Africa not replicated by any other so-called racial or ethnic (writ large) group. This is not only because of the genetic ties to the continent but because of the weight of projections that people of African descent carry that people from other groups do not. When African-descended people make claims upon, ally with, evoke, embrace, malign, reject, love or hate Africa, those behaviors engage issues of the psychological relationship to the self.

I note here that the term "Africa" in this project, is a metonym for the more accurate "West Africa," the location from which most of the Black people in the

26

Americas who are descended from enslaved Africans could trace their roots. The African

cultural features to which this dissertation refers originate in West Africa as we are

reminded by Dixon Gottschild who writes, "The Sabar dances of Senegal are as different

from the Watusi dances of Rwanda or the Masai dances of Kenya as a Greek folk dance

is from Russian ballet"(2003 6-7).

## African-descended/Black

Following the lead of Keita (2004), I use "African-descended" interchangeably

with "Black" to refer to those who are populations of the African continent, its diasporic

populations and/or those with African physiognomy regardless of how they choose to

identify. The term "Black," however, is a synecdoche – a term used when speaking of a

part (in this case, an imprecisely named skin color) while meaning the whole. The whole

to which "Black" refers is a matrix of sociohistorical ideologies and events with which

the "black"-skinned individual is affiliated by association. As a synecdoche, then, Black

is imprecise, since there is no skin color that is actually as black as, for example, tar or

coal (though some groups appear to come close). Therefore, black (as it refers to skin

color), as every pre-racial encounter child knows, does not exist.

"Black" is also the term that has been used as a pejorative (James 1981) and, in

fact, was purposefully used by the European dominants to create social distance between

themselves and Africans and "demean, subjugate and dedignify" that population

(Fairchild 1985: 52). During the 1960s and 1970s, the Black Power movement sought to

claim Black as a signifier of beauty and strength as exemplified in the terms "Black is

beautiful" or (quoting James Brown) "I'm Black and I'm proud." In the present day,

Black still has negative meaning in the dominant society such that according to Hall (2015), choosing the appellation "Black" over African American results in negative material consequences for the African-descended job seeker.  Employers, for example, when presented with those who identify as African American or Black American, attribute to "Black Americans" qualities such as lower education and reduced competence.

Enoch Page (an anthropology professor and my first graduate advisor), had taught that the desire to assimilate drove the change in nomenclature and the use of "African American" reflected a whitening impulse.  However, there is irony in this trajectory. Employers have long been documented as preferring Caribbean Americans over African Americans, identifying those from the Caribbean and their offspring as harder working and more dependable (Waters 2009) .  However, many Caribbean Americans would, if given a choice between calling themselves "African Americans" or "Black Americans" would say they are Black Americans.  This is because we understand African Americans to be those with longer roots in the United States, with different cultural traditions and styles than Caribbean Americans. Ironically, then, the supposed preferred group (Caribbean Americans) is disadvantaged by using the title "Black" or "Black American" –  terms they deem more accurate. In addition, one might logically conclude that "African American" is a kind of affiliation with Africa. However, in what may seem counterintuitive, "African American" has moved away from that affiliative meaning and, as Page argues, now represents a more assimilationist stance.

## Africanist

I follow Brenda Dixon Gottschild who defines Africanist as "works that are African, African-American or Afro-Caribbean in origin/content/intent/format" (Gottschild n.d.). I note that people can be ignorant of works, behaviors, cultural productions that are Africanist in origin/content/intent/format as maybe most people are who enjoy jazz (Jackson 2000), say the word "okay" (Holloway 2005: 102) or eat rice (Holloway 2005). The foregoing examples may be surprising to those who think that they are simply Americanisms or (perhaps in the last example only) from Asia. Instead, they and other cultural expressions are infused into the United States culture and represent "the Africanist as a particular, pervasive presence that touches almost every aspect of American life" (Gottschild 1996: 3).

## White

I use the term "White" to refer to populations of the European continent, Europe's diasporic population and/or those who consider themselves white. Similar to the term "Black,", "White" represent the whole, that is, the set of interlocking and complex socio-historical forces, ideologies and events with which the "white"-skinned individual is affiliated by association.

More precisely,

> …the term [White] acknowledges how Europeans in America and elsewhere made themselves into a transnational group called whites to distinguish themselves and their supremacist entitlements from those designated nonwhites and seen as deserving few or no racial entitlements [Page 1999: 113]

**Africanisms/African retentions/African survivals**

The viewpoint that "Africanisms," African "retentions," or "survivals" exist in

diasporic locations has been studied by several theorists and academics (Herskovits 1941;

Holloway 1990; Hurston 1995). One of the first to contest the view that the descendants

of slaves had retained aspects of the cultures of their ancestors was E. Franklin Frazier

(1974) who argued that the trauma of slavery had stripped all vestiges of African cultures

away from the enslaved masses and therefore African retentions could not and did not

exist. The African American culture, according to that view, developed initially from

enslaved peoples' interactions with European and indigenous cultures. More recently,

post-modern theorists have argued that claimants to Africanness suffer from an artificial

and worrisome implantation of racial thinking that reifies the social construction of race –

the Western conception used to objectify and subordinate people of color. This latter

group of thinkers – Gilroy (1993) and Hall (1990) among them – focus on concepts such

as hybridity and syncretization that contest the essentialism seen to be inherent in

Afrocentric thought. Price and Mintz seem to take the middle ground stating that while

there were African "unities and continuities" (Mintz and Price 1992: 2) there does not

seem to be anything like a wholesale transfer of a culture that all Africans shared. There

does seem to be, they theorize, an underlying set of values or "unconscious 'grammatical'

principles, which may underlie and shape behavioral response" (Mintz and Price 1992: 9-

10)

For many in Carriacou, especially those I call the "Africanists," it is a foregone

conclusion that Africa survives in what they say or do. For this reason, I will use the

terms "Africanisms," "African survivals," "African continuations" and "African

retentions" interchangeably with the understanding that these phenomena are variously and unavoidably affected by other cultural input resulting in an intertextuality with "strands [that] are indeed identifiable" (Gottschild 1996: 3).

## **The Carriacouan Context**

The research in Carriacou occurs in a rich context of Africanisms in Carriacou, the realities of a colonial past and present day racial subordination and the complex and sometimes contradictory relationship people have to their African heritage. Some Africanisms that endure in the African Diaspora are cornrow braiding (Harris and Johnson 2001), the pouring of libations on the ground (Pobee 1976). I also observed a common practice of the preparation of "the parents' plate" – a table lavishly set with food for the ancestors (Hill 1974). Names given for the day of birth in certain West African traditions such as "Quamina" (Saturday), "Quashie" (Sunday) and "Cudjoe" (Monday) (Handler and Jacobi 1996) endure in Carriacou today as common surnames. Other cultural traditions, such as quadrille dance, manifest in a more syncretic or creolized blend of African and European influences. Many of these Carriacouan customs have been studied by anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, novelists and filmmakers (Collins 1999; Collins 2008; David 2006; Fayer and McMurray 1994; Floyd 1999; Hill 1974; Hill 2005; Lorde 1982; Marshall 1983; McDaniel 1985; McDaniel 1998; Miller 2005; Miller 2007; Smith 1962; Szwed and Marks 1988). However, perhaps the most prominent tradition consciously acknowledged as having African roots is the Big Drum or Nations' Dance.

The origins of Big Drum, according to Pearse (1955), can be traced to sometime prior to 1830 when members of the Cromanti group of Africans began to practice a ritual

that recalled and honored the ancestors.  In an additive process, other groups began to participate in the ritual, including their own dances.  The additive process that, Pearse suggests, continued at least until the time of his research when Carriacouans travelling from Grenada, Union and Trinidad had contributed dances learned in those locations. Big Drum, then, is a new world ritual ceremony – a dance in which cultural elements can be traced back to nine African nations (Cromanti, Igbo, Manding, Chamba, Temné, Banda, Arada, Moko and Kongo).

The Big Drum traditionally has been represented and performed in a single ritual (McDaniel 1998; Smith 1962); and Carriacouans historically have identified themselves as belonging to one of the African tribal groups, in part, because of how they aligned themselves with one rhythm or another.  I spoke to a sixty-something year old woman who said, "I have a special feeling whenever I hear a particular beat and I don't know why."

During my fieldwork, I observed the Big Drum club at the Harvey Vale Government School perform at important events, such as the Independence Day celebration in which all the schools were present as well as dignitaries including the prime minister. Other groups on the island, such as the Carriacou Cultural Organization group also performed, most notably at the Maroon Festival.

Another way that some Carriacouans remember and perform their African heritage is through the Emancipation Day activities.  Celebrated on the first Monday in August, Emancipation Day is a public holiday commemorating the 1834 date that slavery ended. Emancipation Day takes place in the midst of the late July/early August Carriacou Regatta Festival, a boat race that attracts participants from across the Eastern Caribbean.

Aside from the boat race, many onshore activities take place. As detailed in the Laurena Hotel website (Hotel 2010), these events include various road races, weight lifting and beer drinking competitions, donkey races and a musical chairs competition.

While they had not done so for a few years, one of the Republic Bank managers told me in a 2012 conversation that the bank employees used to wear African clothes on Emancipation Day. He took out a photo album and showed me photos of previous years when the staff were resplendent in their vibrant and elaborate outfits. When I asked him why he thought people had not dressed in their African outfits in 2012, he supposed that the high cost of African attire might have something to do with it – especially for the women for whom the outfits would cost several hundred EC dollars. He also wondered if he was also witnessing a diminishing of the importance of the practice. He vowed to try to reinstitute Emancipation Day African dress for the following year.

It was also for Emancipation Day 2012 that the Carriacou Cultural Organization asked me to give a public talk on my research and join them afterwards for the Emancipation March. I gave my talk to a small group of enthusiastic individuals who bemoaned the lack of attendance at my lecture. While there may not have been many audience members for my talk, there was plenty of people attending the events outside. In the center of town, there were booths with food and drinks for sale, music blasting and many people in the streets – several of them tourists. Some had come for the Emancipation Day march, the event in which Carriacouans march down the main street of Hillsborough in the evening, wearing African-style clothing, carrying torches, singing, and dancing to African music.

For the march, I met C.C.O. members and others at a place on the southern part of Hillsborough where we lit our beer bottle torches and began walking through the streets in the early evening.  The street was packed. Tourists gawked and took photos of this cultural event.  We marchers numbered only about twenty and a few more joined as we walked along.  We waved to people on the sidewalk whom we knew and sang until we came to the end of the march at the edge of town.

With the possible exception of the Emancipation Day parade and a few other events where people wear African clothes, it does not appear that most Carriacouans think of the various expressions of cultural heritage as a conscious affiliation to Africa per se, rather, they are simply things that people habitually and unselfconsciously perform. When asked about the African origins of some of these practices, many Carriacouan adults are matter-of-fact about them; some profess to know no particular connection.  Some may easily acknowledge the African past, though they seem to be surprised that I wanted to make such an explicit designation.  Others, such as the members of Carriacou Cultural Organization and the Carriacou Historical Society are more direct in their mission to acknowledge, promote and celebrate African heritage.  In the case of the CHS, they acknowledge and celebrate the European and Indigenous heritages along with African ones.

That "Africa" is fraught with all kinds of complicated emotional meaning (Meriwether 2002; Spence, et al. 2005)  perhaps should not have been a surprise.  The complex feelings that Black people have towards the continent has long been clear to me as an African descended person living in the States.  I have long experienced or witnessed the traumatizing effect of internalized racism.

Many researchers have examined internalized racial subordination among Black children and adults (Akbar 1996; Leary 2005; Page 1997; Tatum 2003).  I experienced it quite intensely when I spoke to Black people who were dumbfounded when they heard I would be working in Africa as a Peace Corps volunteer.  I recall one woman, in particular, who blurted out, "Why would you go *there*?!" She was one of those Black people who would have unequivocally asserted that Africa is a heathenish and godforsaken land from where we descendants should be thankful the Europeans took our ancestors (a sentiment I heard expressed more than once).

While my study engages the issue of internalized racism, it does it from an angle that does not directly engage with the race concept.   It does so because in the Caribbean, unlike in the United States (where many of the studies on internalized racial subordination are conducted) the children may not necessarily identify as a particular race.  Therefore, exploring the racial dimensions of their existence would be counterproductive in a context where race is often not seen to be salient. This is the case because the majority of the population in Carriacou is of African descent and high status and low status positions are all filled, almost exclusively by Black people.  These positions include teachers, store proprietors, government employees, musicians, farmers, taxi and bus drivers, clergy, actors, radio and television journalists and personalities and politicians.

The homogeneity of Black Caribbean island populations is not echoed for the United States where Blacks have a long history of being a minoritized group. In addition, the daily racism that Blacks in the United States experience is not part of the reality for many Blacks in the Caribbean (Butler, et al. 2002). Or, as Lorick-Wilmot (2010)

theorizes, the racial egalitarianism they experienced in their mostly homogeneous home of origin evaporates in the racial hierarchy of Western cultures.   No matter how one may identify, however, all Black people of African descent contend in some way with the racism that is a global phenomenon (Butler, et al. 2002).

Though racism is global, the concept of race is sometimes an uncomfortable fit in the Caribbean context. For example, a cousin who spoke quite volubly about the racism she had experienced during the decades she lived in the UK hesitated and stumbled when I asked her about how she racially categorized herself.  A light-skinned Black woman (by U.S. type categorization), she explained a little defensively (without answering the question directly) that she experienced racial discrimination and stereotyping but was "Caribbean." Her orientation, as Payne describes, is like that of many Carriacouans – oriented towards nation or region – an "insular-self regard" (1980: 21)

Knowing that racial identity is not salient in Carriacou, I was less interested with how one identifies. Rather, my concern was with how Black people regard, absorb, accept or reject the fact of their Africanness and their African heritage.  Those stances may, indeed, be an aspect of identity but identity is not the precise focus of my study.

## My Situatedness

My mother, Monica, was born on Carriacou and my father, Michael, was born on the main island of Grenada (the third island of the tri-island state is Petite Martinique). They met and married in Brooklyn, New York – one of the primary sites for Grenadian immigration. My brothers and I were born in Brooklyn and lived in a household imbued with the values and mores of Grenada.  These included a reverence for discipline and respect, an abiding love of "home" (including, and perhaps especially, the food) and a

matter-of-fact attitude towards achievement that may have been a function, in part, of our status as "voluntary immigrants"(Ogbu 1987). My historical and current inability to "hear" my parents' accents is testament to my embeddedness in the culture, especially since I have been told that my father's Grenadian accent is quite thick. To me, I hear my parents speech as I hear my own – as unremarkable utterances (though I can sometimes catch a slight New York twang when I say words like "call" when it sounds like "cawwl"). Perhaps my inability to hear their accent is evidence of an interstitial status; I remain not fully of Carriacou, Grenada, nor fully of the United States.

Dominguez's (2000) framework mirrors my autochthonous autoethnographic perspective that connects me to my Carriacouan informants in such a way that explicitly informs and grounds my research in a commitment to my people and to my ancestral homelands. Dominguez suggests that engaged academics consider, along with criteria of scholarly rigor, a criterion of love in which anthropologists explicitly demonstrate their high regard for their research topics and the people and cultures they study. My project, then, is grounded not only in the radical love for the African and African-descended body, it is grounded in love of Carriacou. It is also grounded in my history as a gymnast and a dancer, and a former youthful practitioner of gamesongs. It is informed by my personal and compassionate understanding of internalized oppression. In many respects this dissertation is an exploratory autoethnographic study because I am part and parcel, and therefore indistinguishable from the phenomena that I study. That being said, the emigration of my parents from Grenada complicates my connection to the work.

Living in the United States, I was enculturated in both Grenadian and United States values – I am what Abu-Lughod (1986: 466) calls a "halfsie" anthropologist. I am

an anthropologist who is not wholly from the dominant culture nor the subordinated culture but embodies and exhibits features of each. I am one of those "people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage" (Abu-Lughod 1991: 137). Thus, I am both native *and* foreign anthropologist; outsider *and* insider, challenged by a distinctive encounter in Carriacou of the strange *and* the familiar, and striking the people in Carriacou as both odd *and* commonplace.

As a partial result of my halfsie position, I experienced both acceptance and reservation, love and suspicion. Page's (1988) "dialogic principles of interactive learning" helped me gain insight into suspicions that Carriacouans had about my motives and actions. Page theorizes that the culture producers and ethnographer create a discursive field in which the relations impacting the ethnographic relationship are in constant operation. The ethnographer investigates not only how the culture bearers regard the topic under study, but how the insider/outsider ethnographer is herself necessarily implicated in the same topic and regarded by the informants. A dialogic perspective helped me examine the suspicion. While it was minimal, I felt the suspicion may have been tied to my standing as an educated intellectual (or, perhaps, in the words of John Langston Gwaltney, "another jackleg educated fool" (Gwaltney 1981: xxiv). When looking at myself from the outside – as Carriacouans looked at me – I saw that I dressed and adorned myself differently than most Carriacouans.

From my October 2, 2009 fieldnotes:

As I watch the teachers, I'm aware of how differently I am dressed from them. For one thing, I am wearing my comfortable Teva sandals, while the female teachers are dressed in pumps or dressy flip-flops adorned with jewels. I am wearing brown canvas trousers and a black sleeveless top – very plain with no ornamentation or design. I'm also wearing a goat horn pendant and large ear

cuffs – unusual jewelry even for the States.  The female teachers are wearing slightly dressy clothing with patterns and ruffles in synthetic fabrics that have a sheen to them.  The jewelry is simple gold but one teacher dressed in a brown top has large hoop earrings that seem to be made of coconut shell. Also, my close-cropped natural graying hair is a bit unusual.  Most women with gray hair use black hair dye to color the gray and although there is a high number of people with natural styles, like dreadlocks, most of them also use dye.  Many other women straighten their hair or wear wigs, weaves or hair extensions.

Aside from my sartorial style, I outwardly differed other ways from Carriacouan women.  My physical movements were not common.  I walked with a forward, forthright stride that was characterized (apparently) by a kind of stiffness that I did not feel but Carriacouans could, apparently, spot instantly.  The first person who talked to me about my physical movements was a female cousin who said, "Look at your daughter (the then-nine year old Zanaya) – you can learn it from her."  The "it" was a flowing ease in walking and moving that I obviously lacked but what my daughter had presumably easily adopted. The second person was a man with whom I struck up a conversation on the street:

From the October 30, 2009 fieldnotes

> He said I can see that you are not from here.  I said how.  He said, well we know all the faces so it's easy to see a stranger.  What else? I said.  There are ways that you speak, dress and move.  What about my movements?  He said, with a sly glance, we can talk about that another time.  I was in no mood for lascivious talk. I said, I'm serious.  He paused. Look at that woman, he said, gesturing to a young woman across the street who turned to look at us.  She smiled and waved. We waved back. The movements are more free, he said.  Thanks I said.

My habit of carrying a notebook or a paperback also seemed to differentiate me from most.  In addition, I had purchased an expensive camera, to capture the split-second movements in girls' dance play.  The camera had a three-inch lens and was not the point-and-shoot small camera or cell phone that many people used to take pictures.  I

communicated that I was clearly an investigator of some kind and I did notice that people

looked curiously and suspiciously at such an uncommon accoutrement.

Luckily, I could overcome some of the suspicion because I had unmistakable and

unimpeachable lineage credentials. Not only was I the granddaughter of an "inside

child," of the prominent Alexis family, various aspects of my phenotype identified me as

belonging to Carriacou in general or the family in particular. Mr. George was one of

several who commented on my facial features. He said it was my forehead and my nose

that marked me as an Alexis. More than once, I was told it was the shape of my eyes. It

was abundantly clear to many Carriacouans that I was one of them and/or a member of

the Alexis family and after a while, I could see for myself the features that made me a

recognizable group member. I should note that there were members of my father's family

on the island, as well, to whom I definitely felt well-connected and in whom I also

recognized myself.

### Research Strategy

Central to my ethnographic approach is the acknowledgment of the moving,

dancing, playful pre-adolescent female body upon which social meaning is inscribed and

through which the girls respond to social processes. I draw upon Yvonne Daniel's

anthropological call to "treat dance behavior not only as a particular kind of knowledge

but also as a particularly rewarding mode of access to knowledge" (2005:50). In a similar

vein I note Colligan's insight that the ethnographer can conduct research by noting how a

person uses her body as text for representing themselves (1995). By opening myself to

learning Carriacouan girls' game songs and danceplay, I engaged in a process through

which my body became "other-abling" (Colligan 1994). I practiced the girls' games in

their presence and under their tutelage. In the role of their student, I encouraged the girls to instruct, correct, and comment upon my skills and abilities, giving me insight about them as well as their games.

My approach is also grounded in the understanding that children are highly sensitive to their social context (Xinyin, et al. 2005), and they interact with and internalize it in ways that have profound implications for our understanding of their lives and their affiliations. As Brown notes, "children's gamesongs and, for that matter,  other aspects of expressive culture, reveal a group's values, attitudes and collective experience" (1977: 137).  Saxon Tallent and Dreyer (Brown 1977) offer examples, including the following game song sung by Black children in Louisiana in the early to mid-twentieth century:

> Did you go to the lynchin'?
> Yes, ma'am.
> Did they lynch that man?
> Yes, ma'am.
> Did the man cry?
> Yes, ma'am.
> How did he cry?
> Baa, Baa!
> How did he cry?
> Baa, Baa! [Brown 1977: 137-138].

Whether or not the children had witnessed a lynching, had a family or community member victimized by a lynching, or lived in an area where lynching was common practice, lynching was, nevertheless, a powerful factor in Black American life during the period when it was commonplace (Brundage 1997). Understandably (and perhaps inevitably), lynching made its way into children's consciousness and was a part of their fears, fantasies and, inevitably, their everyday play.

41

In order to do research on links between Carriacouan girls' musical play and their affiliations and disaffiliations to their African heritage, it was necessary to engage in methods that would allow me to obtain information not readily available through direct questioning. I needed tools necessary for cases when and if children would be hesitant to talk about Africa. This is because of what I quickly came to realize was Africa's negative ideological location in the minds of many within the Carriacouan population For this reason, participant-observation was critical to the process of information gathering because of the intimate ways it allowed me to engage with individuals and communities and situations. It allowed for intellectual as well as visceral understandings of events, utterances and contexts. Participant-observation was a necessary way to study how Carriacouan situate Africa in their imaginations, because some of the information I wished to gather would be otherwise virtually invisible to me using other procedures. Direct questions about Africa could possibly signal the need for children to perform "acceptable" answers. Participant-observation, and open-ended questions in contrast, allowed me entrance into the powerful unspoken and indirect information that nevertheless powerfully communicated people's conscious and unconscious perspectives and beliefs about Africa.

## Short Description of the Brooklyn Cheering Footage

The footage is comprised of several cheers performed by both the 3rd and 5th grade girls in their separate groups and then one cheer performed all together. I showed the first few minutes of the footage that includes the fifth graders preparing to perform the first cheer. We see the girls loudly talking as they stand in two rows. Some of them

are dressed in puffy down winter coats. Others are wearing woolen ones. One girl is wearing what looks like a patchwork rabbit fur coat.

One girl in the front, the leader of the group, urgently orders, "Move back, move back!" as she waves her hand. You hear the adult male voice of the videographer as he impatiently yells, "Stop wasting time!" The girls are busily arranging themselves. The leader calls out commands. "That way!  That way!" as she gestures to her right.  "What are we doing?"  Someone says, "We're doing it now?"  Someone else yells,  "Come on!" Finally, the leader calls out, "Five, six, seven, eight." The first girl chants, "This this that, this this that" but it is very soft and another girl says "Louder!" and the first girl obliges by raising her voice and continuing. "This this that, this this that" she chants as she claps and stamps.

This this that, this this that
This this that, this this that
This this that, this this that
This that
This that

Each girl goes in turn, down the line, with differences in movement and vocal dynamics but with the same rhythm until each girl takes her turn.  When the last girl says, "This that. This that," the leader calls out again "Five, six, seven, eight" and the entire group clapping and stamping sings loudly looking at the first girl in line.  The change in sound and energy is startling for most people who see the footage.

This that this like that like
This that this like that
Hey Boonie
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do

At this point Boonie says, while clapping and stamping

Move up
Move back
(Two more lines that are indistinct, though it seems like that last word rhymes with
"back")

With that, she turns her back to the camera and with the left hand on the curve of her

spine and her head tilted back, she continues to chant while "whining" before turning

around to face the camera again.  The groups repeats:


Hey Boonie
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do


Boonie repeats her solo and the group continues with

This that this like that
This that this like that
Hey (next child)
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do
Whatcha gonna do

 The next girl in line then does her solo and in her own style whines with her hand on the

small of her back. This continues until the last girl has her turn and the cheer is

concluded.

        The Brooklyn girls' cheering shows elements of West African dance including

call and response, bending of the body in the sagittal plane, polyrhythmic clapping and

stamping and a mobile or "whining" pelvis.

## Research Design Procedures

My research protocol consisted of three pre-dissertation assessments of the Brooklyn cheering videos conducted in the United States and seven data collecting activities in Carriacou.

United States
1) Pilot Study 2004: Ethnography and Interviews in Brooklyn, New York
2) Pilot Study 2006: Western Massachusetts African Dance and Drumming Teachers
3) Pilot Study 2008, New York City: Former Elementary School Cheerers

Carriacou, Grenada

3) Participant Observation in Carriacou
4) Formal and informal observations of the play of primary school children in and out of school yards
5) Group interview of the island's 4th and 6th graders
6) Observations of children during their viewing of elicitive tool
7) Interviews with a selected group of 15 girls
8) Structured and unstructured conversations with Carriacouan adults
9) Analysis of text and movement

### United States Pilot Projects

*Pilot Study 2004: Ethnography and Interviews in Brooklyn, New York*

In 2004, I returned to the same Brooklyn school where I had worked from 1984-1985, with the purpose of assessing whether the footage from that time would be suitable as a projective tool to measure African affiliation. I wanted to know if 2004 Brooklyn children would consciously perceive cheering as having African continuations, to what extent they would identify with the children from twenty years before, and what meaning they made of what they viewed. Over the period of several months, I made weekly trips

to the school during which I negotiated permission to conduct interviews, engaged in a small bit of participant observation, showed the footage to teachers and the principal and interviewed them about their responses to the video. I chose 3rd and 5th grade classes for the study because they were the same grades and ages as the children in the footage. I conducted group interviews with the children and had them write down their responses to the cheering. I also carefully noted their reactions to the video while they watched.

While some of children were admiring and celebratory of the cheering of the 1985 cheerers, several of the children treated the footage with scorn. The whining – the rhythmic pelvic undulations that also constituted an obvious African continuation – prompted what seemed to me to be shocked and derisive laughter. When it came time to write their reactions to the cheering, some children commented that the dancing was a "great treat" and that they "loved" it. One 5th grade girl wrote, "The show was so great. I like to see the rest. It was fast and funny to me! I loved it so much I'm going to tell my mom! If you have more, I would love to see it!"

Other children were contemptuous of the clothing the 1985 children wore and the graffiti they saw on the walls. Their written comments about the girls' whining gave eloquent language to their responsive sounds. While none of the children identified whining as African, they did describe it negatively as "ugly," "crazy," "nasty," "disgusting" or "weird." One female third grader said, "The part I hate is when the girl shake her bum-bum and went down to the ground." Another child (gender unknown) wrote, "What I saw was girls dancing and speaking French. I didn't like any of the topic. I didn't like all of it. I think girls very disgusting back then. I am so happy I wasn't born in that time."

Clearly, the footage prompted very different emotional reactions among the children and appeared to signal both affiliation and disaffiliation with Africanist movement.

*Pilot Study 2006: Western Massachusetts African Dance and Drumming Teachers*

To confirm that the footage was an effective projective tool to measure African affiliation, in 2006 I conducted a small pilot study in Western Massachusetts. I showed the footage to four African dance and drumming teachers I knew through personal friendships and my own involvement in the dance community in the area. All four were Black Americans by citizenship. Harriet had been born and lived in Africa up until the age of ten but had lived most of her life in the United States; Jonas was an African American who had travelled and studied extensively in West Africa. Lucille, African American, had also studied extensively in Africa. Finally, Lauren is an African American who had not been to Africa but had studied African and Middle Eastern Dance for many years.

Prior to viewing the footage, I did not give the four individuals information about the video except that it was old footage of children performing dance play in Brooklyn. As African dancers, dance teachers and a drummer for dancers, I wished to know their opinion of and their responses to what they saw. The unequivocal opinion among all four was that the movements they observed were reminiscent of or clear examples of West African dance movement. They noted the body attitude, rhythm, hips movements, call and response and other aspects of cheering that were signifiers of the West African dance form.

*Pilot Study 2008, New York City: Former Elementary School Cheerers*

In 1985, as part of the project for the LIMS movement analysis program I attended in the mid-eighties, I interviewed three children who had attended the elementary school and did cheering. One of them was among the group of children who had been taped in December 1985 performing cheering. One of the other girls was her twin who cheered as a child but had not been among the group of those taped. The third girl was a friend whom I was unable to locate.

In 2008, I interviewed the two sisters separately and together to ask them about their experience of cheering and its meaning in their lives.

## Carriacou Research Projects

*Participant Observation in Carriacou*

During the fieldwork, I fully engaged in the daily activities of life in Carriacou when I walked the streets, shopped for groceries and household items, paid the phone and electric bills (which were best done in person), visited friends and family, attended different social events including weddings, parties, funerals, festivals including Carnival, Parang and Maroon. I also attended PTA meetings, sports competitions and community meetings on tourism, education, and child welfare. I kept doctor and dentist appointments and took Zanaya to hers, volunteered briefly with a secondary school's debating club and an environmental organization, participated in the administration of a scholarship program, volunteered at my church where I ran a children's dance group and I started a Saturday tutoring program for primary school children at the L'Esterre School.

.

*Formal and informal observations of the play of primary school children in and out of school yards*

I was interested in the extent to which dance-play and game songs took place in the schoolyards. To what extent did girls spontaneously engage in musical play? Was musical play the sole province of girls or did boys also initiate and participate in musical play? What was the role of adults? Was there a level of policing of the movements as had been reported to me in Brooklyn? Did Africanist movement exhibit itself in the musical play? If so, how?

I spent dedicated time at each school to observe the children in the playground during lunch and break periods. I also had ample time to observe the children when I dropped off or picked up Zanaya from school (sharing this task with Jim). I also followed one compound of several families in which a group of siblings and cousins played. I witnessed the interactions among and between children, and ways in which adults interacted with children. I observed various ways in which girls initiated and performed musical play.

My original plan for school observations was to conduct "observation at a distance," thereby maintaining an unobtrusive presence close to the schoolyards. I had envisioned that I would be able to walk past the playing areas or schoolyards as a pedestrian and unobtrusively observe girls and boys at their activities. I had assumed that this would be quite doable since most of areas where the children play are without fences or walls and easily accessible from the road. However, it turned out that there was no way for me to be inconspicuous.

For one thing, there are not so many people walking the road in the middle of the day so walking past several times back and forth would have made me very noticeable.

For another thing, as much as I may have looked like a relative, my appearance was different from most women on the island. Because I was so dissimilar to the local women in terms of my dress and movements, it was clear to me that the unobtrusiveness that was at the core to my plan to observe children in the schoolyards was utterly impossible. I could not blend in to be indistinguishable from other women, and even if I could, there were too few people around for the children to not know exactly what I was doing. This meant that not only was it clear to the children that I was observing them but it soon became clear that I was observing them play.

I abandoned the notion that I could observe the children unbeknownst to them and began to observe them openly. I also learned several of the games through asking children to show and then teach me. I practiced the games, though not always with the children. Zanaya was invaluable in this regard and liked nothing better than to play the musical games with me. Learning the games gave me the opportunity to kinesthetically engage with the material, thereby gaining, to some extent, an insider perspective on musical play – that of a practitioner as well as an observer.

*Observations and Group interviews of the island's 4th and 6th graders*

In Carriacou, I made arrangements with the five school principals to show the Brooklyn 1985 footage to the 4th and 6th grade classes. These grades were chosen to match the ages of the children in the elementary school classes who cheered in the video. In only one case was I able to show the video on a television. In all other cases, I had to show the footage on my laptop computer screen. Because most of the classes were small, the children had a relatively good view of what was going on in the footage, though sometimes it was difficult to hear.

Observations and group interviews were methods that revealed children's unguarded and subconscious feelings and beliefs about their heritage and the cheering footage. Open ended questions would be effective for children who according to Clark (2004) are "culture-embedded" (2004: 274) but may not yet be skillful articulators of the culture, especially in a place like Carriacou (like some other Black Caribbean cultures) where racial identity is not salient (Hall and Carter 2006). Most researchers studying issues of African affiliation or Black identity issue individuals a self-report inventory with items from which to choose (Grills and Longshore 1996; Pellebon 2011; Sellers, et al. 1997). Such a procedure would be problematic in the case of a location as Carriacou where because of the lack of salience of a racial identity, inventories would have little or confusing meaning.

Video elicitation allowed me to obtain responses that might otherwise be suppressed. Similar tools have been used to study children's impressions of their illnesses (Clark 2004) and adults impressions of their home environment (Patton 2004) . The footage used in this procedure was the musical play of girls from the Brooklyn playground. The footage from December 1985 showed movements of girls that had elements of African dance.

My only introduction of the footage to the Carriacouan children was a statement telling them that I wanted to show them children their age playing in Brooklyn and I wanted their opinion about it. After they had watched approximately ten minutes, I stopped the machine and handed out lined paper on which I asked the children to write their gender and age.

The questions I asked were the following:

1. Where are you from?
2. Where are your ancestors from?
3. What is your favorite activity?
4. What did you see in the video?
5. How did it make you feel?
6. What did it remind you of?

I was interested in two areas: identification of ancestry and responses to the Brooklyn girls' cheering. I assumed that most children would identify themselves as having African ancestry. I theorized that, unlike the Brooklyn girls in 2004 who had several among them who were quite disparaging of cheering, the Carriacouan girls would have little heterogeneity among them. I expected the Carriacouan girls to express positive sentiments about the footage of African-derived or African-associated movement would indicate positive feelings about Africa.

*Observations of children during their viewing of elicitive tool*

During the showing of the Brooklyn footage, I observed the children closely for their reactions. I noted facial expressions (i.e., interest, boredom, enjoyment, and distaste), verbalizations, non-verbal sounds (laughter, gasps, grunts), body posture and movements (i.e., leaning forward or away from the video, bouncing up and down). All these indices would lead me to make conjectures about the reception of the activities of the children in the footage.

*Interviews with a selected group of 15 girls*

In an effort to get more in-depth perspectives on girls' conceptions of Africa, their

affiliation or disaffiliation to it, and their thoughts and experience of doing their musical

dance play or "games," I conducted formal interviews with a small group of primary

school girls. I asked parents of girls I knew and engaged the services of the local

education officer who suggested others.  In all, I interviewed fifteen girls.  These

interviews were held at the children's homes, in restaurants or in the street (as in one case

where the mother was a street vendor), depending on the parents' availability and

location at the time.  The snowball method – gathering participants in an additive process

through recommendation – allowed for informal "introductions" to the project mediated

by a person already known and trusted by the parent(s) of the prospective interviewee.

Conducting several different procedures for collecting information on girls'

affiliations with Africa, allowed me, in the face of learning disparate and contrasting

information to see how "actors, both individual and collective, manage incoherent and

conflictual racial meanings" (Winant 1994: 18).  The different methods also allowed for

analytical subtlety and flexibility thus avoiding the either/or conclusions of reference

group orientation studies, such as the Clark studies (Clark and Clark 1939; Clark and

Clark 1940; Clark and Clark 1950) with their determinations on levels of self-hatred

based on the drawing of pictures or the choosing of dolls.

*Structured and unstructured conversations with Carriacouan adults*

My informants were people to whom I gave lifts in our car, encountered in the

street and those with whom I set up specific appointments.  These included people who

worked behind store counters, workers in the schools' kitchens, teachers, principals,

housecleaners, laborers, fishermen, farmers, musicians and dancers, office workers,

government officials and retired people.   I spoke to people representing a broad range of

occupations and income levels and, in turn, some of them referred me to others with whom to converse.

*Analysis of text and movement*

During the fieldwork period I kept a field notebook in which I documented my participant observation and my personal reflections and responses.  I analyzed texts such as the fourth grade social studies textbook and data such as the contents of game songs and chants from the children in Brooklyn (mid 1980s) and Carriacou (2010).  I also analyzed a chant that adults said they chanted when they were children.  I collected these different songs or chants through participant observation and informal interviews and talks. These materials assisted in the process of analyzing the children's culture of Carriacou past and present as it relates to African affiliation and disaffiliation and I utilized discourse analysis to examine the ways in which these themes emerged in play and in the educational system. I looked closely at when and how "Africa" was invoked by direct calling of the words "Africa" or "African."  Finally, I was interested in discursive silences, hesitations, gaps and non-verbal activities as they are as communicative as the verbal or written messages.  As was the case in any participatory experience, I was able to gain a sense of and feel for the ranges of values Africa held for Carriacouans, in their language and silences and in their movements.   I share some of my observations in the form of anecdotes rather than formal analytic descriptions because of the richness of the data but also because the dissertation is a reflection of an autoethnographic exploration into the meaning of Africa.

Design Dilemmas

I had some challenges to the plans that I had carefully designed and that were imposed by my university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) – the official body authorized to evaluate and monitor the research involving human subjects. The documents requesting people to indicate their informed consent – documents required by the IRB – engendered extreme wariness on the part of many Carriacouans. Several times when I approached people with the documents, they waved their hands, as if to tell me that they did not need to see any paper in order to talk to me. Some were hurt or insulted that I would treat them so formally as to request their signatures on documents. Other times, they looked askance at my formal and written request for their participation, wondering if I had ulterior motives. There seemed to be a guardedness around official documents – a concern that signing meant a commitment to something they did not fully understand or a commitment to something that could get them into trouble down the road. This was confirmed by some informants. My requests for signatures received so much negative response by prospective adult interviewees, that upon the occasion of the renewal of my IRB for 2010-2011, I requested that the office waive the requirement for signed permissions for anonymous interviews.

From my 2010 IRB renewal form in which I suggested that instead of a written form:

> ... I would like to offer a verbal script. The rationale for this request is based on my reading of a society in which the appearance of official papers signals bureaucracy, a desire/ability to put oneself above others, intrusion, and/or a lack of trust in the word of the informants. Thus, the purpose for which the forms are designed is thwarted by their very existence.

The IRB approved the changes because of my assurances that I would obtain informed consent by all who participated in the research.

## **Conclusion**

I was interested in investigating Black girls' musical dance play because of my observation of "cheering" – Black girls' cultural production in a Brooklyn public elementary school in the late 1980s. Performed by Caribbean immigrants and children of immigrants, cheering was marked by unmistakable elements of West African dance. Fascinating to me, as well, was the juxtaposition between the children's negative internalized sense of Africa and their positive regard for cheering.

Based on my knowledge then, of how embedded a sense of Africanness seemed to exist in the population of Carriacou, I hypothesized that West African dance elements would exist in Black girls' musical dance play and that African affiliation among the female children would be positive, unambiguous and conscious.

To determine how Carriacouan girls constructed and understood their relationship to their African heritage, I designed a study with a variety of procedures that would allow me to understand the context in which people, particularly girls, encounter, regard and experience Africa and their relationship to their African heritage in the present day. I was interested in Carriacou, in particular, because of its reputation as a location with strong ties to West African heritage. These included the Big Drum Nation Dance and also other remnants and traces including, among other things, West African surnames, the still present knowledge among many of the African nations from which they descended, religious, cultural and social practices that invoke West Africa and, the deliberate and conscious use of West African-inspired dress, on special occasions.

I implemented procedures that would succeed in capturing expressions of affiliation and disaffiliation with Africa – phenomena I was likely to see, given Carriacou's status as a former slave state and former British colony where alongside enduring African aspects existed persistent aspects of British colonial ideology. As a key component the exploration, girls' musical play served as both a lens and a mirror through which the children regarded and interpreted African heritage.  Thus, I conducted participant observation, interviews of children and adults and group interviews of the fourth and sixth grade children in public schools. I also conducted a textual analysis of both the fourth grade social studies textbook and the girls' gamesong poetry.

# CHAPTER 3

## (APPEARANCES AND) DISAPPEARANCES OF INDIGENOUS, AFRICAN AND CARIBBEAN LANDS, PEOPLES AND EXPERIENCES

*"Stories are spatial trajectories"*

Michel de Certeau

*"Long ago the Africans found themselves here."*

An African American dance teacher's
explanation for the presence
of people of African descent
in the Americas

*Black people are afraid of White anger.  They figure they should let sleeping dogs lie. Talking about history is something that makes both Blacks and Whites uncomfortable. Blacks feel anger.  Whites feel guilt, and anger at Black people's temerity. You are reminding them that they are murderers and greed mongers with an insatiable appetite for cruelty.*

My Grenadian father's explanation for
the shortened history presented
by the dance teacher

### Introduction

In this chapter I present an overview of the history of Carriacou, using a spatial framework that critically interrogates the creation of that history while noting how intrinsic notions of space was to the various peoples who inhabited the Caribbean, be they colonial explorers, Indigenous peoples, Africans or Asians.  I look, in particular, at the silences around space that Trouillot (1995) theorizes are in the service of imperial or colonial power.  The silences are the deliberate silencing of the archive (as when a teacher makes choices about what to say to her students about the Trans-Atlantic slave trade) and unintentional silences of knowledge creation (as when colonial explorers misunderstand the spatial movements of the indigenous population).

I include the history also because, of my perspective that people are the embodied expressions of their history. One cannot understand Carriacouan girls without understanding the history of Carriacou. That history, layered, complex and nuanced, as de Certeau declares is the case for Caribbean history, is a spatial trajectory that continues to this day and continues into the unforeseeable future. I highlight the spatial component of the history because of the powerful rupturing of people's experience and understanding of space that is exemplified in the arrival of Europeans in the Americas, the attempted extermination of the Indigenous population, the capture and enslavement and transport of Africans, the military intervention of the United States and allied Caribbean forces.

It is through the examination of history, that I believe lies the clues to the issues that I explore in later chapters, including the claims that adults make about the disappearance of play from Carriacou's landscape, and Carriacouan girls use of history in their musical play and the whitening of history in the social studies textbook.

Issues of space and place are critical to how people think of themselves and their history. Issues of space and place are also critical to how Carriacouan adults conceptualize the role of play in their past and the present. Issues of space and place are key components of girls' musical play. Where the girls are physically located in space, and how they see that location vis a vis Africa, are parts of the story of how affiliation and disaffiliation are forged. Their ability to see their location is mediated, to some extent, by what they learn in their society about Africa. What they learn is mediated by history – some of which they learn, much of which they never learn but nevertheless shapes their thinking, their play and their ability to affiliate to Africa.

This chapter presents the place of Carriacou in the spaces constructed by the European explorations and occupation of Carriacou in particular and the Caribbean, more generally. Exploration and occupation were not the beginning of the history of Carriacou, as this chapter will make clear, as the island of Carriacou was inhabited for hundreds of years previous to European incursion (Fitzpatrick, et al. 2004). The European presence does mark, however, a beginning of the world of the girls whose ancestors the Europeans brought to the island to join the Indigenous ancestors. This dissertation recognizes that histories, spaces, and memories of the ancestors are all constructed. reshaped and dismantled as parts of cultural, social, and material processes of control.

Before discussing the perspectives inspired by the opening epigraphs for this chapter, I present the history of the island. This history includes the pre-Columbian and post Columbian history with attention to the spatial dynamics of knowledge-creation; the work of theorists in helping build and understanding the role of space.

## (Not) Thinking About Place, Space, Time, and Power

According to de Certeau, place is "the order [of whatever kind] in accord with which elements are distributed in relationship of coexistence" (1984: 117). Space, on the other hand "occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities" (1984: 117). In other words, de Certeau's "place," is comprised of "elements" of the physical, while in his conception, "space" is abstract effects and categorizations. Places are physical locations, subject at least to that most fundamental

physical law that only one object can be in a place at a time. But, spaces are the interactions and imaginings associated with a place that, in the abstract, support numerous relations and symbolic constructions between it and other places within the constraints of historical political economic formations of power.

As the epigraph from de Certeau contends, stories are spatial trajectories. How then might power find its way into narratives that are spatial as well as temporal? David Harvey (1989) approaches this question through the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991). From Lefebvre, Harvey sees time and space as sources of social power, which means that where various groups are located spatially and temporally has everything to do with their relationship to power. In other words, the spatial and temporal locations correspond to the position of the particular group on the social hierarchy. Harvey (1989) pursues the relation of power and place/space by building on Lefebvre's distinction of three domains of spatiality of a place: material spatial practices (experience), representations of space (perception), spaces of representation (imagination). To these Harvey considers four actions of spatial practice for each of the domains: accessibility and distanciation, appropriation and use of space, domination and control of space, production of space. The result is a matrix with 12 grid cells at the intersection of the domains and practices within which Harvey provides some suggestions of what these practices might be in any given situation. For instance, in the intersection of Harvey's Appropriation and Use of Space and Lefebvre's Material Spatial Practices (see Table 3), we look at the change to Carriacouan children's playscape that most adults (especially those in their forties and older) remember (This is discussed in much more detail in chapter 5). Spaces that children commandeered as theirs for the taking, became much more limited due, in part,

to the coming of modernity's appurtenances.  Phones, for example, eliminated the need to send children on errands of communication.  With the phone's convenience we see the absence of an "excuse" for exploratory play in nature.

We see presence of play in the thoughts and imaginations of Carriacouan adults. Here we look at Lefebvre's  Representations of Space and Harvey's Domination and Control of Space where we see "personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of space; spatial 'discourses'" and we can see the deep connection to the memories such that those memories cloud the present perceptions.

Trouillot (1995) reminds us that history is about silences as well as remembrances These silences or gaps are something  that Harvey appears to overlook in his "spaces of representation." Though past actions do leave material traces, "the production of traces is always also the creation of silences" (Trouillot 1995: 29). I am adding the materiality of dance play to the kind of traces available for both remembering and forgetting.

Trouillot describes how silences are constructed in the production of history at four moments: fact creation, fact assembly, fact retrieval as narratives, and retrospective significance (26).  The children's danceplay is an instance of fact creation,  my creation of the Brooklyn video is fact assembly, the children's reactions to the cheering footage are moments of fact retrieval (narration), and my study of the impact on affiliation is the moment of "retrospective significance" or the "making of history in the final instance" (26) whereby I interpret their responses in a sociohistorical context. When I engage the girls on the question of African affiliation, I listen for their silences as well as their utterances.

**Table 1: Lefebvre's Representations of Space and Harvey's Domination and Control of Space (Harvey 1989)**

| | | Harvey's Domination and Control of Space | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Appropriation and Use of Space | Domination and Control of Space | Production of Space | Accessibility and Distanciation |
| Lefebvre's Material Practices | Material Spatial Practices (Experience) | flows of goods, money, people, labour power, information, etc.; transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration | land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication and mutual aid | private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighbourhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance) | production of physical infrastructures (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal |
| | Representations of Space (Perception) | social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principles of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory | personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of space; spatial 'discourses' | forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperatives; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies | new systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics |
| | Spaces of representations (Imagination) | attraction/repulsion distance/desire; access/denial; transcendence; 'medium is the message' | Familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets) iconography and graffiti, advertising | Unfamiliarity; spaces of fear; property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'tradition'; spaces of repression | utopian plans; imaginary landscape; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space; spaces of desire |

The epigraphs of the African American teacher and my father, illustrate principles that order Harvey's Space of Representation and the Production of Space, by one describing a mythology of space and place and the other describing one of the processes of such mythmaking, namely narration. In 2009, before I left for fieldwork, I witnessed an African American dance teacher make a statement about the Middle Passage when she gave a shortened explanation of the experience of African Americans in the Americas. She was speaking to a large group of about fifty college students in a huge studio space, the majority of whom were white women but there were black women in the space and a couple of white men. All of us standing, many of the women were wore leotards or sleeveless tee shirts and African patterned cloths around our waists.

Wanting to historically contextualize the dances that we would learn from her, the teacher gave a very short explanation of the African presence in the Americas. With all of us paying close attention, she started her remarks with the following, "Long ago, the Africans found themselves here." She went on to talk about the creativity, ingenuity and strength of the Africans in response to enslavement in the Americas and related it to the cultural and emotional importance of dance for the enslaved population. I was immediately alarmed by the construction of the teacher's first sentence, which struck me as a problematic concession to political correctness – the kind of political correctness that avoids naming the agents of oppression. In doing so, while it is politically safer, she also provided a faulty version of history. I saw a version of Trouillot's "fact assembly" that amounted to a severe distortion of the past.

In examining the sentence "Long ago, the Africans found themselves here," I consider the last three words. The verb "found," the past tense of "find" is, on one hand,

an active word. To "find" denotes a dynamic process to locate something that was lost or otherwise unavailable to perception. The subject is able to discover or realize the lost object (as in a lost key), or concept (as in information) by actively looking. One does not find without searching (though one may make serendipitous discoveries). Adding the words "themselves here" renders the phrase an almost passive construction. When the Africans "find themselves here," not only do they have no agency (reflecting the historical reality), neither does any other party. The Europeans, unnamed, did transport the captive Africans but there is no mention of them as captors – no mention of them at all, therefore making them invisible. In this narrative, the Africans do not move, nor are they moved through space – the Africans simply materialized "here."

The teacher's students have the ability to infer the process by which the Africans arrived in the Americas. They may know something about the slave trade, for example. The students can do the work to either imagine or (more likely, perhaps) remember (if they did learn about the slave trade) what the teacher chose to omit – the many thousand miles long journeys from the 16th to the 19th century on which the European slavers took the enslaved Africans. For some students, especially the Black students, the teacher's words may have been confusing, if not angering. They would have been well aware that Africans did not simply "find themselves here." The students may have surmised that the teacher was teaching the acceptable practice in the school setting – the topics one should not teach nor discuss in class. I wondered how familiar they were with the dynamic of teachers and others silencing certain assemblies of historical facts.

I know that I had done the same when teaching groups of mostly White college students. I had done so, as my father so aptly stated, to protect myself from the

consequences of White reactions to my truth-telling. "White fragility" around issues of race was dangerous (DiAngelo 2011). The costs to instructors and professors of color teachers of color who dared to confront Whites with a challenge to the comfortable white-washed history or image of themselves amounted to severe emotional and material consequences (Orelus 2013; Page 2001).

Though I felt I understood what may have been the impulse to tell a whitened narrative, I knew too that in the few moments it took to say the few words, the teacher symbolically obliterated both time and space. With this we see another of Harvey's spatial practices. Here we see operationalized Harvey's "Domination and Control of Space" intersecting with Lefebvre's "Spaces of Representations." However, it is not the teacher's domination and control of space, it is instead, her domination and control over the discourse of space, specifically, the discourse of the space of the "African Atlantic" (Carroll 2013). The teacher's discursive destruction of space constitutes symbolic violence because through her story of the presence of Africans in the Americas, she erases a rich and critical context and forecloses, at least temporarily, any invitation to look at the reality of history, the reality of lived experience. The distortions and erasures are not wholly individual acts of violence, but acts of empire lived through individuals – including individuals from oppressed populations – in ways they may not always know or understand.

The empire acts to distort and erase stories and geographies in order to erect, consolidate and protect its power over the populations they subordinated. I imagine that from the point of view of the enslaved Africans, their stories about the voyage from the Western coasts of Africa to the Americas would be abundant with spatial detail starting,

perhaps, from the place from where the Europeans had taken them: the home village, the battlefield, the bush, the river. Then, the march to the coast taking days or weeks until arriving at the slave castles where they might stay days or months until they were marched, dragged or carried unto the boats. From there, conveyed on the boats through the water and the sky over days and weeks to the shores of the Americas, to a seasoning place, and on to another place, to the markets and the plantations and the huts and cabins and on to other plantations or workplaces. Various endings in various places, often torn from loved ones with whom they were never reunited. The stories are multitudinous multifarious. However, they all disappear in the teacher's construction of history.

The dance teacher's discursive destruction certainly was similar to what happens in the classrooms in Carriacou. Not only was there the problematic representations and elisions of Africa in the textbooks, (which I explain more fully in chapter 4) but I did see evidence of one teacher's apparent subconscious struggle with Africa.

One day when visiting Zanaya's school for a meeting with the principal, I waited in the area of the fourth grade classroom. The school was on recess so the area was empty; I saw that the teacher had drawn a rough schematic rendering of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on the blackboard. She indicated the geographic areas of Africa, the Caribbean and North America. I had not heard the lesson so I do not know what comprised her lesson that day but I saw that on the board she had spelled Africa wrong. A misspelling, by itself may mean little, but in the context where Africa is a contested terrain in the battle between African memory and colonial ideology, I believe the error is significant.

Spaces of representation are also created on a world scale as well. In the rest of this chapter, I will trace the historical trajectories that give the place of Carriacou its social and ideological qualities that make it a distinctive space today, the space within which girls are sometimes acting out their affiliations and disaffiliations with Africa without knowing it.

## Indigenous Space and Peoples in Carriacou

Despite the very rich and sometimes contradictory and confusing information about the indigenous history of Carriacou (or perhaps because of it), the master narrative in Carriacou that people learn and can recount is the same one taught in the fourth grade social studies textbook (Peters and Penny 1994): the Caribs and Arawaks lived in Grenada; the Arawaks were "peaceful, intelligent people," (1994: 33) while the Caribs were "more warlike than the Arawaks" (1994: 33) and whenever the two groups encountered one another "the Caribs attacked and chased the Arawaks away" (1994: 33). Despite the prevalence of this story, the binary positioning of the two groups is an "outdated" notion (Honychurch 2002), that people nonetheless repeat.

How are we to understand the story that explorers, historians and researchers attempted to construct about the Caribbean in general and Carriacou in particular? One answer is that a Western framework requires the fixing of people to a time and place. My depiction of history shows the difficulty explorers and researchers encountered when looking for clear demarcations between and among peoples who seem to elude those same demarcations. This initially may have been because the indigenous people moved through a different ontological space than that of the colonizers. As Honychurch (2010)

describes, "Kalinago society was one where the world of the here and now and the world of the spirit interwove with each other like the fibres of their basketwork."

One discovers the critical importance of space in the context of the Caribbean when the Europeans dramatically transformed their conception of what was considered "the world." Many of them had considered the west of their continent to be an abyss, while others, including Columbus, theorized the space to be Asia. The revelations from Columbus' explorations obliterated Europeans' knowledge of what lay to the west of Europe. Now this "discovered" space was something totally new, extraordinary and heretofore unimaginable. This state of astonishment, of course, did not last long. Shortly after Columbus returned and reported whom he encountered, Europeans constructed the Caribbean space, not so much as an inhabited land filled with people whom Columbus, but as property, a source of untold wealth. The indigenous people whom Columbus encountered living on a 3 thousand-kilometer-long archipelago were members of various groups whom Columbus called "Indians," having assumed that he had accomplished his goal to find the western route to the Indies.

Tracing the history of the pre-Columbian population of Grenada is a challenging pursuit because of the conflicting and overlapping information as well as complex and multi-layered, multi-temporal population movements. Simply identifying the names of various populations that lived in the Caribbean before, during and after Columbus' arrival is a daunting task and comprises much disagreement and confusion among historians and archaeologists (Allaire 1997; Atkinson 2006; Lalueza-Fox, et al. 2001). Allaire opines that "the research often has proved inconsistent and the data frustrating" (1999: 685). Part of the problem of interpreting the information presented from the various sources

69

lies in the differing terms for habitation, whether it is "occupation" or "settling" (Lalueza-Fox, et al. 2003), leading to confusion between what was considered permanent versus temporary occupancy.

The general dates of when people began to arrive in the Caribbean vary. Some archaeologists (Higman 2011) suggest that around 15 thousand years ago the first migration into the Caribbean originated in northern Asia with migrants travelling across the Bering Sea into Alaska and onward in a southerly direction. Others assert that the ancestors of the Caribbean inhabitants originated from South America (Lalueza-Fox, et al. 2003).

Higman (2011) places arrival at around 7 thousand BCE, Honychurch and Gosden (1997) date the beginning of migration from the Oronoco delta at 6 thousand BCE. Some suggest that the first inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles migrated from South America in three waves (Lalueza-Fox, et al. 2003), while others suggest two waves. Lalueza-Fox, et al say that the waves consisted of hunter-gatherers, agriculturalists and finally warriors and that the South American origin is more "feasible" than from North America although North American migration cannot be definitively ruled out.

The two wave theory suggests that the first migration took place between 5 thousand and 2 thousand B.C.E., while the second was around 4 hundred B.C.E. (Fitzpatrick, et al. 2009). Bullen (1965) states that the permanent inhabitants of Grenada arrived between 0-7 hundred C.E. The notion behind this information is that migrants bypassed the islands of the southern Lesser Antilles in favor of the northern islands (Fitzpatrick, et al. 2009). Therefore, while there may have been visitors or temporary inhabitants, there is no archaeological evidence of the *permanent* settlement of pre-

ceramic people (Steele 2003). But the people some archaeologists refer to as Archaic Age people did exist on the island— they were semi-nomadic, pre-agricultural, pre-ceramic (Haviser and Strecker 2006)

Carriacou was permanently settled around 4 hundred CE according to archaeological analysis (Fitzpatrick, et al. 2006). The cause of the migration is unknown. Whatever the reason, there were waves of migrants that came to the island over hundreds of years. These people were the Galibi, or also known as Karina, Kalina, Karinya, Kalinya and Caribe. This last is a corruption of Galibi, a group that was one of many ethnic groups in the Caribbean. Europeans had difficulty distinguishing one group from another and therefore referred to all the indigenous people as Carib.

In fact, the "waves of migrants" idea may be too simplistic. Instead, the metaphor of "the steady rippling of the water through stones being cast in repeatedly" (Bright 2003: 4) seems more descriptive of the continuous heterogeneous streams of people moving between and among islands and mainland.

However, citing Rouse 1992, Atkinson (2006) states that the Arawaks were mainland Amerindian peoples living in the Guianas – not on the islands. She also states that researchers have used "Taino" and "Arawak" as synonyms but, in fact, they are two different ethnicities (2006). Sunshine (1988), states that Columbus encountered both Caribs and Arawaks but both groups were spread out across the Caribbean. The Arawaks were located in the Bahamas and Greater Antilles, while the Caribs lived in the Eastern Caribbean.

Arawaks were comprised of three subgroups: Lucayanos in the Bahamas, Borequinos in Puerto Rico and Tainos in Cuba, Jamaica and Hispaniola. Lalueza-Fox, et

al. (2001) state that Tainos and Caribs inhabited the Caribbean at the time of Columbus' voyages . Rouse (1992) agrees that Tainos and Caribs were present and adds another group—the Guanahatabeys. Steele (2003) states that at the time that Columbus met the natives of the West, those called the Tainos lived in some of the islands of the Greater Antilles, while the Kalinago lived in the south. Because Columbus heard that the Kalinago were more aggressive people, he assumed that they "were the advance warriors of the ferocious Kublai Khan, who had been sent to destroy him" (2003:30). Finding out that they were another group of indigenous people did not shift him away from thinking of them as fierce and violent people.

"Carib" was a term that Columbus learned from the Tainos in Hispaniola in 1492 who used the term to refer to the people further south, however that is not the term those more southern people used to self-identify (Honychurch and Gosden 1997). Honychurch and Gosden, quoting Bretton 1665, say that the terms the Carib used were Canima, Canybal, Caraibe, Carebie, Caribbee, Charaibe and Cribe.

The people who encountered Columbus were island Caribs (Davis and Goodwin 1990) (as opposed to mainland Caribs who used gendered group names – Males Calinago, females: Callipuna (1997). Countering the contention of Lalueza-Fox, et al (2001) and Rouse (1992), Allaire states that at the time of contact there were no Tainos left. Steele suggests that Columbus called the native people "cariba" which was the Spanish word for cannibal and goes further to support the notion that Columbus used that word (and the concept it denotes) in order to justify the subjugation of the populations (Steele 2003). In fact, Queen Isabella of Spain issued an order specifically forbidding the

72

taking of captives from Grenada and other islands unless they were discovered to be cannibals (Honychurch 2002).

The Arawaks living in Guiana, when asked the name for their people, reply "Lokono"(Johnson 2009). In the 1400s there were many tribal groups living in Trinidad, the Guiana and the Orinoco of which Lokono was just one (Johnson 2009). The Lokono were unique, however, because they were on friendly terms with the Spanish, doing business with them— exchanging enslaved people and food for metal tools (Johnson 2009). 'Aruacay' was the name of a Lokono town known for being friendly to the Spanish. Johnson speculates that "Arawak" became known as the name of the native people because for the indigenous people "it was a way of saying to the Spanish, we are the same tribe which feeds you, so give us a break" (2009: Part Three)." It was also, then, a way for the Spanish to identify a relatively friendly group of people and contrast them with more unfriendly groups.

Adding to the complexity, Steele states "…it is a myth that the "Arawaks," "Caribs," "Island Caribs," or the "Caraibe" were separate ethnic units, and that the "Caribs" conquered the "Arawaks"(2003: 12).

Steele (2003) goes on to contend that

> "...the Kalinago inhabited the north of [Grenada], and a different ethnic group, the Galibi, inhabited the south of the island. The Galibi were Cariban-speakers, but they lived in relative peace with the Arawakan-speaking people, and could speak their language [2003: 15].

Adding to the contradictions to the master narrative about Caribs and Arawaks, Johnson (2009) states" the first startling fact we encounter is that when Columbus arrived at Hispaniola there were no people who were called 'Arawaks', and there never had been"

(2009). The reader will note the confusion and contradictions in the various accounts of whom the groups were and their attendant locations. It may be that the indigenous people saw that a lack of clarity may have conferred a protective benefit to the population. Or, it might be that the differences in worldviews were so vast, that the indigenous people saw no benefit in trying to bridge them through a useless attempt to explain their existence. The lack of clarity may also be due to problems in data gathering experienced by the explorers. It appears, then, that the so-called differences between and among groups were either negligible or were more momentous differences that the Europeans neither perceived nor understood. On the part of some researchers, there may have also been problems with the data analysis because of their zeal for exactitude. What may be the case in all scenarios was the desire of the explorer, colonizer, historian, or researcher to fix a people to a place as a project of empire. As Antonio and Maraniss state, "[T]he great power[s] need to recodify the world's territory better to know, to dominate it" (1996: 1).

## Indigenous Enslavement and Resistance in Carriacou

In response to European violently acquisitive incursions into the Caribbean, the majority of indigenous native peoples – no matter their group affiliation – forcefully and unrelentingly resisted subjugation either by fighting or escaping to areas on and off the island. However, despite the indefatigable resistance, within a generation after Columbus landed, the Native population had diminished dramatically. Figures differ, however Steele (2003) suggests that the population of one million people declined to sixty thousand. Murithi (1997) submits that perhaps more than ninety percent of the population of the Caribbean died due to disease and violence.

74

In 1609, the British made an attempt to settle Grenada. Starting in 1638, control of Grenada volleyed back and forth between the French and the British. The control by either country did not become total however for a long time, as evidenced by the strenuous resistance waged by the island's indigenous inhabitants, who were first puzzled and then enraged by the contravening of many agreements and treaties. Warriors from other islands, such as indigenous people from Dominica and "Black Caribs" from St. Vincent (Steele 2003: 45) were enjoined to assist Grenadians to rid the island of the French over many years including recorded incidents in1649 and 1654. In 1652, a famously powerful example of opposition occurred in the northern part of the island of Grenada, near a rocky cliff. At this location, when confronted by French forces and outnumbered with no means of escaping alive, about forty warriors jumped to their death rather than meet their deaths or enslavement at the hands of the French. In recognition of where those warriors jumped, the location – now also a tourist destination – is called Le Morne de Sauteurs (Leapers' Hill). Locals refer to it, simply, as Sauteurs.

Honychurch (2002) provides insight into the politics and perceptions that organized indigenous resistance:

> The shaman or *boye* practicing his *piai* and consuming local narcotics travelled out of this world and returned with solutions to the problems of the present. Armed with this perception of continuous life in different zones of reality, the Kalinago were more than a match for Europeans. Western domination relied on the concept that the enslaved person would do everything possible, including forced labour, to continue living regardless of the conditions. Faced with a society that was prepared to die rather than surrender, the colonizers conquered land but found it impossible to control the living people (2002) .

With their leap, the warriors demonstrated to the French their transcendence of time and space – a conception that existed as part of their epistemology, governing their existence and making them incomprehensible to the Europeans.

**<u>African Enslavement and Resistance in Carriacou</u>**

Disease came from the Europeans and later the Africans (Crosby 2004) who were brought to the Caribbean to supplement and finally supplant the native peoples and European indentured servants. Africans already had some resistance to some of the tropical diseases found in the Caribbean having come from some areas in Africa with similar ecologies (Muriithi 1997). In addition, Africans were somewhat resistant to some of the diseases of the Europeans because of their immunity to the pathogens associated with cattle—animals that prior to European incursion had not been seen in the Americas but had been used in Africa.  Africans, then, were useful as labor not only because of their resistance to the diseases that decimated the indigenous population but because they "also provided the lowest available cost option apparent at the time" (Lockard 2008: 471). They were also valuable as skilled tradespeople, having had experience and expertise in metallurgy (Goucher 1993; Hall 2005), architecture (Neely 2005), brick and stone masonry, and agriculture (Miller and Smith 1997).

While European colonials enjoyed the financially lucrative resource of African labor, Africans suffered a shattering disruption to their lives, forcibly transplanted as they were from their native lands in tortuous journeys in which some millions died. The human tragedy is incomprehensible as is the effect the European slave trade had on the African cosmology.  For one thing, it violently and irreparably de-centered "home."

Many researchers have endeavored to determine the number of Africans affected by the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Curtin in his influential and oft cited work, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (1969) states that the number that most historians have put forward for Africans arriving in the Americas ranged from fifteen to twenty million but he says that:

> The vast consensus turns out to be nothing but a vast inertia, as historians have copied over and over again the flimsy results of unsubstantiated guesswork…the hesitant guesses of the last century have been passed off as hard data [1969: 11] .

Thus, Curtin's figure for the number of captives who landed in the Americas is 9,566,100 (1969: 268), give or take a million.  This number was calculated by examining the numbers recorded for the enslaved in ports of arrival as well as shipping records; Curtin looked at census data and population estimates; he looked at the economic productivity as an index of slave imports.

Inikori (1976) challenged the nine and a half million+/-  figure, contending that there were major flaws or gaps in Curtin's methodology. For example, he points out that Curtin obtained figures from tax rolls to determine numbers of enslaved individuals. However, slave owners often failed to disclose the actual number of enslaved in order to escape paying taxes.  Inikori cites as evidence the 1788 report of the Committee of the Jamaican House of Assembly that stated the actual number of the enslaved was significantly higher than that which slave owners reported. As another example of error, Inikori states that for the period 1750-1807 there are discrepancies between Curtin's shipping figures and those recorded by the office of the Register General of  Shipping.

Other historians also state the trans-Atlantic slave trade accounted for the forced migration of between ten and twelve (Klein and Engerman 1997; Nunn 2007) million

Africans.  This is the number of people who arrived on the shores of the Americas and were then counted.  This number does not include those Africans who resisted capture and whom Europeans killed either in slaving raids or through warfare, those Africans who were killed on the way to the coast, those who died in or escaping from the slave castles, those who died on board the slave ships, or those who died between landing and tallying. It does not include those who succumbed to disease, were ritually killed as an example to others, committed suicide or killed their children to prevent them from experiencing further the horror to which they were already engaged.  Whatever  figure at which researchers arrive must also include those who were obtained from Africa by pirates, ship wrecked slavers or those who were even by European standards  illegally obtained after the slave trade was officially ended (Hall 2005).  Those numbers would probably equal many times the number of those who survived to be counted.   Some suggest that the total number of individuals involved is impossible to calculate (Henige 1986; Lovejoy 1989).  In 1840  Thomas Fowell Buxton estimated that the mortality rate was 70 percent of the "victims of the slave trade" (Klein and Engerman 1997: 39).  That might mean, then, that using the number of ten million, the total number of African individuals ensnared in the Triangular Slave Trade would have equaled upwards of thirty three million.

According to Lovejoy's (2000) research, the enslaved Africans came from the following regions of Africa: Sene-gambia, Upper Guinea, Windward Coast, Gold Coast (Ghana), Bight of Benin (Nigeria), Bight of Biafra (Nigeria), West Central and South East. Lockard (2008) estimates that Kongolese, Angolans, Yorubas, Igbos and Akan constituted the groups from which three quarters of the captives were taken. This list is in

partial correlation with the nations represented in the Big Drum Dance that celebrates the African ancestry of Carriacouans by presenting different dances are said to originate in the following tribal groups: Arada, Igbo, Congo, Mandingo, Chamba, Banda, Temne and Cromanti (Martin 2007).

Slavers kidnapped and exchanged Africans in various transactions and then forced them onboard. Some were captured directly by European slavers, while others were seized by other Africans who exchanged captives for guns, swords, spears (Nunn 2007) – weapons necessary in an environment where warfare was one mode through which people were acquired. Some endured forced marches for as many as hundreds miles from their place of capture (James 1963). Some were forced to engage in rituals or imbibe potions that were designed to make them forget their origins and make them tractable captives who would not attempt to escape their enslavement (Hartman 2007). Once on the ships, the prisoners were stacked as cargo – many unable to sit up or fully extend their bodies. Chained to their places and to each other, the Europeans gave the captive Africans limited opportunities to relieve themselves and restricted access to fresh air. During stormy weather, the hold could be closed for weeks at a time, adding to the fetid and close atmosphere. The women especially, were vulnerable to the sexual predations of the captain and crew. All Africans were all subject to horrific cruelties of the Middle Passage wherein they became one people. No longer allowed the autonomy and identity of their homelands (except in cases where the slave masters found it expedient), they now not only existed in a new space, they existed in a new category of (non)human.

## The Spatiality of Racialization

The concept of space was instrumental in instituting the notion of race in the late 17th century North America. In the Caribbean, the planters launched their plantations with White indentured servants. In Barbados, in the middle of the seventeenth century, White women were moved from the fields "as part of a general attempt to dissociate Whites from ganged labor, for which blacks were imported" (Beckles 1990: 512). Whites (English, Scottish and Welch) were enlisted to fulfill administrative and privileged labor roles (Beckles 1990). The notable exception were the Catholic Irish who were racialized as non-White almost at the same level as the Africans. In addition, the temporal space of servitude was permanent for the African while the servitude for Whites, though onerous and oppressive – was time limited, and Whites left their servitude with some capital in the form of money or land. (Beckles 1990). Thus the ideology of racial hierarchy was imposed, in part, though physical and temporal space.

The spatial configuration of the plantation played a part in the disciplining of the African slaves (Michelako 2009). Slave dwellings in the Caribbean were located close to the main building in order to facilitate closer surveillance of the slaves (Richardson 1992). The house slaves and the field slaves were located in very different spaces, which then mediated the kinds of treatment and attention they received from the slave masters and mistresses. Both male and female slaves were equally likely to be assigned to the field since farming was women's work in Africa (Bush-Slimani 1993). However, women were much more likely to be victims of the sexual predations of the masters or the overseers (Bush-Slimani 1993). It was the case, also, that the enslaved population's

navigation of space that could sometimes determine the difference between freedom and enslavement. Groups of enslaved Africans escaped into non-populated areas of Carriacou to create and join Maroon communities – groups of escaped slaves who lived independently but at risk for capture and severe punishment but also left via canoe (Polson 2011; Steele 2003), some escaping to Trinidad where they reportedly were met with a warm welcome by the Spanish (Martin 2007). But the navigation of space within slavery was circumscribed such that though the slaves shared spaces with the colonial masters, the slave "could not be located within nor permitted access to the spaces occupied, both conceptually and geographically, by white society" (Olsen 2002:54).

The 1795 Fedon Rebellion in Granada came on the heels of slave revolts and battles with Maroon communities throughout the British Caribbean. (Cox 1892). Inspired in part, by the Haitian revolution (1791-1804), news of what was happening in Haiti filled the slave masters with fear for their lives – from internal as well as external attack (Cox 1892). The fact that slaves in Carriacou escaped to the big island of Grenada – 30 miles to the south west – to join Julien Fedon in the rebellion (Steele 2003), could only have placed more terror in the owners' hearts.

This horror of enslaved Africans insurgencies may have contributed to the extremely harsh treatment that the captives suffered in Grenada and Carriacou, as well as elsewhere in the Caribbean. The treatment was characterized by severe abuse and neglect such that the mortality rate in Grenada was very high as it was on other islands. For example, in the early 1800s the mortality rate was 38/1000; in Guyana in 1817-1820, the rate was 20.9/1000 (Higman 1976). In Barbados, the mortality rate was 34/1000 (Handler, et al. 1978) .In Trinidad, however, the mortality rate appears to have been

exceptionally high.  In 1813, there were 25,717 registered enslaved Africans.  Of that number, 17,087 were plantation workers (John 1988). Eight percent or 1,418, of the over 17,000 Africans died before January 1816 (John 1988).  This comes out to approximately 83 deaths per 1000 enslaved persons.

While the mortality rate may speak to the brutally onerous work that the owners required of their captive workers, the crops were not year-round operations.  The cultivation of cotton, required three months of hard labor, while sugar cane required five.  Thus, the relative "free" time, the high ratio of slaves, the high mortality requiring the importation of slaves straight from Africa may have contributed to a situation in which the African retentions were able to flourish.


### De/Colonization, and the Emergence of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique

Slavery for territories of Britain ended in 1834, however "freedom" was more elusive as restrictive rules were put in place that severely limited former slave's movements and ability to find independent ways of earning a living. In Grenada, in 1834-1838, former captives were limited to working for their "former" masters through "apprenticeships" – ostensibly a compromise between slavery and freedom.  An apprentice received no salary except food and cloth (with which to make clothes).  Workers were prohibited from selling their wares without a license, otherwise they were subject to enforced labor for a month (Brizan 1984).  Just as in slavery, employers (former masters) very harshly punished apprentices. A slave was subject to very cruel punishments for being absent from work for as little as one hour. Incidents of theft were

punished quite harshly – with imprisonment or in the case of burglary, with execution (Brizan 1984).

> …the local Legislature passed numerous coercive pieces of legislation aimed at confining the ex-slaves to their former economic and social status, and rigidly circumscribing their movement; a clear deviation from the principle and spirit of apprenticeship [Brizan 1984: 121]

One could argue, such legislation, while, on the face of it, was not consistent with the notion of apprenticeship, it was nevertheless entirely in the planters' interests, that is, binding exploited Black workers to the land, thus continuing profit from coerced labor.

On August 1, 1838, the apprenticeship period ended and apprentices were fully free in the eyes of the law. However, the colonial authorities made no provision for the putatively emancipated population. According to Brizan:

> …the civil, judicial and ecclesiastical establishment was maintained at a cost of £11,872 annually, and a further £11,000 per annum maintained the military establishment. Not a penny was voted for the insane, the disabled, the paupers, the children and the working adults [Brizan 1984: 127].

While some of the newly freed apprentices may have wanted to travel to outlying areas away from the plantations and construct homes and establish farms, this option was prohibited by squatting laws. Thus, there was no leeway for the Black population to create or find employment opportunities with the ever-present threat of incarceration or punitive re-enslavement.

Over the next years, the laborers and the owners contended with their opposing needs. The laborers wanted their own land to do as they will and the owners wanted to have labor at the cheapest price possible. A growing peasantry developed of people who managed to buy a small parcel of land and work it. At the same time public education

was made available through the Church of England, funded by the church and the elites on the island (Brizan 1984).

### **Independence and the Cold War**

Between post-emancipation and modern-day periods, the ecological disasters caused by hurricanes and political turmoil powerfully and destructively shaped the physical landscapes.  Leaving Grenada became salient during those times. Here I mention five reasons: Politics of Grenada pre-Revolution, Revolution, Invasion/Liberation, Hurricanes Janet and Hurricane Ivan.  All these events point to either powerful creation and destruction of space and place.

Almost 40 years after slavery ended, in 1877, Grenada was made into a crown colony – a territory ruled by a  governor general appointed by the British monarch.  In 1950, the Grenada United Labour Party was established by Eric Gairy, who became prime minister when Grenada gained independence from Britain on February 7, 1974. As an independent state, Grenada was nevertheless a Constitutional Monarchy in which Queen Elizabeth II was the head of state, represented on the island by the governor-general who worked in consultation with the prime minister fulfilling constitutional and ceremonial duties.

Prime Minister Gairy's rule was controversial and seen by some, including members of my family, to be dangerous because of Gairy's practice of silencing dissent. One way he did this was by dispatching his "Mongoose Gang" to threaten or kill political opponents (2014) put people in jail.  One of these was the father of the future prime

minister, Rupert Bishop, who in early 1974 was killed in a skirmish with Mongoose Gang members and police (Jessup 1998).

Five years after Gairy's installation as prime minister, on March 13, 1979, while he was away from the country speaking to the United Nations, his government was ousted in a coup by the New Jewel Movement, a left wing faction led by Maurice Bishop (Jessup 1998). Bishop's Peoples' Revolutionary Government (PRG) was characterized by some of the same problems for which the Gairy government was guilty – opposition was persecuted; some members of my family were put in prison for their views. Though Bishop promised democratic elections, the government never held them. At the same time, due to an influx of funds and assistance from Cuba, there were improvements to the infrastructure and education system of the country.

Bishop, aware of the power of Grenadians in the United States to help shape the political landscape in Grenada, called Brooklyn "Grenada's largest constituency" (Schiller, et al. 1995). During the Bishop years, over a dozen government representatives visited Brooklyn (Basch 1989).

Space and place were especially salient when the Reagan administration made it clear that it would not tolerate Caribbean and Central American countries alliances with Russia or Cuba constituted threats "in the United States' backyard" (Hertsgaard 1988: 111). Maurice Bishop retorted in a 1979 speech, "We are not in anybody's backyard, and we are definitely not for sale. Anybody who thinks they can bully us or threaten us clearly has no understanding, idea, or clue as to what material we are made of" (Bishop 1979) .

The pliability of space was clear in that comment. Someone's backyard is someone else's front yard Bishop maintains. When I spoke to present-day Grenadians about Bishop's statement, the gist of their exasperated responses was, "We *are* in their backyard – it's the United States!" In this they seemed to be saying that space belonged to whomever was the biggest power. Grenada could be located ten thousand miles away from Washington D.C. rather than two thousand. The point was that the location did not matter as much as power did and by their reasoning, no distance in the world would escape the United States' backyard.

The Bishop years had a significant impact on the movement of Grenadians. So fearful of the Bishop government during those years, along with others, my mother refused to return home for a visit. She had heard disturbing news of the Bishop government including reports of the government facilitating the brandishing of guns by youngsters. Hungering for the Caribbean, however, my mother saved her pennies and took us children to Puerto Rico and Bermuda instead. My brothers and I never understood why we travelled to other islands in the Caribbean, assuming simply that she had her reasons. We did not question her about her choices and she offered no explanations. One possible reason, I thought, was that she had somehow thought her home was, for some reason, inferior to other islands. Indeed, it was not that my mother ever thought her home was inferior, but because of forces outside of her control, home had been decentered again.

Bishop's anti-imperialist rhetoric directed to the United States, close ties with Cuba and the lack of democratic elections were all reasons for alarm on the part of the U.S. government and some Grenadians. According to informants, during the time the

Bishop government was in power, Grenadians expected an invasion at any time. Indeed, my cousin Lucy who was a student in Cuba during the Bishop regime said that the population was stridently and regularly warned to prepare, so that when the United States military forces landed on Grenadian soil (as it did in October 1983), people may have been terrorized (as several reported to me) but they were not surprised.

In the Peoples' Revolutionary Government, there were reports of dissension in the ranks, particularly between Bishop and Bernard Coard. On October 14, 1983, an internal coup took place and Bishop was placed under arrest. When news reached the populace that the popular leader was detained, a movement of several hundred supporters marched to where he was held and freed Bishop. However, rearrested, on October 19th Bishop and several others was executed by leftist forces in the government. Days later, on October 25, upon the request of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the United States intervened (some say invaded) in a military operation named Urgent Fury.

When order returned to the island, Governor General, Paul Scoon, established an interim government that held elections on December 1984 when the New National Party, led by Herbert Blaize, won. Blaize was unseated in 1990 by Nicholas Braithwaite's National Democratic Congress. Nicholas Braithwaite relinquished the prime minister's position in 1994 when he was replaced by Keith Mitchell from the New National Party. Mitchell held the office until 2008. Tilman Thomas' New National Party won the 2008 election; Tillman was unseated by Mitchell, who became prime minister for the second time in 2013.

Despite the violence and disruption to the island in the 1970s and 1980s that caused people like my own mother to fear returning home to Carriacou, according to Pool (1989), migration rates didn't dramatically change. She writes:

> It is difficult to identify how migrants respond to specific social conditions. Furthermore, in assessing political events it is clear that people may change their attitudes but not their behavior. The Grenada revolution did not change the migration plans of many migrants nor did the U.S. invasion. Like a family quarrel, these events may be precipitants rather than underlying causes [1989: 261].

The question of the traumatic events of the 1970s and early 1980s merits some further exploration because they may have some significance to the issue of children's (and adults') present-day silences and performances of African affiliation. Anthropologists have investigated trauma's effects on memory especially in relation to political upheaval, (Cole 2001; Connerton 1989; Ogundiran and Saunders 2014; Robben 2005; Scott 2008; Svob 2014). Grenada's population suffered cataclysmic symbolic and physical violence from political and social changes of those years. In almost every conversation with people forty years old and above, the memories of that time were quite vivid. Because I was investigating children's play, I was particularly interested in talking to people who were children during that period, especially when informants told me that they could date changes in Carriacou's playscape to the late 1970s and early 1980s. Several adults told me that this period was when a great deal of children's activities moved inside the home.

People reported that Gairy's and Bishop's governments (1967-1979 and 1979-1983, respectively) were both terrorizing and oppressive or liberating and socially transformative, depending on whose side you were on and what part of the leaders'

tenures are under discussion. For everyone, but especially for those who fervently

believed in the promise of a revolutionary government, Bishop's execution was shocking.

In a 2012 trip with members of the Carriacou Heritage Society to heritage sites, we

stopped at the site of the revolutionary government's military base (now a ruin and

overgrown with plants). The women, all in their forties and fifties, told me that Bishop's

execution was a profound "betrayal" of both the people and the Revolution. These

women knew of several people who were so devastated that they "lost their minds." Only

days after the executions was the incursion of troops principally of the United States (in

Operation Urgent Fury) along with soldiers from members of the Organization of Eastern

Caribbean States (OECS). People reported to me that the sight of military vehicles and

aircraft was dazzling (especially for children) and terrorizing for the population as a

whole. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the population had long been prepared for a

U.S. military invasion. Grenadians knew well that their government's rhetoric was

dangerous whether they were supporters of the government or not. The excerpt below

taken from a 1979 speech is emblematic of the language that people knew would trigger

the United States.

> "We are a small country, we are a poor country, with a population of largely
> African descent, we are a part of the exploited Third World, and we definitely
> have a stake in seeking the creation of a new international economic order which
> would assist in ensuring economic justice for the oppressed and exploited peoples
> of the world, and in ensuring that the resources of the sea are used for the benefit
> of all the people of the world and not for a tiny minority of profiteers. Our aim,
> therefore, is to join all organizations and work with all countries that will help us
> to become more independent and more in control of our own resources. In this
> regard, nobody who understands present-day realities can seriously challenge our
> right to develop working relations with a variety of countries." [Bishop 1979a]

The United States' military intervention was ostensibly to bring order to the country after the internal coup that resulted in Bishop's execution, safeguard the lives of the several hundred United States students attending medical school, and "eliminate a perceived threat to the stability of the Caribbean and American strategic interests there" (Cole 1983: 1). In other words, the United States wanted to facilitate the destruction of a communist threat.

Prior to the invasion, the United States' President Ronald Reagan's rhetoric positioned Grenada as a communist menace to the Caribbean region and the United States. In a speech in Barbados in 1982, President Reagan stated

> All of us are concerned with the overturn of Westminster parliamentary democracy in Grenada. That country now bears the Soviet and Cuban trademark which means that it will attempt to spread the virus among its neighbors [Libby 1990]

According to my informants, many assumed that it was only a matter of time before the United States made a military move to destroy the "virus." Attacking the virus meant using the "overwhelming force" (Cole 1983: 66) of five thousand troops, Air Force AC-130 gunships , Marine helicopters, Air Force A-10 attack aircraft (Ball 2012), Navy combat ships, Marine helicopters, tanks and amphibious vehicles. Operation Urgent Fury served the practical and important purpose of teaching the citizens of Grenada about acceptable behavior. The intervention, served as a message about what kind of politician was acceptable for Grenadians to vote into office, what kind of government the United States would accept in their "backyard," and what kind of rhetoric the United States government found suitable. Urgent Fury was a disciplinary action and a threat that Carriacouans heard loud and clear. No more would the nationalistic language of political

90

disaporic collaborations spoken during the Bishop years be allowed.  And, indeed, the election of Herbert Blaize, previous Chief Minister and Premier, in December 1984 signaled a return to pre-Bishop normal relations with the United States.

After the military operations were over, according to my informants, the United States continued its presence in the country for ten years.  In that time, United States advisors became involved in various aspects of the country including the physical infrastructure, banking system, communications and education and facilitated almost eighty million dollars in aid or "roughly seven times the amount of aid allocated to the Eastern Caribbean under the Caribbean Basin Initiative" (Williams 1996: 113).  Some told me that they felt that the United States was in the country to further its own aims rather than the aims of the Grenadian population.

### Carriacou as Separate Space

As one of Grenada's dependencies (Petite Martinique is the other), Carriacou has long been considered an outlier.  Several decades ago, David Lowenthal related the story of a popular principal in Grenada who was transferred to Carriacou, and hundreds of people protested his "victimization" (1962: 386).  Today among Carriacouans, there are bitter stories about how they suffer marginalization by mainland Grenadians who reportedly look down upon and discriminate against them.  In addition, many Carriacouans perceive that the island is both economically and politically overlooked by the central government.  Even though Carriacou and Petite Martinique are represented by a Ministry of Carriacou and Petite Martinique Affairs, a move towards "local

governance" is taking place, which entails a greater level of autonomy by both dependencies.

The notion of Carriacou being an entity separate and apart from other entities was a concept I embraced when I undertook my research in 2009. I thought I would talk only to Carriacouans. My conception of a "Carriacouan" was someone who had been born on the island, had lived most, if not all, of her life on the island and was presently domiciled on the island. However, in reality, many people who lived in Carriacou and considered the island their home and may even have had citizenship, didn't fit my definition. I realized that Carriacouans are members of a globalized and ever flowing group of migrants, immigrants, refugees, visitors, and JCBs, such that many people may have been born in Carriacou but lived years or decades in some other part of the world and had returned. This flow was often localized to such an extent that many people moved easily between Carriacou and the big island of Grenada, Petite Martinique, and other islands in the Caribbean. In a small way, my desire to define people's location echoed the efforts of colonial explorers and researchers to clearly denote the various groups and place parameters around place and space. It became clear to me that the movements of present-day Carriacouans were echoes of the movements of their indigenous and African ancestors who also travelled up and down the archipelago.

The flows between places were also larger in scope, involving travel between the U.S. or the U.K. and Carriacou, in such a way that during the time of fieldwork, I observed many individuals or families leaving and some returning after the period of some months, including many members of my family. They left for medical care, to visit family or to look for employment. They did this with a casualness I found jarring until I

realized that the leaving had none of the sense of finality of the leave-takings with which I was familiar. Most of the people I saw leave the island, came back months or a couple of years later as casually as they left, reflecting a newer conception of migration: transnationalism (Schiller, et al. 1992).

Even people who seemed to have no visible means of support would absent themselves from the island, the beneficiaries of loans or gifts from relatives. Thus, my Carriacouan informants were not people fixed in space to a particular location, nor were they people with only a fleeting allegiance to Carriacou. Instead, these people were a reflection of how the "familiar lines between 'here' and 'there,' center and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:10). This was a transnational community and I relinquished the idea of Carriacouan "purity" since for Carriacouans, as a group, such purity does not exist and never did. The movements, commitments, interests, and familial ties do not fit a more static model of migration. I discovered this over and over again in my research; Michael Caesar is emblematic of a transnational consciousness.

Michael Caesar, former ambassador to United Nations and until his death in 2014, a politician and public figure living on his home island in Petite Martinique often greeted gatherings where he is the speaker with a flourish: "Welcome to the continent!" This he did at two 2009 public meetings where I was present – one in Petite Martinique and one in Carriacou. In so doing, Caesar disrupted the notion of Carriacou being a place separate and subordinate to other places, a place on the periphery of a Western center. He rejected the fixing of Carriacou as simply an island in the Caribbean and instead indicated that Carriacou is in a web of connected nations all having relatively similar access to the

things of modernity.  In making this declaration, he illustrated how Carriacou is part of a

transnational community – a location that to some extent transcends processes that take

place within nations. As Grewal and Kaplan (1994) note

> "...the parameters of the local and global are often indefinable or indistinct -- they
> are permeable construct. How one separates the local from the global is difficult
> to decide when each thoroughly infiltrates the other [1994:11]

Or to return to de Certeau, Carriacou has a spatiality that easily transcends the physical

boundaries of the place of Carriacou.


### Conclusion

An examination of Carriacou in the context of place/space shows the historical

spatial dynamism of the various populations, especially the Indigenous and African

populations.  The Indigenous people who moved up and down the chain of islands settled

in locations they may have seen as more hospitable.  The indigenous people also utilized

their facility at inter-island travel as they resisted the European violent incursions by

travelling to either escape or rush to support their besieged brethren and sistren on other

islands.

The African population experienced the ultimate disruption when the European

slavers forcibly brought them to the Caribbean.  After emancipation, the movements of

the population was dependent on the economic circumstances to which they responded

with easy the fluidity of the pre-Columbian indigenous, moving from island to island,

back "home" and off again as they deemed necessary.  Even the emotionally devastating

events of the nineteen seventies and eighties seems not to have disrupted the migration

patterns, though it affected the travel of at least some expatriate Grenadians including my mother who did not visit the island during the political turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s.

Carriacou's complex deep history and contemporary spatiality and my own experience points to the difficulty – in the Caribbean context – of fixing identity or place. Who exactly were the people who inhabited the islands? To what single island did escaped captives owe their allegiance or call home? What is the definition of a Carriacouan? There were no clear answers to these questions. I realized, though, that perhaps the desire for clear definitions of "home" and "people" may have been a function of my own history as a U.S. born Black person. In the United States, I was familiar with the clear boundaries between Black and White, Black behaviors and White behaviors; the clear definitions around citizenship.

The history of Carriacou and Grenada prepared me for what I would find later as I tried mightily to fix the girls on a continuum from affiliation to disaffiliation with Africa. Just as the explorers, colonialists and researchers had trouble attaining exactitude, so did I. Contemporary adults could not find play in the present day landscape, even though it was clearly present. In chapters 6 and 7, I describe how initially I could not find discourses about Africa in the utterings of adults, though they were also plainly evident. The unfolding of Carriacouan history may hold the clues to what lies behind the silences and absences

The next chapter will consider a much smaller place, the place of a playground, where girls construct senses of their own space, senses with presences and absences impacted by larger and deeper social and cultural processes.

# CHAPTER 4

## DIS-AFRICANIZATION AS A FUNCTION OF IDEOLOGICAL WHITENESS IN CARRIACOU

*How easy, then, by emphasis and omission to make children believe that every great soul the world ever saw was a White man's soul; that every great thought the world ever knew was a White man's thought; that every great deed the world ever did was a White man's deed; that every great dream the world ever sang was a White man's dream.*

*W.E.B. Du Bois*

### Introduction

As I will discuss in chapter 5, many of the Carriacou children did not appear to have a conception that their heritage was African, while some children may have even sought to avoid or repudiate their African ancestry. I theorize that this avoidance or repudiation takes place because of the fear and uncertainty associated with an imagined or perceived threat that an explicit acknowledgement of Africa may represent.

In this chapter, I discuss and analyze events I observed during fieldwork that illustrated positive associations to Africanness and blackness in the form of the African retentions and deliberate acknowledgement and celebration of African heritage. There were also African disaffiliations whereby the associations to Africa or the phenotypical features associated with Africa (such as dark skin) were explicitly negative.

The internalized racial subordination and defamation of Africa echoes what I witnessed in a Brooklyn school in the 1980s. In this chapter, I discuss the concept of dis-Africanization as part of a whitening project that not only disassociates African descendants from their ancestral origins, but tends to hide the disassociation so that the African descendants are led to ignore or lack awareness of the symbolic violence inherent in their disaffiliation.

I present two stories from my fieldwork to illustrate not only the internalization of a

negative Africa but hint at the damage that such internalization may wreak on children of African descent.

## Story 1: Delicious, Until…

I often had neighbor children over. Erica and Eric – siblings – were Zanaya's friends and after they all played together, Zanaya or the siblings both would often ask if they could eat dinner with the other family. The following story is about a time when the sister and brother ate at our house.

From my fieldnotes on June 9, 2010

*I'd dished out the groundnut stew and waited for the inevitable questions and comments. Our food was very different from what these two neighbors usually ate and they sometimes turned up their nose (at vegetarian dishes) and other times they were delighted (especially with pizza and desserts) but usually I could expect some interesting comments from them. This time, after they started eating the stew, they asked about one of the vegetables on the plate. Surprisingly, they asked me to identify the sweet potato. I was surprised because, surely, they had had sweet potato many times before but I figured that because it was in a different context than they were used to, the vegetable was rendered unfamiliar. They continued to eat, enjoying the food and I figured it was the moment to let them know what I had not yet said.*

*I told everyone that this was an African dish. At that, Erica violently recoiled. Her hands that had been by her plate, flew up towards her head as if she was under arrest. She was appalled. "African food is ugly and tastes bad," she exclaimed. "They eat 'crackoes' and frogs!" What are 'crackoes'? I asked. She went on to describe insects that made sounds in the night and I wondered if she was referring to crickets.*

*"Why do you think that African food is ugly?" I asked. "I don't know," she said. She also couldn't tell me who told her African food was ugly or tasted bad. And so the food that had been unusual but tasty at the beginning of the meal had suddenly turned nasty and inedible. The children refused to eat any more and left (fled?) the house shortly afterwards.*

## Story 2: A Gorgeous Black Girl

*One day six weeks after we arrived, I was to meet a friend at the library. It had rained intermittently and sometimes heavily that day so I was looking forward to being inside. It turned out, though, that the library was closed. I sat on the step and looked to the right and to the left. The street was rather empty – very few pedestrians or cars. I wondered about that and thought that it might be because of the rain. Or, it might have been because it was World Food Day and there was an event at the new market in the*

*center of town.  Maybe that's where everyone was. I sat on the step and waited as the sparse car traffic moved past in both directions.  I watched the skies to see if the rain would start up again. There was a small overhang where I sat and I thought that if it only rained lightly, I could stay where I was.*

*Seeing some movement out of the corner of my eye to my left, I looked over and saw a mother and child walking along about 14 yards away. The mother was dressed in a close fitting top and jeans and holding her hand was a little girl of maybe three years old. The little girl was wearing a bright royal blue raincoat with a hood that her mom had pulled over her head and around her face so the little girl's dark cocoa brown face was framed by the vivid blue and the effect was stunning.*

*The child's face was exquisite! This little girl had the most expressive and effervescent expressions. There was not a hint of shyness. She was happy to be in the world, safe and sound with her mom at her side; her eyes sparkled as she looked around. She was so beautiful, and I was so taken with her energy that I wanted to take her picture. I greeted the mom and then said, "Your child is so beautiful. May I take her picture?" I had completely forgotten my role as a researcher and was just smitten with this beautiful child who exuded pure happiness.*

*"Why?" the mother said. Taken aback by her bluntness, I had to think for a second. Why did I want to take this child's picture? I said to the mother, "I don't really know. Your child is so beautiful and I wanted to have a picture of her so I could look at it sometimes. At the moment that I asked the mother to take her child's photo, I hadn't thought about any research, dissertation, or presentation. It was the pure desire to take a picture of a beautiful child.*

*The mother considered for just a moment, "But she's Black!" she exclaimed. Now, I was not taken aback, but shocked. I stared at her and exclaimed, "What?!!" I was appalled. I realized, then, that her "why?" was not an indignant challenge at my presumptuousness, my inappropriate request for something I had no right to request. Rather, her "why?"was an expression of genuine bafflement. Why in the world would I want a picture of this child?  After all, she's the very opposite of lovely; she's Black.*

*It was even deeper than that for me. I wasn't as amazed that the mother made this statement, as I was that she made it in front of her child. That this little girl heard her own mother declare her beauty absurd was something I couldn't bear and couldn't let stand.  I said gently and firmly to the mother, "She's Black and she's beautiful." The mother called out to the person yards away with whom she had been speaking moments before, "She wants her picture!" And she laughed loudly – it was so ridiculous.*

*Though I knew that I was transgressing the unwritten rule to never contradict a parent in front of their child, I couldn't help it. I crouched down and spoke directly to the little girl. "You… are… gorgeous," I said. I strongly emphasized each word as I looked into her eyes. I paused, "Do you know what gorgeous means?" The little girl looked intently at me– she seemed to be completely unaware of the drama swirling above her head.  She thought for a second, shook her head and said, simply, "No." "It means that you are beautiful," I said. I was careful to enunciate each syllable.  Beau-ti-ful. I wanted her to hear my admiration and appreciation for every single thing that her mother devalued. Her mother softly echoed, "Beautiful." It was as if she had never thought her daughter's beauty was in the realm of the possible.  Beautiful.  And then, the mother laughed again, "She's Black!"*

The above two stories demonstrate the damaging effect of colonial and present-day racism. Their internalization into the population is so ordinary and taken for granted, that the damage it does to the Black person's sense of self is virtually invisible until it is queried, challenged or interrupted. When I talked to adults, very rarely did they air their concerns that their children did not love their heritage or their physical being. On the contrary, parents did talk a great deal about their fear of the loss of respect and the loss of culture – two things that were linked in most Carriacouans' minds.

I argue in this chapter that the seeming invisibility of the wounding to the self-image of the Black child is a result of ideological whiteness, a "mindset and a cultural regime designed to mask, justify, obscure, rationalize, memorialize, defend, enhance and legitimate White privilege" (Page 2003). The colonizers and their descendants produced the cultural regime of whiteness as a mechanism for African descendant people to internalize negative societal and/or global messages about Blackness and Africanness without always knowing that it was happening. The success of this "racial project" (Omi and Winant 1994) is evident in contemporary practices such as the ideological whitening of elementary school textbooks and cultural events, like the Miss Africa Contest that aim to contest negative images of Africa. Interviews with adults highlight the struggles inherent in an affiliation with Africa.

**General Overview of Theories of Whiteness**

Whiteness is often described by theorists as invisible or difficult for the White population to see (Frankenberg 1993; McIntosh 2003); Lipsitz wrote, "whiteness is everywhere in U.S. culture but it is very hard to see" (2008: 67). This contrasts with the experience of people of color for whom whiteness has been easily recognizable, in part,

99

because it was necessary for survival. Racially subjugated people have historically made a practice of close anthropological examination of White people and their behaviors (Johnson 1990). Starting with Du Bois (2003[1935]) who wrote about the "psychological wages" of whiteness and continuing through author James Baldwin (1984), author and literary critic Toni Morrison (2007), legal scholar Cheryl Harris (1993) and anthropologist Enoch Page (1997, 1998, 1999) most Black theorists of whiteness tended not to concentrate on the difficulty of identifying whiteness. Indeed, the so-called invisibility of whiteness contributed to a White cultural practice of endorsing color blindness, rather than pointing out whiteness' visibility.

John Gwaltney talked about the White tendency to "romanticize" reality. In referring to the "romantic" character of dominant racial societies, he suggests that the capacity exists within these cultures to create a version of reality that causes little discomfort for Whites (Gwaltney 1976). Derek Walcott describes whiteness when he says, "antiracialism, it turns out for the most part, is whiteness by another name."

In his explanation of whiteness, which he calls a "strategic deployment of power" (1996: 42) John Fiske describes how whiteness works to make itself invisible because in doing so, in becoming the unseen norm, the problems of communities of color become essentialized as belonging only to them.

Whiteness is a critical part of White supremacy working in concert with racism. They are opposite sides of the same coin – both working routinely and together to obtain and maintain the dominance of the White population. A simple definition of racism is the following: a stratified system of economic and social advantage that is constructed to create and maintain White power and White privilege.

Whiteness does indeed bestow significant social benefits but whiteness also has a variety of meanings – not all of them related to skin color. Researchers vary in their theoretical approach to whiteness.  The following is a general inventory of approaches that overlap because of the layered and complex nature of the whiteness concept.

From a materialist and institutional perspective, whiteness is seen to mean White privilege – a system in which White skin confers benefits and advantages for people of European descent who have an ascribed White identity (Martin-McDonald and McCarthy 2007; McIntosh 1990). These advantages were inscribed in the constitution when it was determined that landed individual White males could vote and the population would be counted in order to be represented in Congress.

As the valued prize to which many aspire, White privilege has been defined as "the concrete benefits of access to resources and social rewards and the power to shape the norms and values of society in which Whites receive, unconsciously or consciously, by virtue of their skin color in a racist society"  (Wijeyesinghe, et al. 1997).  This privilege is so abhorrent to some theorists that they wish to expunge whiteness from their identity or reject the unearned privileges that come with White skin (Ignatiev 1997; Ignatiev and Garvey 1996).   Others believe they can expunge whiteness by the engagement in so-called race mixing so that an imagined generalized resultant tannish skin color (neither "Black" nor "White") would thereby erase race. This idea is enjoying a florescence in the United States (Patterson 2000) .

A psychological perspective construes whiteness to be mental or emotional responses to societal racism. Some of these responses include White guilt, White shame,

White desire to shed White identity and privilege, White confusion about racism and internalized racial dominance and racial superiority (Singley 2002; Song 2006).

Whiteness is also seen by some theorists as discursively inhering within as ascribed meanings infused throughout U.S. culture communicated through movement, language, media and symbols. Whiteness, from this perspective, means, among other things, all that is positive, pure, naturalized, civilized, and clean, while things considered non-White or brown or Black are assumed to be negative, impure, out of the ordinary, sexually deviant (Gilman 1985), wild and dirty (Berne 1959; Fine, et al. 1998; Gilman 1985). And, there are many theorists who understand whiteness to be a social construction in that the state designates one as White – a designation that has historically shifted over time (Brodkin 1998; Haney-López 2006; Ignatiev 1995; Jacobson 1998).

Many theorists note the contingent and contradictory aspects of whiteness. As Dyer (2003) states:

> White identity is founded on compelling paradoxes: a vividly corporeal cosmology that most values transcendence of the body; a notion of being at once a sort of race and the human race, an individual and a universal subject; a commitment to heterosexuality that, for whiteness to be affirmed, entails men fighting against sexual desires and women having none; a stress on the display of spirit while maintaining a position of invisibility; in short, a need to always be everything and nothing, literally overwhelmingly present and yet apparently absent, both alive and dead. [Dyer 2003: 29]

Here, Dyer emphasizes the ways in which ideological whiteness rules a way of being in and ordering the world that constitutes a worldview. In what seems to be a paradox, White privilege is not inherent only in people who identify as or are perceived as White, but it is produced by the organization of structural means by which resources are differentially allocated on the basis of ascribed racial designations (Page 2006). This means that whiteness, as a cultural

102

system or a mindset, is accessible by people who are not ascribed to be White, nor self-identify as White but who can accumulate benefits by engaging in White cultural practices that can result in privileges inaccessible by those who do not engage in those same practices.  Whiteness, then, is inclusive: "Its space is accessible by invitation only, and the occasions when others can be invited in are carefully selected and limited in both extent and time" (Fiske 1996: 48). I heed Page's call to " systematically document and analyze White cultural practices  for the purposes of unearthing the ways in which the concept of race is purposefully utilized to create "racialized global tension" (Page 1998: 60) –  a formation that helps to create and maintain globalized White privilege.

The European powers employed dis-Africanization (Mazrui, et al. 1986)  to assist in the project of  creating race by naming Africans and African-descended people by a color – Black or Negro – and in so doing denied them the nomenclature according to geography (Mazrui, et al. 1986).   Those categorizations have the intended effect of disaffiliating Africans from Africa.  The message was, "Forget you are African, remember you are Black!" (Mazrui, et al. 1986).   At some point, the dominant powers strategically hid, distorted and erased Africa's positive attributes including the intellectual, social and artistic accomplishments, military triumphs.  The shielding of positive information from (not only) Black people is critical to the process of instilling a sense of Black inferiority.  The belief in Black inferiority is necessary to the project of non-violent control for the purposes of manipulation and exploitation.  If People of African descent believe that Africa is worth-less, inferior, not connected to them, then they will not identify themselves with the continent and, thus, not mine the discursive area of positive value that inheres within.

Having described different theoretical constructs of whiteness I now relate iterations of whiteness and conduct discursive analyses that confront the events, behaviors and material culture that reveal underlying dominating perspectives. The social studies textbook is the first cultural item that I examine.

## Race, Africanness, and Whiteness in the Caribbean Context

.
After the first year of fieldwork, my family and I visited the US for several weeks. Upon our return to Carriacou, we were greeted by a cousin of my own age who admiringly talked about my "refined" skin. When I asked her to explain just what "refined" meant she elaborated to say that it meant that my skin was lighter and more attractive. Living away from tropical sunshine for some weeks, indeed, meant that my skin color had faded. Another time, talking to a small group of girls, one of the girls warned me that I was in the sun too much and getting too dark. When I said that I was fine with being darker and, in fact, liked it, the children were stunned into silence. They had probably never heard someone talk about being darker without embarrassment or shame.

I note here that as a teacher in Botswana, the students made the same exact comment after a school vacation. I had become lighter in complexion and the students complemented me on my inadvertent "beautification" (They also admiringly commented on how fat I was, having gained weight during the same break). Then, as more recently, when I declared calmly that I was happy with my color no matter how dark or light, people responded with deep surprise. They may have expected a response like, "Yeah, I want to keep it light as long as I can."

People in Carriacou (and at least some in Botswana as well) are quite attuned to the shades of color. I know two young sisters who are both a light caramel color. I was surprised to

hear the grandmother refer to one as "the Black one" when the difference between the two though obvious was quite miniscule to my eyes. The seeming exaggeration of calling one child "Black" was striking – and I wondered how the darker child experienced being so marked.

I remember when I was marked in a similar racial way. An older Black male relative, while looking at a photo of me, said with a chuckle, "The nose!" I was in my early twenties and I could not believe that someone who loved me would be so verbally assaultive. Especially when, my nose looked like his nose

Some Carriacouan children and adults may also suffer being identified as having "African" features. Some children report that other children teased them because they were "too Black,"– something that causes considerable pain, though the adults and some children I spoke to seemed to have developed inner bolstering against internalizing the "insult." An example is Anjoulie, a fifth grader with dark brown skin whom I talked to about her color:

> Well, some people may say I'm Black but I think Black is beautiful…I don't want to be White … I know that some people don't like their skin color. They want to be fair; they want to be White but that is just destroying their skin.

Indeed, Anjoulie may have been referring to the numerous skin whitening creams that were sold in the grocery stores, such as "Ultra Glow," "Skin Light" and "Genuine Black & White Bleaching Hydroquinine for a smooth, even complexion tone."

While one may have little to no control over their skin color, many did believe that they could overcome racism through education. This has been touted as the most viable way out of poverty and many have adopted the idea that through education one could achieve economic security and well-being (Brandt 1985; Government 2006). However, the colonial educational system was never designed for the uplift of Black

masses but was designed to "produc[e] leaders and followers and preserve[e] the region's racial *status quo"* (Shepherd 2010: 4).

It is the dream of success, predicated on education, which holds hegemonic power over many individuals. This is especially true for those who have consciously or unconsciously adopted ideological whiteness as a choice or tactic of economic ascendance. This choice keeps them from questioning, challenging and dismantling the systems of economic and political structuring cemented by law and enforced by police agents of the state.

Many educators teach their students to reject society's assumption of Black inferiority by striving for educational success. This path has as a consequence, however, an unavoidable Faustian agreement – details of which are often written clearly but without careful attention to the small print, the agreement's meanings and implications may not be so apparent. The agreement is the following: In return for the forsaking of the speech patterns and cultural beliefs and practices of the community; keeping silent in the face of problematic treatment of people of African descent; squelching of the unbecoming emotions of anger and resentment; resisting the impulse to question, defy or organize against power, the student will receive material rewards, security and social position that comes with successful attainment of education.

## Education and the 4th Grade Social Studies Textbook

Very little attention has been given to the study of imperial textbooks and their role in the dissemination of racial stereotypes, development of racist attitudes and the representation of racially subordinated groups (Mangan 2012b). The 4th grade social studies textbook is a guidebook to precisely how an agreement to align with the dominant

power against her own interests is offered to the student.  The textbook affords an opportunity to study how the imposition of colonial standards are encouragements to hamper and dampen the creative expression, anger, integrity, insight and sensitivity of all who must subscribe to the paradigm in order to succeed.

I employ the theory of ideological whiteness in an examination of the social studies textbooks as emblematic of how whiteness was and continues to be entrenched in education. In my study of the historical colonial textbooks of my parents and grandparents generations (Joseph 2012), The Royal Readers, I showed how the books skillfully conveyed dual messages of subordination and comradeship, promises of reward and punishment, with the general thrust towards acceptance of the colonial order. Similarly, the present-day social studies textbooks can be read as a history and a case study from which students of White cultural practices can learn to recognize the presence of whiteness in one of its many different forms.

The textbook, entitled Caribbean Social Studies: Grenada, is a softbound book, numbering 108 pages.  It measures approximately eight by eleven inches and is approximately ½ an inch thick.  On the cover is a glossy color photograph of the St Georges Harbor.  The text is divided into six chapters called "topics." The topics are 1) "The landscape," 2) "The people of our country," 3) "Our natural resources," 4) "Tourism and trade," 5) "Our government" and 6) "Our independent nation."  At the end of each chapter are questions for the students that test their understanding and retention of the information presented.

At the end of the book is a glossary of important terms such as "coastal plain," "democracy,"  "indigenous people," and "renewable resource." The book is liberally

sprinkled with photographs, drawings, charts and maps rendered in Black and White, sometimes with the addition of red color.   The print appears to be 14 or 16-point font with the exception of topic and section headings, which are much larger.

Of particular interest to my study is the second chapter: "The People of Our Country."  A student reading those words might assume that the chapter would include information about the history and present day situations of the population of Grenada. The headings of the sub-sections, however, are: "Indigenous peoples," The Arawaks," "The Caribs," "Settlements in our country today," Vendome[3]," How a community grows," Social problems," "Our culture," "Festivals" and "How our culture changes."

An introductory paragraph between the chapter title and the first subsection title:

> In *Caribbean Social Studies 3* we thought about where our families came from. We found out whether our grandparents were born here.  We found that some of our ancestors came from Africa.  Some came from Europe, and some came from parts of Asia, such as China and India.  In our country and in the whole Caribbean region, people have come from all over the world to live here. [Peters and Penny 1994: 31]

Even though Africa is named first, because the "some" is used as a qualifier for Africa as it is for the other origins, here we have a semantic equalizing of all groups – Africans, Europeans, Asians.  It is as if all populations arrived in the same manner, in the same numbers and at the same time. Erased are the unique circumstances by which each group arrived.  Also erased in this first paragraph are the indigenous population, who did not come but is significant as the population that predated European encounter. The particular situations of the slaughter or the indigenous people, Trans-Atlantic slavery, indentured servitude disappear – situations particularly important in the history of the

---

[3] Small community on the outskirts of St. Georges, the capital.

dominant group of the island, the African descended population.  The one group that is

unmentioned in the above list of ancestral group is singled out for its significance in the

lives of present day Grenadians: the aboriginal people that the book refers to as

"Amerindians."  It is this group that is explicitly discussed in some detail in the chapter.

Starting from the first paragraph of the chapter, we see that ideological whiteness

shapes how the authors tell the story of the origins of the population. The majority of

Carriacouans are descendants of African captives (Block, et al. 2012; Kephart 2003).

The story of how those Africans arrived in the Caribbean is key to the economic success

of Europe.  However, that story, if told in more detail, would also reveal some measure of

the violent trauma and horrors of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.  The avoidance of this

information is what Smith (2010)  calls  "strategies of disengagement,"  that are

> ...centered primarily on the avoidance of feelings of responsibility, guilt and
> discomfort...[with] little conceptual room or emotional energy left to engage with
> the deeper issues of continuing social injustice and other legacies of the history of
> Britain's exploitation of Africa and its peoples" [Smith 2010: 193-194]

Smith describes this phenomenon as behaviors of White British attendees to a museum

exhibit on the 1807 abolition of the British slave trade (Smith 2010).  While at least one

of the authors of the social studies textbook is a Black person (Ballen 2012), I argue that

what might be at play is the internalization of  a desire to avoid what is uncomfortable

history and, therefore, ideologically whiten that history. Likewise, the term "people have

come from all over" (Peters and Penny 1994: 31) also serves to erase history. The term

"have come" implies voluntary immigration on the part of all the groups and, again,

makes invisible the involuntary nature of the arrival of Africans and any other groups that

may have been coerced into servitude.

The chapter identifies the Amerindians in Grenada as being Arawaks and Caribs and then lists their origins as Venezuela, Central Brazil and the Guianas. The text goes on to give some information about the social organization, foodways, leisure activities and spiritual beliefs of both groups.  Also included are rendered drawings of Amerindians. One drawing depicts an Arawak village situated on the shore in which the reader sees four thatched roofed huts with a total of seventeen individuals – some in full view and some in the shadows.  Two people (presumably female) are seem to be grinding corn using grinding stones on grinding slabs.  Two boys or young men, in the foreground, are pulling a canoe out of the water. One young child is standing in the water submerged to the waist, smiling and waving at the reader.  Others are sitting or standing – several are facing straight ahead as if regarding the reader.  Seven of the individuals are young children.  Two children are each holding the hands of an adult.  One child is in the lap of an adult.  All the adults and or older boys are wearing breechcloths, including women. The younger children are unclothed.

A separate drawing depicts a breechcloth-wearing "Carib man" standing holding a bow as long as he is tall in this left hand and a handful of arrows in his right.  He has what appears to be wooden face piercings, though there is no explanation of the ornamentation in the text.  The piercings are clumsily drawn so that they look more like cat's whiskers than facial ornamentations.  He stands tall, his body facing the reader with his head turned to the right, his eyes looking off in the distance.

A final drawing renders the "modern descendants of Carib Indians."  A family (male adult, female adult and female child) regards the reader. The man has his arms at his sides, as does the young girl, while the mother drapes her right arm around the child's

shoulders.  Their expressions are neutral and their gaze is directed toward the reader.

They are shown from the waist up, in Western dress.  The man is in a white or light

colored short sleeve oxford shirt open at the neck.  The woman is wearing a red short-

sleeved t-shirt and the girl is wearing a sleeveless t-shirt with a pattern of what may be

tiny flowers.  The man's hair is cut short in a style somewhat similar to a crew cut.  The

woman's hair falls to just above her shoulders in soft waves.  The girl's hair is parted in

the middle and failing straight a little past her shoulders.

A black and white photograph of a stone mortar and pestle resting on a floor or

ground concludes the pictorial presentation of the indigenous population.

The section on the indigenous people of Grenada is extensive and that population

is the only group to which the authors give a high level of attention and space.  The

authors give no description of the lifeways of the groups the authors identify at the

beginning of the chapter: African, Europeans, Asians (Peters and Penny 1994).  Thus, the

heritage and culture of the group that represents African ancestry – the dominant

population – has little representation.  The ancestry is virtually erased.  Further, by titling

the chapter "The People of Our Country" and giving attention to the aboriginal past and

peoples, to the exclusion of other groups, readers are encouraged to identify with the

indigenous people rather than any other group.

The section on the Indigenous Peoples ends with the following suggested activity:

"Imagine you are an Amerindian living in Grenada centuries ago.  Write a description of

a day in your life.  Draw a picture to do with your writing." (Peters and Penny 1994: 34).

Here, the students are encouraged to imagine one aspect of their heritage in detail.  The

indigenous heritage is singled out but no time frame is offered except "centuries ago."

Certainly "centuries" ago, life in the islands may have entailed life as presented in the book. But also centuries ago, life whether one focuses on one's indigenous, African, European or Indian would also have entailed conflictual encounters with Europeans colonists – encounters central to existence and encounters that the book avoids identifying and describing. The avoidance constitutes the "masking" which not only erases history but does so in such a way that is non-challenging and non-threatening. Most parents and others with whom I raised the issue of representation, were surprised, seemed concerned and, at the same time, daunted by the thought of moving forward with their concerns.

## Little Miss Africa Competition

In the "Little Miss Africa" competition, whiteness manages to insinuate itself as an attempt to re-place (rather than simply remove) Africa in the consciousness of the children. The replacement is a whitened Africa, echoing the repeated historical process of re-teaching, re-minding, re-inscribing Africa for the population in ways that marginalize, make invisible, or distort Africa in ways that make it seem like such marginalization, invisibilizing or distortion is acceptable and normalized practice. A more blatant act of removing Africa altogether is too obvious a move. Whiteness is inclusive of discourses about Africa as long as such discourses do not threaten the status quo.

This points to the insidiousness of ideological whiteness such that despite the most conscious and liberatory intentions that are demonstrably present, racially subordinating operations still take place. This process takes place even in locations where the majority population is Black, even where there are those who try to subvert neocolonial perspectives, beliefs and practices.

One of those who was determined to create positive messages about Africa was the local businesswoman who organized the Little Miss Africa Contest held in April 2012. I saw posters for the competition at Bullens' and Coconut Supermarkets in the middle of Hillsborough. The posters were glossy green background with photos of six of the seven participants –all primary school girls. The girls all wore the same colors in different styles of Africanist dress. A few of them I knew by name or sight. The contest was to be a kind of Queen Show -- a beauty contest in which local girls perform a talent and model clothing. The Little Miss Africa Contest was to be held at the community center in the middle of Hillsborough –    the site of many different community events and meetings, including the after-school steel pan rehearsals that my daughter attended.

From my fieldnotes:

> June 10, 2012
>
> We were very early and when we arrived we saw the musicians setting up and people finishing putting up the decorations including a long vinyl sign that had the same design as the Little Miss Africa posters. I saw the stage and a runway. I saw big silver bows and balloons on the side of the runway along with the red, black and green African liberation colors.

I was happy when I saw the red, black and green, the colors of the Garvey "Back to Africa" movement and the colors that evoked the Black liberation and Black power movements. The colors represent the blood, people and African land, respectively (Savishinsky 1998). I hoped the presence of the colors signified a critical consciousness of Africa as more than a geographical location but a set of ideas embedded in a historical narrative that spoke of struggle, liberation, and awareness of the past.

I also saw a table at the very back of the stage on the right side. I approached the table to see what was on it. Whatever hopes I had that this event would somehow offer a

critical representation of Africa were dashed. Upon the table sat three golden trophies for the first, second and third place finishers. Also on the table were bejeweled tiaras for every participant. With the inclusion of these items, I believe that the Little Miss Africa contestants were positioned to receive another lesson in non-critical, non-liberatory Africanness as well as the European/US consumerism.

Whiteness theory is a useful tool to problematize the inclusion of tiaras because of the crown as a signifier of White imperial power. Conceivably, the organizer chose the tiara to communicate to the girls that they were valued, special and beautiful. It was also the usual accoutrement to the queen shows. Indeed, the tiara was used in ancient Egypt to crown the heads of deceased royalty and in ancient Greece to decorate the heads of statues of deities, priests and those individuals to be sacrificed on the altar (Scarisbrick and Boston 2000). In the present day, the tiara evokes the adult female beauty queen, the very young beauty pageant contestants (as in the television show "Toddlers and Tiaras") as well as female members of European royalty. All are tropes that are problematic for inclusion as a prize for African Black girls in a context where the organizer wanted to lift valorize Africanness. At best, the inclusion of crowns made in the European-style sends mixed messages.

The jewels that the European royalty wear are similar to or actual minerals wrested from the South African ground for the foremost diamond company in the country De Beers Consolidated Mines Company with 94% of total production (Staff 2003) by exploited Black African workers. The irony of African-descended girls wearing tiaras that copied the diamond encrusted tiaras of Europe is that the gold and diamonds mined

in the African continent are far out of the reach of the vast majority of African descended people How, then, are we to make sense of the inclusion of the tiara?

Black girls receiving a tiara may imagine inclusion in the cadre of princesses in the British tradition – presently the most familiar and celebrated of European royalty. But this fantasy hides the fact that little Black girls and their families (presumably also included in the category of royalty) are excluded from the imaginary of British royalty unless they can adopt the White cultural practices such as speech, deportment as Brandy, the Black actress, does in the multi-racial 1997 television production of Cinderella.

At the same time that the Carriacouan girls are encouraged to embrace European royalty, the royalty of the African continent is obscured and with it, the grandeur, honor, heroism majesty, histories of Africa's royal families (especially those who resisted European imperialism). This, the girls never get to imagine or enact or remember. In fact, an African-descended girl, encountering the fantasy of a European princess, is led to want not just European or U.S. made things, but high status and/or high cost items from White countries, befitting her status as (European) royalty.  She is ushered into a structure of feeling about her ability to attain a high level of consumption without an understanding of how such levels are out of the reach of a large majority of the world's population.

A Carriacouan woman in her early fifties, who was present at the Little Miss Africa contest, had her own critique:

> Very few have awareness that this was about celebrating Africa.  Very few. Most people think of this as another Queen show... One of girls referred to Nigeria as an island.  And she was wearing kente.  But, kente is Ghanaian.  We think of Africa as a negative place.  For me it's about divide and conquer.  We are lost. And we can't connect to what we lost.  Our men were once warriors.  They are not henpecked, passive farmers.  You put [warriors] in…you're going to get backlash.  A lot of men are in prison, mental asylums or in the grave.  You know, it's going to get worse before it gets better.  These are the conversations we

should be having.  Not even in terms of slavery.  We are more than that.  We survived that, we are resilient.  We are still there.  And so we need to analyze what happened and why and hold fast to the good stuff.  We don't want to admit we're from Africa.  Africa is seen as the Dark Continent but that was the sort of life of civilization. What we're doing now is nothing – meaningless.

When the show started, the master of ceremonies strode out in a long purple African-design robe.  He made some introductory remarks and introduced each girl by name and a country in Africa that they "represented."  After the introductions, the eight contestants started a group dance, dancing to "Waka Waka Africa" by Shakira.  A pop tune, "Waka Waka Africa" is an up-tempo exuberant celebration of pan-Africanism.  The South African government chose the song to be the anthem for the World Cup.  Shakira is a Columbian popular singer with transnational success born to a Colombian mother and a father of Lebanese descent (Grigkriadis 2009).  Lithe and petite, with long blond wavy hair, she is a global phenomenon in  part, perhaps, because she is an "idealized transnational citizen"  and "universally marketable" (Cepeda 2003) and the song – reportedly adapted from a 1986 Cameroonian group , Golden Sounds,  recorded a popular song Zangaléwa in 1986 (Sone and Mesumbe 2014) –  became a global hit.

While this study does not investigate issues of identity, Firth's comments about the role of popular music may be instructive at this juncture

> The pleasure that pop music produces is a pleasure of identification -- with the music we like, with the performers of that music, with the other people who like it.  And it is important to note that the production of identity is also a production of non-identity – it is a process of inclusion and exclusion (Firth 1989: 140)

Firth names music as a signifier for belonging to one group or another.  The choice of music may be a strategy to shape belongedness.  Thus, the use of Waka Waka sung by a blonde non-African encourages an affiliation with an African representation

116

that is, itself, infused with African disaffiliation. Using a political economy lens I wonder about the effect commodification has on the diversity of cultural representations. What makes for a commodity is its acceptance for audiences trained to accept a homogenized reality.

From my fieldnotes:

> And so I know that the choice of "This Time for Africa" is a conscious choice. Is a choice that speaks to what is popular. And speaking to what's popular (in the global commoditized way) means a Whitening process.

## Adult Conversations About Africa

The conversations with adults about Africa fell along a continuum from spirited conversations about racial and cultural pride to uncomfortable avoidances of my questions. I was struck by the times I was confronted with a momentary uneasy silence – a frozen second or two when people literally flinched and it was clear I had crossed a line and ventured into a taboo space. At that point, people would change the subject as if I had not mentioned Africa at all. I began to feel nervous about asking questions about African heritage or affiliation because it clearly made people uncomfortable. I did so anyway, knowing that my behavior might make me suspect or unwelcome in some quarters and I mourned this possible situation but felt I could not avoid asking what were obviously critically important questions.

It was occasionally easy, however, to identify people with whom a discussion about Africa was unproblematic. I could breathe a sigh of relief with Rastafarians as they never flinched or retreated from any conversation. They were the obvious group with

whom a discussion about Africa flowed easily because their African affiliation was so

apparent.  Conversations with them were usually were explicitly spiritual, political and

historical. One of my friends, Mr. Jason Edwards, was unequivocal in his disdain for the

materialism of United States society and what he saw as rampant corruption of a

dominant power that would stop at nothing to garner material gain for itself.

> We are talking about the Babylonian shitstem.  Not the system, but shitstem
>
> because the United States is corrupt.
>
> <div align="right">Jason Edwards, Rastafarian farmer in his late thirties</div>

Others with whom I could comfortably conduct conversations about Africa included

some non-Rastafarians who wore dreadlocks, people who habitually wore African outfits,

those involved in cultural organizations such as CCO, some members of the Carriacou

Heritage Society and still others who had none of those markers or affiliations but,

nevertheless, had clear understandings of the ways that Africa was a loaded subject but

were comfortable talking about it.

> Some [children] don't realize they are from African descent...Africa is there [She
> indicated a far off place.] I heard there was slavery [imagining what children say].
> This information is not in the textbooks…Big Drum is removed from school.
> Students who are into Big Drum are the ones whose parents and grandparents
> were into Big Drum.  Yes, they'll go to the songs, and certain songs will make
> you want to dance.  Those are your ancestral dances.  Some students say, "I don't
> like Big Drum."….In the yard children used to beat drums on a bucket but no
> more.  The kids don't know big drum.  Patwa is gone.  Left us a long time
> now…We've adopted North American culture.  We've lost ourselves.  The
> connection with Africa, we've lost that.
>
> <div align="right">Harriet Cox, 40 year old educator</div>

This is sacred dance.  A lot of people take it as a joke.  We all from Africa. Few of us are the roots.  Do you know what I mean?

Mrs. Junie Paul, Big Drum Dancer in her 70s

Below are three examples of interactions that I had with Carriacouan adults taken from my fieldnotes that illustrate the charged nature of the subject of Africa.  These examples are instructive in that they demonstrate the patterns of apparent avoidance and obfuscation that led me to make a preliminary and seemingly obvious conclusion that people had nothing substantive they were able to say.

When I told him a little more explicitly about wanting to know about Africa.  He started talking about coo-coo [a popular cornmeal dish, some researchers think is a African retention or influenced by African cuisine (Houston 2005)] and how that was his favorite food.  That was all he ate when he was a child.  Today, he said, "People go to the store and get a can.  And now kids don't want to eat that food."

Male truck driver in his early forties

When I told her that I was looking at the ways kids think about Africa, her face looked blank.  When I asked her what she thought kids would say when asked about their relationship to Africa, she looked puzzled and at a loss for words. "Nothing," she said.

Store employee in her early to mid-twenties

I walked along with Angela after dropping Zanaya at the Alexis Supermarket (where she caught the bus for school).  We were talking about stuff and I asked her about how come people don't teach children their history of African origins. And she switched subjects.  She told me a story about a mother in the United States who had murdered her six year old child.  We talked about that for a while and then I came back to the same topic.  How come, I asked, parents don't teach their children about their history.  "Fear" she said.  I said, "Fear of what?"  "I don't know," she said.  I pressed but she kept saying that she didn't know.

Angela, a female cook in her early thirties

In initially thinking about these three Carriacouans and many others who seemed to resist an African-centered talk, I characterized these people simply as unresponsive or unhelpful and was puzzled and frustrated by our conversations. It seemed obvious that there was a resistance to speaking directly about Africa but I did not know why. In hindsight, now, it makes sense that in a place like Carriacou, the topic of Africa would engender resistance. This was the location where Africa was infused in the culture in quotidian ways; these were the people whom just a generation or so ago could identify what African nation to which they belonged; This was the location where tourist websites, pamphlets, posters extolled the virtues of an African infused culture.

It was after reading my field notes over and over again that I came to a realization that jolted me. I understood that what I initially saw as unresponsive answers were, on the contrary, eloquent and direct. It became clear to me that Carriacouans listened very closely to what I said and to the questions, I asked. I believe that when they occurred, the abrupt change of subject and the painful hesitations after I asked about Africa, were cogent and emotional responses to the questions. While they may have tried to avoid the subject, Carriacouans answered my queries eloquently though indirectly. When I re-framed the silences, hesitations and seemingly off-topic talk, as important information, I was using a technique that I learned in my studies in movement therapy and counseling psychology – unconscious communication (Casement 1992). This was a psychodynamic way of listening so that I was reading through the surface to the deeper meaning. As a result, I gained a diametrically different perspective on my conversations with Carriacouans, especially those who resisted talk about Africa.

With unconscious communication as the technique, the truck driver's response when I ask him about Africa may be a conscious avoidance but is by no means avoidance. He responds by taking about coo-coo, an African influenced food and tells me that it is his favorite, and in doing so he is expressing, subconsciously, his positive affiliation with Africa. When he goes on to say that children reject coo-coo in favor of processed food, he communicates his distress at what he identifies as the children's rejection of Africa.

When the store employee replies "nothing" in response to a question about what she imagines children would say when asked about Africa, she actually foretells how many children answered a group interview question about their ancestry (see chapter 6). While she seemed confused and at a loss, she nevertheless responds like many of the children whom when answering the question also seemed confused and at a loss.

Finally, when I ask Angela about the reasons parents do not teach their children about Africa, and she responds with a story about filicide, she is telling me about the dire consequences that she believes lie in wait for parents who teach their children about Africa. Teaching children about their African heritage is tantamount to murder. Thus, not teaching children about their African origins from the perspective of a frightened community may be an act of love, designed to protect children from harm. I believe that Angela is speaking not only from a personal (though subconscious) place but is speaking about a collective trauma suffered by many Carriacouans. With this reframing, using unconscious communication as the lens, the hesitations, the changing of subject and the refusal to speak can be read through a historicized understanding that the cost of evoking

Africa (except in acceptable ways) resulted in some kind of harm. Those responses, then, were grounded in the fear that Angela so simply identifies.

## **Conclusion**

Africanization exists in the form of African retentions, and formal and informal pathways.  A non-exhaustive list includes tourism information that extols the African heritage, unacknowledged and acknowledged African retentions, fourth grade in-class extra-curricular teaching, the Harvey Vale Government School Big Drum dance group activities of the Carriacou Historical Society and the Carriacou Cultural Organization.

Along with the African retentions and acknowledgements of an African heritage are the silences and erasures that distort the history of which Africa is a large part.  The hushed quiet and deletions are characteristics of ideological whiteness that supports the colonial epistemology that endures still and is expressed various ways. It is my theory that ideological whiteness takes place through the social studies textbook that erases the significance of Africa through silences about history.  The silences also took place in the Little Miss Africa Contest in which the aspects of West African culture that could have been used to support the event, were elided in favor of decidedly European and western tropes and objects.  The points of factual error about Africa underline the association with a dis-Africanization project. Therefore, we note the contradiction of a "Little Miss Africa" contest that is whiteness within African affiliation

The powerfully evocative comments by some of the adults with whom I spoke, illustrate the tension that exists between the acknowledgement of African heritage, and

the unaware as well as mindful avoidance of the topic of Africa. When I thought about

the frozen silences that were preceded by a startle reaction at the word "Africa," I felt sad

and frightened. If members of the African Diaspora could not abide the word "Africa,"

and shuddered, froze or dissembled at its mention, I wondered, then if I was looking in

the face of trauma – what Erikson refers to as collective trauma and what he elaborates to

mean:

> …a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching
> people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality. The collective
> trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those
> who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally
> associated with "trauma." But it is a form of shock all the same, a gradual
> realization that the community no longer exists as an effective sources of support
> and that an important part of the self has disappeared (Erikson 1995: 187)

+

**CHAPTER 5**

**SPATIALITY AND THE ABSENT PRESENCE OF A CERTAIN KIND OF PLAY**

> *But, the place becomes very quiet.  There seems to be silence.  You used to hear children's play.  It is missing.*
>
> > *Christine David*
> > *Carriacouan Historian and Author*
>
> *One evening I was sitting at the dinner table with Zanaya and Jim and I mentioned that many people had said that children's play barely existed in the community anymore.  My eight-year-old daughter stopped eating, stared at me and in a voice full of shock and heavy with indignation, she said, "You mean we came here for NOTHING?!"*
>
> > *From my fieldnotes*

## Introduction

This chapter looks at play's apparent absence from the landscape and theorizes that the Carriacouan population's relationship to space in the context of emigration, colonial control, technological advances and the 1983 incursion by the United States is a key that has shaped and continues to shape children's present relationship to play in general and musical play in particular.  The concept of spatiality read through the micro and macro movements of populations also exerts explanatory power not only for the supposed absence of play but the absent presence of Africa.

## The Concept of the Playscape

Culture bearers in Carriacou spoke about play of their childhood in the most expansive sense – Carriacou, the entire island, was their playground.  It was not just the land and sea that belonged to children but the spaces in and around parental requirements

and admonishments, the ways that occasions for play could be had in time and space invisible or unavailable to adults. It was, as many adults told me, freedom.

I follow Appadurai's work on scapes in which he states that

…the common suffix –scape also indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (whether religious, political, or economic) and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods, and families (Appadurai 2011:285)

Therefore, as I conceptualize it, a playscape exists in imaginary as well as physical space, in past or present, as an individual mindset or a shared perspective. It can refer to playful imaginary landscape of childhood games as well as the "field of play" where games of the most sophisticated sort can be played. In the latter configurations, play does not necessarily refer to the joy or fun of children's' games, but rather to an awareness of availability of absolute choices within bounded social and political structures.

A playscape is a conceptual area of limitless possibilities through which any action can be imagined. When manifested in the physical, it is the actual space upon which human action is performed. The word "play" encourages an ability to understand the "in it or of it" dichotomy of seriousness and playfulness, faking and real, knowing and not knowing. In addition, playscapes are dynamic mixture of forces, subject to change as the social world of childhood changes. Many of my informants told me about changes in Carriacou's playscape, and their observations helped guide my thinking of the usefulness of the idea of playscapes.

**The Absence of Play**

When I arrived in Carriacou in late August 2009, I began my fieldwork immediately by driving around the island, going through various neighborhoods looking for places where I assumed I would see and hear girls engaging in musical play – on the roads, in house yards and open spaces. I kept my eyes and ears open. I was listening for the sound of young voices singing, and looking for children skipping, dancing, stamping and clapping. However, in these initial explorations of the island, I did not see or hear much of anything related to play, outside of a few boys here and there playing cricket or futbol. I had many plausible theories for this: the children were away visiting relatives on another island, it was too hot to be outside, children were too tired from doing yard or housework, I was looking in the wrong places and at the wrong times. I talked casually to people and what I heard from my informants, however, was an explanation I had never considered.

It was a refrain I heard repeatedly: "Children don't play anymore." People made this statement often in a quietly definitive tone, but sometimes more forcefully. Adults made the statement before I identified the kind of play I was investigating so it was a global ascription that referred, seemingly, to all play. No matter how many times I heard it, I was always taken aback because, for one thing, I expected that in trying to help me find where children played , people would make statements such as "Oh yes, you'll find it – go to this place" or "You're not looking hard enough." It seemed implausible that play did not exist.

All children play, I said to myself. I knew this not only because of the theorists who had posited the universality and endurance of play (Bishop, et al. 2001; Göncü, et al.

1999; Schwartzman 1976) or musical play in particular (Lew and Campbell 2005), but because of grounded understanding from my own experiences and observations. It did not make logical sense that children's play was absent from Carriacou, yet I had to take the adults' assertions seriously. Perhaps adults were using a different definition for play. Upon further questioning, some adults conceded that children did play but "*children don't play as they used to*" or "*children don't play the traditional games anymore*" – statements that on the surface seemed to be more plausible than the assertion of play's absence. "Play," as adults used the term, meant something more authentic or real and grounded in the past.

The notion that children's play is at risk of disappearing is repeated among Western educators and psychologists (Brown and Vaughan 2009; Elkind 2007; Linn 2008; Valentine and McKendrck 1997). The notion that play had already disappeared had been expressed in popular culture among musical artists. Cat Stevens' song "Where do the Children Play" (Stevens 1970) decried the environmental and social effects of "progress" and slam poet Flaco Navaja (2004) in his spoken word poetry scathingly laments that "society has made it so that kids can't act their age." For both artists, the disappearance of play is connected to the modernity. On the surface, it seemed that people in Carriacou and United States researchers or musical artists were all saying the same thing: play was at risk, was in the process of disappearing or had disappeared.

While adults assured me that children did not play anymore, they were eager to talk about the play in which they had engaged when they were children. When I engaged two or more adults in a conversation about the games they remembered playing, they

would joyfully talk about particular activities, their mischievous behavior and the fun

they had. People would re-enact their memories and laugh and laugh.

Adults animatedly talked about the playscape of their youth and they would just

as animatedly talk about their theories for the demise of play.  Among the most influential

factors responsible for most of the shifting of the playscape that has taken place in

Carriacou's playscape are:

1)  Microlocal and transnational migration
2) Telecommunications and technology
3) United States' influences


## Microlocal and Transnational Migration

Microlocal migration refers to the movements on and around the island. At some

point, according to my informants, around the 1980s, the Ministry of Education

implemented the centralization of secondary schools.  This meant that when children

reached the sixth grade, they were sent off to secondary schools located in Carriacou's

main town of Hillsborough. [see Fig. 30].  This meant that some children began to walk

much longer distances to attend school.  This had several unwanted outcomes.

According to my informants, adults lost track of children since for a significant part of

the day, secondary school children were now absent from the village.

It is important to put this change in context in order to understand its impact on

the various communities. In Carriacouan culture, people had the notion that each child

was the responsibility of the community. Each child could depend on many parental

figures aside from parents and close family members like grandparents, uncles and

aunties.  I heard multiple stories of children misbehaving away from home and receiving

stern discipline from a neighbor or passerby. One woman said, "I remember Mr.

Maxman. He drove a taxi and if he saw any misbehavior, he would stop his car and take off his belt. He would beat kids." The ability to issue corporal punishment to any child who misbehaved was an example the love the community member had for a child.

The sense of communal responsibility for children was something that I experienced with Zanaya. We always drove Zanaya to school, which was about a mile and a half away. One day, school was unexpectedly let out early, and when I came to pick up the then nine-year-old Zanaya, she was no longer there. Her classmates told me that she walked home. When I asked, "With whom" and the children said, "Nobody." Though we had told Zanaya that she always needed to wait for us and not walk home by herself, I was only mildly concerned. The distance between school and home was a relatively short distance and there was only a short stretch of road with no road-facing houses. That meant that there would only be a very short distance where she would not be seen by anyone sitting on their porch. This was important because people always sat on their porches, an observant (or nosy) family member on a porch was the very best kind of supervision, and we valued it.

As I drove towards home, people on the side of the road looked at me, waved, smiled and pointed towards home. They knew that the daily pattern was that Jim or I usually picked up Zanaya and that today was unusual in that school had released children early. People also knew, because I was driving shortly after Zanaya had already passed along the road, that I had missed picking her up for some reason. They knew, additionally, that I was probably concerned about her, otherwise there would be no need to gesture. The friendly finger pointing conveyed all that as well as their commitment to her as a child who belonged to the community – their child.

Since this was the case for all children, when the Ministry of Education built the secondary schools and enrolled the students, the impact on the community was not insignificant. Lionel, a man in his early seventies said,

> No longer does a child have their older brother and sister as their mentors. So we suffered culturally. No longer did children want to mingle with the children in their own village. By going to Hillsborough for school – a whole day away from the village -- there was no opportunity for children to be doing very much in the village they come from.

Migration on a much larger scale also had an impact on the play. Major waves of emigration to Europe, Canada, the United States and other Caribbean islands were due to hurricanes, economic forces and the political climate. Hurricane Janet devastated the islands while the governments of Eric Gairy and Maurice Bishop were impetuses for people to move away. In talking about Janet (almost no one in Carriacou said the word "Hurricane Janet"), Lionel said, "Nearly every able-bodied man and woman left. That was between 1955 and 1965. Who were left, were the younger and older ones."

Parents, having left their children, sometimes for years, resulted in "societies of grandparents and grandchildren" (Richardson 1983:27). My informants told me that the advanced age of the grandparents meant that they were unable to pass on some of the games to the youth. Some of the emotional effects of parents leaving their children were devastating. According to Richardson (1983), "[t]hough permanent departure has relieved local population pressures and associated ecological stress, the continuous loss of loved ones inevitably leads to a certain despair" (1983: 27).

The despair was not limited to the children who had been left behind on Carriacou. The parents who left their children on Carriacou also suffered. Miss Edith was a wheelchair-bound woman in her seventies whose family had placed her in what

was then the only nursing home on the island (there are now two). She complained that her children (all based in the States) and her grandchildren (based in the States and Carriacou) did not visit her. Introduced to Miss Edith by her former home-based caregiver, I made the habit of visiting her every Sunday after church and when her family moved her to the nursing home, I visited her at the nursing home once or twice a month.

On Mother's Day 2012, Miss Edith was devastated that not one of her four children called her to wish her Happy Mother's Day. Miss Edith was bereft. She felt utterly abandoned and tears ran down her face as she sobbed her heartbreak. Miss Edith told me that she had worked hard, suffered many hardships and diligently sent money home, certain that her children appreciated her suffering and her sacrifice. However, when I talked with Charles, one of the grown-up grandchildren, he had, perhaps, a pragmatic perspective. He reported that because Miss Edith had barely taken part in physically raising her children, her sons and daughters felt little to no bond with her. His tone was slightly bitter; he certainly seemed to feel no pity for the sad old woman who was his father's mother.

Another mother who talked to me about the experience of leaving her children behind was Dreena, a woman in her early fifties. She had spent many years in Trinidad earning money as a maid. She assiduously sent money for the care and schooling of her children. Many years later, in 2011, when her children were in their twenties, she took care of her eight-year-old granddaughter after her daughter's tragic death due to a severe infection. Raising the young girl was quite a challenge, in part because as Dreena related to me, spending time with a child was new to her. Dreena was exasperated with the granddaughter's admittedly problematic behaviors and seemed to expect more a mature

attitude than seemed possible, especially since the child was dealing with the shocking death of her mother and then the uprooting from her home in Grenada. When I gently suggested that the child was probably traumatized and grieving, Dreena was bemused by my comments.  She said, "Val, you know I know nothing about raising kids, right?"  She went on, "My children were raised by my mother so, when you talk to me about children, I don't know these things." My friend, though she loved her children deeply, had never known them while they were young.  Thus, Dreena and Miss Edith were emblematic of the ways in which poverty and the choice to emigrate had contributed to schisms between generations.

Aside from apparent ruptures in the family structure there were other significant changes wrought by immigration.   One was the increase in wealth that accrued to people on the island in the form of remittances, most often from the States and the UK.  These monies, earned by emigrants laboring abroad, facilitated the building of houses and establishing of businesses.  Richardson (1983) found the amount of remittances sent to home islands "astonishing."  As an example, he cited the year 1973, when people from off the island sent  $500,000 to Carriacou  through the bank and via postal money orders. Carriacou at the time had a population of 6,000.  Calculating the money accruing to each person comes to $83.00 in 1973 dollars. Translated to 2015 economy, $83.00 comes out to $458.57 per capita[4].  This amount does not include the additional cash and material items that that would have been shipped by or brought onto the island by relatives and friends.

---

[4] According to the inflation calculator at http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm.

The practice of parents sending barrels of toys and clothes to their children was so widespread that people  coined a term to refer to the children who were the recipients of such largess: "barrel children" (Larmer and Moses 1996).   These were children whom my informants said were parented by guilt.  The things in the barrels were a way for parents to deal with the grief they felt at leaving their children behind.

## **Play Before Modern Technology**

In Carriacou, adults report an environment that was utterly facilitative of play. Not only was there areas of the landscape that were available,  there was a wealth of materials from which to make toys, including  vines, wire, old pieces of cloth,  coconuts, mango seeds, metal shards, bottle caps, plastic bags, rubber, thread spools, grass, ticks, pieces of metal, rags and other materials.  Various toys were made from these materials including toy boats, trucks, and toys unfamiliar to me. Over the course of several meetings, Peter, a person who was enthusiastic about my research, showed me how he made a "rah-rah" – a kind of handheld top made from a dried mango seed, string and wood.  It was "spun"   when the handle of the rah-rah was held in one hand while the other hand pulled the string.  I watched him as he made  a caterpillar – a toy, that with the use of a piece of rubber, a short length of wire, a short length of a candle was transformed into a mobile artificial bug that once wound up, would slowly move by itself.  These toys took time to make, and were easily damaged or destroyed but because most of the materials were from nature or human-made discards, they were easily replaceable.  This was not the case, of course, for the commercial toys that were not easily replaceable.

The era before the influx of commercial toys, was also the era before the advent of a range of technologies from water catchment systems to gas canisters for stoves to telephones and televisions. These were all technologies that, according to my informant, did not come to Carriacou until the 1970s and 1980s). Before universal availability of water catchment systems at everyone's home, people utilized water in the ponds, or traveled to a communal tap where one waited on line to fill containers. Informants described how children would place their large and small containers on line. They would take turns moving containers closer to the tap as containers filled and children hauled the filled containers away. I can imagine the inexorable but interrupted flow providing time for children to play as some containers took some minutes to fill. Children would take turns responsibly moving the line forward for those who were away from the tap. .

Older children helped with taking care of the animals – minding them, leading them to where they would be staked for the day, bringing them back home, getting them additional food, like grain, and bringing them water. When siblings engaged in the same work or nearby friends who might also have to walk a distance to stake a goat or cow, that was a situation that also leant itself to play.

My informants told me that back when most families did not have cars, the vast majority of children walked to school. Children played on the way and on the way back. The ones furthest away would start on the road, picking up children as they went and the group of them would build until there was a traveling parade of playing, laughing, boisterous children; a party twice a day.

One refrain kept coming up as people talked about play. They would say that children were "free" and they would emphasize the word. They felt it was a special gift –

134

one that was diminishing.  When I would mention how surprised I was that people let their young (7 or 8) year old children go into Hillsborough by themselves, people would talk with pride about how children were free.  And Zanaya did have a level of freedom to wander that I would not grant in the United States at comparable events

When talking about the past, adults described how they would roam freely around the countryside. Especially on weekends, when there were hours of free time, children would ramble all over the place, eating the fruits off the trees, trapping birds and lizards, catching fish.  I heard stories from several people about how, as children, they would climb into the thick canopies of trees and securely and fearlessly jump for hours as if on a trampoline.  Still, in the course of their adventures kids would hurt themselves, sometimes quite badly, and they would do their best to hide the blood or dirtied and damaged clothes from their parents. Often parents would issue licks (spankings) when children hurt themselves, damaged their clothes, disobeyed a curfew or played when they should have been doing a chore.  My informants told me that as children, punishment mattered not one bit.  Risking the consequences, children would  go back to play again just as hard, just as long, just as fearlessly, and just as creatively as before.

In short, childhood was a vibrant time in which children were actively engaged with and responsive to the environment and each other in ways very different than today. Children engaged in what economist Jeremy Bentham  called "deep play" (1931: 106)– a concept that describes the engaging in playful activity when the stakes are so high that it seemed (to Bentham) irrational.  Geertz (2005) uses the term "deep play" in reference to Balinese men's profoundly  intense and seemingly all-encompassing involvement in Balinese cockfighting.  In both cases, there was a meaningful commitment to to engage

that I believe my Carriacouan adults identified as emblematic of the pay they do and not emblematic of what they see their children do.

Before the era of ubiquitous televisions and phones, adults walked to each other's homes with their children in tow.  They visited with news, gossip, and other information. While the parents talked and gossiped, the children played.  Parents and grandparents played, especially on moonlit nights.  This was when people would gather to cook food, tell stories, gossip, and play.  It was especially on these moonlit evenings when parents and grandparents played ring games or "pass play" together with the children.  People now said, "Children don't even know moonlight anymore." By this they meant that not only did children not know anything about playing during the times that the moon was most full, children lacked awareness of lunar cycles and how their lives could be tied to them.

Before phones, adults sent children to deliver messages.  Before the widespread use of cars and the advent of public transportation in the form of buses, kids walked. All these situations represented contexts where the lack of modern conveniences also represented fertile opportunities for play.

More wealth and the improvement in water catchment technology, according to my informants, created ruptures and distance between neighbors.  You "don't want to borrow a cup of sugar anymore" and you did not need to borrow a "firestick" – a branch with embers that can be used to start a new fire.

**Research on Television**

The effect of television on the youth of the Caribbean has long been the focus of researchers (Demas 1971; Lashley 1995; Phekoo, et al. 1996). Of particular concern was the percentage of foreign programming in the offerings to the public. In a comparison of two studies – 1976 and 1987, Brown characterized as "odious" (1987: 10) the increase in foreign content over ten years. Brown found "…*the four television stations in Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, taken together, have 87% of their weekly programming schedule contributed by imported content* (Brown 1987).

The larger group of global communications as expressed through radio, Internet, print media and telephones comprise a significant part of global inequities and the media through which such inequities would increase (Golding 1995). Though there has been decades of independence from colonial control, of interest to some researchers is the extent to which in the field of media communications colonialism still exists, even in lingering forms (Dunn 1995). In fact, resistance to cultural imperialism "continues to be strong" (Dunn 1995:80). Many in the media point to the dominance of American programming on the airwaves. As Harold Hoyt, former editor of Barbados' The Nation News, and former president of the Caribbean Publishing and Broadcasting Association stated in 1986:

> The Caribbean Publishing and Broadcasting Association is of the view that its members have a most important role to play in encouraging the growth and ensuring the defence of our culture and sovereignty. In-so-far as this penetration (by television) is likely to affect the lives of our people therefore, we strongly object to its dominance of our airwaves...Neither our cultural identity nor our political sovereignty, nor indeed our territorial integrity should be eroded by any foreign power as a result of our location or size. We in the media take our social

responsibility seriously, and it is for this reason that we raise this issue rather than be spectators to our own cultural emasculation [Brown 1987: 2] .

That television is socially problematic is something echoed in much media research. Gardner et al. (2006) cite the Women's Media Watch report on violence on Jamaica television which found that children were exposed to a high level of televised violence in which television characters were rewarded for aggression twice as often as they were punished.

### Local Concern about Television

Once establishing that play as Carriacouans knew it had disappeared, I then inquired of Carriacouan adults if knew why.   Most invariably identified the following four culprits: computers, cell phones, television and (often moving the thumbs as if using a PlayStation handheld console), video games.  Many people listed the first three as if it were a well-rehearsed litany.  It was if by simply listing those devices, they told me everything I needed to know about play's disappearance.  It was clear that impact of electronic devices was a conversation that Carriacouan adults often had among themselves.  Usually and I had been in places where the conversation often turned to the problems of society.   The listing of these items spoke to a universe of meaning that seemed to go beyond the problem of the disappearance of play.

One time, before a meeting of business leaders to which I was invited, Everett suggested that I talk about my research.  I had launched into a short description when Mr. Phillips, a businessman in his early forties walked in.  Everett mentioned what I was talking about and without missing a beat he announced, "You have to burn the TV," to which the assembled responded with empathetic laughter and a discussion decrying the

television they all had in their homes. One of them described the extent to which the children were focused on the screen and complained, "The child doesn't hear." This was a comment I heard often.

Virtually all adults with which I spoke had something negative to say about television. One genre that came up in people's decrying of American television was "reality shows." A teacher in her forties said, "Children are watching what their parents are watching and parents are watching Maury Povich, Montel Williams, and Jerry Springer. Their heads become corrupt." And there was Mr. George, an educator in his fifties who declared, "Madame, a lot of damage is done by United States TV viewing. It is unlawful, it is violent. But there is a feeling that if it's good for America, it's good for us.''

I had pondered the perceptions of my informants and while I did not have a television, and prior to fieldwork had only a passing acquaintance with the shows the teacher mentioned, I sometimes went to a local eatery where the television was tuned to one of these television shows.

From my November 2009 fieldnotes

> I watched a show in which a woman confronted her boyfriend who she suspected of cheating on her. There was the requisite DNA test and the lie detector test but there was also a sting operation set up by the producers. As the boyfriend sat in a waiting room before called to the stage, a young woman entered and began to seduce him. His responses to her amorous advances were shown to the girlfriend in real time. Naturally, this poor woman was beside herself in a frenzy of grief and rage.

I wondered if at least some children were watching Jerry Springer, especially after one of my lunchtime observation sessions at Hillsborough Government Primary School. The *Jerry Springer Show* (1991- present) is a long running syndicated program where a

139

live audience witnesses individuals contending with painful issues in their personal life. Those issues involve secrets of infidelity, rape, sexuality and/or the paternity of a child. The point of the show is that one person – usually a current or former heterosexual romantic partner – has a question about or information for another person.  Springer presents the parties and interviews them both drawing out the tension by establishing the emotional impact the information will have on one or both of the parties.  Springer resolves the issue with the results of a lie detector test, blood test, or a revelatory statement by one of the participants. Depending on the parties, this information leads to a rapprochement or more often to dramatic histrionics and violence.  In the case of the latter, trained staff members attempt to keep participants separate.  The audience screams, boos or chants "Jerry-Jerry-Jerry" prompted by the show's stagehands (Autler 2008).

The Hillsborough Government School – the place where I witnessed evidence of a connection to Springer's show – like all primary schools, are on one level.  Hillsborough Primary has its classrooms arranged around an open courtyard of approximately forty by forty feet.  The courtyard is dirt and grass and a concrete walkway as well as a small wooden playhouse with a floor of four by four feet that children would occasionally play in.  There is a wide overhanging roof over the entrance to the classrooms so that in rainy weather, one can walk between classrooms without getting wet.  In this setup, standing at almost any place on this perimeter, you can see the entrances to most classrooms.

During lunchtime, the children eat at long tables by the kitchen if they are eating the school lunch and on concrete steps if they have brought food from home.  After they eat, they are free to run around and play, or sit and socialize or study in their classrooms. Outside of the area of the school and the courtyard is an enormous grassy field.  In these

locations, during the course of the lunch break, I saw the children roam, run, play tag, hand games, and cricket; search for insects in the high grass area, and engage in generalized rambunctious and raucous play.

One lunch period, while standing on the concrete walkway, out of the corner of my eye I saw some kind of fluttering commotion close to the entrance to one of the classrooms. I turned my head to see what it was about and as I did so, children from all corners of the courtyard streamed to where the tumult was taking place. As they ran, the children chanted in unison "JER-RY, JER-RY, JER-RY," sounding exactly like Jerry Springer's prompted but enthusiastic audience members. I walked closer to see what was going on and did not see fighting. Whatever fuss had prompted the children to run was already over. I asked one of the little girls nearby if she knew what was going on and she did not know either. I watched as the children ran off to do something else.

The chant "JER-RY" was a signifier for disorder, chaos, excitement, commotion, or a fight – what my informants called "bacchanal" all of which are the bread and butter of the Jerry Springer show. Bacchanal is also associated with the United States, which many of my informants associated with uncontrolled immorality and the giving into unbridled desires.

Indeed the issue of the transmission of television content is something that has come to the attention of researchers who note the domination of television with U.S. content (Rivero 2005)

> International cross-border flows of people, data, capital, technology and services
> are already so extensive as to give rise to real concerns that the political
> sovereignty of countries is being undermined...And the inward flow of television
> news and entertainment programming are transmitted and received at will,

without regard to any national communications policies in force in "recipient" societies (Dunn 1995: xiii).

One informant, Alfred, a man in his early fifties, agreed with others that children did not play, and he noted the bacchanalian quality.  "Children don't play like before," he said. "They are more for the world of pleasure.  Some of them are smoking and drinking at ages of 9, 10, and 11. [It's] because of the company they keep.  Their friends."

When I asked Alfred when the change took place, he replied "from 1979 onwards."  In marking this period of time for when a change to the playscape happened, Alfred was like many informants in their forties and fifties.  Multiple people, when pressed to give a time frame for when children did not "play anymore" would offer the late seventies and early eighties for this sad state of affairs. I noted that this was also the period of time of the coup, during which the Gairy government fell to the Bishop government, the period of Bishop's government, the coup by an internal faction in the Bishop government, Bishop's execution, and the subsequent intervention (seen by some to be liberation and others to be an invasion) by United States forces.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the social and cultural ramifications of political change s, it is important to note that for many Carriacouans, the change in the playscape and the society is marked by the severe disruption that they trace to political upheaval and the United States' military intervention.


**The Spatiality of Musical Play**

In the vein of looking at the past ways in which children played, I asked adults if there were any game songs that they remembered.  I received two versions of the only

one I was offered.  Here I would like to offer an analysis based on a close reading of both

poems. These poems were chanted whenever two or more are gathered to play and one

person is moved to begin and seem to be in the tradition of satirical songs whereby the

population remembers or comments on the past (Isha 2012)

Columbus is the subject of the chant of which I received two versions.  I received

the first version from Risa, a manager of a grocery store in her early seventies. She said

little about the poem except that it was one that boys and girls would chant.  The

seventies version was given to me by Genda, a clerk at a Laundromat in her forties.


Risa's Version of Red White and Blue

Red white and blue
See what Columbus do?
He open me ass[5]
In the middle of the crass (cross)
And nobody can pass


Genda's Version of Red, White and Blue

Red, white and blue
See what Columbus do
He sit down on the grass
And open he ass
And he said nobody can't pass
But I so fast
I go and I pass
And he ram a cuff in me ass

Columbus is associated with the colors of the American flag and/or the Union

Jack.  So positioned, the explorer is linked to the West and therefore, Columbus' power is

Western power.  He becomes, then, not only whom students learn has "discovered" them,

he is an agent of the colonizing entity that conferred colonial citizenship in the case of the

---

[5] "Open me ass" according to an informant means to open one's legs.

UK.  He can also represent the source of goods imported to Grenada, employment, entertainment via television and the preferred destinations for immigration.

Columbus is seen to have supreme control over space and the movements of those would wish to pass him. In the first version, the line "See what Columbus do" emphasizes his power. In both versions, Columbus has deemed that people cannot traverse space. In the first version, the crass (cross) refers to a crossroad whereby Columbus has set the narrator as a roadblock.  One presumes that he put his hands on the chanter when "he open me ass in the middle of the crass."

In the later version, Columbus, himself, is the roadblock; Columbus sits down in what would appear to be a weak position. Nevertheless, he asserts the prohibition against movement when the narrator disobeys the order and successfully bypasses Columbus because of the speed at which she is able to run. As punishment, Columbus still manages to deliver a hard blow.

Space and the ability to traverse it evoked in both poems. Additionally, both poems pose Columbus or Western power as inhibiting movement.

In the present day there are many game songs.  Some of them seem to be special to Carriacou and some are ones that have different versions in different parts of the world. I saw children perform these in the schools and also in a neighborhood where I did participant observation.  I saw boys play soccer and futbol In addition, the schools play the competitive sports

The first four lines of a contemporary girls' poem also has movement at the center:

My momma's short and fat
She's got a butt like that
Every time she cross the street
Them cars go beep beep beep

I have seen this performed with four to six girls facing each other in parallel lines. They start the chant moving their bodies rhythmically to the beat. At the line "she's got a butt like that," each girl thrusts out a hip laterally and smacks the hip at "butt." The next line has the girls walking with a jaunty swagger, the lines passing each other and the girls turning to face each other again at "street." At "Them cars go," the girls widen their stance so that their feet are hip distance apart, bend their knees, and bring both hands to their general area of their chest. At "beep beep" they push their hands forward in three small circles moving them in a downward direction, then away from the body, then upwards and back to the chest. Each circle is performed to the "beep". The arms remain bent, though straightening slightly as the hands move away from the chest. The same time of the "beep beep beep," the hips push forward in synchrony with the hands.

Increasing the verve of the movement, some girls will widen their stance much more than hip width distance, bend their knees deeply, and lean to one side or another. At the Dover School where I watched this game, approximately five girls played this game several times, their number rising or falling as girls either joined, ran off to do something else or watched. A few boys mischievously attempted to join in and were shooed away by the girls who harmlessly hit at them.

Most salient in this gamesong, as the case for the Columbus gamesongs was the action of traveling through space and the way in which the children claim space.  In the case of the Beep Beep Beep gamesong the claiming of the mom and her anatomy was, I believe the claiming, of African body and an example of African affiliation.

### **Conclusion**

On the face of it, Zanaya's stunned assessment, that we had "come for nothing" was at least partially accurate.  I certainly did not see the dance play or gamesongs I had imagined or that my pre-fieldwork research had led me to expect.   I had supposed that gamesongs took place in multiple sites throughout the island, on multiple occasions and I would barely need to search for the performance of them.  My daughter's comment was merely an echo of the adults' statement that "children don't play anymore" and, thus, I was presented with a conundrum until I realized that children's play was anything but absent. It was true that multiple factors mediated its presence such as changes to the particular playscape that adults remembered but had all but disappeared. There had, indeed, once been what I imagined and adults recalled – a rich and vibrant site of satirical and traditional gamesongs and ring games performed spontaneously and as planned events.

The question of why the adults had increasingly predictable answer about the disappearance of play when it plainly existed is something that I have pondered and it is an issue needing need further exploration.  I wonder if the change of the playscape represented a serious emotional loss for the adults that rendered them unable to recognize the play in which their children engaged daily.  Or, are the adults similar to the explorers or researchers that are flummoxed when the entity – the population group – that they are

trying to fix in time and space eludes categorization. The easy flow with which Caribbean people move up and down the archipelago are seen in the children whose play is always in a state of flow. This was true of the traveling carnival of children prior to universal motorized transportation. It is also true of the movement of water containers by the water tap which I can imagine moved forward by an always shifting guard of children as each container was filled and taken away, another one moving forward. It is true of the child who does not come home on time, is punished and cannot wait to go out again.

The transformation of Carriacou's playscape had various spatial dimensions that I present in this chapter. The spatial aspects of the playscape are such that they could not be separated from the songs themselves nor from the socio-historical context. I argue that movement through space is central to the life worlds of Carriacouans). Peopled have been moved and move through local and international space that have served as an engine of culture and international commerce. It is not surprising that the girls make the movement through space an important part of their play. That movement is imbued with meaning related to the history of colonialism to the present day movement of a body crossing the street. The girls assert their own agency as they do in the second Columbus chant and the Beep Beep chant. In the latter, I argue that the inclusion of the language about the mother's butt, is an affiliation with Africa. While children from other cultures chant the same exact words, I argue that context makes all the difference. An Asian girl, for example, who chants, "She's got a butt like that" may be expressing an African affiliation but the costs and benefits of claiming affiliation accrue differently to her than to the African descended individual. The emotional significance of the chant is different for and African descended person than for someone who is not African descended. The

Black girl who identifies with the African butt is enacting an African affiliation that is connects in a way that is much more meaningful than for non-African descended people. In the next chapter, I deepen the exploration into context whereby I confront the issue of African affiliation directly with the children.

# CHAPTER 6

## THE EMPTY SPACE OR THE ABSENT PRESENCE OF AFRICA

*home truth – noun. Date: 1711. An unpleasant fact that jars the sensibilities 2. A statement of undisputed fact.*

New Collegiate Dictionary

Despite the continual assertion, on the part of adults that children did not play anymore, I witnessed a great deal of play in various locations. Carriacou schools offered plentiful opportunities for play.  Except for the L'Esterre school, each school had wide-open spaces of approximately an acre or more.  However, even the L'Esterre school had space enough for boys to play cricket.  In addition, each day the students had a half hour for their morning break and an hour for lunch. Very few children failed to take advantage to the opportunity to play although there were some children – mostly sixth grade girls – who opted also chat with each other.

### Discussion of Group Interviews

After I had done months of participant observation and informal interviews with children and adults, I conducted group interviews on African heritage and footage responses in early 2010, with all the 4th and 6th graders on the island for a total of one hundred and forty children. I discarded the interview information of the two white children and 5 other interviews were discarded.  The former because of the lack of applicability to the issue of African affiliation; the latter set were discarded because of illegibility.

Carriacou has five primary schools and I visited each one and interviewed the children in 4th and 6th grades because these were the British system grades analogous to the grades of the 3rd and 5th grades in the United States educational system. The five schools and the numbers of children from each school are listed below:

**Table 2 – Numbers of Children Who Participated in the Group Interview**

|  |  | Girls | Boys | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dover |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4th Grade | 7 | 8 | 15 |
|  | 6th Grade | 8 | 5 | 13 |
|  |  |  |  | 28 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Harvey Vale |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4th Grade | 8 | 3 | 11 |
|  | 6th Grade | 7 | 6 | 13 |
|  |  |  |  | 24 |
| Hillsborough |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4th Grade | 15 | 9 | 24 |
|  | 6th Grade | 17 | 8 | 25 |
|  |  |  |  | 49 |
| L'Esterre |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4th Grade | 11 | 7 | 18 |
|  | 6th Grade | 2 | 11 | 13 |
|  |  |  |  | 31 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Mount Pleasant |  |  |  |  |
|  | 4th Grade | 3 | 2 | 5 |
|  | 6th Grade | 2 | 1 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | 8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Total |  |  | 140 |

The Grenada government granted me permission to conduct research. I then approached each school's principal for further permission to engage in participant/observation and conduct group interviews. After receiving the appropriate permissions from the school principals, I scheduled times when I could show the DVD.

Because I planned to do so during the school day, I contended with the issue of limited time, especially for the 6th graders for whom the school year was largely focused on preparing for the Common Entrance Exams (CEE), the end-of-the-year exam that determined their placement into secondary school. I was (perhaps overly) concerned with taking up too much of the children's time and therefore did not engage the children in discussion except to give them a short explanation of the group interview procedure, define the term "ancestor" and answer any of their questions.. Despite my worry that I was interfering with the 6th graders' preparations for the Common Entrance (as it was usually called), the principals, teachers and students of all the schools were accommodating to my request. Their cooperative nature was facilitated, in part, by documentation from the government that sanctioned the research and the fact that I was of Grenadian heritage. One principal did note, with what seemed to be slight disapproval, that the research had been approved by the previous governmental administration. Still, she allowed me to conduct my research.

In the Harvey Vale, L'Esterre, and Mt. Pleasant schools, the buildings have an open floor plan with most of the classrooms separated with room dividers or mobile blackboards. This physical set-up is a partial explanation for the generalized buzz that permeates the air. At the Hillsborough and Dover schools, even though the classes are in individual rooms, as is the case for all the schools, it is very easy to hear the goings-on outside of the classroom. This is because all the schools lack air conditioning, the windows stay open, as do, generally speaking, the doors. Sounds from the street as well as from schoolmates and teachers are ubiquitous and unavoidable.

The group interview process comprised of showing the children approximately ten minutes of cheering footage. I showed the footage on my laptop in all but one of the showings. I was able to put the footage on a television screen at the Hillsborough School. For most of the viewings, the teachers did not watch the footage with the children.

I introduced the activity by saying that this was footage of children in Brooklyn, New York and I wished to know what Carriacouan children thought of it. After the children watched, I handed them plain lined sheets of paper upon which I asked them to write down their grade, age, and gender. I used plain sheets of paper rather than typed forms because I aimed to lessen the appearance of a test so as to cut down on any possible test-taking anxiety that that a more formal document might have prompted. I wanted the group interview to feel less like an exam and more like a writing assignment in which they could feel more free with their thoughts and responses.

I asked questions and waited until children had finished their writing before asking the following question.

The interview questions:

1. Where are you from?
2. Where are your ancestors from?
3. What is your favorite activity?
4. What did you see in the video?
5. How did it make you feel?
6. What did it remind you of?

The answers to the question, "Where are your ancestors from?" form the focus of the chapter. I asked the question in order to determine the extent to which the children had cognitively internalized information about their African origins. I surmised that the

children engaged in and were witness to many cultural behaviors and rituals that had their roots in West Africa and they had direct and indirect contact with tourist information about Carriacou  in which explicit mention was made of the island's connection to African heritage,  In fact, in January 2010, the Ministry of Education instituted a pilot project of "tourism education" (Government 2011) that was delivered in all the primary schools by the tourism development officer for Carriacou and Petite Martinique (Personal communication with Alison Caton, June 5, 2011).

## Who are Carriacouan Children's Ancestors?

Figure 1 includes all the answers that the children submitted to the question: "Where are your ancestors from?"  I refer to this in the figures as "the ancestry question." I asked this question because of my assumption that the children would have a sense of their ancestry and that their answers would yield some information about their affiliation and disaffiliation to the continent.

When students put down two locations, I used the first answer. The graph shows the range of locations that the students identified as being their primary ancestral origin. The results show that "I don't know" was the most common answer. However, there are also several non-responsive answers in which the children also did not indicate an ancestral location.  These were: "No answer" in which students left a blank space on their paper, and ""Repeat question" where the students simply wrote down the question that I asked.
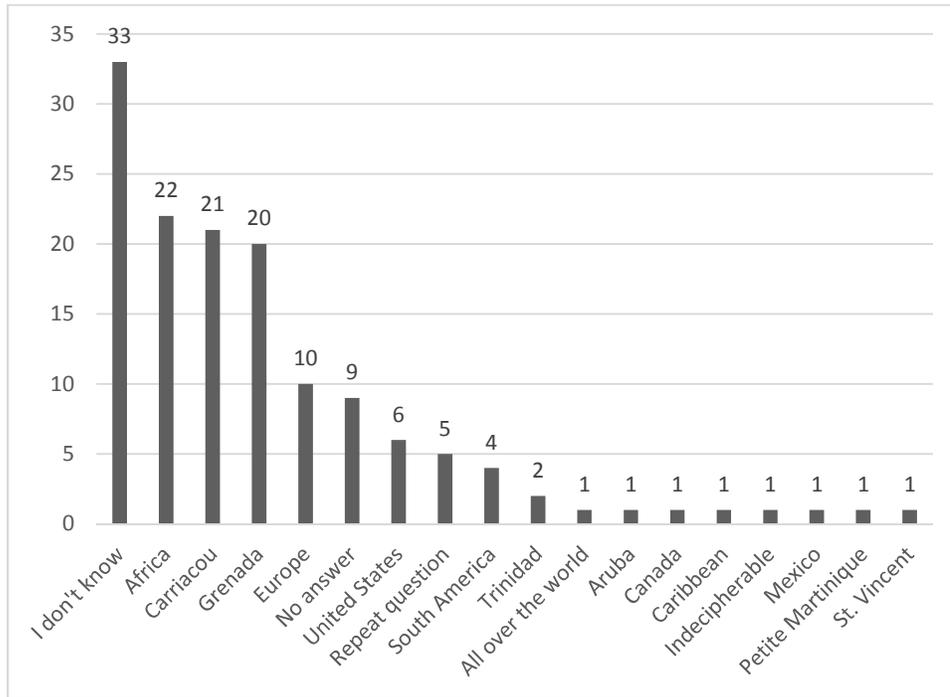
**Figure 1-Ancestry Question: All Children**

In Fig. 2, when I aggregate the non-responsive answers to the question about ancestry, the graph shows a more stark delineation between children who identify some location and children who do not. In that case, "No Location" has the highest number of answers at forty-seven. Africa has the second highest number of responses at twenty-two with Carriacou and Grenada following at twenty-one and twenty responses, respectively. These results were shocking to some of the adults with whom I shared the results. One of them, Dr. Curtis Jacobs, historian and director of the University of the West Indies Open Campus in Grenada, was disturbed and incredulous that Carriacouan children could

profess to "not know" that they were of African descent. "*Our* Carriacou?" he asked in amazement, "Are you talking about *our* Carriacou?" He went on to explain his bewilderment, saying that Carriacou was a place where the evidence of Africa was so overwhelming, he was at a loss to understand or explain how it could be that Afro-Caribbean children from Carriacou did not respond that Africa was the primary source of their ancestry.
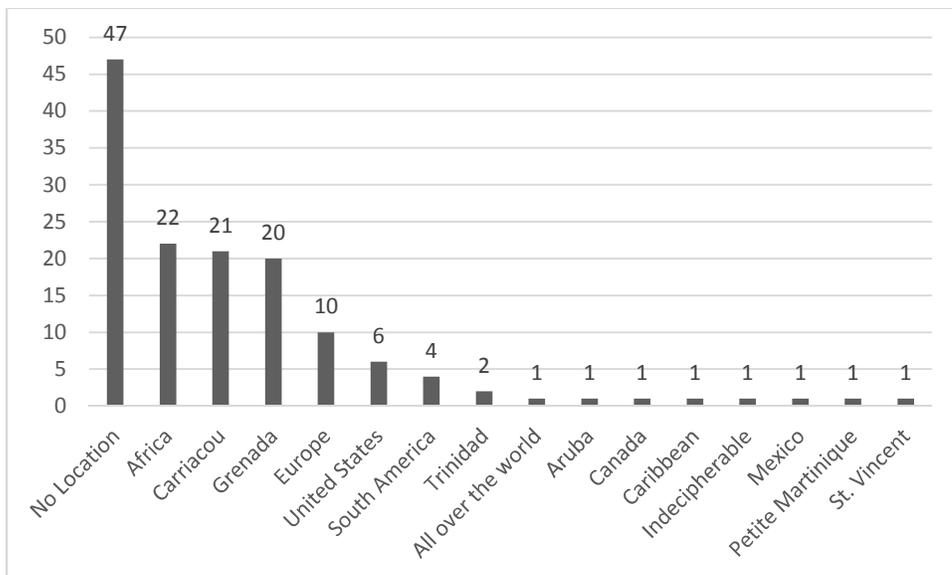


**Figure 2: Ancestry Question: All Children; Aggregation of all Non-Location Answers**

Aggregating the Caribbean countries and the (Fig. 3) highlights the extent to which the children identify their ancestry as Caribbean. In this case, Africa becomes the third highest location after the Caribbean and No Location.
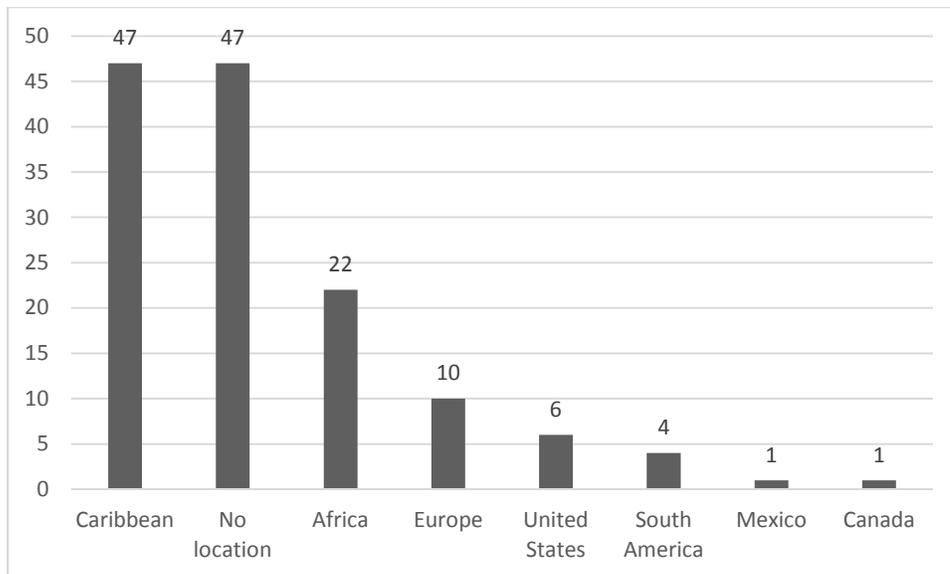
**Figure 3: Ancestry Question with Aggregation of the Caribbean Origin Answers and Non-Responsive Answers**

Figs. 4 and 5 show responses that reveal differences by grade. Here we see that

"South America" is an answer to ancestral origins in the fourth grade and not in the sixth.

The reason may lay in the greater proximal familiarity the fourth grade students had with

the fourth grade social studies textbook (discussed in Chapter 4) and, the accompanying

lessons administered by the teacher. In the textbook, and presumably the accompanying

lessons, indigenous peoples are featured prominently and their origins are theorized to be

in South America.

We also see in the fourth grade, Africa is the fourth answer at six responses,

showing an insignificant difference between Europe (at seven responses), No Answer (at

six responses), the United States (at six responses), and Repeat Question (at five

responses).

In contrast, in the sixth grade, Africa is the third answer (at sixteen responses)

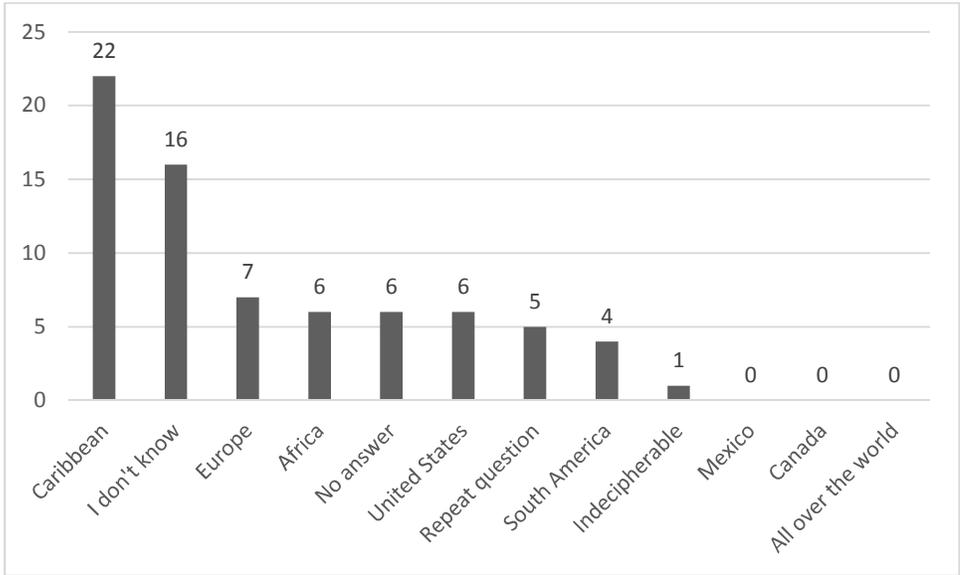with Europe a distant fourth (at three responses)

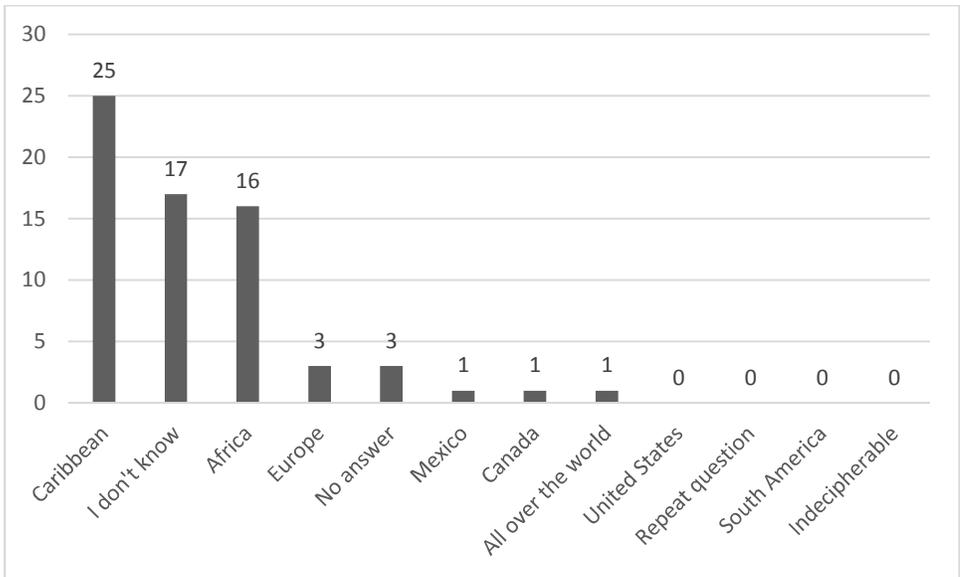**Figure4: Ancestry Question All 4ᵗʰ Graders**



**Figure 5: Ancestry Question All 6ᵗʰ Graders**

Showing the data by school (in Figs 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) reveals that of the five

schools, more Harvey Vale students identify "African" ancestry than the other schools. It

is the number one answer for Harvey Vale students (Fig. 7), the number four answer for

Dover (Fig. 6), the number three answer for Hillsborough (Fig. 8), the number five

answer for L'Esterre (Fig. 9) and the number three answer for Mount Pleasant (Fig. 10).
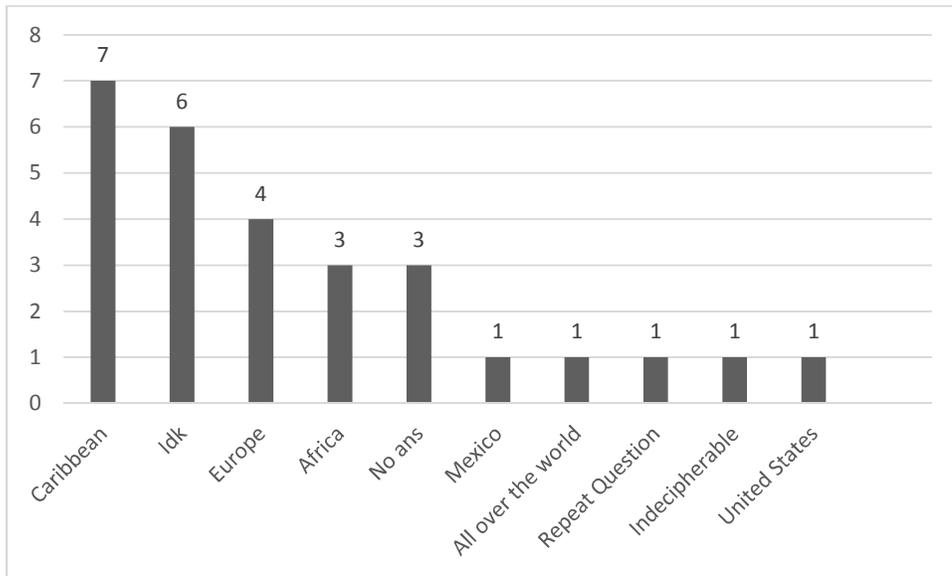


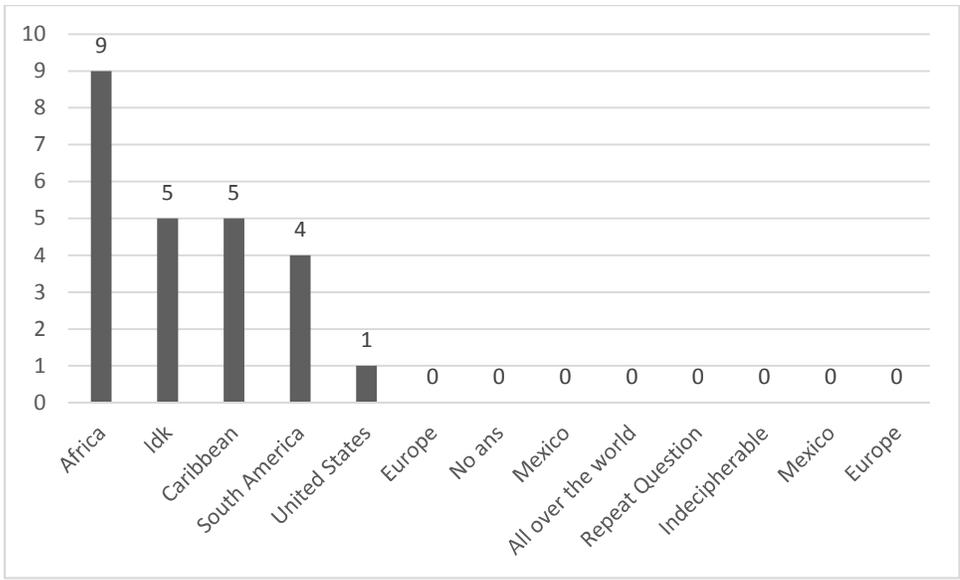**Figure 6: Dover Government School: Ancestry Question**

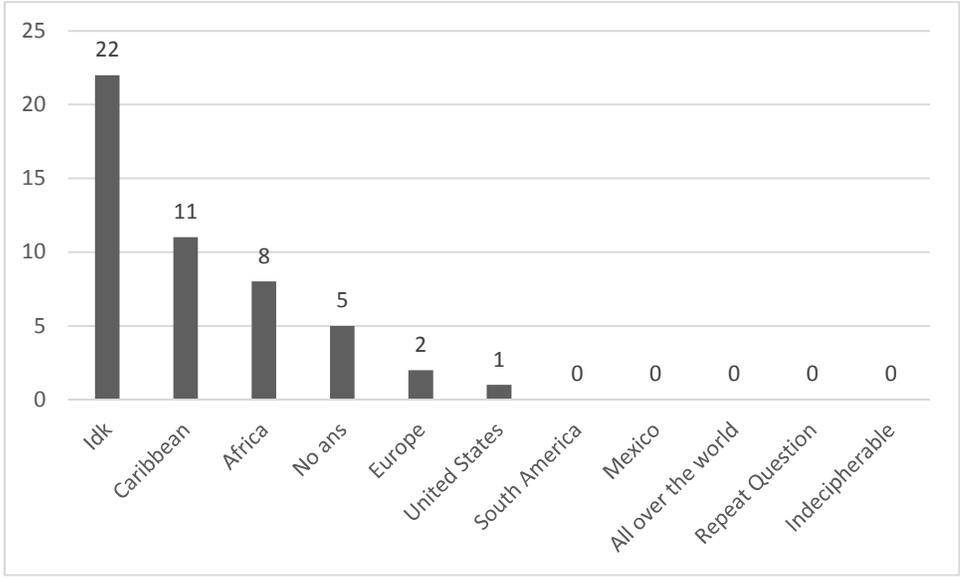**Figure 7: Harvey Vale Government School: Ancestry Question**



**Figure 8: Hillsborough Government School: Ancestry Question**
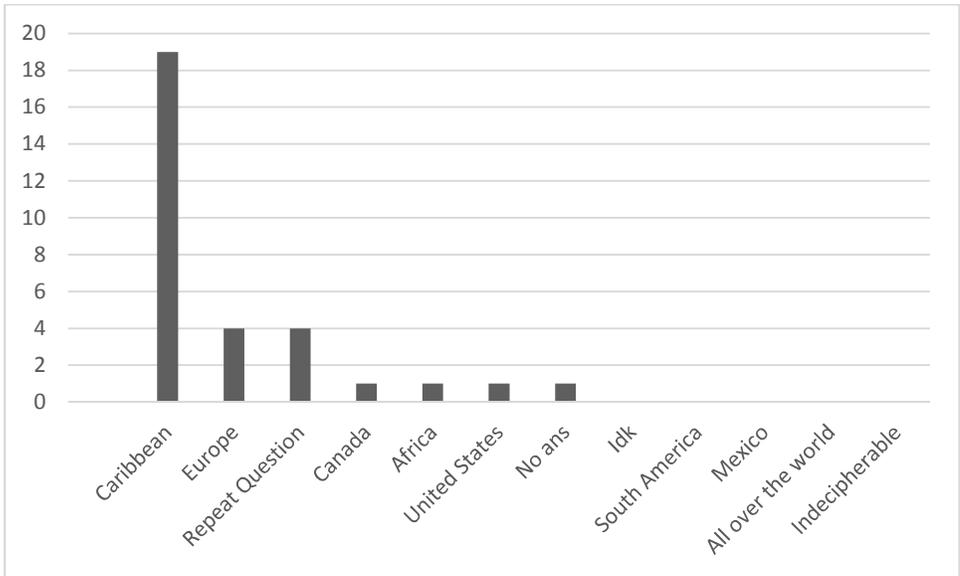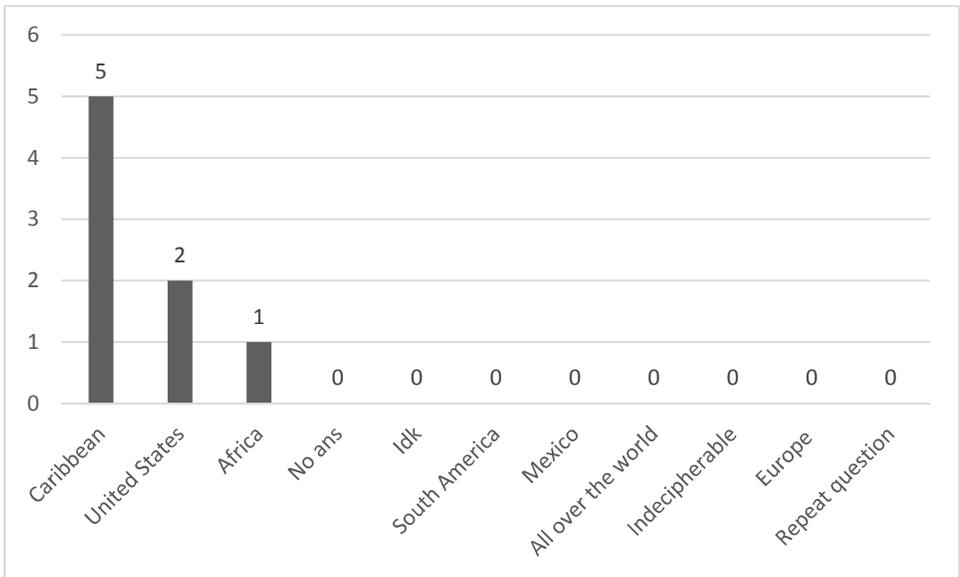
**Figure 9: L'Esterre R.C. School: Ancestry Question**



**Figure 10: Mount Pleasant Government School: Ancestry Question**

**Table 3 – All Responses to the Ancestry Question**

|  | Dover | | Harvey Vale | | Hillsborough | | L'Esterre | | Mt. Pleasant | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Africa** | 3 | 11% | **9** | **38%** | 8 | 16% | 1 | 3% | 1 | 13% |
| All over the world | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| Canada | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 1 | 3% | 0 | 0% |
| **Caribbean** | **7** | **25%** | 5 | 21% | 11 | 22% | **19** | **61%** | **5** | **63%** |
| Europe | 3 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 2 | 4% | 4 | 13% | 0 | 0% |
| **I don't know** | 6 | 21% | 5 | 21% | **22** | **45%** | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| indecipherable | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| Mexico | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| no ans | 3 | 11% | 0 | 0% | 5 | 10% | 1 | 3% | 0 | 0% |
| Repeat Question | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 4 | 13% | 0 | 0% |
| South America | 0 | 0% | 4 | 17% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| United States | 1 | 4% | 1 | 4% | 1 | 2% | 1 | 3% | 2 | 25% |
| World | 1 | 4% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
|  | 28 | 100% | 24 | 100% | 49 | 100% | 31 | 100% | 8 | 100% |

Harvey Vale warrants special attention because, out of the five schools, it is the only one where the majority of the students list Africa as their ancestry. Fig. 11 shows the responses in the fourth grade and Fig. 12, shows responses in the sixth grade. Here we see a significant difference between the two grades. In the fourth grade of the Harvey Vale School, one child – my daughter – responds "Africa" to the ancestry question. By contrast, eight students give the same answer in sixth grade.
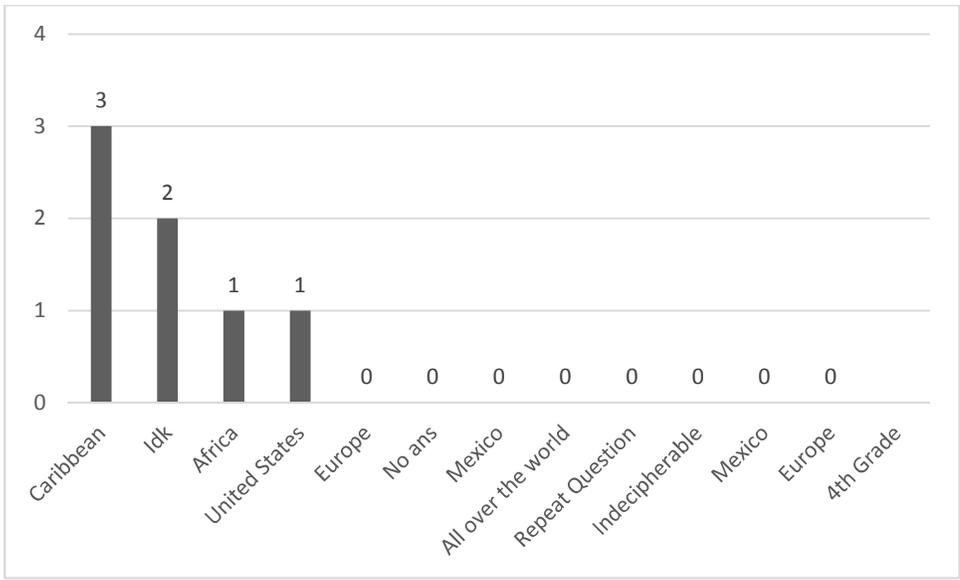
**Figure 11: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale's 4ᵗʰ Grade**



**Figure 2: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale's 6ᵗʰ Grade**

Figs. 13 and 14 break down the 4ᵗʰ grade children's answers to the ancestry

question by gender. Of the eight children who answered "Africa," in the sixth grade, five

are girls and three are boys.  With such small numbers, gender differences do not appear
to be significant.



**Figure 3: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale 4th Grade Girls**



**Figure 4: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale 4th Grade Boys**

Figs. 15 and 16 break down the 6<sup>th</sup> grade children's answers to the ancestry question by gender. For both groups, "Africa" is the most given answer.
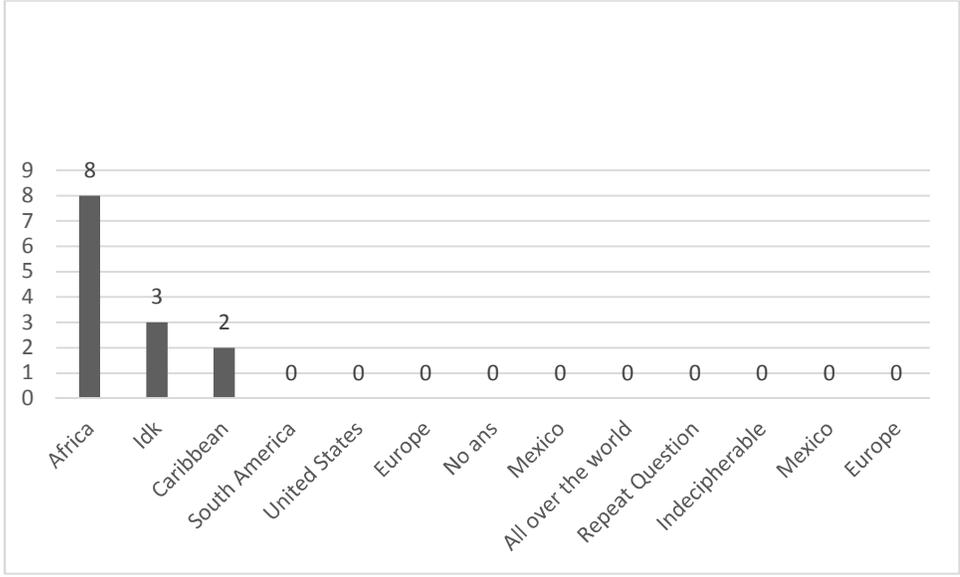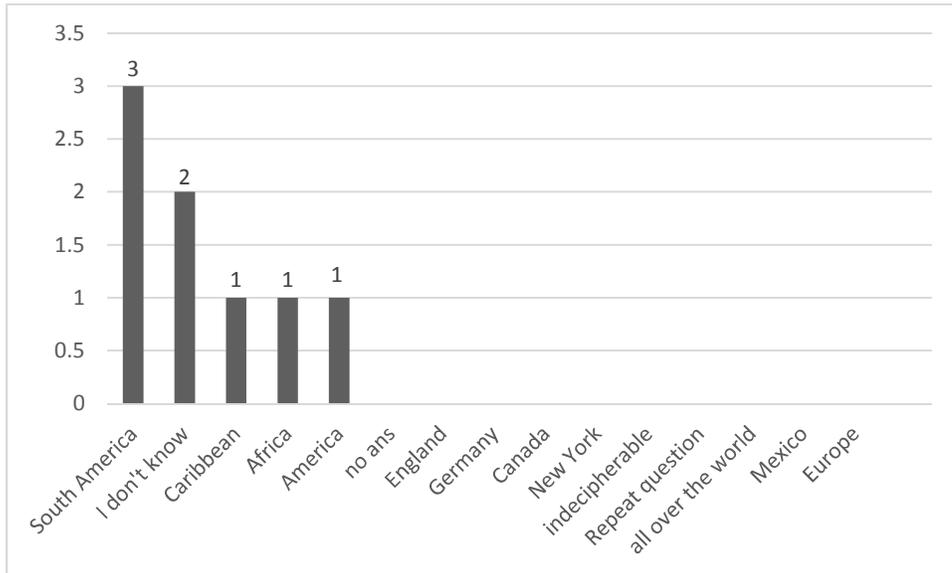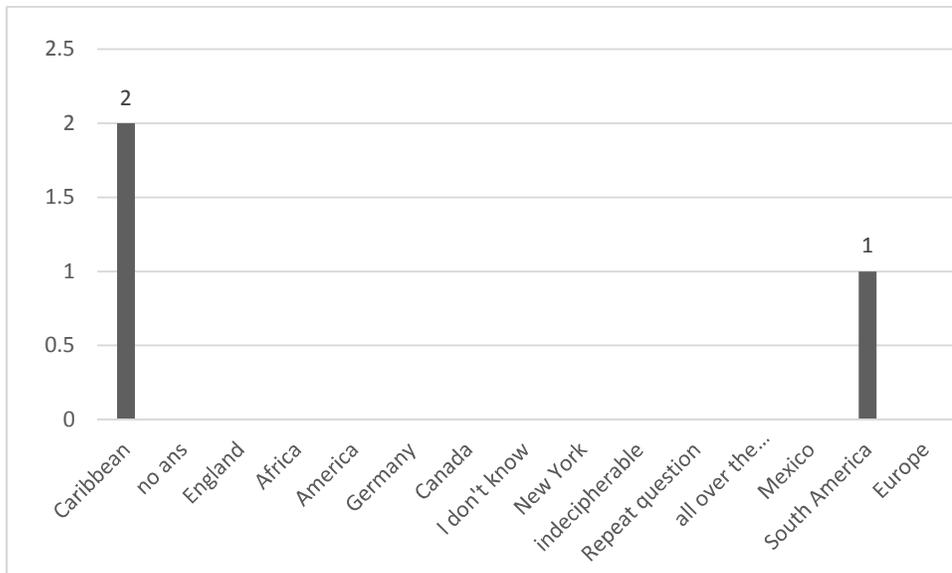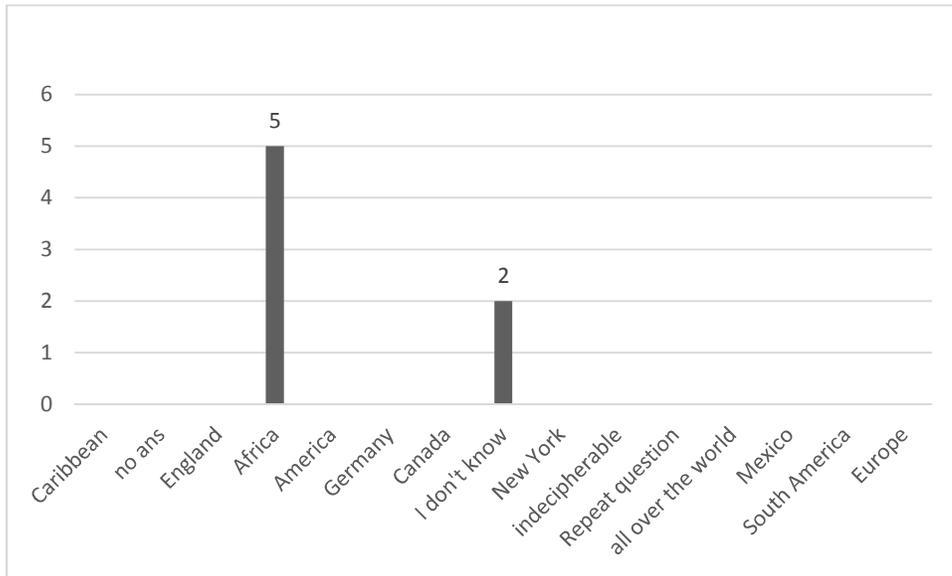


**Figure 5: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale 6<sup>th</sup> Grade Girls**
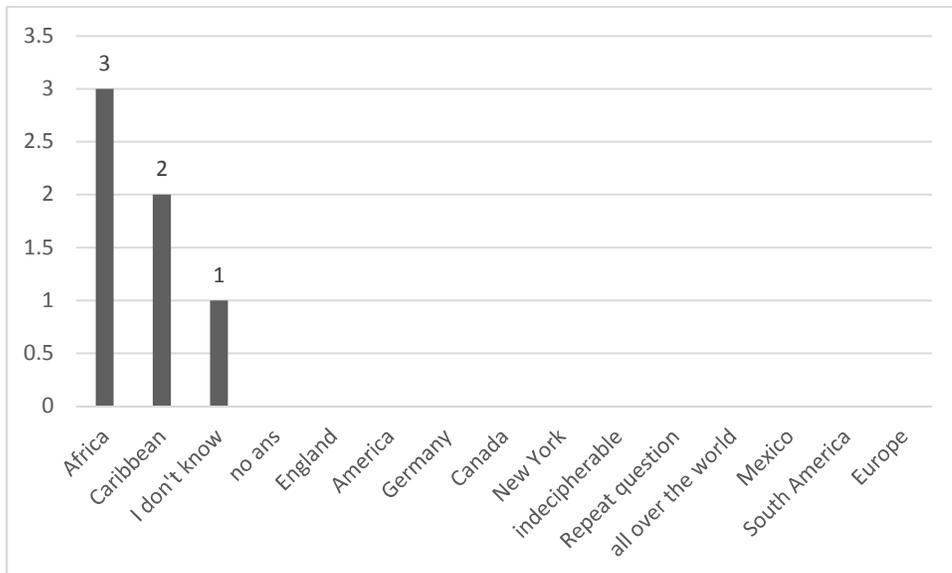


**Figure 6: Ancestry Question: Harvey Vale 6<sup>th</sup> Grade Boys**

What may account for the large numbers of Africa answers in Harvey Vale, and in the sixth grade girls, in particular, is the fact that at the time of the group interview, a Big Drum Dance group met weekly at the Harvey Vale School. The membership of the group was comprised mainly (though not exclusively) of sixth graders – mostly girls. Deeply spiritual in the Africanist tradition, Miss Junie, as I called her, the volunteer coordinator, talked to me often about her passionate belief in the importance of maintaining traditional beliefs. She had a principled devotion to the idea of honoring the ancestors by adhering to the ethos of Big Drum. This meant, for example, that she was uninterested in receiving money for performing. She wished only for transportation, costumes and perhaps for the repair of the drums.

Miss Junie, volunteered that the government had approached her to teach Big Drum in schools other than Harvey Vale Government School. She was adamant that to do so would be sacrilege – an insult to the ancestors. She resists the notion of commodifying the dance and thus making it transferrable to any place, any school. Miss Junie insists that not only is Big Drum sacred, it is firmly attached to place. She declares, "Big Drum is for Harvey Vale area – you can't do it other places. It's not right. It's the same way that the Quadrille dance is for L'Esterre. I can't teach Quadrille in Harvey Vale!"

The time for Big Drum practice was Friday mornings. On several occasions, I had come to the school on Fridays and heard the drums but I wanted to come specifically to observe the practice in operation. On the Friday that I came to observe, I sat next to Miss Junie and listened to her talk to the children about the dances they would practice for the day. The sound of the drums (played by Miss Junie, Diane and two of the boys) and the

singing reverberated throughout the school. Talking to each other and sometimes not paying attention, the students ignored Miss Junie's attempts to keep them in line as they practiced elements of the dances. Miss Junie became frustrated and exasperatedly threatened consequences. When they performed the whole dances, however, the children were transformed from unruly brats into beautiful performers who by their smiles, bodily investment and focus showed how much they enjoyed themselves.

Another place where we see a significant number of Africa answers is Hillsborough School. This may be due to the efforts of one of the teachers at the school, Mr. Simon, who some of the children identified in interviews as being the source of the information. When I asked Mr. Simon about his emphasis on Africa, he said, simply, that he felt that it was important for the children to know where they came from.

**The Absent Presence of Africa in the Group Interviews**

Trouillot writes about history as process as well as narrative (1995: 23). As process and narrative, people interact with history from various positions: agents, actors and subjects (Trouillot 1995). As history is made, retrieved, archived, narrated and accepted, it is also unmade, ignored, hidden and rejected. Because of the interwoven nature of history, "[t]he ways in which what happened and that which is said to have happened are and are not the same may itself be historical" (Trouillot 1995: 4). Thus, when I ask, "Where are your ancestors from," the question is a question about history but is itself historical (as are their answers).

At each point, silences are created in what is recalled or forgotten, recorded, chosen, valued, or rejected. The children's social world has been powerfully shaped by

silences around Africa, even as Carriacou serves as an example of a society with multiple African retentions.

The number of "I don't knows" and non-answers in response to the ancestry query begs the question: is it a reasonable expectation that children between nine and eleven know their ancestry? Or is "ancestry" or "Africa" abstract concepts that students cannot conceptually engage. These are logical and important questions. It is also possible that if I had asked the questions in a different way, the children would have given different answers. If I had asked, for example, "What is your nation?" or (showing students a map of the world) "Where on the map do your ancestors come from," I may have gotten very different answers.

It is possible that the children did not know what the word ancestors meant? This is why when I asked, "Where are your ancestors from?" I did not simply recite the question to them. I took the time to give explanations of the word "ancestors." I told them that ancestors were people who looked like them, were related to them by blood and lived long time ago. I emphasized the distance in time by using gestures: tossing my hand over my shoulder, emphasizing words with my voice ("*long* time ago"), and repeating the words " grandparents' grandparents' grandparents" in an effort to underscore the temporal distance that I wished the children to consider.

All the children had been studying their ancestry in school through the social studies curriculum. The fourth grade textbook lists African, European, Asian and aboriginal ancestry. Children received some information about the foodways, belief systems and behaviors of the indigenous populations. As a result, some children responded to the question by writing that their ancestry was South American -- one of the

theorized origins of the indigenous people described in the social studies textbook. In addition, children who wrote other answers down were not wrong. Most African descended Carriacouans do have ancestry from Europe and other Caribbean countries.

The question, then, may be what mitigates against "Africa" as an answer. The "don't know" appears to be a logical (though concerning) answer if students understood the question. They simply may not have had the information, on a cognitive level, of where their ancestors were from. The "I don't know" answer may suggest a deep understanding of the question. The children who wrote that answer down knew that I was not referring to recent history, otherwise they could easily write the Caribbean or Europe, for example. "I don't know" may be an indication that they pondered the question and knew that they did not have the information. The fact that this may have even had emotional meaning to them was signaled by the response of an informant who wrote, "I don't know!" with an exclamation mark.

The non-answers and repeat of questions are similarly intriguing. Were they, in the terms of the Clark studies, simply "irrelevant" or "escape" (Clark and Clark 1950) responses? In the Clark's coloring test, researchers asked children to appropriately color an apple, orange, leaf and a mouse. The children were then directed to color the line drawing of a child in the approximate color of the child him/herself. An "irrelevant" or "escape" answer was one in which the child colored the objects correctly but then made "bizarre" color choices (such as red or green) when it came to self-descriptively coloring the line drawing. The Clarks do not investigate these escape answers, which may have indeed communicated a desire to escape from what may have been perceived as a threatening or dangerous question.

I note that in other studies in which students have been asked sensitive questions about race, color or ethnicity, there has been great resistance to the research. For example, in Anderson and Cromwell's 1977 study on skin color preference and identification , adults and children expressed hostility to the research:

> Some stated that Negroes should be upset by stereotypes and discriminatory practices referred to in the questionnaire but not by the questionnaire itself. Others objected to the examination of skin color or felt the questionnaire was antithetical to the Black history courses. Some students wanted to leave the room. Others mutilated the questionnaire. Some wished to complete the questionnaire in the privacy of their home. Comments were written on some questionnaires, such as, "The person who thought this up must be crazy!" and "This questionnaire is an insult because the word boy should have been young man. (Anderson and Cromwell 1977: 79)

It is possible that some of the Carriacouan children may not have written anything to the ancestry question because they were very unskilled writers – operating below their grade level. However, this was not the case for all the children who left empty spaces. Some children who left the space empty were quite expressive in responding to other questions. This may mean, then, that similar to some of the children in the Clark study who "escaped" by using the color green, for example, to self-descriptively fill in the line drawing, the children in my study fled the ancestry question by not answering it. The difference between the Clark escapees and the ancestry question escapees is that the Carriacou children provided no bizarre answers. The children either listed a location, wrote "I don't know," left the question unanswered or repeated the question.

For the children who did not respond to the question (whether by leaving the space blank or repeating the question), there were a range of answers children could have provided, including "I don't know." This option was accessible to all children in the

169

study.  This begs the question: why did some children not avail themselves of any answer?

Difficulty in answering a question about ancestry may have something to do with the developmental stages children are at regarding their understanding of ethnicity, race. It is possible that the evoking of ancestry brings up those realms that children do not yet have the capacity to understand.  Adding to the complexity is research that shows that Blacks in Black Caribbean countries have strong pro-White attitudes (Cramer and Anderson 2003; Gopaul-McNicol 1995).  A pro-White attitude may mitigate against choosing to write down Africa, especially if Africa is associated with Blackness.

The difficulty the students experienced may also have to do with competing commitments. Students are committed to trying to do well.  Students are enculturated to strive in school and many try quite hard.  Most students feel badly if they do not perform well on homework or an exam. Teachers encourage their students to write something – anything if they have not a clue –   since by happenstance students may provide the correct answer.

It is possible that the question precipitated an existential crisis and the empty space, instead of communicating the listener's ignorance, actually communicated the distress that I saw with some of the adults who struggled when they answered my questions about Africa. If I am correct, it may just be that based on their own knowledge and/or my explanation of the word "ancestors," some children, who did not put down an answer, understood the ancestry question quite well.  Those with a good understanding of the question had to consider that their teachers and the textbooks were not wholly correct or complete.  The people described and portrayed as ancestors in the fourth grade social

studies textbook (discussed in chapter 4), did not look much like them.  And if, as I am

theorizing, the children had some sense of themselves even subconsciously as African

because of African retentions and continuations in Carriacouan society, it is possible they

were in a quandary.  On one hand, there was what they may have wanted to write down

as the "right" answer – Africa – on the other hand, there was the fear to which Angela,

the woman who referenced a story on filicide, refers and which many Carriacouans seem

to express when I talked about Africa.

For some of the children, writing down "Africa" for their ancestral heritage, rather

than serving as a confirmation of affiliation or identity, may have represented a form of

self-abnegation.  This is because to own one's connection to a putatively negative

quantity, something about which some Carriacouans do not even want to openly speak,

might have exacted an emotional toll on young children, especially for children who want

to see themselves as good and acceptable.  The need to be positively self-affirming is a

necessary one – "It posits a basic human motive to perceive oneself as good and

competent – in a phrase, as  'morally and adaptively adequate.' When that image is

threatened…we struggle to repair the good image" (Steele 2010: 172)

And yet, writing down some answer – any answer – was a choice these children

did not make.  These children, then, may have felt a profound emotional conflict.  Hinton

(1996) in his work on psychosocial factors that led to the Cambodian genocide explains

"psychosocial dissonance" – a concept that may provide a reason for the non-answers.


According to Hinton (1996),

Psychosocial dissonance is reserved for those cases in which an emotionally
salient cultural model about the context-dependent self comes into conflict with

171

another emotionally salient cultural model that violates that context-dependent self-concept [1996: 820]

Hinton was writing about perpetrators of the Cambodian genocide who saw themselves as positive people whom in normal circumstances would never commit violence against children, for example. In the case of Carriacouan children, I am theorizing that the pull to call themselves African-descended in a culture where there existed many African derived cultural practices was in conflict with the pull that told them it was dangerous for them to do so.

The antagonistic pull would have been from an ingrained colonial ideology that existed in the textbooks but also in the subtle messages that they received from the adults – the same messages that I received obliquely and directly about the inappropriateness of talking about Africa in some contexts (discussed in Chapter 4). Therefore, the non-responsive answers and especially the empty space may speak less to a lack of knowing or an emptiness and more to a powerfully dynamic state of flux. Those who chose to leave the space empty rather than say "I don't know" or give some other answer may be communicating something about a need for certainty, clarity, the affirmation of something that they know to be true but may not feel confident enough to assert. Hence, silence is the safest refuge.

I have given some attention above to the population of children whom I theorize felt psychosocial dissonance. There were, most likely, some who when they wrote down Grenada or Trinidad, for example, felt no conflict when called upon to identify their centuries-old ancestors. Using Mangan's conceptions, some students might have been

successfully indoctrinated with the prevailing stereotypes or strongly held conceptions. Mangan (2012a) writes:

> Among other things, such stereotypic constructions facilitate an accommodating 'perceptual blindness' protecting the group from information likely to produce stress. They permit a mental myopia, which offers insulation from corporate cognitive dissonance [2012a: 7].

This means that those students who wrote nothing to the ancestry question and the adults who froze when I ask about Africa and changed the subject, have not completely succumbed to "mental myopia." They have either consciously or subconsciously rejected the protective "insulation" and are, therefore, suffering the stress induced by an acknowledgment of Africa.

## Conclusion

Africa is a powerful presence in Carriacouan society, perhaps no more so than when it elicits no overt mention. While there are many ways in which Africa communicated its presence relatively directly – through commemorative events, food ways, African surnames, the Big Drum – it seems, as well, that Africa communicates through its absence. This is an absence with unarticulated weighted meaning, one with which some of the children struggle. What may mitigate against a struggle with Africa, at least among children at the Harvey Vale Government School, is the ability to partake in cultural traditions that are overtly African.

After having considered some of the forces disaffiliating the children from Africa, the next chapter considers the role of play in enforcing the often unarticulated but performed affiliation with this ancestral tie.

**CHAPTER 7**

PERFORMING AND COMMUNICATING AFRICAN AFFILIATION

*…the black body, the dancing body, the grounded, freely articulated body –*
*sexualized and therefore dangerous – and the fear of it…is a site charged with*
*tension.*

Brenda Dixon Gottschild

This chapter uses performance theory to examine Carriacouan girls' expression of

African affiliation as performed in their game songs. Here I look at the gamesongs,

particularly the poetry and analyze the text for the ways that Africa is invoked. However,

not all African affiliations and disaffiliations are performed in a theatrical or in a "doing"

sense. Though Carriacouan girls communicate these affiliations and disaffiliations in

profoundly expressive ways they may do so in a way that reflect a non-performative, but

communicative or simply the "being" sense as opposed to the "doing" sense.

I want to read the affiliations and disaffiliations discussed in this chapter in light

of the historical richness that the girls and others bring to the topic and the tensions that

issues of African affiliations embody.

The questions that drive this chapter are:

1. Do the Carriacouan girls' performance of game songs reflect African
   affiliation? If so, how?
2. What do Carriacouan girls' responses to Africanist game songs say about their
   African affiliation?

My core concern regarding any expression of the African-descended self is with

how girls regard and apprehend Africa in light of a global epistemology that facilitates

Africa's disparagement, minimization, marginalization, distortion and virtual erasure. As

discussed earlier, the adults with whom I engaged conversations about Africa

communicated that I had committed an enormous breach of etiquette. I observed people

startle and then freeze.  They then struggled to answer my questions and did so quite

eloquently when I realized that I needed to read their words for the subconscious

meaning.  Conscious talk about Africa, I came to understand, for some Carriacouan

adults was an encounter with terror.

Some of the children seemed to express similar fear as the adults through the

empty spaces where they chose not to write an answer to the question about their

ancestry.  I imagined their pencils or pens hovering over the paper.  Is this an expression

of Africa's "unspoken, unspeakable 'presence' in Caribbean culture" (Hall 1990: 230).

However, Africa "speaks" every day with eloquent power.  It does this through African-

descended bodies' genetic ties to the continent, seen most obviously through an African

phenotype.  Africa "speaks" through historical knowledge and also through syncretic or

retained cultural values and aesthetics that are represented at various times and in

different ways by different groups of African and non-African descended people.  The

body, contextualized history, and cultural practices constitute speech acts.  Austin (1975)

said, "…to *say* something is to *do* something; or in which *by* saying or *in* saying

something we are doing something." (Austin 1975).   Bodies communicate something.

These acts of speaking Africa are realities that give life to and grounding for the

experiences of African descended people in Carriacou.

In the previous chapters, I examined African affiliation and disaffiliation through

the frameworks of space and ideological whiteness. Now I shall review performance

theory, specifically play, then I will examine:

1. Performance of the musical play of historical pass play or ring games
2. Performance of contemporary girls dance-play
3. Carriacouan children's responses to the musical play of 1985 Brooklyn girls

**Performance Theory and Play**

Performance covers a range of activities and perspectives. Schechner, outlines a general definition:

> Performance must be construed as a "broad spectrum" or "continuum" of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments, the performing arts (theatre, dance, music), and everyday life performances to the enactment of social, professional, gender, race and class roles, and on to healing (from shamanism to surgery), the media, and the internet (Schechner 2006: 2).

For the purposes of my research, I am interested in how performance reflected the girls' political and ideological allegiances. Therefore, my approach to performance foregrounds the female body, cultural expression, history and race as lenses through which to examine what the girls do, feel and think. I approach the question of African affiliation grounded in a socio-political context and therefore I understand not only that performance is a "contested space, where meanings and desires are generated, occluded, and of course multiply interpreted" (Diamond 1996:4) but that its critique "can expose the fissures, ruptures and revisions that have settled into continuous reenactment." (Diamond 1996:1). By critiquing girls' musical play and the way they express their responses to the musical play of other Black girls, I reveal aspects of the profoundly political nature of their cultural production.

Play is understood to be a category of performance as well as a ubiquitous aspect of the human experience. Theorists differ on definitions of play, its value, why play exists and what the line is between play and certain other human endeavors. The concept of play has been subject to study and scrutiny since ancient times and been resistant to clear definitions because of its ambiguous and paradoxical nature (Bateson 1972). However,

when the process of recognizing play is made the subject of empirical scrutiny, there seems to be universal recognition of what play is among people of the same cultural group. Cross cultural studies, however, demonstrate that the boundaries between play and not-play varies (Blanchard 1995).

There is a long line of theorists who have tackled the topic of play. Plato was the first in a long line of theorists (Montessori 1995) who said that play's value lay in its ability to prepare children for future pursuits in the world of work.  He used the example of a builder, suggesting that "…he who is to be a good builder, should play at building houses" (Plato 2008 [360 BCE]). Taking an emotional perspective was Freud, who believed that play was an expression of healthy self-love because it not only provided a means by which the individual took care of themselves emotionally but because it was also the venue through which the individual took care of others (Elkind 2010).

The foremost theoreticians on play  according to Masters (2008) are Huizinga (1949), Callois (Caillois 1955; 1961) and Csikszentmihalyi (1975).  According to Masters, Huizinga (1949) was noteworthy because he was the first to formally theorize play and make a link between play and culture, stating that culture and play are in "twin union" and "culture arises in the form of play"(p. 46).  Callois extended Huizinga's work and introduced the notion of play occurring on a scale from paidia and ludus.  Paidia represents the liberated and uninhibited while ludus is the organized and circumscribed.

Groos and Baldwin (1901) lamented that play had not been adequately classified, a complaint he reported was made by L. Grasberger forty years before.  Indeed, classifying musical play and collecting the gamesongs of children has absorbed much of the attention of numerous folklorists, educators and anthropologists (Bauman 1975;

177

Campbell and Wiggins 2013; Newell 1963 [1903]). Black girls' musical play and dance has been of particular interest (Bauman 1975; Brady 1975; Dino 2007; Eckhardt 1975; Gaunt 2006; Harwood 1998). Musical play appears to be the province of girls (Bishop 2010; Boyle, et al. 2003; Gaunt 2006; Harwood 1998; Merrill-Mirsky 1986; Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg 1961) including hand games.

Performance of the Musical Play of Historical Pass Play or Ring Games

When I investigated musical play in my fieldwork, I assumed that I would find what I had observed in Brooklyn: girls playing and singing by themselves in clapping games with the boys acting as occasional observers or mischief-makers. This assumption was based on the observation during my time in Carriacou as a participant in an archaeological field school administered by North Carolina State University in 2005. I and some others traveled to the Harvey Vale School because we heard about a cultural event to which the public was invited. I and some other students arrived late but in time to observe a Big Drum performance as well as a school performance of girls doing something akin to cheering. Dressed in the costume of denim shorts and t-shirts, and arranged in line formation, the girls performed a choreographed dance to recorded music. Their dance had some of the same movements that I had seen with the 1985 Brooklyn girls including stamping and hip movements. I note here, however, that I did see anything quite like that during my 2009-2012 fieldwork.

As I discussed in chapter 5, I soon learned that the spontaneous play that I read about was a much rarer occurrence in the present day than in previous times. Its rarity was duly noted and lamented by many on the island. However, people did say to me that pass play was practiced occasionally.

178

Pass play is a kind of ring or circle dance in which participants take turns dancing by touching another person in the ring.  Pearse (1975) describes pass play as "[u]nison songs, many traditional English children's games, or similar in musical style with slight off-beat flavour." Don Hill (2007) describes it as a dance "in which a boy danced, touched a girl who took up the dance and touched a boy who continued" (2007: 31).  Though I did not often see adults participate, pass play is an activity for everyone.  It was the play to which adults referred when they talked about the activities they did in the moonlight in years past and were periodically revived in "Old Time Days" and other events that I observed taking place in the schools.

When Alan Lomax traveled to Carriacou in 1962 to document the musical expression of Carriacouans, several of these pass play songs were recorded onto commercial albums, one of which has a snippet of his interview with gentlemen who explains the nature of pass-play:

| | |
|---|---|
| Lomax: | What is the-- what is the game? |
| Culture bearer A: | Well, the game is pass play. |
| Lomax: | Yes? |
| Culture bearer A: | And ah we make a circle and ah someone dance inside it. |
| Culture bearer B: | Yeah, the ring. |
| Lomax: | And what does he do when you...? Does he go and pick another person to dance? |
| Culture bearer A: | Yes. |
| Lomax: | He goes and picks. |
| Culture bearer A: | Two by two. |
| Lomax: | Ah he picks a partner... |
| Culture bearer A: | ...and dance around and wheel.[6] |
| Lomax: | Does he kiss the person that he picks? |
| Culture bearer A: | Not yet.  No. |
| Lomax: | No. |
| Culture bearer A: | (chuckles a little) That will come. That will soon come but not yet. |

---

[6] Maybe "whirl."

Lomax:                    Not yet. (Carriacouan Culture Bearers 1999)

I observed pass play several times among the children in the Friday morning

extended assemblies at the L'Esterre Rosary Roman Catholic School (one of the five

public schools on the island).  Usually school assemblies were daily twenty-minute

affairs.  It was the time that the principal or designated teacher would lead the children

through prayers and songs. A principal could read from the bible or engage the children

in a kind of educational trivial pursuit game (as I witnessed at the Harvey Vale School

and the Mount Pleasant school, respectively) The principal would usually make

announcements about meetings and in-school events.


In contrast, the Friday assembly at the L'Esterre school was twice as long as the

normal assembly.  This what when teachers led the students in several songs and passplay

or what people sometimes called "traditional games."  I heard from several informants

that L'Esterre's long Friday assembly might be an artifact of the Bishop administration

when time was set aside on Fridays for continuing education for the teacher.  The idea

was that while the teachers were occupied with training, people from the community

would come to the school to share their knowledge and expertise in sewing or carpentry.

What ended up happening, however, according to my informants, was that much of the

time would be devoted to singing songs and pass play.  When I spoke to the principal

about the Friday assemblies, she said that it was a valuable way of maintaining the

culture and bringing enjoyment to the children.

The following lengthy description of a Friday assembly is based on my fieldnotes:

> After teachers took attendance, the children recited the Lord's Prayer, and then the school pledge. They then sang the national anthem. After what seemed to be the usual announcements, it was time for play.
>
> The teacher who leads the proceedings tells the children to move out of the sun towards the overhang where I sit. Now suddenly, it appears as if I am now the audience because the children face in my direction. The teacher asks each grade for a suggestion of what song to sing. From kindergarten up to sixth grade, a child is called upon by the teacher and the entire school sings the song. When we get to the fifth grade, the suggestion is "Brown Goat, Grey Goat."
>
> The teachers quickly divide the school into two groups. One teacher stands in front of one group and another in front of the other group and now I am not seemingly the lone audience member because the children are now facing the teachers. The teachers then start to lead the children in a round, which is about having a brown goat and a gray goat. The teacher stops them and instructs them to start more slowly and softly. The children start again. The first group begins and the second group a few bars behind them. The song becomes progressively faster and louder until the sound is powerful waves of sound that maintains the rhythm and melody. Tears spring into my eyes – I am overwhelmed, it is breathtaking.

The children making the immense and powerful sound is something I had *never* heard

before and I was blown away by the indescribable power of their voices. It occurred to

me that for the kids, this is nothing special – they do this all the time. And I wondered if

this was anything like the lift-up-over sounding that the Kaluli people do that I read about

(Feld 1988). The next song is also a round and a contest and by now I am not shocked by

the energy but still impressed and moved by it.

> The younger children are then told to sit and stand to the side. The older children, whom, judging by size, I reckon to be the 2nd-6th graders are told to stand inside the courtyard in a circle [that is more of an oval shape in keeping with the rectangular shape of the courtyard] with a partner with one child in front of the other. So, in effect, there are two concentric circles. The children start to sing a song and a child without a partner is designated as a starter. She leaves her place

and goes to another child from the inner circle, takes his hand and returns to her spot.  As soon as the second child takes the hand of the first child, the third child standing behind the second child goes off and takes the hand of a fourth child from the inner circle while the child in the outer circle (fifth child, freed from partnership with the fourth child, goes off and gets a partner and so on.  The effect is of smooth and flowing organization.

One of the songs is "Brown Girl in the Ring" which I was hoping to hear since this is the name of a song that Lomax documents in his book by the same name.

There's a brown girl in the ring
Tra, la, la, la la
There's a brown girl in the ring
Tra, la, la, la, la, la
There's a brown girl in the ring
Tra, la, la, la la
She looks like a sugar in a plum
Plum plum

At this point the teacher chose a girl to go in the center of the circle.  She performed a movement and the children on the perimeter of the circle follow the movement as they sing:

Show me a motion
Tra, la, la, la la
Show me a motion
Tra, la, la, la la la
Show me a motion
Tra, la, la, la la
And she looks like a sugar in plum, plum, plum

The children are at various levels of comfort with the role of being in the center of the ring.  There is a boy who seems so terribly shy that his movement – meant to be danced – consists of fumbling at his shirt as if he is buttoning it.  And the children dutifully follow.  Another boy pretends to comb his hair and the children copy him as well. Some kids move their hips with a swing that engages more than just their hips; they are "whining" and some of the children softly titter.

The kids sing another song and this one has more of a Caribbean sound and rhythm.  The mood seems to lift with this song.  This is the Caribbean counting song that I've heard before:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20
1 and 20, 2 and 20, 3 and 4 and 5 and 6 and 20
27, 28, 29 30
1 and 30, 2 and 30, 3 and 4 and 5 and 6 and 30

37, 38, 39 40

And so on.  The game ends when they get to one hundred.

At one point, the teachers say that it's time for the younger children to have a turn.  The older children sit.
One of the songs is Father Abraham.  A religious song that has the children singing several choruses during which they raise one arm and dance to the song, raise the other arm and dance, raise a leg and the other leg, lift their chins and turn around.  At the end of the song, the children are doing all the movements and laughing as they sing.

Father Abraham had many sons
Many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
Right Arm
[Yell "right arm" and move right arm, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
[Yell "right arm, left arm" and move both, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
[Yell "right arm, left arm, right leg" and move all, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
[Yell "right arm, left arm, right leg, left leg" and move all, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord

[Yell "right arm, left arm, right leg, left leg, chin up" and move all, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
[Yell "right arm, left arm, right leg, left leg, chin up, turn around" and move all, as if marching.]

Father Abraham had many sons
Had many sons had Father Abraham
I am one of them
And so are you
So let's just praise the Lord
[Yell "right arm, left arm, right leg, left leg, chin up, turn around, sit down" and move all, as if marching. Sit down at the end.]

The teachers are enjoying themselves through the whole assembly, which lasted from 8:30-9:15. At 9:15, the teacher in charge told the children to line up. They then marched into their classroom.

### **Performance of Contemporary Girls Dance-Play**

Contemporary dance play and game songs are demonstrably different from the traditional pass play. Gamesongs or simply "games" appear to be exclusively performed by girls, do not involve circle structures, are often done in pairs and often employ handclapping. The handclapping, according to one of my adult informants, was something "from America" and was "new." My attempts to identify the timeframe in which the clapping appeared was unsuccessful. The girls, as might be expected, would be too young to have a historical sense of games.

Another aspect of the gamesongs that appear different than pass play songs documented by researchers and witnessed by me, was the kind of poetry that the girls recited. They were commentaries on both history and contemporary life. I had seen this in the Brooklyn girls whom in cheering referenced "the free cheese line," Jheri curl"

"hut" and "jungle." In the case of the word "jungle," it occurs unaccompanied by disapproval or reprimand. "jungle" has been a word that had been flung at children or adults in condemnations or mockery of Africa (Matsuda 1989; Traoré 2006) as in the painful racist taunt "Go back to the jungle where you came from." Here, the indirect verbal references to Africa (i.e. the hut and the jungle) are also self-legitimizing opportunities for the mover to physically and rhetorically assert herself.

Here are four games that girls play in Carriacou. Two of them, "My Momma's Short and Fat," "Mailman, Mailman," were games with U.S. based analogues. An Internet search yielded multiple printed versions, discussions of the lyrics, and YouTube videos of girls chanting and dancing them. The other two games, "Boys" and "One for Your Partner" are also played in Carriacou and had no analogues that I could find upon conducting research, raising the possibility that these games may have originated in the Caribbean.

My Momma's Short and Fat

My momma's short and fat
She's got a butt like that
Everytime she cross the street
Them cars go beep beep beep
Them cars go beep beep beep

Break it down now
One two clap
One two clap clap
Elbow snap
Roll them back

In this game, the opening line espouses the opposite of the Western standard of beauty popularized in fashion magazines — the woman who is tall, and slender, with European features. Sung by Carriacouan girls, the "momma" to which they refer is short, overweight and Black. The girls sing this not with distain or sarcasm but with acceptance and approval. When the girls chant the line "She's got a butt like that," they emphasize the word "that" in their tone but also with a light tap on their own backsides. The "that" does not only refer to the location on the body but emphasizes the butt itself in a positive way as in, "She's all *that*" – a term that communicates that the person is the object of admiration.

"Crossing the street" perpendicular to the (supposedly waiting) cars, the striding woman elicits admiration from the drivers who join the narrators in their appreciation for the woman's body. In fact, because of the admiration of the butt, the drivers and the narrators (and the girls) celebrate Black womanhood. A countering argument to a positive attribution is the view that the attention from the cars constitutes the same kind of harassment men direct at women on city streets in the United States and elsewhere. I do not discount this interpretation of the words, posit that both interpretations exist – the words reflecting the lewd gaze of a male and the female's unabashed enjoyment of, and pride in her own body.

Below is an analogue found in an Internet search:

My mama's short and fine
She's got a butt like mine
And when she crosses the street
The cars go beep beep beep
And when she steps right back
She does the Cabbage Patch

And when she stop and drop
She goes pop pop pop!

Mailman, Mailman was a game that the girls played as a paired clapping game in which one of the objects of the game was repeat it  while widening ones legs in increments to get as close to a full split as possible at the "K-i-s-s. kiss" line. Usually no one ever got into full splits and both partners would fall out of the straddled position with seeming equal parts relief and disappointment.


Mailman, Mailman

Mail carrier, mailman
Do your duty
Here comes a lady with
An African booty
She can do the pom-poms
She can do the splits
Most of all she can
Kiss, kiss, kiss

K-i-s-s. kiss

The buttocks are invoked again here in "Mailman, Mailman."  This time, the body part's Africanness is made explicit and the admiration for the woman attached to it is made plain.  She is known to be skillfully athletic and available for affection, presumably from and/or with the mailman.  The male gaze is directed to the woman's butt at the invitation of the narrators who are admiring of what she can do. The mailman's "duty" may be to kiss her.

As is the case with the first game, there are several variations.  Below are three from an Internet search.


Mailman, mailman
Do your duty

Here comes the girl
With the big 'ol booty
She can do the hot stuff
She can do the splits
But most of all she can
Kiss, kiss, kiss
K-I-S-S

Mailman, mailman
Do your duty
Here comes the girl
With the big fat booty
She can do the pom poms
She can do the twist
But most of all
she can't do this

Mailman, mailman
Do your duty
Here comes
Miss American Beauty
She can do the
pom-poms, she can do the twist.
Most of all, she can kiss, kiss, kiss!


Two for Your Partner

Two for your partner
One for your friend
Up and down, we go again
Say Ahsha
Ahsha ahsha
Ahshay
Boom
And she shake up she la la
Shake up she la la
Shake up she la la
Walla walla walla walla boom bay
Walla walla walla walla boom bay
And Freeze

Two for Your Partner is a game that requires four children to play. The children,

usually girls, arrange themselves in a square with partners facing each other. All four

start this game with one pair clapping palms-to-palms with their and their partner hands

meeting high (head height or higher) and then clapping palms-to-palms palms-to-palms

low (waist height or lower), while the other pair starts clapping low and then claps high.

Often this game is not performed "successfully" because the partners move in the wrong

direction, hands bump into each other and they have to start over.  Interestingly, while

there is what seems to be to be slight irritation that the game was interrupted, I have never

seen annoyance or anger when someone "messes up."

Most important to the issue of African affiliation are the non-English sounds of

"asha" "she la la" and "walla walla walla walla boom bay," There is a possibility here

that that the sounds may be evocative of Africa.  Another theory is that they sounds come

from Grenadian Creole – a language that very few people speak anymore. I do not

believe that the girls intentionally create or intentionally chant African-like sounds,

however it is possible that the sounds have a subconscious meaning – a non-threatening

way to connect to Africa.

It is beyond the scope of the dissertation do an investigation into the morphology,

phonology, and semantics of African continuations or African memory in English.  There

has been a great deal of research of this in regards to African-sounding names used

mostly by African descended people (Burton 1999; Fitzpatrick 2012; Lieberson and

Mikelson 1995) and a study of the meaning of those names for the parents who confer

them would be an interesting line of research.

## **Discussion of Group Interview**

As stated earlier, the group interview was composed of 6 questions:

1. Where are you from?
2. Where are your ancestors from?
3. What is your favorite activity?
4. What did you see in the video?
5. How did it make you feel?
6. What did it remind you of?

In chapter 6, I discussed the children's responses to the second question. Their responses, along with the information from my adult culture bearers seem to indicate that while Africa may not be the location that children most often identify as their ancestral home, Africa, nevertheless, does seem to serve as an idea that evokes great tension and possibly terror in Carriacouan society.

In this section, I discuss responses to questions that delve deeper into the meaning of Africa for the children. As in the previous chapter, gender differences emerge which may highlight the ways in which girls and boys access African heritage in Carriacou. Questions 4, 5 and 6 aim to explore the richness of African affiliation and disaffiliation through an exploration of the affective aspects of the relationship. Because of my experience of talking with adults that the issue of Africa was deeply emotional, it was important to explore what the children observed, their feelings and memories related to the footage.

**<u>Carriacouan Children's Responses to the Musical Play of 1985 Brooklyn Girls</u>**

As previously explained, in 1985 I produced a DVD of a performance of cheering Black girls.  Cheering had West African dance elements of call and response, mobile pelvis, and polyrhythms.  Because I had established the dance play as Africanist, I could show the footage in order to track responses to African cultural expression.

To prepare the individual class to watch the DVD, I introduced myself to the children telling them that I was from the United States but my parents had been born in Carriacou and Grenada.  Indeed, I noted, I was related by blood to many of them. I said that I was a student performing research and I wanted to show them something and then have them do some writing for me. The students were all attentive as having a stranger come to the school and show a video was a novel occurrence.

In one of the five schools, I was able to use a television or screen to show the footage.  For the other schools, I used my laptop.   Depending on the size of the class, I either held the laptop high or allowed the children to gather close.  I could discern no difference in responses based on gender, whether the footage had been viewed on a screen, television or laptop, whether children sat down in their chairs or gathered closely to watch, whether they were in 4$^{th}$ or 6$^{th}$ grade.  There was a unified group response, though there were some exceptions.  For instance, there was one White girl who complained loudly that she could not see, though she was with all the other children who seemed to have no problem or for some reason did not complain.

As  Goffman (1959) theorizes, there are two modes of message transmission :

Of the two kinds of communication -- expressions given and expressions given off –  this report will be primarily concerned with the latter, with the more

191

theatrical and contextual kind, the non-verbal, presumably unintentional kind, whether this communication be purposely engineered or not [Goffman 2012:

The communication of the children in response to the footage was the unintentional kind of communication which can be quite accurately read as Goffman elaborates below:

> There is one aspect of the others' response that bears special comment here. Knowing that the individual is likely to present himself in a light that is favorable to him, the others may divide what they witness into two parts; a part that is relatively easy for the individual to manipulate at will, being chiefly his verbal assertions, and a part in regard to which he seems to have little concern or control, being chiefly derived from the expressions he gives off. The others may then use what are considered to be the ungovernable aspects of his expressive behavior as *a check upon the validity of what is conveyed in the governable aspects*. In this a fundamental asymmetry is demonstrated in the communication process, the individual presumably being aware of only one stream of his communication, the witnesses of this stream and one other. [Goffman 1959:7, emphasis added]

Because the individual is not performing (in the formal sense) or censoring herself, the unintentional communication has a legitimacy that the more "willful" communication lacks. I ascribe a similar authority to the writings of the children who shared what they observed in the footage and how it made them feel. Here the words of the students appear unconstrained by the negative or positive global and local messages about Africa but simply express their authentic thoughts and feelings.

All groups of children watched approximately ten minutes of footage, appearing to be spellbound by it. They saw the Brooklyn girls argue about the cheer they would perform, adjust their clothes, line up and nudge or pull their fellow cheerers this way or that to be in proper formation. They heard a loud "Come on!!" by one of the Brooklyn girls, eager to get started. They saw that leader call out "Five, six, seven," and start again, "Five, six, seven, eight" before the start of the cheer. The Carriacouan children were

silent until the first girl started to "whine" (a colloquial term describing the rhythmic and circular movement of the hips) at which point the Carriacouan children (with one exception) always burst into boisterous laughter.  As each dancer on the screen danced in turn, each one came to the moment during their turn when they whined.  Each time they did so, the observing children laughed in a short bursts, silent again until the next girl whined, whereupon the laughter bubbled forth again.

Laughter was the case in each school except for Mount Pleasant sixth graders where they were silent – perhaps because there were only three of them in the room. The laughter of all the children had the same surprised and delighted quality as I had heard on many occasions.  It was the same laughter that I had witnessed in a crowd when very young people danced in public and they did something that dramatically took the performance to another level – literally and artistically.

After each group finished watching the footage, it was time to answer the questions six questions.  The same intensity that the children brought to watching the video is what they brought to answering the questions. The children described what they (Fig. 17), many of them were quite expressive with some minor differences between males and females. The top answer for both genders were "dancing" and "clapping."  It bears noting that the girls called on a greater range of descriptions for what they saw in the footage.  Girls and boys reported that they saw "jumping," "negative assessment," "organization," "playing," "positive assessment," "silliness," "singing," "stamping", "tradition (or Big Drum)" and "whining."  Identifications that girls did not share with boys were "breakdancing," "chanting," "cheering," "noise," "surprise,"  and "tap

dancing." Boys had only two descriptions that they did not share in common with the girls: "I don't know" and "movements."

Girls' greater range of descriptive words may indicate that they have a greater familiarity with this cultural expression.  They had performed similar movements and were practiced at critiquing each other.
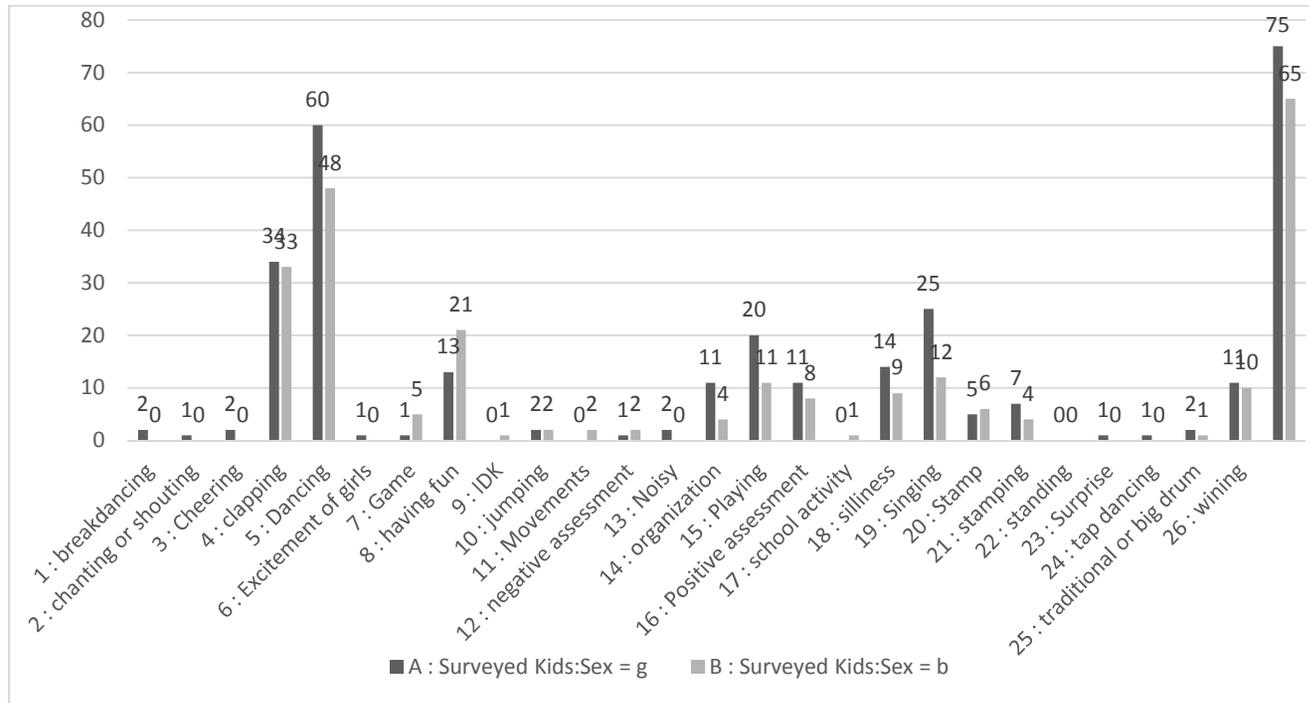
**Figure 7: What the Carriacouan Children Observed**

When I look at the various affective responses to the footage of the Brooklyn girls, recorded in Fig. 17, this is where differences by gender become more striking. Both girls and boys report that they felt happy looking at the footage. More girls report happiness than boys do by a margin of 11. However, an examination of "No Answer" response shows another quite significant difference. Twenty-four boys give no response when asked to write about how the video makes them feel. By contrast, only eleven of the girls opt to leave the space blank. This may have to do with a cultural emotional-development issue related to differential gender-based cultural permissions around admitting and expressing emotions.
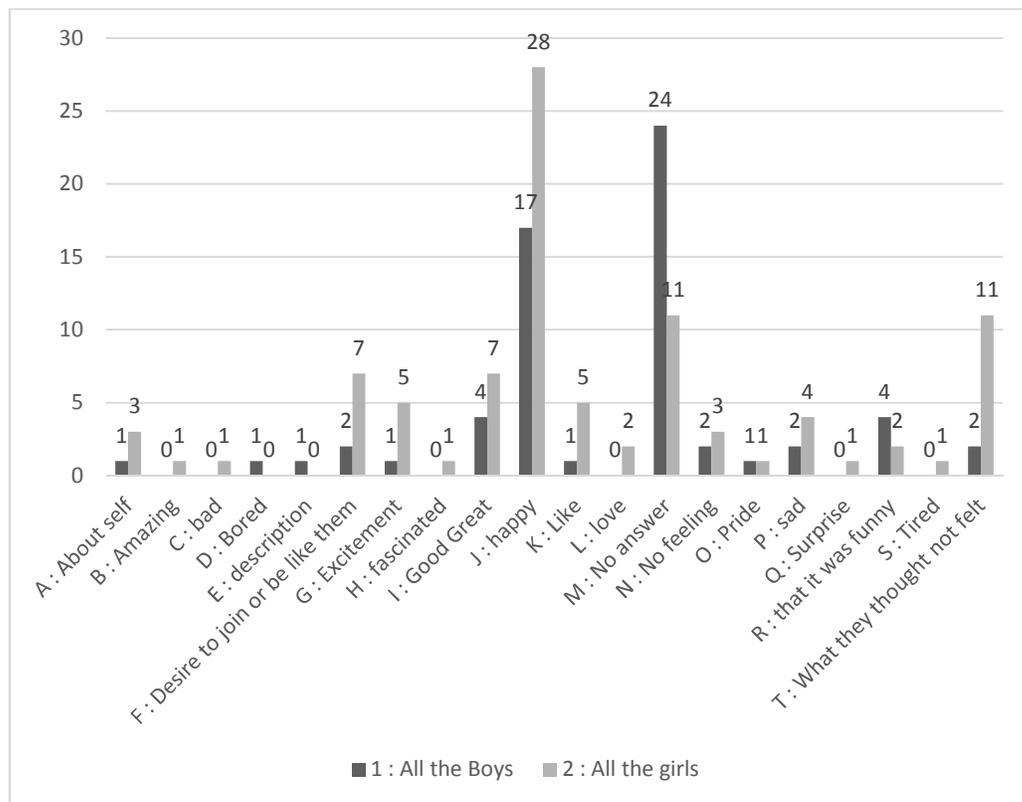


**Figure 8: Carriacouan Children's Affective Responses**

What is the relationship between the reporting of heritage and feelings? In other words, does the reporting of "Africa" as one's ancestral home result in a higher likelihood of responding with positive emotions to Africanist movement in the cheering footage than if one does not report African heritage? This does not appear to be the case. Of the girls who report that they feel happy, for example, the highest number of "happy" answers come from those who identify their ancestry as Caribbean.

In Fig. 19 for boys who reported having African ancestry, we see that the most common answer to the feelings question is "no answer."
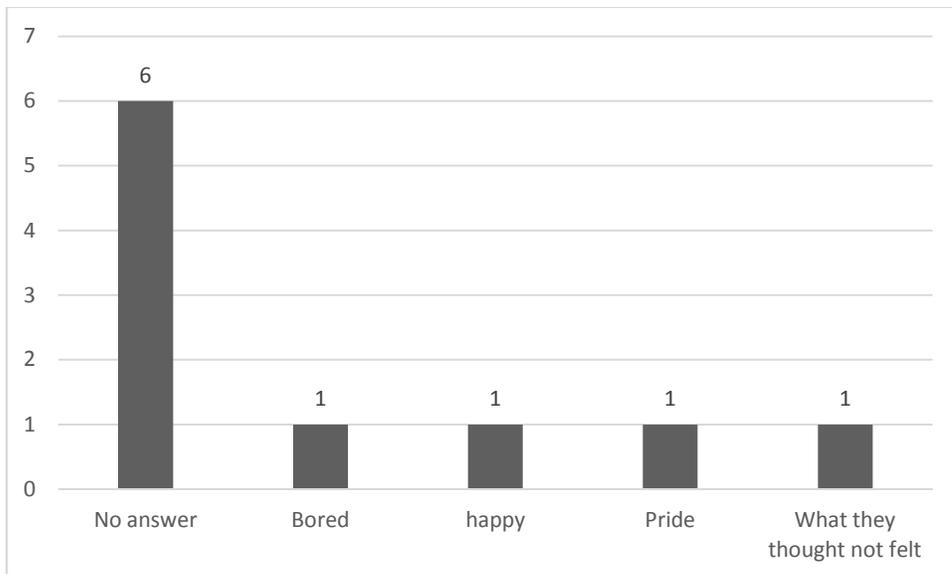


**Figure 9: Feelings of Boys Reporting African Ancestry**

For girls who say that their ancestry is African (Fig. 20), happiness is the most common answer.
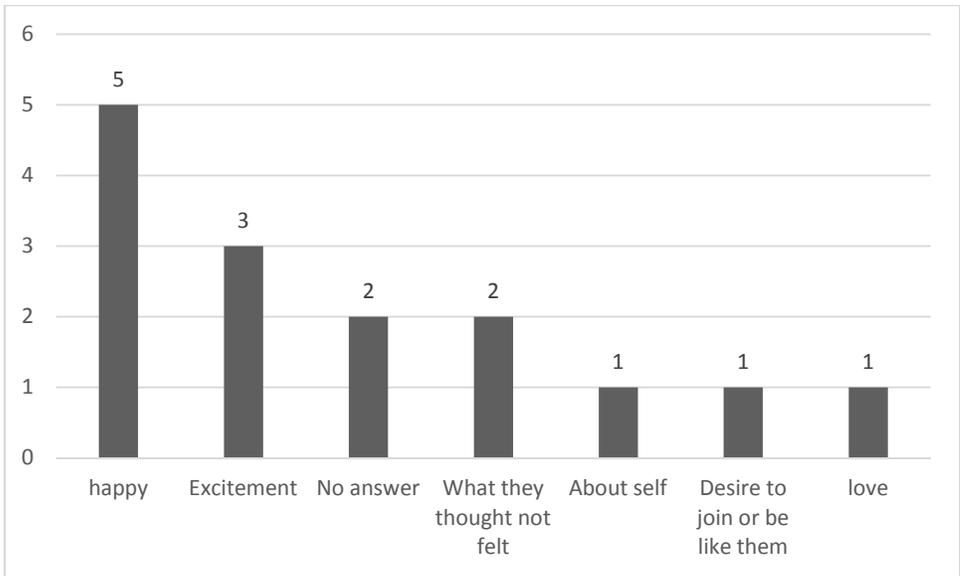
**Figure 10: Feelings of Girls Reporting African Ancestry**

For girls who report ancestry other than African, the most common answer to how they feel upon watching the 1985 Brooklyn girls, is "happy" (Fig. 21).
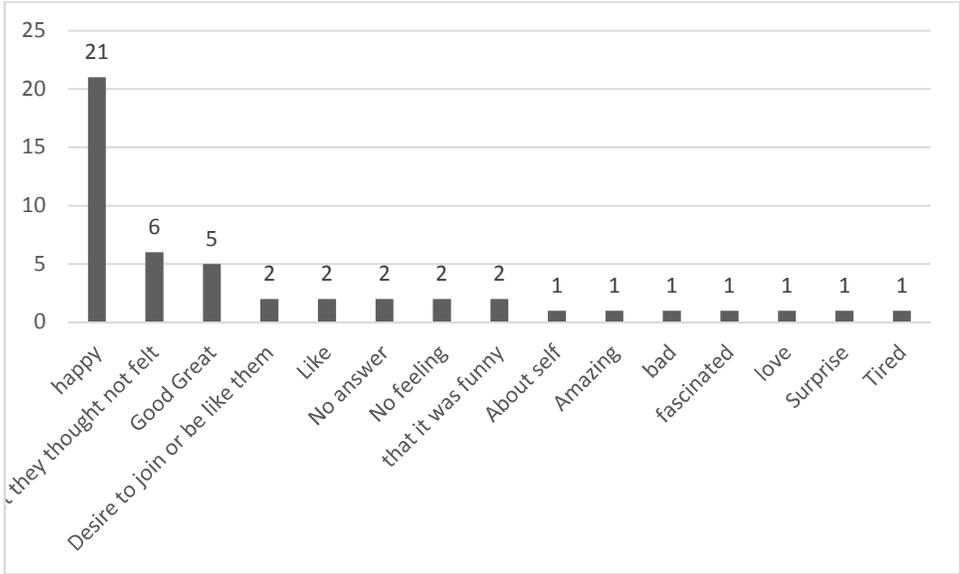


**Figure 11: Feelings of Girls Who Report Ancestry Other Than African**

For boys who report ancestry other than African, the most common answer to how they feel upon watching the 1985 Brooklyn girls, is "happy" (Fig. 21).
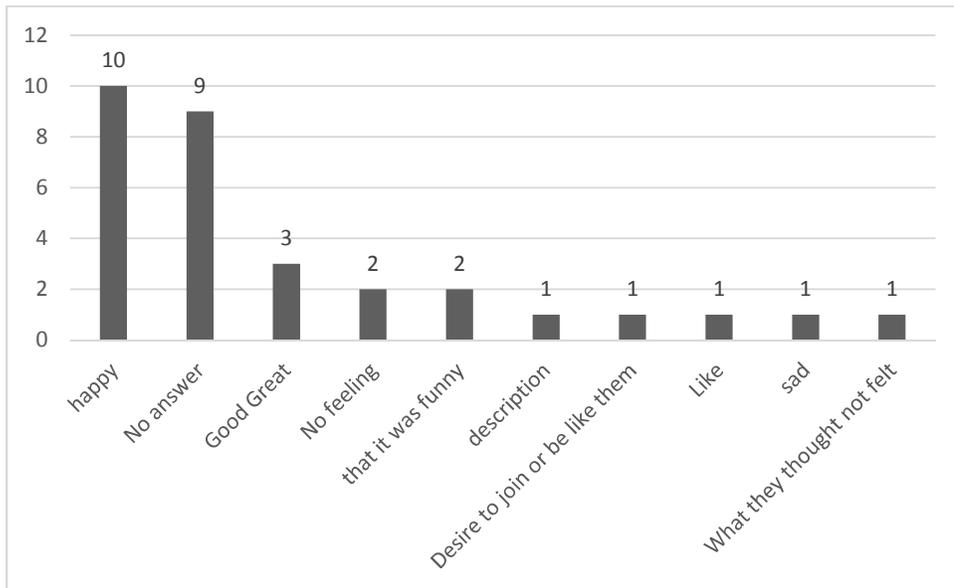


**Figure 12: Feelings of Boys Who Report Ancestry Other than African**

Once the children provide answers of "I don't know" or blank spaces, in response to the ancestry question, the affective responses of the children change significantly. Looking first at the girls who purport to not know their ancestry, the most common answer is no report for their feelings – leaving the feelings question blank (Fig. 27). The second most common answer indicates and avoidance of feeling words and a move to describing what they thought about the video.
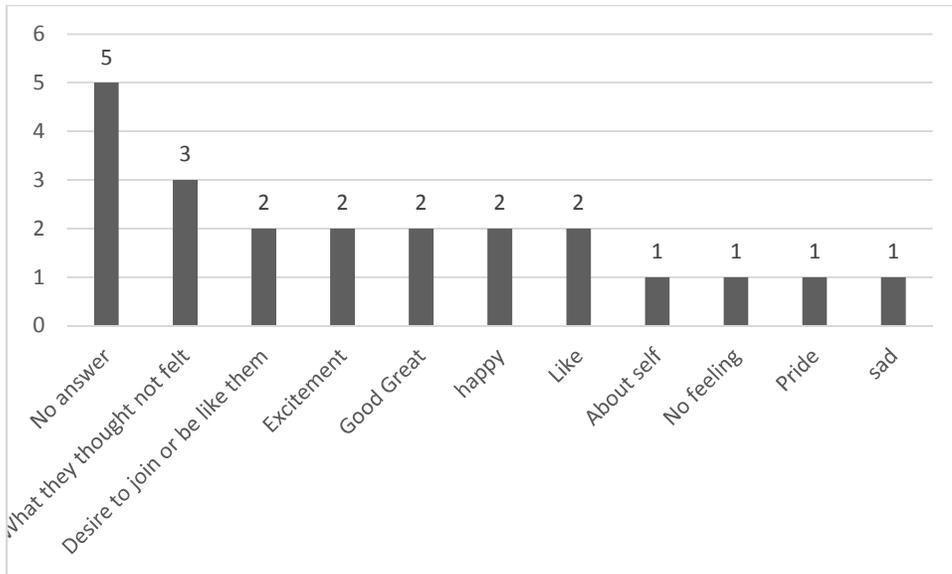
**Figure 13: Feelings of Girls Who Said "I don't know" to Ancestry Question**

The feelings of boys who said "I don't know" to the ancestry question is quite different. "Happy" and "no answer" are tied for the most common answers (Fig. 24).
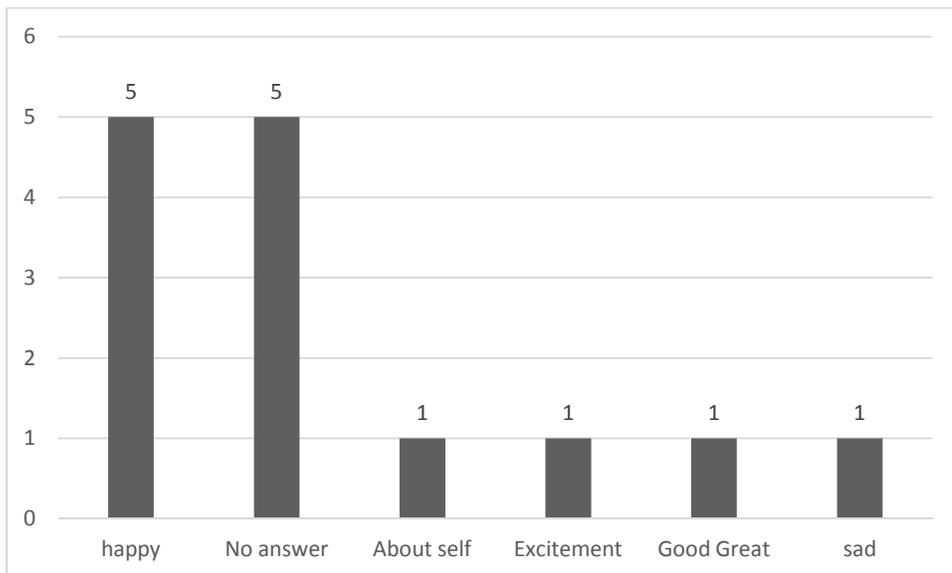


**Figure 14: Feelings of Boys Who Said "I don't know" to Ancestry Question**

What about the blank space as it relates to the affective responses of both boys and girls? In chapter 6, I theorized that the blank space – the silence of the children in response to the ancestry question – may have reflected a profound conflict, a psychosocial dissonance that rendered them unable or unwilling to commit to an answer that might be interpreted as dangerous.

Here, in Fig. 25 we see that the boys who had no answer for their ancestry also had no answer for their feelings about the footage. It is a bit difficult to know what this might mean. Are the feelings of some of the boys also frozen, as some of the adults feel?
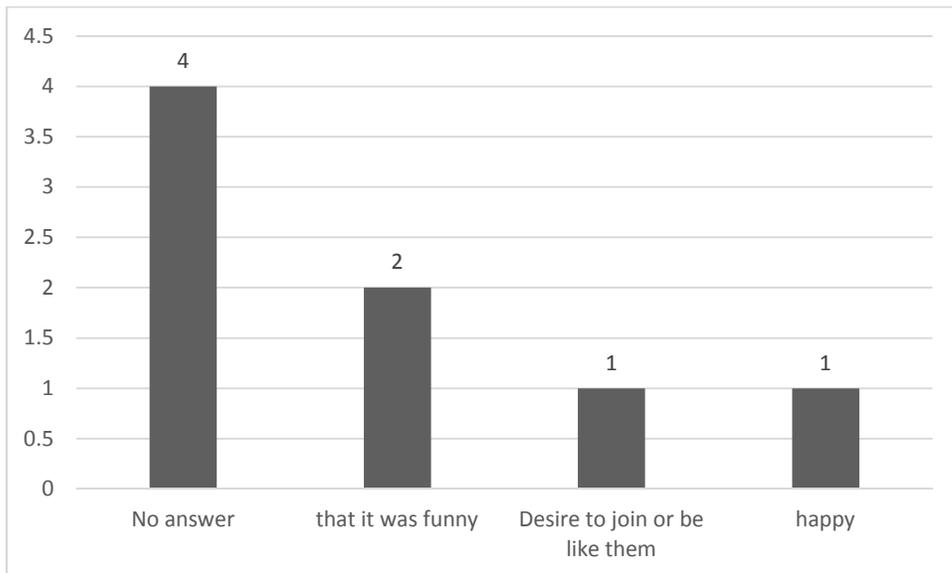


**Figure 15: Feelings of Boys Who Had No Answer to Ancestry Question**

When it comes to the girls, here we see that the most common answer for the girls who wrote nothing for the ancestry question is "sad." Again, without further exploration into

the reasons for these affective answers, it is difficult to know what the sadness describes. I know that when I saw the results for the query (feelings about the video by girls who wrote nothing in response to the ancestry question) I had a sense that there were profound questions to ask about the gender differences that might exist in a post-colonial Black country.
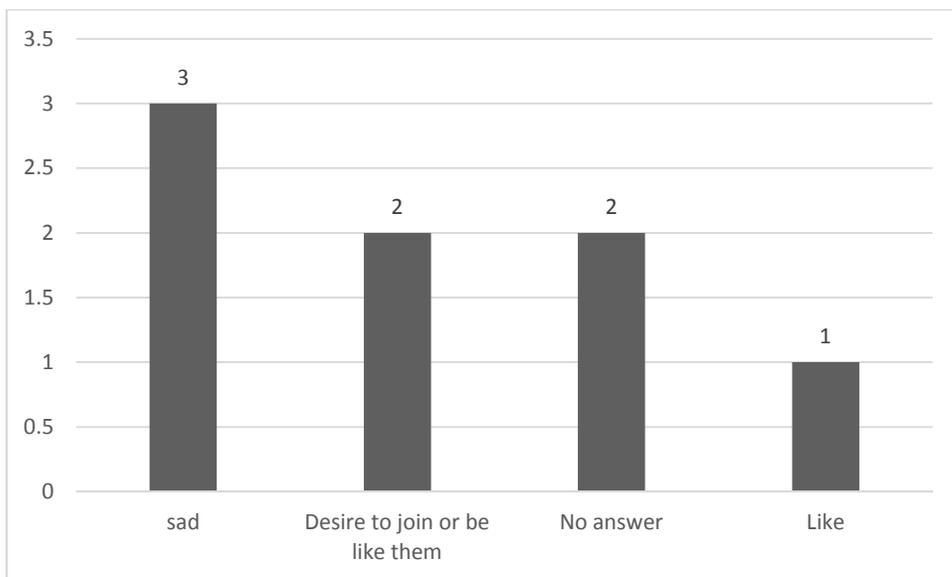


**Figure 16: Feelings of Girls who Had No Answer to Ancestry Question**

Knowledge of African ancestry did not necessarily lead to a sense of happiness when looking at the video. The girls (and boys) almost uniformly expressed positive feelings about Africanist movements of the Brooklyn girls regardless of their reference group orientation. When the boys write "I don't know" in answer to the ancestry question, the most common feeling that they report is "happy." Not so for the girls, for whom the most common response is "no answer."

It may be instructive to look more closely at the Harvey Vale sixth grade girls to see what their answers can tell us about African affiliation amongst the group that has the highest number of Africa answers to the ancestry question.

## The Case of Harvey Vale Sixth Grade Girls

Harvey Vale is the school with the Big Drum club that met weekly. It is possible that the Big Drum club had an educational effect on the children since the children from this school comprised the group with the highest number of "Africa" answers for the heritage question. It was the girls who provided the most "Africa" answers. In the whole 6th grade class of thirteen children, there were six boys and seven girls. In this tiny population of seven 6th grade girls, five had written "Africa" and two wrote, "I don't know."

In chapter 6, I theorized that those children who had no response to the ancestry question – leaving a blank space – may have been struggling with psychosocial dissonance. They may have been subconsciously contending with competing obligations and/or not knowing what was safe to answer. Two of the 6th grade girls at the Harvey Vale school who claimed not to know their ancestry were non-responsive when asked how they felt about the footage. However, when prompted to write what the footage reminded them of – a question that engages a cognitive, rather than emotional process – one wrote "the slavery time" and the other wrote "my old grandmother and the dance." These answers are richly evocative, and it is impossible without in-depth interviews to understand what meaning the girls attached to "slavery time" or "the old grandmother." What the answers show us, however, is that the claim to knowing and feeling nothing are belied by responses that do show great thought and feeling though I'm not quite sure how

to interpret them.  Does the student think of slavery time as negative? Is the old

grandmother a positive indicator?   These responses indicate a possibility of psychosocial

dissonance.

**Table 4 – Harvey Vale 6<sup>th</sup> Grade Girls**

| Girl | Birthplace | Ancestry | Observed | Feelings | reminder of |
|------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|
| G1 | Grenada | Africa | dancing | happiness | children long ago |
| G2 | Carriacou | Africa | dancing | excited | when I was two years old |
| G3 | Carriacou | Africa | clapping | happy | singing |
| G4 | Tortola | Africa | singing | excited | African dance |
| G5 | Grenada | Africa | singing | wish to be there | the past and my ancestors in the olden days |
| G6 | Carriacou | I don't know | dancing | no ans | the slavery time |
| G7 | Tortola | I don't know | form a group | no ans | my old grandmother and the dance |

## Conclusion

In chapters 4 and 6, I noted the ways in which Africa existed as a trace, an absent

presence characterized, it seems, by fear caused by the sense of threat that lingers as a

continuation of colonial ideology.  In the children's responses to questions about their

footage, Africa exists strongly through the positive responses.  I pointed to ways that the

girls reference Africa with their bodies, their words and their sounds when they regard

the Africanist cheering of the 1985 Brooklyn girls.

# CHAPTER 8

# CONCLUSION

I will praise thee; for I am fearfully *and* wonderfully made: marvelous *are* thy works; and *that* my soul knoweth right well.

<div align="right">Psalm 139:14</div>

If there is a theme that animates this dissertation, it is that context is critical to understanding anything and historical context is critical to an attempt to understanding everything. This dissertation is rich with historical and autoethnographic context because the Carriacouan girls and the issue of their affiliation and disaffiliation to Africa cannot be understood without knowing how powerfully history inserts itself into the issues with which they presently contend. A critical part of that history includes the European project to suppress and erase African identity.  They did this through the installation of systemic standards and rules for thought and behavior.   The girls and boys struggle is what, I argue, holds hope for the radical love of the Black female phenotype.

 Chapter 1 describes the phenomena I saw that led to questions about allegiance to one's African heritage.  The process of discovery began with my work as a substitute teacher in an elementary school in Brooklyn in 1984 where I was distressed by the racism of the teachers and the internalized racism, manifesting as (among other things) the disparagement of Africa  that I saw among the children – almost all of whom were African descended.  The children – when confronted with the information that they were of African ancestry, vehemently rejected the very notion of African heritage.  The idea was anathema to them but they were merely absorbing the messages of the dominant White culture.  In those moments when children disavowed their connection with part of

their African heritage, they represented the successes of the racial project bent on shaping a compliant and complicit racially subordinate population.

Also in chapter 1 I described, along with the children's internalized racism, the concomitant appearance of cheering – the exuberant and creative Africanist dancing done only by girls in the school's playground. The chanting, stamping, clapping, hip-wagging danceplay seemed positioned in direct opposition to the internalized oppression expressed in slurs against African heritage.

It seemed clear that there was a binary of the conscious disdain for Africa versus the seeming subconscious appreciation of Africa; the absorption of the negative stereotypes versus the embrace of stereotypes; the constraint of the inside space of the school where there was no escape from the attitudes and behaviors of teachers versus the relative freedom of the schoolyard where the teachers seemed not to police, judge, or even notice the girls' Africanist cultural expression. It appeared that the children were contending with two opposing forces, the dominant culture's demand to reject one's heritage and the powerful pull of embodied African memory. These disaffiliation stories shared in chapter 1 put me on the path to the present study.

When I considered the sets of paradoxes I saw in the Brooklyn school, I was sure they would not be repeated on the island of Carriacou, known for its African continuations. Because of those retentions, I thought that African memory would manage to trump the enduring colonial ideologies. I expected to witness ring games and dance play somewhat similar to what I saw in Brooklyn and I also expected positive, unambiguous and conscious regard for Africa among most if not all the children

In chapter 2, Research Methodology and Procedures, I provide information about Carriacou and why it was an important location for a study of this nature. I shared my thinking about how I wished to study African affiliation and disaffiliation. A key component of my method was the use of a videotape that I took in 1985 of cheering –the cultural production of girls in an Afro-Caribbean/African American public elementary school. I hypothesized that footage of cheering, confirmed to be Africanist cultural production, and would generate data about Carriacouan girls' attitudes towards Africa. In that chapter, I introduced the information that some children at the same Brooklyn school nineteen years later expressed sharp disdain for the 1985 cheerers, characterizing their movements as ugly, nasty among other descriptors.

In Chapter 3, Appearances and Disappearances of Indigenous, African and Caribbean Lands, Peoples and Experiences, I provided the historical context for the contending forces of African memory and colonial ideology and suggested that the history was replete with examples and themes of spatial movement that played a part in appearances and disappearances, resistance and acquiescence. The movement was the indigenous ancestors' resistance to colonial domination, shown dramatically in the leap from the place that came to be known as Sauteurs. Almost as dramatic was the rush to help their neighbors in neighboring islands fight colonial domination and movement. Later, with the arrival of African captives, movement came, again, to be powerfully associated with resistance.

Chapter 4, Dis-Africanization as a Function of Ideological Whiteness in Carriacou, contained powerful stories of Carriacouan internalized racism that echoed the internalized racism I witnessed in the Brooklyn school in the mid-eighties. Here, I report

that obvious disaffiliations with Africa.  This included Erica's rejection of food she was told was African.

What I show, also, is that even when Carriacouans invoke Africa, it is sometimes done in ways that may undermine the liberatory intent, as seemed to be the case in the Little Miss Africa contest. That invocation, then, is unintentionally whitened, diminishing the potential for deep and accurate understanding of African heritage.  I show how the textbooks semantically whiten the story of a predominantly African-descended population's history. I suggest that the pressure to erase all except the most acceptable references to Africa may hide real terror that is seen in Erica's reaction to the food, Angela's telling of the story of the mother killing her children and the frozen silences among many when I brought up the subject of Africa.

In Chapter 5, Spatiality and the Absent Presence of a Certain Kind of Play, I discussed how the causes of the very real (and apparently relatively recent) quietude in Carriacou's playscape that adults confirmed with adamant declarations that children did not play anymore.  I explored what adults described as the barrenness of Carriacou's playscape and the fact that even while play is occurring, the adult population holds on to the memory of the playscape of their childhood. I discuss the role of technology and modernity in the absence of certain types of play and the anxiety about change that animates adult discussions about play.

Chapter 6, The Empty Space of the Absent Presence of Africa, tackled directly the issue of how the rejection of African heritage along with the danceplay of African descent girls in Brooklyn in 1985 raised for me the question of the fraught circumstances under which the memory of Africa may be consciously and subconsciously transmitted

208

from generation to generation. It continued to tug at me over the years because there seemed to be strongly divergent messages, one of disaffiliation with Africa and one of affiliation. Here the tension between the two is what I may be experiencing when I am confronted with the frozen silences of the adults and what I imagine may be happening for a child whose hand hovers, poised over the paper, unable to write an answer to the question about her ancestry.

In Chapter 7, Performing and Communicating African Affiliation, I showed how children do affiliate with Africa in ways that seem to be beneath their conscious awareness. They do this with their direct and enthusiastic appreciation of the Brooklyn girls Africanist dance play. They do this with words and sounds from their own dance play that may be directly evocative of Africa even while the children are unaware of that choice.

The question of how and why the negative associations to Africa exist is the key to understanding how African-descended girls might not only be ignorant of their African heritage but be frozen, hesitant, frightened or filled with disgust at the very thought of it. My thesis was that the children of Carriacou would have an affiliation to Africa that was positive, conscious and non-ambiguous. However, this was a binary construction that belied the complexity of African associations troubled with threats and promises barely imagined but apprehended and expressed through the hesitations, silences, as well as undulations of sounds and hips, rhythms and poetry. My research focused on the enduring nature of colonial ideology, the memory of Africa in the post-colonial Eastern Caribbean and people's persistent commitments to both.

209

My research revealed that the colonial ideology and the African heritage were both present. It was easy to see the African heritage through the Big Drum Nation Dance and the other ways in which Africa was remembered in the behaviors and traditions and rhythms of the Black girls' musical play. African heritage inhered, also, in surnames of some Carriacouans and certain individuals' brave attempts to directly engage the community in an appreciation of the community's African roots. However, the ways in which the African heritage was hidden was itself hidden in the educational textbooks, the embrace of Western things, and the stunned silences when I asked questions about Africa.

How can we understand the burying of Africa? We must do a historical inquiry, an "excavation of modern thought," (Silva 2007: 10) that leads us to the period of the Enlightenment (roughly 1650-1800) during which Europe situated itself at the center of the world (Gibson 2003). During this period, Europe created what Silva calls an "ontological mandate" (2007:xiv) from which "racial subjection" (Silva 2007: 2) followed. Part of that mandate is the transparency thesis – the ontoepistemological assumption governing post-Enlightenment thought and modern representation in which the Western gaze is trained on Blacks and other people of color and away from Whites who then become invisible in discourses about race. It was after the Enlightenment when actual human difference became perceived as *racial* difference (Hyland, et al. 2003) . It is through that process that leading philosophers Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Kant and Hegel "place non-Europeans outside the trajectory of universal reason" (2007: 14) and according to Jewheti (1996)this was the beginning of White supremacy. The exclusion, Silva maintains, does not necessarily reveal the instituting of racial subjection. As Silva

explains, some "*new* political-symbolic arsenal accompanied the apparatuses of juridical domination and economic exploitation" (14: emphasis added). The change, in her view, lies in how the death of God, and the instituting of Reason in His place, meant that Africans could not bring themselves into the human family merely via religious conversion as European peasants had done (despite the efforts of those like Bartolomé de las Casas who believed that there "was no people on earth, no matter how seemingly 'barbarous' their condition, that could be denied membership of the 'Christian family'"(Pagden 1992:xvii-xviii). The discourse of the Enlightenment was contradictory. On one hand Europe positioned itself as the epitome of civilization to which it had the power to help all of humankind attain, on the other there was the oppression to which the Others were subjected (Balibar 2004). Thus, there needed to be a way to justify the exclusion of "the others." The transparency thesis was the tool that Silva believes facilitated that justification (Silva 2007).

Transparency is invoked when the members of the dominant group talk about the Other and unspoken is the question that could be asked: "Other than *whom*?" The "transparent I" that Silva delineates can be seen as the same form of whiteness that Toni Morrison (1993) describes – an invisible glass canvas onto which otherness is painted. It is the way, in a pedestrian example, that in news stories about crime, the thief or murder has assumed an unmarked whiteness (Rothenberg 2007) unless he or she is identified as an *African American* thief or a *Latino* or *Hispanic* murderer. Likewise, the unmarked quality of whiteness can be seen as the "transparent I" in the title of Geraldo Rivera's recent book, *His Panic: Why Americans Fear Hispanics in the U.S.*(2009).. Rivera's title disqualifies the consideration of Americans who are Hispanic by crafting a statement that

211

excludes them from the category "American." The title also suggests unanimity among the United States population as if there were not other groups that "Americans" fear as much or more, such as Blacks and Middle Easterners. Finally, it hides the unspoken group for whom the concern is paramount – White Americans.

Another aspect of the ontoepistemological system is the "logic of exclusion" which reflects "the view that race is only politically and socially significant when race identification is explicitly or implicitly used to justify discrimination" (Silva 2001:421) . Silva asserts that the view that racism depends on a "logic of exclusion" may be limiting to the extent that it obscures "the larger field of production of meanings of the *racial* as a modern category of being" (2007: 422).

Silva illustrates this through her critique of critical race and postmodern theorists. Both groups are able to explain the representation of people of color, but they don't have a thorough enough understanding of signification and subjectification to explain the racial through the other of the "transparent I" and thus, they don't have an understanding of why racialized subjects can't easily fight, resist or opt out of the system of representation. Silva is convinced that this immobilization occurs because of Western society's continuous assumption that the "racial is extraneous to modern thought" (Silva 2007:2). By this she means, as does Charles Mills (1997), that we think of race as a socially constructed add-on to the modern human being, but the social contract from the start always was a racial contract. Hence, we fail to see the modern human as inescapably defined by the racial in ways that fuel, fund and facilitate the project of racial domination.

How did this ontoepistemological placement of Africa manifest itself after the Enlightenment? Despite heavy incursions into the interior for the purposes of the slave trade, and the privilege and wealth Europeans reaped from it, in the 1870s, most Europeans had very little idea of what Africa was actually like. They considered it *re nullus* – empty and uninhabited (Pakenham 1991). Perhaps that was true for the ordinary European, however the slave trade and the scramble for Africa leads us to believe that there was another understanding; that Europe was sanctioned to "discover" and exploit with impunity Africa's human and material resources.

Not only did the European imperialists deliberately appropriate and manipulate inhabitants, governments and lands of Africa in order to create wealth for the imperial powers, so did they appropriate and manipulate *ideas* of Africa. By creating an Africa from which not only members of the African Diaspora but Europeans would be alienated, the imperial order consolidated its control. While there is a rich and vital history of violent and nonviolent resistance, many African descendants did not wholly resist or question British imperial powers' rhetoric about their origins. However, it was more than rhetoric and more an ideology that infused every aspect of their existence such that African descended people were led away from a rigorous and critical examination of the question, "*How* did *I* come to be *here*?" Led away just as the African dance teacher in Chapter Three was led away and likewise led her students away from rigorous and critical explorations of the presence of Africans in the Americas.

Asking questions about Africans' presence necessarily means evoking history of the imperial project of domination. Evoking this history was a dangerous enterprise for the European slavers and colonialists since an explicit connection to an African past

could result in political, economic, social ties created with African descendants on either side of the Atlantic – a horrifying occurrence that the colonial powers wished to avoid. More importantly, such history could provoke African descendants to question, resist and overthrow their domination. Thus, information about Africa needed to be carefully destroyed, hidden, managed, and modified.

For African descendants in the Caribbean committed to creating independent nations, the question of how to regard Africa was a political issue. For some nineteenth century African American intellectuals in the United States, there was decided "ambivalence" and "embarrassment" (Owomoyela 1999) about Africa. Perhaps fearing that African affiliation would distract people from the mission of decolonization from Britain and wanting to promote unity in a multicultural nation, Prime Minister Eric Williams said to the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago that there was "no Mother Africa" only "mother Trinidad and Tobago" (quoted in London 1991). In the same speech, Williams declared that, likewise, there was no Mother India, Mother England nor Mother China. The question of African affiliation and disaffiliation is, therefore, and always has been a question of strategic, political, economic and emotional importance to African descended people. Investigations into how the social order engineers the disaffiliation are projects that hold the possibility of ideological liberation for millions of African descended people.

What the research tells us also, is that Carriacouans learned that the subject of Africa was a dangerous one. The emotionally charged silences, the changing of subject when I began conversations about Africa, the empty space in the children's group interview notes, the woman who talked about filicide, the inchoate manner in which

214

Africa was taught in the schools, all gave proof to the fact that in Carriacouan society, people had learned that except in acceptable ways, Africa was not to be discussed or evoked.

Thirty years ago, when I saw the Africanist dancing and chanting of elementary school girls, I was enraptured and intrigued. While I had always known about my African ancestry and the Trans-Atlantic slave trade that brought my forebears to the Americas, it was an abstract concept though given embodied evidence by the physical features that I shared with Africans on the continent. Seeing and hearing the Brooklyn girls cheering and recognizing instantly the Africanness of their expressive practice was a transcendent experience. The space between here and there, then and now was strung with filaments of sound and rhythm that I knew connected Africa with Brooklyn and Africa with me.

To the girls (and boys) in a Brooklyn school in the 1980s, Africa was a place of negative projections so abhorrent that the very suggestion that they were associated with the continent was horrifying. I had the understanding, then, of the vast transgression that the Western dominant powers had perpetrated. Along with everything else they had done to attempt to extract the humanity from the African descended population, they had succeeded in ideologically sullying the place of origin, such that African descended children could be filled with shock and horror that their ancestors had come from such a place.

Cheering was the locus not of resistance exactly but certainly a counterpoint to racism. For in cheering I saw not only the Africanist patterns of dance from West Africa, but saw in the girls chanting about "hut" and "jungle" a subconscious, perhaps, embrace

215

of the place that they denied so vociferously.  It is in that movement – cheering, dancing, stepping –  that lies the possibility for a love of self that is radical and powerful.  When Carriacouan girls chanted about "African booty" and a "butt like that" I saw similar possibilities.

Carriacou proved to be a potent place for research on affiliation and disaffiliation with Africa because of the African retentions so often heralded by researchers.  I had hypothesized that the girls would engage in some form of danceplay and game songs that would have a strong connection to Africa.  I had also hypothesized that their affiliation to Africa would be conscious, unambiguous and positive.  Perhaps if I had done my study a couple of decades earlier, such attitudes would have been the rule rather than the exception.  Instead, I discovered that the affiliation to Africa is conscious and subconscious, ambiguous and direct, positive and negative.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

There are many areas to explore related to the African affiliation of African-descended people in Carriacou. Further study on the island could entail a more comprehensive investigation into the nature of African affiliation among different genders and ages using various cultural expressions as tools to elicit responses.  Big Drum dancing has a long history on the island and everyone on the island has seen, danced, or drummed to Big Drum.  Some will claim that they know which rhythm is theirs – their nation.  People could be categorized according to their nation and studies could be done on all sorts of questions relating one's nation to one's level of African affiilation.

What does African affiliation mean in terms of actual outcomes?  To what extent does African affiliation or disaffiliation have an effect on academic success, political freedom, and economic well-being?

Another area of exploration would be to examine in more detail how various sectors of the society propagate African disaffiliation.  I looked briefly at a school textbook but a look at the entire curriculum would yield much more data and perhaps give insight into the colonial ideology. We would learn more about how the vestiges of colonialism inhere in what children of African descent (and others) learn about their history and themselves.

Different locations have different histories of arrival, slavery, colonization, intermixture, and independence. As my Aunt Dora has succinctly said many times to explain the power of context and culture, "Different boats." Therefore, comparative investigations would yield important information on how the history of colonial subordination and African heritage manifest differently among the African-descended populations. While it was beyond the scope of this study, for example, children in Brooklyn in 2004 watching the footage of the 1985 cheerers had a generally different response compared to the children in Carriacou in 2009.  Carriacouan children responses registered few comments of disapproval, while many of the Brooklyn children expressed disdain, disgust and disapproval at cheering. What might account for radically different responses?  A study looking comparatively at different African diasporic cultures or societies on the question of African affiliation and disaffiliation might yield important information about the the extent to which anti-Africa messages are propagated and internalized in those cultures.

Disapproval was something I felt in abundance from an old woman with whom I spoke in passing. I close my dissertation with one last story from my fieldwork:

*November 23, 2009*

      *Just yesterday, I was talking to an 89-year-old woman about children's play. She told me her name was Anselee. Ms. Anselee assured me that she couldn't remember anything that she had done as a child. She was seemingly unable to recall one game or chant. But, then she did what many people did when I asked the questions; she started talking about children today. She complained about what she saw as a shocking lack of respect on the part of children, and she cited cases when children physically hit their mothers. I asked her why she thought that was happening and she said that she didn't know.*

      *I commiserated and unthinkingly made the kind of empty comment that means virtually nothing. I said something like, "Well, I guess the world is changing." Ms. Anselee's voice became sharp and strident, "It's not the world, it is WE. The world isn't changing. The world is the same!"*

I often heard people say that Carriacou was changing. Actually, everyone said it, but this time, I heard that oft-repeated pronouncement in a new way. When I heard it before, I regarded it as a generalized statement about all places changing in generally the same way and at generally the same pace. Ms. Anselee, however, differentiated Carriacou from all the other places. I understood suddenly that according to this old woman (and indeed maybe many others who had said the same thing), Carriacou had been out of step with the rest of the world for years (most dramatically, of course, during the Bishop era) but is now coming into line with the West – a disturbing development which filled people with sorrow, horror or resignation. Coming into line with the West was something that was not an inexorable inevitability. On the contrary, Ms. Anselee declared it as a choice that Carriacouans made.

Ms. Anselee named the terms of the struggle. Within her lifetime, she had seen cataclysmic events in her society. These events were traumatic but it was the people who

218

had agreed to turn Carriacou's mores and values upside down.  It was the people of Carriacou who had succumbed to the hegemony of White Supremacy in a way they had not before.  Carriacou lost itself and everyone, Ms. Anselee seemed to say, was responsible.

The power of the dominant ideologies shapes our lives in important ways, ways we cannot always perceive.  This is the case for the subaltern ideologies that do much the same.  Ms. Anselee teaches us that we need to be conscious of those ideologies and the choices we make.

When it comes to African affiliation and disaffiliation, there does not seem to be a question of choice.  So many of the ways that people form their allegiances may be out of their conscious control. However, my research suggests there is enormous power in the positive assertion of identity, that just talking to children about their heritage has an impact, as does the adult creation of opportunities for Africanist cultural production. Africa is significant, as it seems to be for the people of CCO and the people who were shocked at questions about Africa, the children who hesitated – their pencils momentarily held above the paper, and the girls who appear to appreciate their "African booty." This means that perhaps, in the practices of the quotidian that practical hope resides. The once per week presence of a Big Drum club, the commitment of a teacher to make sure that African heritage is highlighted and the everyday play of girls is where the hope for radical love lives.

# APPENDIX

# MAPS

**CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**



**Figure 17**

**Map of Central America and the Caribbean**
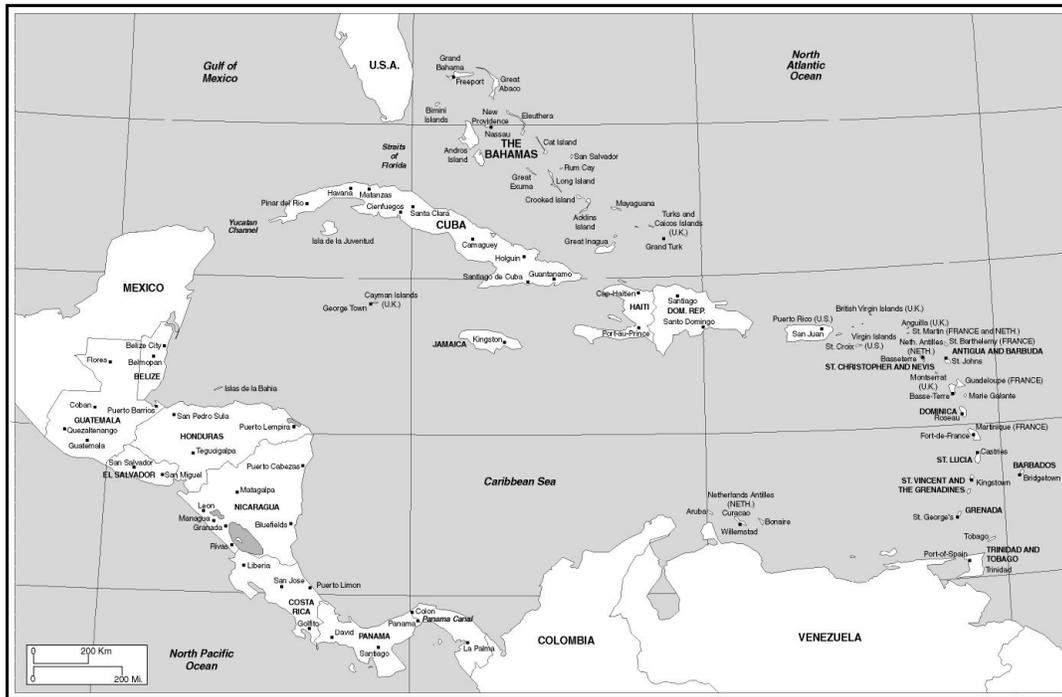
**Source: Cartographic Research Lab, University of Alabama
http://alabamamaps.ua.edu**
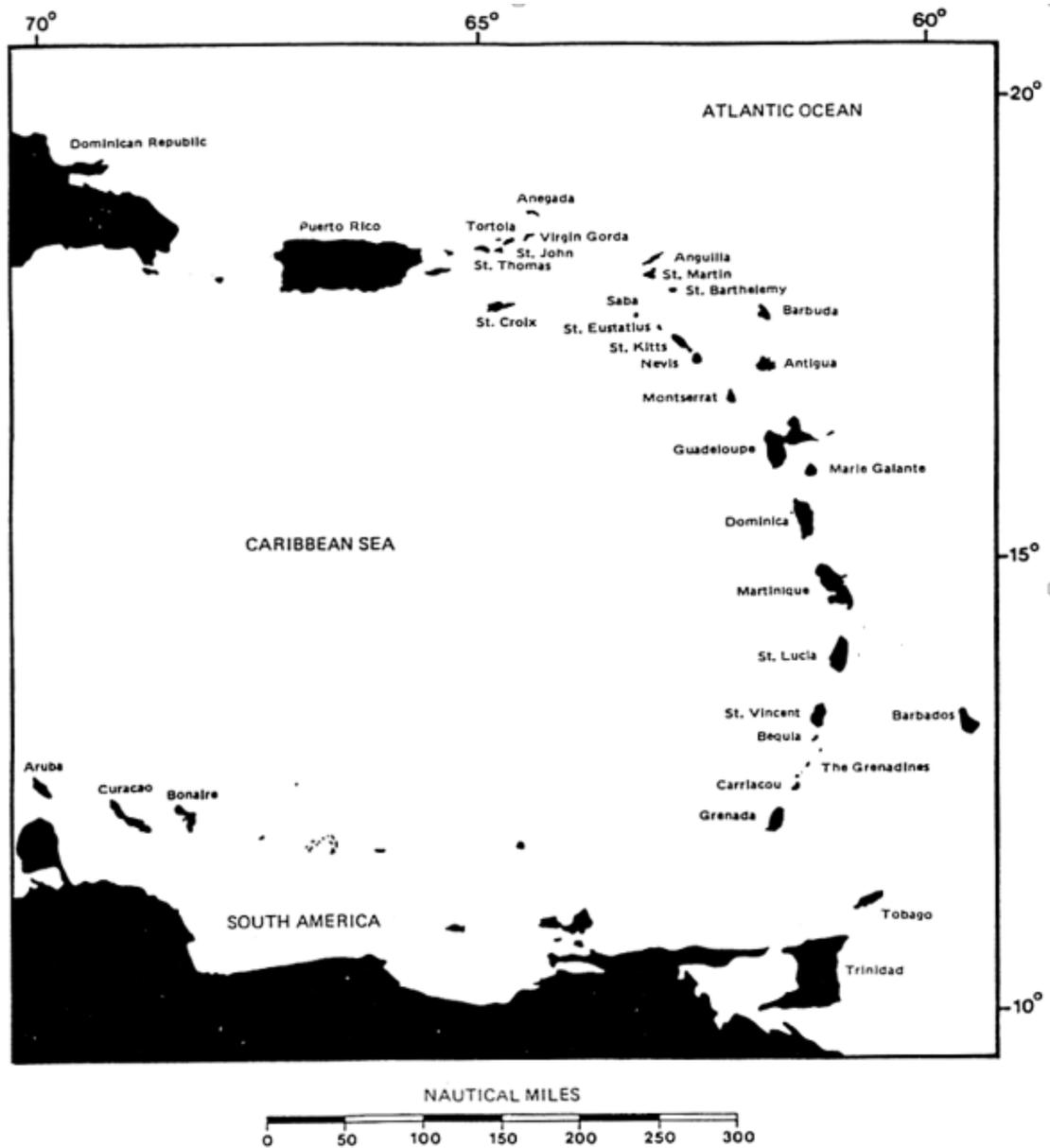
**Figure 18**

**Lesser Antilles**

**Source: Caribbean Environment Programme – United Nations Environment Programme http://www.cep.unep.org/graphics/widecast_map.gif**

**Figure 19**

**Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique**

Source: Map Resources
http://www.mapresources.com/grenada-black-and-white-illustrator-digital-vector-road-map-grd-xx-714492.html
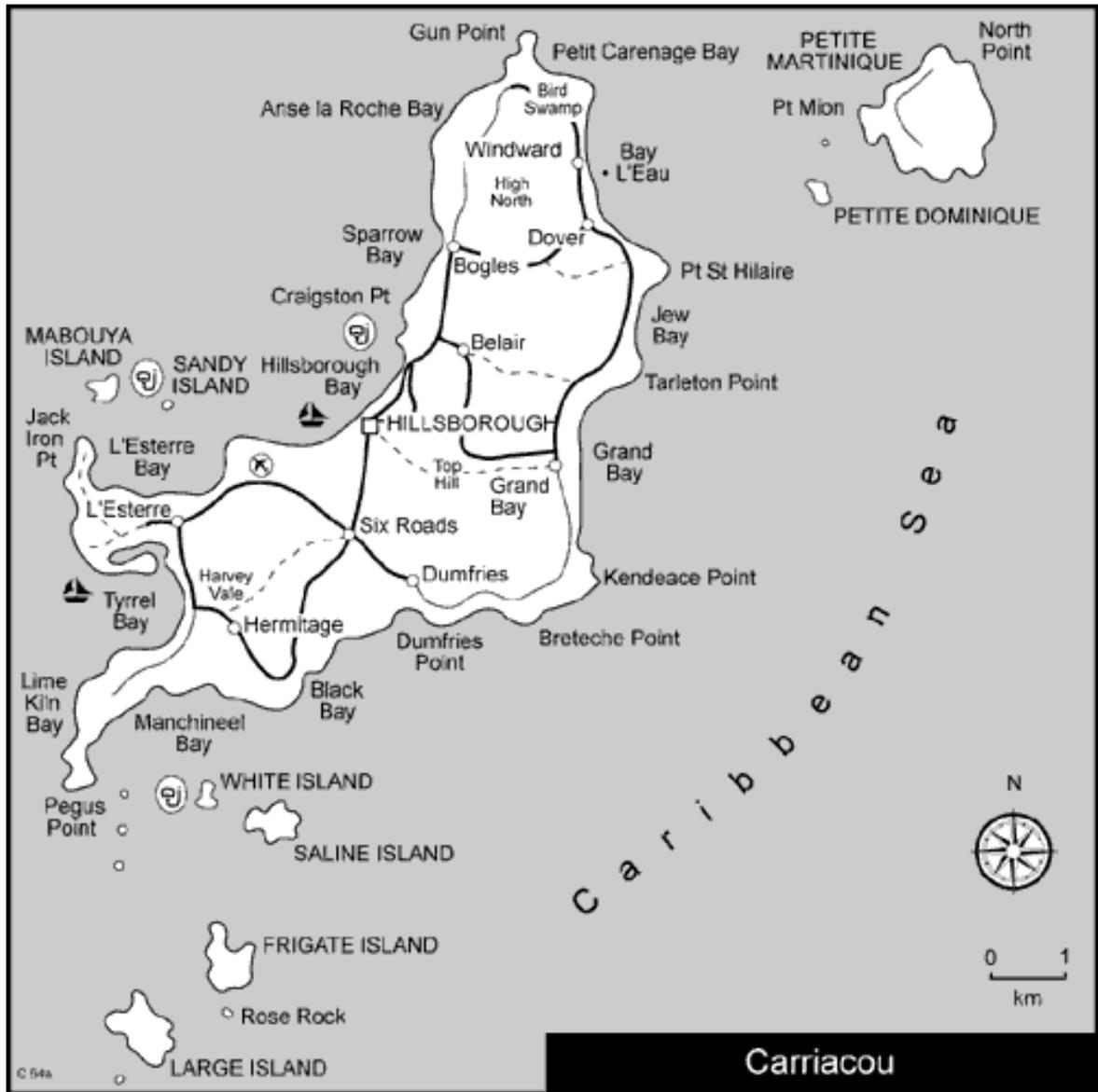
**Figure 20**

**Carriacou and Petite Martinique**

Source: http://carriacoufamilywebsite.com/

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

2009    The End of an Era: Final Seven are Freed. Grenada Informer.

2014    Sir Eric Matthew Gairy. *In* Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 2014.

Abu-Lughod, Lila
    1986    Writing Against Culture. *In* Writing Culture : The poetics and politics of ethnography : a School of American Research advanced seminar. J. Clifford and G.E. Marcus, eds. Pp. 466-479. Berkeley: University of California Press.

—

    1991    Writing Against Culture. Recapturing Anthropology.

Adams, Portia Elizabeth
    2003    Understanding the High Self-Esteem of Black Adolescent Girls Ph.D., Washington University.

Akbar, N.a'im
    1996    Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery. Tallahassee, FL: Mind Productions and Associats, Inc.

Allahar, Anton L.
    2002    "Race" and class int he making of Caribbean political culture. Transforming Anthropology 10(2):13-29.

Allaire, Louis
    1997    The Indigenous People of the Caribbean. *In* The Ripley P Bullen series. S.M. Wilson, ed. Pp. 179-185
Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

—

    1999    Archaeology of the Caribbean Region. *In* The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: South America. F. Salomon and S.B. Schwartz, eds. Pp. 668-. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Claud, and Rue L. Cromwell
    1977    "Black is Beautiful" and the Color Preferences of Afro-American Youth. The Journal of Negro Education 46(1):76-88.

Angelou, Maya
    1994    Phenomenal Woman: Four Poems Celebrating Women. New York: Random House.

Antonio, Benítez-Rojo, and James E Maraniss
    1996    The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective.

Appadurai, A.
    2011    Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy 1990. *In*
    Cultural Theory: An Anthology. I. Szeman and T. Kaposy, eds. Pp. 282-295.
    West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Appadurai, Arjun
    1990    Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy. Theory
    Culture Society 7:295-310.

Atkinson, Lesley-Gail
    2006    The earliest inhabitants : the dynamics of the Jamaican Taíno. Jamaica:
    University of the West Indies Press.

Austin, John Langshaw
    1975    How To Do Things With Words. Volume 1955: Oxford University Press.

Autler, Alanna
    2008    The Carefully-Managed Audience Manipulation That Makes Jerry
    Springer So Entertaining, Vol. 2014: Northwestern University.

Baldwin, James
    1984    On Being White and Other Lies. Essence 14(12):90-92.

Balibar, Étienne
    2004    We, the people of Europe? Reflections on transnational citizenship.
    Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ball, Gregory
    2012    Operation Urgent Fury, Vol. 2015. Air Force Historical Studies Office,
    Joint Base Anacostia Bolling, DC: Air Force Historical Support Division.

Ballen, Rosemary
    2012    Personal Communication.

Basch, Linda G.
    1989    The Politics of Caribbeanization: Vicentians and Grenadians in New
    York1. Center for Migration Studies special issues 7(1):147-166.

Bateson, Gregory
    1972    A Theory of Play and Fantasy. *In* Steps to an ecology of mind; collected
    essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology
G. Bateson, ed. Pp. 177-193. San Francisco,: Chandler Pub. Co.

Bauman, Richard, ed.
    1975    Black Girls at Play: Folkloric Perspectives on Child Development. Austin,
    TX: Early Elementary Program, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Beckles, Hilary M.
　　1990　A "Riotous and Unruly Lot": Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713. The William and Mary Quarterly 47(4):503-522.

Bentham, Jeremy
　　1931　Theory of Legislation. London: Trübner & Co.

Berne, Eric
　　1959　The Mythology of Dark and Fair: Psychiatric Use of Folklore. The Journal of American Folklore 72(283).

Bishop, Julia C
　　2010　'Eeny Meeny Dessameeny': Continuity and Change in the 'Backstory'of a Children's Playground Rhyme'. http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/playgroundgames/uploads/bishop_playground_interim.pdf.

Bishop, Julia C, Mavis Curtis, and Iona Opie
　　2001　Play Today in the Primary School Playground: Life, Learning and Creativity: Open University Press Buckingham,, UK.

Bishop, Maurice
　　1979a　Bishop's Speech -- In Nobody's Backyard. http://www.thegrenadarevolutiononline.com/bishnobodybkyd.html.

—
　　1979b　Bishop Speech - In Nobody's Backyard (13 April 1979). *In* The Grenada Revolution Online, Vol. 2011.

Blanchard, Kendall
　　1995　The anthropology of sport : an introduction. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.

Block, Robert C, et al.
　　2012　An Epidemiologic Transition of Cardiovascular Disease Risk in Carriacou and Petite Martinique, Grenada: the Grenada Heart Project, 2005-2007. Preventing chronic disease 9.

Boyle, D. Ellen, Nancy L. Marshall, and Wendy W. Robeson
　　2003　Gender at Play: Fourth-Grade Girls and Boys on the Playground. American Behavioral Scientist 46(10):1326-1345.

Brady, Margaret K.
　　1975　"This Little Lady's Gonna Boogaloo": Elements of Socialization in the Play of Black Girls. *In* Black girls at play : folkloric perspectives on child development. Pp. 1-51. Austin, Tex.: Early Elementary Program, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Brandt, Richard M.

    1985    A Comparison of Adolescent Attitudes of Secondary School Students in Grenada and the United States. *In* The 69th Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association Pp. 41. Chicago, Illinios.

Bright, Alistair

    2003    Spatial Dynamics and Social Development in the Northern Lesser Antilles –
A Pilot Study Based on Settlement Structure at the Site of Anse à la Gourde, Gua deloupe, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.

Brizan, George

    1984    Grenada: Island of Conflict; From Amerindians to People's Revolution 1498-1979. Avon: Bath Press.

Brodkin, Karen

    1998    How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Brown, Aggrey

    1987    T.V. Programming Trends in the Anglophone Caribbean: The 1980s. Mona, Jamaica: Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication.

Brown, Ernest D.

    1977    Children Are the Wisdom of the Nation: The Significance of Children's Music in Afro-American Cultures. The Black Perspective in Music 5(2):137-145.

Brown, Stuart, and Christopher Vaughan

    2009    Play: How it Shapes the Brain, Opens the Imagination, and Invigorates the Sou. New York: Penguin.

Brumberg, J.J.

    1998    The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls. New York: Vintage.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh

    1997    Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Buckley, Tamara R, and Robert T Carter

    2005    Black Adolescent Girls: Do Gender Role and Racial Identity Impact Their Self-Esteem? Sex Roles 53(9-10):647-661.

Buel, James William

    1890    Heroes of the Dark Continent: And How Stanley Found Emin Pasha. Richmond, VA: BF Johnson.

Bullen, Ripley P.
    1965    Archaeological Chronology of Grenada. American Antiquity 31(2):237-241.

Burton, Richard
    1999    Names and Naming in Afro-Caribbean Cultures. New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 73(1-2):35-58.

Bush-Slimani, Barbara
    1993    Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies. History Workshop (36):83-99.

Butler, Cleve, et al.
    2002    Internalized Racism, Body Fat Distribution, and Abnormal Fasting Glucose Among African-Caribbean Women in Dominica, West Indies. Journal of the National Medical Association 94(3):143.

Butler, Judith
    1993    Bodies that matter : on the discursive limits of "sex". New York: Routledge.

Caillois, Roger
    1955    The Structure and Classification of Games. Diogenes 12:62-75.

—
    1961    Man, Play, and Games: University of Illinois Press.

Campbell, Patricia Shehan, and Trevor Wiggins
    2013    The Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures: Oxford University Press.

Carnes, Joshua A
    1853    Journal of a Voyage from Boston to the West Coast of Africa: With a Full Description of the Manner of Trading with the Natives on the Coast. Boston, MA: John P. Jewett & Co.

Carriacouan Culture Bearers
    1999    Explanation of Pass-Play *In* Caribbean Voyage: Carriacou Calaloo A. Lomax, ed: Rounder Select.

Casement, Patrick
    1992    Learning From the Patient. New York: Guilford Press.

Cepeda, María Elena
    2003    Shakira as the Idealized, Transnational Citizen: A case study of Columbiandad in Transition. Latino Studies 1(2):211-232.

Certeau, Michel de
    1984    The Practice of Everyday Life, trans by Steven Rendall. Berkeley, CA:
    University of California Press.

Charles, Christopher AD
    2003    Skin Bleaching, Self-Hate, and Black Identity in Jamaica. Journal of Black
    Studies 33(6):711-728.

Clark, Cindy Dell
    2004    Visual metaphor as method in interviews with children. Journal of
    Linguistic Anthropology 14(2):1548-1395.

Clark, Kenneth B, and Mamie K Clark
    1939    The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial
    Identification in Negro Preschool Children. The Journal of Social Psychology
    10(4):591-599.

Clark, Kenneth B., and Mamie K. Clark
    1940    Skin Color as a Factor in Racial Identification of Negro Preschool
    Children. The Journal of Social Psychology 11(1):159-169.

Clark, Kenneth B., and Mamie P. Clark
    1950    Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro
    Children. The Journal of Negro Education 19(3):341-350.

Cole, Jennifer
    2001    Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar.
    Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cole, Ronald H
    1983    Operation Urgent Fury-Grenada. DTIC Document.

Collier, John
    1986    Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method. Albequerque:
    UNM Press.

Colligan, Sumi Elaine
    1994    The Ethnographer's Body as Text: When Disability Becomes "Other"-
    Abling. Anthropology of Work Review 15(2-3):5-9.

Collins, Merle
    1999    Culture of Carriacou.

— dir.
    2008    Saracca and Nation: African Memory and Re-Creation in Grenada and
    Carriacou. 41:36 min. Grenada.

Connerton, Paul
    1989   How Societies Remember: Cambridge University Press.

Cowley, Malcolm
    1928   Adventures of an African Slaver: Being a True Account of the Life of Captain Theodore Canot. *In* New York: Albert and Charles Boni. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Cox, Edward L.
    1892   Fedon's Rebellion 1795-96: Causes and Consequences. The Journal of Negro History 67(1):7-19.

Cramer, Phebe, and Gail Anderson
    2003   Ethnic/Racial Attitudes and Self-Identification of Black Jamaican and White New England Children. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 34(4):395-416.

Crosby, Alfred W.
    2004   Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cross, William E.
    2011   The Historical Relationship Between Black Identity and Black Achievement Motivation. *In* African American Children and Mental Health: Volume 1, Development and Context. N.E. Hill, T.L. Mann, and H.E. Fitzgerald, eds. Pp. 1-28.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly
    1975   Play and Intrinsic Rewards. Journal of Humanistic Psychology 15(3):41-63.

Curtin, Philip D.
    1969   The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census. Madison,: University of Wisconsin Press.

Curtis, Debra
    2009   Pleasures and Perils: Girls' Sexuality in a Caribbean Consumer Culture: Rutgers University Press.

Daniel, Yvonne
    2005   Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomblé. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

David, Christine
    2006   Folk Traditions of Carriacou : and Petite Martinique. Belmont, Carriacou W. I.: Christine David.

Davis, Dave D., and R. Christopher Goodwin
    1990    Island Carib Origins: Evidence and Nonevidence. American Antiquity 55(1):37-48.

Davis, Kiri dir.
    2005    A Girl Like Me. 7 minutes, 14 seconds. min. Brooklyn, NY.

Delpit, Lisa
    1996    Other People's Children. W.W. Norton

Demas, William G.
    1971    The New Caribbean Man. Caribbean Quarterly 17(3/4):7-14.

Diamond, Elin
    1996    Introduction. *In* Performance and Cultural Politics. E. Diamond, ed. Pp. 1-13. New York: Routledge.

DiAngelo, Robin
    2011    White Fragility. The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy 3(3).

Dino, Angela Lea Thieman
    2007    Making Fun: How Urban Black Girls Craft Identity, Anthropology, University of Colorado at Boulder.

Doswell, Willa M
    1998    Self-Image and Self-Esteem in African-American Preteen Girls: Implications for Mental Health. Issues in Mental Health Nursing 19(1):71-94.

Du Bois, W. E. B.
    2003    The Souls of Black folk. New York: Modern Library.

Dunn, Hopeton S.
    1995    Globalization, Communications, and Caribbean Identity. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Dyer, Richard
    2003    The Matter of Whiteness. *In* Privilege. A Reader. M.S. Kimmel and A.L. Ferber, eds. Pp. 21-32. Boulder: Westview Press.

Eckhardt, Rosalind
    1975    From Handclap to Line play. *In* Black girls at Play: Folkloric Perspectives on Child Development. Pp. 56-101. Austin, Tex.: Early Elementary Program, Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Elkind, David
    2007    The power of play: How spontaneous, imaginative activities lead to happier, healthier children. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press.

—
2010    The Hurried Child-: Growing Up Too Fast Too Soon: ReadHowYouWant. com.

Erikson, Kai
1995    Notes on Trauma and Community. *In* Trauma: Explorations in Memory. C. Caruth, ed. Pp. 183-99.

Fairchild, Halford H
1985    Black, Negro, or Afro-American?: The Differences Are Crucial! Journal of Black Studies:47-55.

Fayer, Joan M., and Joan F. McMurray
1994    Shakespeare in Carriacou. Caribbean Studies 27(3/4):242-254.

Feld, Steven
1988    Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style, or'Lift-Up-Over Sounding': Getting into the Kaluli Groove. Yearbook for Traditional Music:74-113.

Fine, Gary Alan, et al.
1998    Social Order through a Prism: Color as Collective Representation. Sociological Inquiry 68(4):443 - 457.

Firth, Simon
1989    Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music. *In* Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception. R. Leppert and S. McClary, eds: Cambridge University Press.

Fiske, John
1996    Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fitzpatrick, Liseli A
2012    African Names and Naming Practices, The Ohio State University.

Fitzpatrick, Scott M., Michiel Kappers, and Quetta Kaye
2006    Coastal Erosion and Site Destruction on Carriacou, West Indies. Journal of Field Archaeology 31(3):251-262.

Fitzpatrick, Scott M., et al.
2009    Precolumbian Settlements on Carriacou, West Indies. Journal of Field Archaeology 34(3):247-266.

Fitzpatrick, Scott M., Quetta Kaye, and Michiel Kappers
2004    A Radiocarbon Sequence for the Sabazan Site, Carriacou, West Indies. Journal of Caribbean Archaeology 5:1-11.

Flecha, Ramón
    2013    Life Experiences with Paulo and Nita. The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy 5(1):17.

Floyd, S. A.
    1999    Black Music in the Circum-Caribbean. American Music 17(1):1-38.

Fordham, Signithia
    1993    "Those Loud Black Girls":(Black) Women, Silence, and Gender "Passing" in the Academy. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 24(1):3-32.

Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon
    1980    Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press.

Frankenberg, Ruth
    1993    White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Freire, Paulo
    2005    Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum.

Friedman, Jonathan
    2004    Culture and its Politics in the Global System. Protosociology 20:217-238.

Gardner, Julie Meeks, et al.
    2006    Violence Against Children in the Caribbean: A Desk Review. *In* Promoting Child Rights Selected Proceedings of the Caribbean Child Research Conference 2006: Draft. A. Henry-Lee and J.M. Gardne, eds. Pp. 25-54. Kingston, Jamaica: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies.

Gaunt, Kyra
    2006    The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop. New York: N.Y.U. Press.

Geertz, Clifford
    1974    "From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding. Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 28(1):26-45.

—

    2005    Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight. Daedalus 134(4):56-86.

Gibson, Nigel C.
    2003    Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination. Malden, MA: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Pub. ; Distributed in the USA by Blackwell Pub.

Gilman, Sander L.

    1985    Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature. Critical Inquiry 12(1):204-242.

Goffman, Erving

    1959    The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday.

Golding, Peter

    1995    Forward. *In* Who Owns the Media? Global Trends and Local Resistances. 1st edition. P. Thomas and Z. Nain, eds. Pp. v-x. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Göncü, Artin, et al.

    1999    Children's play as cultural activity. *In* Children's engagement in the world: Sociocultural perspectives. A. Goncu, ed. Pp. 148-170. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Gopaul-McNicol, Sharon-Ann

    1995    A Cross-Cultural Examination of Racial Identity and Racial Preference of Preschool Children in the West Indies. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 26(2):141-152.

Gordon, Edmund T, and Mark Anderson

    1999    The African Diaspora: Toward an Ethnography of Diasporic Identification. Journal of American Folklore:282-296.

Gottschild, Brenda Dixon

    1996    Digging the Africanist Presence in American Performance: Dance and other Contexts: Greenwood Press Westport, CT.

——

    2003    The Black Dancing Body: A Geography from Coon to Cool. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

——

    n.d.    Diasporan Diaries/Caribbean Connexions/Calypso & Cynthia.

Goucher, Candice L.

    1993    African Metallurgy in the Atlantic World. The African Archaeological Review 11:197-215.

Government, Grenada

    2006    Strategic Plan for Educational Enhancement and Development 2006-2015. M.o. Education, ed, Vol. 1: The Strategic Framework: Government of Grenada.

—
    2011    Tourism Awareness Month: Minister David talks tourism to St. Louis RC
    students, Vol. 2015. Grenada: The Official Website of the Government of
    Grenada.

Grigkriadis, Vanessa
    2009    Can Shakira Conquer the World? . Rolling Stone Magazine (1091):44-49.

Grills, Cheryl, and Douglas L Longshore
    1996    Africentrism, Psychometric Analyses of a Self-Report Measure. Journal of
    Black Psychology 22(1):86-106.

Groos, Karl, and Elizabeth L. Baldwin
    1901    The play of man. New York,: Appleton.

Guba, Egon G, and Yvonna S Lincoln
    1994    Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. *In* Handbook of
    Qualitative Research. Pp. 163-194.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson
    1992    Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. Cultural
    Anthropology 7(1):6-23.

Gwaltney, John L.
    1976    On Going Home Again--Some Reflections of a Native Anthropologist.
    Phylon 37(3):236-242.

Gwaltney, John Langston
    1981    Drylongso :A Self-Portrait of Black America. New York: Vintage Books.

Hall, Erika V, Katherine W Phillips, and Sarah SM Townsend
    2015    A Rose by Any Other Name?: The Consequences of Subtyping "African-
    Americans" From "Blacks". Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 56:183-
    190.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo
    2005    Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links.
    Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Hall, Schekeva P, and Robert T Carter
    2006    The Relationship Between Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and
    Perceptions of Racial Eiscrimination in an Afro-Caribbean Descent Sample.
    Journal of Black Psychology 32(2):155-175.

Hall, Stuart
    1990    Cultural Identity and Diaspora. Identity: Community, Culture, Difference
    2:222-237.

Handler, Jerome S, Frederick W Lange, and Robert V Riordan
    1978    Plantation slavery in Barbados: an archaeological and historical
    investigation: Harvard University Press Cambridge.

Handler, Jerome S., and JoAnn Jacobi
    1996    Slave Names and Naming in Barbados  1650-1830. The William and Mary
    Quarterly 53(4):685-728.

Haney-López, Ian
    2006    White by Law : The Legal Construction of Race. New York: New York
    University Press.

Hardiman, Rita
    1982    White Identity Development: A Process Oriented Model for Describing
    the Racial Consciousness of White Americans, School of Education, University of
    Massachusetts.

Hare, Bruce R.
    1977    Black and White Child Self-Esteem in Social Science: An Overview. The
    Journal of Negro Education 46(2):141-156.

Harris, Cheryl
    1993    Whiteness as Property. Harvard Law Review:1707-1791.

Harris, Juliette, and Pamela Johnson
    2001    Tenderheaded : a comb-bending collection of hair stories. New York:
    Pocket Books.

Harris, Trudier
    1984    Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning
    Rituals: Indiana University Press.

Hartman, Saidiya
    2007    Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route. New York:
    Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Harvey, David
    1989    The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural
    Change: Oxford: Blackwell.

Harwood, Eve
    1998    Go On, Girl! Improvisation in African-American Girls' Singing Games *In*
    In the course of performance : studies in the world of musical improvisation. B.
    Nettl and M. Russell, eds. Pp. 113-. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Haviser, Jay B., and Matthias Strecker
        2006    Zone 2: Caribbean Area and  North-Coastal South America. *In* Rock Art
        of Latin America and the Caribbean: Thematic Study. ICOMOS, ed. Paris:
        International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

Henige, David
        1986    Measuring the Immeasurable: The Atlantic Slave Trade, West African
        Population and the Pyrrhonian Critic. The Journal of African History 27(2): 295-
        313.

Herskovits, Melville J.
        1941    The Myth of the Negro Past. New York, London,: Harper & Brothers.

Hertsgaard, Mark
        1988    On Bended Knee : The Press and the Reagan Presidency. New York:
        Farrar, Straus, Giroux.

Higman, B. W.
        2011    A concise history of the Caribbean. New York: Cambridge University
        Press.

Higman, Barry W
        1976    The Slave Populations of the British Caribbean: Some Nineteenth-Century
        Variations. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Hill, Donald R
        2007    Caribbean Folklore: A Handbook. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing
        Group.

Hill, Donald R.
        1974    More on Truth, Fact and Tradition in Carriacou Caribbean Quarterly
        20(1):45-59.

—

        1998    West African and Haitian Influences on the Ritual and Popular Music of
        Carriacou, Trinidad and Cuba. Center for Black Music Research 18(1/2):183-201.

—

        2002    From Coromantese to Cromanti: A Folkloric Account of the Spread of
        Ghanaian Culture to Carriacou Grenada Humanities Review Journal 2(1):1-8.

—

        2005    A Carriacouan View of the African Diaspora: "African" Themes in the
        Paintings of Canute Caliste   http://www.nyu.edu/calabash/vol3no2/0302148.pdf

Hirschfeld, Lawrence A.
        2002    Why Don't Anthropologists Like Children? American Anthropologist
        104(2):611-627.

Holloway, Joseph E.

    1990    Africanisms in American culture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

—

    2005    Africanisms in American Culture: Indiana University Press.

Honychurch, Lennox

    2002    The Leap at Sauteurs: The Lost Cosmology of Indigenous Grenada.
    http://www.lennoxhonychurch.com/article.cfm?id=392.

—

    2010    The Leap at Sauteurs: The Lost Cosmology of Indigenous Grenada, 2010.
    Grenada Country Conference. University of the West Indies, Grenada: Retrieved
    from http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/grenada/conference/papers/LH.html.on.

Honychurch, Lennox, and Chris Gosden

    1997    Crossroads in the Caribbean: A site of encounter and exchange on
    Dominica. World Archaeology 28(3):291-304.

Hotel, Laurena

    2010    Carriacou Regatta 2010 Schedule of Activities, Vol. 2014. Hillsborough
    Carriacou, Grenada: Hotel Laurena.

Houston, Lynn Marie

    2005    Food Culture in the Caribbean. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing
    Group.

Hraba, Joseph, and Geoffrey Grant

    1970    Black is Beautiful: A Reexamination of Racial Preference and
    Identification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 16(3):398-402.

Huizinga, Johan

    1949    Homo ludens; a study of the play-element in culture. London,: Routledge
    & K. Paul.

Hurston, Zora Neale

    1995    Folklore, Memoirs, and Other Writings. New York: Library of America :
    Distributed to the U.S. by Penguin Books.

Hyland, Paul, Olga Gomez, and Francesca Greensides

    2003    The enlightenment : a sourcebook and reader. London ; New York:
    Routledge.

Ignatiev, Noel

    1995    How the Irish Became White. New York: Routledge.

—
1997 How to Be a Race Traitor: Six Ways to Fight Being White. Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror:629.

Ignatiev, Noel, and John Garvey
1996 Editorial: Abolish the White Race, by Any Means Necessary. *In* Race Traitor. N. Ignatiev and J. Garvey, eds. Pp. 9-14. New York: Psychology Press.

Inikori, J. E.
1976 Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: An Assessment of Curtin and Anstey. The Journal of African History 17(2):197-223.

Isha, Pinky
2012 Oral Literature and its Bearing on Caribbean Slave Songs of the Colonial Era. Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities 4(2).

Jackson III, Bailey W.
2012 Black Identity Development: Influences of Cultural and Social Oppression. *In* New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: Integrating Emerging Frameworks. C. Wijeyesinghe, ed. Pp. 33-50. New York: NYU Press.

Jackson, Travis A
2000 Jazz Performance as Ritual: The Blues Aesthetic and the African Diaspora. The African diaspora: A musical perspective:23-82.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye
1998 Whiteness of a Different Color : European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

James, Alan
1981 'Black': An Inquiry Into the Pejorative Associations of an English Word. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 9(1):19-30.

James, C. L. R.
1963 The Black Jacobins; Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution. New York,: Vintage Books.

Jefferson, Thomas, and Edwin Morris Betts
1999 Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, With Commentary and Relevant Extracts from Other Writings. Charlottesville: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

Jessup, John E
1998 An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Conflict and Conflict Resolution, 1945-1996. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Jewheti, Jedi Shemsu
    1996    "The Invention of Africa" and Intellectual Neocolonialism.
    http://www.abibitumikasa.com/forums/showthread.php/53638-The-Invention-of-
    Africa-and-Intellectual-Neocolonialism-by-Jedi-Shemsu-Jewheti.

Jobson, Richard
    1623    The Golden Trade; or, A Discovery of the River Gambra, and the Golden
    Trade of the Aethiopians: Speight and Walpole.

John, A. Meredith
    1988    Plantation Slave Mortality in Trinidad. Population Studies 42(2):161-182.

Johnson, Charles S., and Horace M. Bond
    1934    The Investigation of Racial Differences Prior to 1910. The Journal of
    Negro Education 3(3):328-339.

Johnson, James Weldon
    1990    The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man. New York: Penguin Classic.

Johnson, Kim
    2009    Taino: The Story of the 'Caribs and Arawaks, Vol. 2011: Race and
    History.

Jørgensen, Anne Mette
    2001    Sankofa and Modern Authenticity in Ghanaian Film and Television. Same
    and Other: Negotiating African Identity in Cultural Production:119-141.

Joseph, Valerie
    2012    How Thomas Nelson and Sons' Royal Readers Textbooks Helped Instill
    the Standards of Whiteness into Colonized Black Caribbean Subjects and Their
    Descendents. Transforming Anthropology 20(2):146-158.

Keita, Lansana
    2004    Race, Identity and Africanity: A Reply to Eboussi Boulaga. Codesria (1
    and 2):16-18.

Kephart, Ronald
    2003    Creole English on Carriacou. *In* Contact Englishes of the Eastern
    Caribbean. M. Aceto and J.P. Williams, eds. Pp. 227-240.

Klein, Herbert S., and Stanley L. Engerman
    1997    Long-Term Trends in African Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.
    Slavery & Abolition 18(1):36-48.

Lake, Obiagele
    2003    Blue Veins and Kinky Hair: Naming and Color Consciousness in African
    America. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Lalueza-Fox, C., et al.
    2001    mtDNA From Extinct Tainos and the Peopling of the Caribbean. Annals of Human Genetics 65:137-151.

Lalueza-Fox, C., et al.
    2003    Mitochondrial DNA From Pre-Columbian Ciboneys From Cuba and the Prehistoric Colonization of the Caribbean. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 121(2):97–108.

Larmer, Brook, and Knolly Moses
    1996    The `barrel children.'. Newsweek 127(8):45.

Lashley, Lynette M.
    1995    Television and the Americanization of Trinbagonian Youth: A Study of Six Secondary Schools. *In* Globalization, Communications, and Caribbean identity. 1st edition. H.S. Dunn, ed. Pp. xviii, 228 p. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Leary, Joy Degruy
    2005    Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's legacy of enduring injury and healing: Joy DeGruy Publications.

Lefebvre, Henri
    1991    The Production of Space. Volume 142: Oxford Blackwell.

Lew, Jackie Chooi-Theng, and Patricia Shehan Campbell
    2005    Children's natural and necessary musical play: Gloval contexts, local applications. Music Educators Journal 91(5):57-62.

Libby, Ronald T
    1990    The United States and Jamaica: Playing the American Card. Latin American Perspectives:86-109.

Lieberson, Stanley, and Kelly S Mikelson
    1995    Distinctive African American Names: An Experimental, Historical, and Linguistic Analysis of Innovation. American Sociological Review:928-946.

Linn, Susan
    2008    The Case for Make Believe: Saving Play in a Commercialized World. New York: The New Press

Lockard, Craig A.
    2008    Societies, Networks, and Transitions Since 1450: A Global History. 1 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

London, Clement B.G.
    1991    Forging a Cultural Identity: Leadership and Development in Mass Education in a Developing
Caribbean Country. Journal of Black Studies 21(3):251-267.

Lorde, Audre
    1982    Zami, a New Spelling of My Name. Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press.

Lorick-Wilmot, Yndia S.
    2010    Creating Black Caribbean Ethnic Identity. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly

Lorimer, Douglas
    1988    Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900. Victorian Studies 31(3):405-430.

Lovejoy, Paul E.
    1989    The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature. The Journal of African History 30(3):365-394.

—

    2000    Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, David
    1962    Levels of West Indian Government. Social and Economic Studies 11(4):363-391.

Mangan, J. A.
    2012a   Images for Confident Control: Stereotypes in Imperial Discourse. *In* The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience. J.A. Mangan, ed. Pp. 6-22. New York.

—

    2012b   Introduction. *In* The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience. J.A. Mangan, ed. Pp. 1-5. New York.

Marshall, Paule
    1983    Praisesong for the Widow. New York: Putnam's.

Martin-McDonald, Kristine, and Alexandra McCarthy
    2007    'Marking' the White Terrain in Indigenous Health Research: Literature Review. Journal of Advanced Nursing 61(2):126–133.

Martin, John Angus
    2007    A-Z of Grenada Heritage. Oxford, UK: Macmillan Caribbean.

Masters, Patricia Ann
    2008    Play Theory, Playing and Culture. Sociology Compass 2(3):856-869.

Matsuda, Mari J.
	1989	Public Response to Racist Speech: Considering the Victim's Story. Michigan Law Review 87(8):2320-2381.

Mazrui, Ali Al'Amin, et al.
	1986	The Africans: A Triple Heritage. London: BBC Publications

McDaniel, Lorna
	1985	The Stone Feast and Big Drum of Carriacou. The Black Perspective in Music 13(2):179-194.

—

	1998	The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou: Praisesongs in Rememory of Flight. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida.

McIntosh, Peggy
	1990	White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. Independent School:31-36.

—

	2003	White Privilege and Male Privilege. *In* Privilege: A Reader. 2nd Edition edition. M.S. Kimmel and A.L. Ferber, eds. Pp. 147-160. Boulder: Westview Press.

Meriwether, James Hunter
	2002	Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961: UNC Press.

Merrill-Mirsky, Carol
	1986	Girls' Handclapping Games in Three Los Angeles Schools. Yearbook for Traditional Music 18:47-59.

Michelako, Jason
	2009	The Caribbean Plantation:  Panoptic Slavery and Disciplinary Power. *In* The Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Associatio. Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

Miller, Errol L
	1973	Self Evaluation Among Jamaican High School Girls. Social and Economic Studies:407-426.

Miller, Randall M., and John David Smith
	1997	Dictionary of Afro-American slavery. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Miller, Rebecca
	2005	Performing Ambivalence: The Case of Quadrille Music and Dance in Carriacou, Grenada. Ethnomusicology 49(3):404-440.

Miller, Rebecca S.
	2007	Carriacou String Band Serenade: Performing Identity in the Eastern Caribbean. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Mills, Charles W.
	1997	The Racial Contract. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mintz, Sidney Wilfred, and Richard Price
	1992	The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective. Boston: Beacon Press.

Montessori, Maria
	1995	The absorbent mind. New York: Henry Holt.

Morrison, Toni
	2007	Playing in the Dark: Random House LLC.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah
	1998	Afrotopia : the roots of African American popular history. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Muriithi, Samuel M.
	1997	African Development Dilemma: The Big Debate. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Navaja, Flaco dir.
	2004	Kid's Don't Play. HBO.

Neely, P.L.
	2005	The Houses of Buxton: A Legacy of African Influences in Architecture: P Designs Publishing.

Newell, William Wells
	1963 [1903]	Games and songs of American children, collected and compared. New York,: Dover Publications.

Nunn, Nathan
	2007	The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades. http://www.nber.org/papers/w13367.pdf.

Ogbu, John U
	1987	Variability in Minority School Performance: A Problem in Search of an Explanation. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 18(4):312-334.

—

	1992	Understanding Cultural Diversity and Learning. Educational researcher 21(8):5-14.

—

  2003    Black American students in an Affluent Suburb: A study of Academic Disengagement. New York: Routledge.

—

  2008    Minority Status, Oppositional Culture, & Schooling. New York: Routledge.

Ogundiran, Akinwumi, and Paula Saunders
  2014    Materialities of Ritual in the Black Atlantic: Indiana University Press.

Olsen, Margaret M.
  2002    African Reinscription of Body and Space in New Granada. *In* Mapping Colonial Spanish America : Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience. S. Arias and M. Meléndez, eds. Pp. 51. Lewisburg Pa.
: Bucknell University Press

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant
  1994    Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s. New York: Routledge.

Orelus, Pierre Wilbert
  2013    The Institutional Cost of Being a Professor of Color: Unveiling Micro-Aggression, Racial [In] visibility, and Racial Profiling through the Lens of Critical Race Theory. Current Issues in Education 16(2).

Owomoyela, Oyekan
  1999    From folklore to literature: The route from roots in the African world. *In* The African Diaspora: African origins and new world identities. I. Okpewho, C. Davies, and A. A.Mazrui, eds. Pp. 275-289. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Pagden, Anthony
  1992    Introduction. *In* A short account of the destruction of the Indies. 1st edition. B.d.l. Casas and N. Griffin, eds. Pp. xlii, 143 p. London, England ; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books.

Page, Enoch H.
  2001    Academentia: Physiological Stress, Toxic Work Sites and the Neutralization of Blackness by the Whiteness Standards of Professionalization. *In* sixth Annual National Conference of People of Color in Predominantly White Institutions. DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

—

  2003    4/01/03 Anthropology of Whiteness Class: University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Amherst.

—

    2006   Toward a Unified Paradigm of Race. American Anthropologist 108(3):530-533.

Page, Helan E.
    1988   Dialogic Principles of Interactive Learning in the Ethnographic Relationship. Journal of Anthropological Research:163-181.

—

    1997   'Black' Images, African American Identities: Corporate Cultural Projection in the Songs of My People. Identities 3(4):557-607.

Page, Helán E.
    1998   Understanding White Cultural Practices. Anthropology News 39(4):60-60.

Page, Helan Enoch
    1999   No Black Public Sphere in White Public Space: Racialized Information and Hi-Tech Diffusion in the Gobal African Diaspora. Transforming Anthropology 8(1&2):111-128.

Pakenham, Thomas
    1991   The scramble for Africa, 1876-1912. New York: Random House.

Patterson, Orlando
    2000   Race Over. The New Republic: A Journal of Politics and the Arts 222(2):6-6.

Patton, Jason W.
    2004   Multiple worlds on Oakland's streets social practice and the built environment. Visual Anthropology Review 20(2):36-56.

Payne, Anthony
    1980   The Politics of the Caribbean Community, 1961-79: Regional Integration Amongst New States: Manchester University Press.

Pearse, Andrew
    1955   Aspects of Change in Caribbean Folk Music. Journal of the International Folk Music Council 7:29-36.

Pellebon, Dwain A
    2011   The Asante-Based Afrocentricity Scale: Developing a Scale to Measure Asante's Afrocentricity Paradigm. Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment 21(1):35-56.

Peters, Cecilia, and Derrick Penny
    1994   Caribbean Social Studies 4: Our Country Grenada. Oxford: MacmillianEducaiton.

Phekoo, Carol Anne I., Paul D. Driscoll, and Michael B. Salwen
    1996    U.S. Television Viewing in Trinidad: Cultural Consequences on
    Adolescents. International Communication Gazette 57(2):97-110.

Phinney, Jean S
    1989    Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group Adolescents.
    The Journal of Early Adolescence 9(1-2):34-49.

Plato
    2008 [360 BCE]        Laws: Forgotten Books.

Pobee, John
    1976    Aspects of African Traditional Religion. Sociological Analysis 37(1):1-18.

Polson, Donald
    2011    The Tolerated, the Indulged and the Contented: Ethnic Alliances and
    Rivalries in Grenadian Plantation Society 1763-1800, University of Warwick.

Pool, Gail R.
    1989    Shifts in Grenadian Migration: An Historical Perspective. International
    Migration Review 23(2):238-266.

Powell-Hopson, Darlene, and Derek Hopson
    1988    Implications of Doll Color Preferences Among Black Preschool Children
    and White Preschool Children. Journal of Black Psychology 14(2):57-63.

Richardson, Bonham C
    1992    The Caribbean in the Wider World, 1492-1992: A Regional Geography:
    Cambridge University Press.

Richardson, Bonham C.
    1983    Caribbean migrants : environment and human survival on St. Kitts and
    Nevis. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Rivero, Yeidy M.
    2005    Tuning out blackness : race and nation in the history of Puerto Rican
    television. Durham: Duke University Press.

Robben, Antonius CGM
    2005    How Traumatized Societies Remember: The Aftermath of Argentina's
    Dirty War. Cultural Critique 59(1):120-164.

Roberts, Dorothy E.
    1997    Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty.
    New York: Pantheon Books.

Rothenberg, Paula S
    2007    White Privilege. New York: Worth Publishers.

Rouse, Irving
    1992    The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People who Greeted Columbus. New
    Haven: Yale University Press.

Sacks, Karen Brodkin
    1995    White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness.
    RUTH FRANKENBERG. American Ethnologist 22(1):209-210.

Savishinsky, Neil J
    1998    African Dimensions of the Jamaican Rastafarian Movement. *In* Chanting
    Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader. N.S. Murrell, W.D. Spencer, and A.A.
    McFarlane, eds. Pp. 125-44. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Scarisbrick, Diana, and M.F.A. Boston
    2000    Tiara. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.

Schechner, Richard
    2006    Performance Studies: An Introduction. New York: Routledge.

Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton
    1992    Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding
    Migration. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 645(1):1-24.

Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc
    1995    From Immigrant to Trnasmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration.
    Anthropological Quarterly 68(1):48-63.

Schwartzman, Helen B.
    1976    The anthropological study of children's play. Annual Review of
    Anthropology 5:285-328.

—

    2001    Introduction: Questions and challenges for a 21st century anthropology of
    children. *In* Children and anthropology : perspectives for the 21st century. H.B.
    Schwartzman, ed. Pp. xii, 211 p. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.

Scott, David
    2008    Introduction: On the Archaeologies of Black Memory. Small Axe 12(2):v-
    xvi.

Sellers, Robert M., et al.
    1997    Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation
    of reliability and constuct validity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
    73(4):805-815.

Shepherd, Verene A.

> 2010    Structural Discrimination & Knowledge Production in Post-Colonial Societies: Examples from the Caribbean. *In* 9th Session of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent. Geneva, Switzerland.

Silva, Denise Ferreira Da

> 2001    Towards a Critique of the Socio-logos of Justice: The Analytics of Raciality and the Production of Universality. Social Identities 7(3):421-454.

—

> 2007    Toward a Global Idea of Race. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Simon, Roger I, and Donald Dippo

> 1986    On Critical Ethnographic Work. Anthropology & Education Quarterly 17(4):195-202.

Singley, Bernestine

> 2002    When Race Becomes Real : Black and White Writers Confront Their Personal Histories. Chicago, Ill.: Lawrence Hill Books.

Smedley, Audrey, and Brian D Smedley

> 2005    Race as Biology is Fiction, Racism as a Social Problem is Real: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives on the Social Construction of Race. American Psychologist 60(1):16.

Smith, Laurajane

> 2010    'Man's Inhumanity to Man' and Other Platitudes of Avoidance and Misrecognition: an Analysis of Visitor Responses to Exhibitions Marking the 1807 Bicentenary. Museum and Society 8(3):193-214.

Smith, M. G.

> 1962    Kinship and Community in Carriacou. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sone, Enongene Mirabeau, and Ngade Ivo Ntiege Mesumbe

> 2014    Moralising Female Identity in Cameroon in the 1990s: Female Prostitution and the Song "You Gu Cry". Muziki 11(2):103-115.

Song, Hoon

> 2006    Seeing Oneself Seeing Oneself: White Nihilism in Ethnography and Theory. Ethnos, Volume 71, Issue 4 December 2006 , pages 470 - 488 71(4):470-488.

Spence, Lester K., Todd C. Shaw, and Robert A. Brown

> 2005    "True to Our Native Land": Distinguishing Attitudinal Support for Pan-Africanism from Black Separatism. Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race 2(01):91-111.

Staff
>	2003	2003 Mineral Study, South Africa. United States Geological Survey.

Steele, Beverley A.
>	2003	Grenada: A History of its People. Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean.

Steele, Claude M
>	2010	Whistling Vivaldi: And Other Clues To How Stereotypes Affect Us (Issues Of Our Time) Author: Claude M. Steele, Publisher. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Stevens, Cat
>	1970	Where do the Children Play. *In* Tea for the Tillerman. P. Samwell-Smith, ed. USA: Island Records. A&M Records.

Sunshine, Catherine A.
>	1988	The Caribbean: Survival, Struggle and Sovereignty. Boston: South End Press.

Sutherland, LeeAnn M
>	2005	Black Adolescent Girls' Use of Literacy Practices to Negotiate Boundaries of Ascribed Identity. Journal of Literacy Research 37(3):365-406.

Sutton-Smith, B., and B. G. Rosenberg
>	1961	Sixty Years of Historical Change in the Game Preferences of American Children. The Journal of American Folklore 74(291):17-46.

Svob, Connie
>	2014	Intergenerational Transmission of Historical Events via Memory, University of Alberta.

Szwed, John F., and Morton Marks
>	1988	The Afro-American Transformation of European Set Dances and Dance Suites. Dance Research Journal 20(1):29-36.

Tatum, Beverly Daniel
>	2003	Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: And other conversations about race: Basic Books.

Thomas, Shantel I
>	2006	African American Adolescent Females: An Investigation of Racial Identity, Skin Color and Self-Concept During Adolescent Development, Kent State University.

Townsend, Tiffany G., et al.
>	2010	I'm No Jezebel; I am Young, Gifted, and Black: Identity, Sexuality, and Black Girls Psychology of Women Quarterly 34(3):273-285.

Traoré, Rosemary
    2006    Voices of African Students in America:" We're Not From the Jungle".
    Multicultural Perspectives 8(2):29-34.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
    1995    Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. Boston, Mass.:
    Beacon Press.

Unknown Director dir.
    2009    Revisiting an Experiment on Race. 5:34 min. ABC News,.

Valentine, Gill, and John McKendrck
    1997    Children's outdoor play: Exploring parental concerns about children's
    safety and the changing nature of childhood. Geoforum 28(2):219-235.

Wallace-Sanders, Kimberly
    2002    Skin Deep, Spirit Strong: The Black Female Body in American Culture:
    University of Michigan Press.

Waters, Mary C
    1994    Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in
    New York City. International Migration Review:795-820.

—

    2009    Black Identities: Harvard University Press.

Weekes, Debbie
    2002    Get Your Freak On: How Black Girls Sexualise Identity. Sex Education
    2(3):251-262.

White, Charles
    1999    An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals
    and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter. *In* Slavery, Abolition and
    Emancipation: Writings in the British Romantic Period. P.J. Kitson, D.J. Lee, and
    J.N. Cox, eds. London: Pickering & Chatto.

Wijeyesinghe, Charmaine L., Pat Griffin, and Barbara Love
    1997    Racism Curriculum Design. *In* Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice.
    M. Adams, L.A. Bell, and P. Griffin, eds. New York: Routledge.

Williams, Gary
    1996    The Tail that Wagged the Dog: The Organisation of Eastern Caribbean
    States' Role in the 1983 Intervention in Grenada. Revista Europea de Estudios
    Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and
    Caribbean Studies:95-115.

Winant, Howard
    1994    Racial conditions : politics, theory, comparisons. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Woodson, Carter Godson
    2009 [1933]    The Mis-Education of the Negro. T.J.o.P.A. Studies, ed.

X, Malcolm
    1990    Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements. New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Xinyin, Chen, et al.
    2005    Social Functioning and Adjustment in Chinese Children: The Imprint of Historical Time. Child Development 76(1):182-195.

Young, Loretta, and Christopher Bagley
    1979    Identity, Self-Esteem and Evaluation of Colour and Ethnicity in Young Children in Jamaica and London. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 7(2):154-169.